

Revolution, Socialism, and Global Conflict: The Rise and Fall of World Communism

1917–Present

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To examine the nature of the Russian and Chinese revolutions and how the differences between those revolutions affected the introduction of communist regimes in those countries
- To consider how communist states developed, especially in the USSR and the People's Republic of China
- To consider the benefits of a communist state
- To consider the harm caused by the two great communist states of the twentieth century
- To introduce students to the cold war and its major issues
- To explore the reasons why communism collapsed in the USSR and China
- To consider how we might assess the communist experience . . . and to inquire if historians should be asking such questions about moral judgment

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Opening Vignette

- A. Many jokes from the Soviet era highlight the hypocrisy of the Communist system.
 - 1. reflect growing disbelief that the communist system could deliver promised equality and abundance
 - 2. collapse of communist regime greeted by many as a promise of liberation
- B. Almost everywhere Communist regimes came to power through war or revolution.
 - 1. communist regimes transformed their societies
 - 2. provided a major political/ideological threat to the Western world
 - a. the cold war (1946–1991)
 - b. scramble for influence in the Global South between the United States and the USSR
 - c. massive nuclear arms race
 - 3. and then it collapsed

II. Global Communism

- A. Communism had its roots in nineteenth-century socialism, inspired by Karl Marx.
 - 1. most European socialists came to believe that they could achieve their goals through the democratic process
 - 2. those who defined themselves as “communists” in the twentieth century advocated revolution
 - 3. “communism” in Marxist theory is the final stage of historical development, with full development of social equality and collective living
- B. At communism’s height in the 1970s, almost one-third of the world’s population was governed by communist regimes.
 - 1. the most important communist societies by far were the USSR and China
 - 2. communism also came to Eastern Europe, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Cuba, Afghanistan
 - 3. none of these countries had the industrial capitalism that Marx thought necessary for a socialist revolution
 - 4. communist parties took root in many other areas
- C. The various expressions of communism shared common ground.
 - 1. a common ideology, based on Marxism
 - 2. inspiration of the 1917 Russian Revolution
 - 3. during the cold war, the Warsaw Pact created a military alliance of Eastern European states and the USSR
 - a. Council on Mutual Economic Assistance tied Eastern European economies to the USSR’s economy
 - b. Treaty of Friendship between the USSR and China (1950)
 - 4. but relations between communist countries were also marked by rivalry and hostility

III. Revolutions as a Path to Communism

- A. Communist revolutions drew on the mystique of the French Revolution.

- 1. got rid of landed aristocracies and the old ruling classes
- 2. involved peasant upheavals in the countryside; educated leadership in the cities
- 3. French, Russian, and Chinese revolutions all looked to a modernizing future, eschewed any nostalgia for the past
- 4. but there were important differences:
 - a. communist revolutions were made by highly organized parties guided by a Marxist ideology
 - b. the middle classes were among the victims of communist upheavals, whereas middle classes were chief beneficiaries of French Revolution
 - c. communist revolutions carried explicit message of gender equality
- B. Russia: Revolution in a Single Year
 - 1. Russia’s revolution (1917) was sudden, explosive
 - a. Tsar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate the throne in February 1917
 - b. massive social upheaval
 - 2. deep-seated social revolution soon showed the inadequacy of the Provisional Government
 - a. it would not/could not meet the demands of the revolutionary masses
 - b. refused to withdraw from WWI
 - c. left opening for the rise of more radical groups
 - d. most effective opposition group was the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin)
 - 3. Bolsheviks seized power in a coup (October 1917)
 - a. claimed to act on behalf of the “soviets”
 - b. three-year civil war followed: Bolsheviks vs. a variety of enemies
 - c. by 1921, Bolsheviks (now calling their party “communist”) had won
 - 4. during the civil war, the Bolsheviks:
 - a. regimented the economy
 - b. suppressed nationalist rebellions

- c. committed atrocities (as did their enemies)
 - d. integrated many lower-class men into the Red Army and into local governments
 - e. claimed to defend Russia from imperialists as well as from internal exploiters
 - f. strengthened their tendency toward authoritarianism
5. for 25 years, the new USSR was the only communist country
 - a. expansion into Eastern Europe thanks to Soviet occupation at the end of WWII
 - b. Stalin sought a buffer of “friendly” governments in Eastern Europe; imposed communism from outside
 - c. local communist parties had some domestic support
 - d. in Yugoslavia a communist government emerged with little Soviet help
- C. China: A Prolonged Revolutionary Struggle
1. communism won in China in 1949, after a long struggle
 - a. the Chinese imperial system had collapsed in 1911
 - b. the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was not founded until 1921
 2. over the next 28 years, the CCP grew immensely and transformed its strategy under Mao Zedong
 3. had a formidable enemy in the Guomindang (Nationalist Party), which ruled China after 1928
 - a. Chiang Kai-shek led the Guomindang
 - b. the Guomindang promoted modern development, at least in cities
 - c. the countryside remained impoverished
 4. the CCP was driven from the cities, developed a new strategy
 - a. looked to the peasants for support, not city workers
 - b. only gradually won respect and support of peasants
 5. to recruit women made important reforms in regions that they controlled
 - a. outlawed arranged marriages
 - b. made divorce easier
 - c. gave women the right to vote and own property
 - d. women and men receive equal shares during early land reform initiatives
 - e. women’s associations promoted
 - f. male reactions led to some modifications
 6. given a boost by Japan’s invasion of China
 - a. gained reputation for resisting Japanese occupation
 - b. more effective than Guomindang
 7. the CCP addressed both foreign imperialism and peasant exploitation
 - a. expressed Chinese nationalism and demand for social change
 - b. gained a reputation for honesty, unlike the Guomindang
- IV. Building Socialism**
- A. Joseph Stalin built a socialist society in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s; Mao Zedong did the same in China in the 1950s and 1960s.
1. first step: modernization and industrialization
 2. serious attack on class and gender inequalities
 3. both created political systems dominated by the Communist Party
 - a. high-ranking party members were expected to exemplify socialism
 - b. all other parties were forbidden
 - c. the state controlled almost the entire economy
 4. China’s conversion to communism was a much easier process than that experienced by the USSR
 - a. the USSR had already paved the way
 - b. Chinese communists won the support of the rural masses
 - c. but China had more economic problems to resolve

B. Communist Feminism

1. communist countries pioneered “women’s liberation”
 - a. largely directed by the state
 - b. the USSR almost immediately declared full legal and political equality for women
 - c. divorce, abortion, pregnancy leave, women’s work were all enabled or encouraged
2. 1919: USSR’s Communist Party set up Zhenotdel (Women’s Department)
 - a. pushed a feminist agenda
 - b. male communist officials and ordinary people often opposed it
 - c. Stalin abolished it in 1930
3. communist China also worked for women’s equality
 - a. Marriage Law of 1950 ordered free choice in marriage, easier divorce, the end of concubinage and child marriage, and equal property rights for women
 - b. the CCP tried to implement pro-female changes against strong opposition
 - c. women became much more active in the workforce
4. limitations on communist women’s liberation
 - a. Stalin declared the women’s question “solved” in 1930
 - b. no direct attack in either state on male domination within the family
 - c. women retained burden of housework and child care as well as paid employment
 - d. few women made it into top political leadership

C. Socialism in the Countryside

1. in both states, the communists took landed estates and redistributed the land to peasants
 - a. Russia: peasants took and redistributed the land themselves
 - b. China: land reform teams mobilized poor peasants to confront landlords and wealthier peasants

2. second stage of rural reform: effort to end private property in land by collectivizing agriculture
 - a. in China, collectivization was largely peaceful (1950s)
 - b. in the USSR, collectivization was imposed by violence (1928–1933)
 - c. China’s collectivization went further than the USSR’s

D. Communism and Industrial Development

1. both states regarded industrialization as fundamental
 - a. need to end humiliating backwardness and poverty
 - b. desire to create military strength to survive in a hostile world
2. China largely followed the model established by the USSR
 - a. state ownership of property
 - b. centralized planning (five-year plans)
 - c. priority given to heavy industry
 - d. massive mobilization of resources
 - e. intrusive party control of the whole process
 - f. both countries experienced major economic growth
3. the USSR leadership largely accepted the social outcomes of industrialization
4. China under Mao Zedong tried to combat the social effects of industrialization
 - a. the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960) promoted small-scale industrialization in rural areas
 - b. the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (mid-1960s)
 - c. the Cultural Revolution also rejected feminism for a strikingly masculine gender neutral model
5. great confidence in centralized planning
 - a. struggle against nature led to immense environmental damage

E. The Search for Enemies

1. the USSR and China under Stalin and Mao were rife with paranoia

- a. fear that important communists were corrupted by bourgeois ideas; became class enemies
- b. fear of a vast conspiracy by class enemies and foreign imperialists to restore capitalism
- 2. USSR: the Terror (Great Purges) of the late 1930s
 - a. enveloped millions of Russians, including tens of thousands of prominent communists
 - b. many were sentenced to harsh labor camps (the gulag)
 - c. nearly a million people were executed between 1936 and 1941
- 3. China: the search for enemies was a more public process
 - a. the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969) escaped control of communist leadership
 - b. Mao had called for rebellion against the Communist Party itself
 - c. purge of millions of supposed capitalist sympathizers
 - d. Mao had to call in the army to avert civil war
- 4. both the Terror and the Cultural Revolution discredited socialism and contributed to eventual collapse of communist experiment

V. East versus West: A Global Divide and a Cold War

A. Military Conflict and the Cold War

- 1. Europe was the cold war's first arena
 - a. Soviet concern for security and control in Eastern Europe
 - b. American and British desire for open societies linked to the capitalist world economy
- 2. creation of rival military alliances (NATO and the Warsaw Pact)
 - a. American sphere of influence (Western Europe) was largely voluntary
 - b. Soviet sphere (Eastern Europe) was imposed

- c. the “Iron Curtain” divided the two spheres
- 3. communism spread into Asia (China, Korea, Vietnam), caused conflict
 - a. North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950
 - b. Vietnam: massive U.S. intervention in the 1960s
- 4. major cold war-era conflict in Afghanistan
 - a. a Marxist party took power in 1978 but soon alienated much of the population
 - b. Soviet military intervention (1979–1989) met with little success
 - c. USSR withdrew in 1989 under international pressure; communist rule of Afghanistan collapsed
- 5. the battle that never happened: Cuba
 - a. Fidel Castro came to power in 1959
 - b. nationalization of U.S. assets provoked U.S. hostility
 - c. Castro gradually aligned himself with the USSR
 - d. Cuban missile crisis (October 1962)
- B. Nuclear Standoff and Third World Rivalry
 - 1. the USSR succeeded in creating a nuclear weapon in 1949
 - 2. massive arms race: by 1989, the world had nearly 60,000 nuclear warheads, with complex delivery systems
 - 3. 1949–1989: fear of massive nuclear destruction and even the possible extinction of humankind
 - 4. both sides knew how serious their destructive power was
 - a. careful avoidance of nuclear provocation, especially after 1962
 - b. avoidance of any direct military confrontation, since it might turn into a nuclear war
 - 5. both the United States and the USSR courted third world countries
 - a. United States intervened in Iran, the Philippines, Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile, the Congo, and elsewhere because of fear of communist penetration

- b. the United States often supported corrupt, authoritarian regimes
 - c. many third world countries resisted being used as pawns
 - d. some countries (e.g., India) claimed “nonalignment” status in the cold war
 - e. some tried to play off the superpowers against each other
 - C. The Cold War and the Superpowers
 - 1. the United States became leader of the West against communism
 - a. led to the creation of an “imperial” presidency in the United States
 - b. power was given to defense and intelligence agencies, creating a “national security state”
 - c. strengthened the influence of the “military-industrial complex”
 - 2. U.S. military effort was sustained by a flourishing economy and an increasingly middle-class society
 - a. U.S. industry hadn’t been harmed by World War II, unlike every other major industrial society
 - b. Americans were a “people of plenty”
 - c. growing pace of U.S. investment abroad
 - 3. American popular culture also spread around the world
 - a. jazz, rock-and-roll, and rap found foreign audiences
 - b. by the 1990s, American movies took about 70 percent of the European market
 - c. around 33,000 McDonald’s restaurants in 119 countries by 2012
 - 4. Nikita Khrushchev took power in the USSR in 1953; in 1956, he denounced Stalin as a criminal
 - 5. the cold war justified a continuing Soviet emphasis on military and defense industries
 - 6. growing conflict among the communist countries
 - a. Yugoslavia rejected Soviet domination
 - b. Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956–1957) and Czechoslovakia (1968) to crush reform movements
 - c. early 1980s: Poland was also threatened with invasion
 - d. brutal suppression of reform tarnished the image of Soviet communism, gave credence to Western views of the cold war as a struggle between tyranny and freedom
 - e. sharp opposition between the USSR and China
 - f. China went to war against a communist Vietnam in 1979
 - g. Vietnam invaded communist Laos, late 1970s
 - 7. world communism reached its greatest extent in the 1970s
- VI. Paths to the End of Communism**
- A. The communist era ended rapidly and peacefully between the late 1970s and 1991.
 - 1. China: Mao Zedong died in 1976
 - 2. Europe: popular movements overthrew communist governments in 1989
 - 3. both cases show the economic failure of communism
 - a. communist states couldn’t catch up economically
 - b. the Soviet economy was stagnant
 - c. failures were known around the world
 - d. economic failure limited military capacity
 - 4. both cases show the moral failure of communism
 - a. Stalin’s Terror and the gulag
 - b. Mao’s Cultural Revolution
 - c. near-genocide in Cambodia
 - d. all happened in a global climate that embraced democracy and human rights
 - B. China: Abandoning Communism and Maintaining the Party
 - 1. Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1976
 - a. relaxed censorship
 - b. released some 100,000 political prisoners

- c. dismantled collectivized farming system
- 2. China opened itself to the world economy
 - a. result: stunning economic growth and new prosperity
 - b. also generated massive corruption among officials, urban inequality, pollution, and inequality between coast and interior
- 3. the Chinese Communist Party has kept its political monopoly
 - a. brutal crushing of democracy movement in late 1980s
 - b. Tiananmen Square massacre
- 4. China is now a “strange and troubled hybrid” that combines nationalism, consumerism, and new respect for ancient traditions
- C. The Soviet Union: The Collapse of Communism and Country
 - 1. Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary in mid-1980s
 - a. launched economic reform program (perestroika, or “restructuring”) in 1987
 - b. also glasnost (“openness”) to greater cultural and intellectual freedoms
 - 2. glasnost revealed what a mess the USSR was (crime, prostitution, suicide, corruption, etc.)
 - a. the extent of Stalin’s atrocities was uncovered
 - b. new openness to religious expression
 - c. ending of government censorship of culture
 - 3. democratization—free elections in 1989
 - 4. move to end the cold war by making unilateral military cuts, negotiating arms control with United States
 - 5. but Gorbachev’s reforms led to collapse of the USSR
 - a. the planned economy was dismantled before a market-based system could develop
 - b. new freedoms led to more strident demands
 - c. subordinate states demanded greater autonomy or independence
 - d. Gorbachev refused to use force to crush the protesters
- 6. Eastern European states broke free from USSR-sponsored communism
- 7. conservatives attempted a coup (August 1991)
- 8. fifteen new and independent states emerged from the breakup of the USSR
- D. By 2000, the communist world had shrunk considerably.
 - 1. communism had lost its dominance completely in the USSR and Eastern Europe
 - 2. China had mostly abandoned communist economic policies
 - 3. Vietnam and Laos remained officially communist but pursued Chinese-style reforms
 - 4. Cuba: economic crisis in the 1990s, began to allow small businesses, private food markets, and tourism
 - 5. North Korea is the most unreformed and Stalinist communist state left
 - 6. international tensions remain only in East Asia and the Caribbean

VII. Reflections: To Judge or Not to Judge

- A. Many think that scholars shouldn’t make moral judgments.
 - 1. but we can’t help being affected by our own time and culture
 - 2. it’s more valuable to acknowledge the limits of cultural conditioning than to pretend to a dream of objectivity
 - 3. judgments are a way of connecting with the past
- B. Many continue to debate whether the Russian and Chinese revolutions were beneficial and whether the late twentieth-century reforms were good or bad.
 - 1. communism brought hope to millions
 - 2. communism killed and imprisoned millions
- C. Is it possible to embrace such ambiguity?

CHAPTER QUESTIONS

Following are answer guidelines for the Big Picture Questions, Seeking the Main Point Question, Margin Review Questions, Portrait Question, and Documents and Visual Sources Feature Questions that appear in the textbook chapter. For your convenience, the questions and answer guidelines are also available in the Computerized Test Bank.

Big Picture Questions

1. Why did the communist experiment, which was committed to equality, abundance, and a humane socialism, generate such oppressive, brutal, and totalitarian regimes and failed economies?

- An elastic concept of enemy came to include not only surviving remnants of the old prerevolutionary elites but also, and more surprisingly, high-ranking members and longtime supporters of the Communist Party who had allegedly been corrupted by bourgeois ideas. Refracted through the lens of Marxist thinking, these people became class enemies who had betrayed the revolution and were engaged in a vast conspiracy, often linked to foreign imperialists, to subvert the socialist enterprise and restore capitalism.
- In an effort to combat capitalism and instill socialist values in society, communist regimes promoted the Communist Party's penetration of all levels of society in ways that some Western scholars have called totalitarian. As part of this process, the state came to control almost the entire economy; ensured that the arts, education, and the media conformed to approved ways of thinking; and controlled mass organizations for women, workers, students, and various professional groups.
- Decisions made by the state which controlled the centralized economy damaged the environment reducing the economy's efficiency in the long run.

2. In what ways did communism have a global impact beyond those countries that were governed by communist parties?

- Many countries, particularly in Western Europe, possessed communist parties that participated in their political systems.
- The United States and its allies expended considerable effort in trying to contain or weaken the influence of communism. In the United States this resulted in political developments like the imperial

presidency and economic developments including the strengthening of the military-industrial complex.

- Efforts by communist states and those aligned with the United States to garner influence in non-aligned countries had sometimes substantial impacts on these states. Some benefited from economic or educational aid, but others were destabilized or harmed in other ways.
- The threat of nuclear annihilation associated with the rivalry between communist nations and the United States impacted everyone on the planet.

3. What was the global significance of the cold war?

- The nuclear arms race that it spawned brought the threat of annihilation to the whole planet. Regional wars and revolutionary insurrections, supported or opposed by one of the cold war superpowers, had an impact on regions across the globe.
- In the postcolonial world, competition between cold war powers led to new relationships between third world countries and the global powers in which the United States and the Soviet Union both courted developing nations while those developing countries sought to define their relations with the superpowers to their advantage.

4. "The end of communism was as revolutionary as its beginning." Do you agree with this statement?

- This question has no right answer and depends in large part upon how students define "revolutionary."
- To advocate the revolutionary nature of the end of communism, students could point to the profound changes that took place within communist countries following the abandonment of communism, and argue that those changes were just as revolutionary for people living in those communist systems as the communist revolution was for those who lived in earlier capitalist systems.
- To advocate the less revolutionary nature of the end of communism, students might emphasize that communist societies were in reality merely adopting aspects of their capitalist counterparts elsewhere in the world, and therefore the "revolutionary" nature of the transition away from communism was less pronounced than the original transition to a never-before-tried communist organization.

5. Looking Back: What is distinctive about twentieth-century communist industrialization and modernization compared to the same processes in the West a century earlier?

- The industrialization of communist countries was far more centrally planned than were the same processes in the West.
- The capital and the factories were owned by the state in the communist world but not in the West.
- The Communist Party controlled industrialization in communist countries, whereas no political party controlled this process in the West.
- Unlike the West, a wealthy industrialist class did not emerge in communist countries, and the equivalent of the middle class in the West was dominated primarily by bureaucrats and the technological elite.

Seeking the Main Point Question

Q. What was the appeal of communism, both in terms of its promises and its achievements? To what extent did promise match achievements?

- Communism promised a fairer distribution of society's wealth among the whole population; modernization and industrialization of the economy; and equality of all citizens, including women.
- As evidence that it fulfilled these promises, communism can point to the redistribution and then the collectivization of land; the impressive industrialization of communist countries; and a substantial improvement in women's rights.
- However, it must be noted that these accomplishments came at the cost of the creation of new elite classes, the curtailing of freedoms, and considerable loss of life.

Margin Review Questions

Q. When and where did communism exercise influence during the twentieth century?

- In 1917, Russia became the first country to embrace communism.
- Communism also came to China, Eastern Europe, and the northern part of Korea in the wake of World War II.
- First the northern portion of Vietnam and then, after 1975, the whole of Vietnam became communist.

- Communist parties took power in Laos and Cambodia in the mid-1970s.
- Cuba moved toward communism after Fidel Castro came to power in 1959.
- A shaky communist regime took power in Afghanistan in 1979, propped up briefly by the Soviet Union.
- After World War II, communist political parties also had influence in a number of nations, including Greece, France, and Italy.
- There was a small communist party in the United States that became the focus of an intense wave of fear and repression in the 1950s.
- Revolutionary communist movements threatened established governments in the Philippines, Malaya, Indonesia, Bolivia, Peru, and elsewhere.
- A number of African nations in the 1970s proclaimed themselves Marxist for a time and aligned with the Soviet Union in international affairs.

Q. Identify the major differences between the Russian and Chinese revolutions.

- The revolution in China was a struggle of decades rather than a single year.
- Unlike Russia, where intellectuals had been discussing socialism for half a century or more before the revolution, the ideas of Karl Marx were barely known in China in the early twentieth century.
- The Chinese communists faced a far more formidable political foe than the weak Provisional Government over which the Bolsheviks had triumphed in Russia.
- Whereas the Bolsheviks in Russia found their primary audience among workers in Russia's major cities, Chinese communists increasingly looked to the country's peasant villages for support.
- Chinese peasants did not rise up spontaneously against their landlords, as Russian peasants had.
- Chinese communists ultimately put down deep roots among the peasantry in a way that the Bolsheviks never did.
- Whereas the Bolsheviks gained support by urging Russian withdrawal from the highly unpopular World War I, the Chinese communists won support by aggressively pursuing the struggle against Japanese invaders during World War II.

Q. Why were the Bolsheviks able to ride the Russian Revolution to power?

- Impatience and outrage against the Provisional Government provided the Bolsheviks with an opening.

- The Bolsheviks' message—an end to the war, land for the peasants, workers' control of factories, and self-determination for non-Russian nationalities—resonated with an increasingly rebellious public mood.

- The Bolsheviks were able to seize power during an overnight coup in the capital city of St. Petersburg by claiming to act on the behalf of the highly popular soviets, in which they had a major presence.

- The Bolsheviks defeated their enemies in a three-year civil war.

Q. What was the appeal of communism in China before 1949?

- The Chinese communists addressed head-on both of China's major problems—foreign imperialism and peasant exploitation.

- The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) expressed Chinese nationalism as well as a demand for radical social change.

- Chinese communists gained a reputation for honesty that contrasted sharply with the massive corruption of their opponents.

- The CCP gained a reputation for effective resistance against the Japanese invaders and offered a measure of security to many Chinese faced with Japanese atrocities.

- The CCP put down deep roots among the peasantry, making real changes in peasant lives in the areas it controlled, reducing rents, taxes, and interest payments for peasants, and teaching literacy to adults.

Q. What changes did communist regimes bring to the lives of women?

- In the Soviet Union, the communist government declared full legal and political equality for women.

- Marriage became a civil procedure among freely consenting adults.

- Divorce was legalized and made easier, as was abortion.

- Illegitimacy was abolished.

- Women no longer had to take their husbands' surnames.

- Pregnancy leave for employed women was mandated.

- Women were actively mobilized as workers in the country's drive to industrialization.

- The party set up a special organization called Zhenotdel (Women's Department), whose radical leaders, all women, pushed a decidedly feminist

agenda in the 1920s by organizing conferences for women, training women to run day-care centers and medical clinics, publishing newspapers and magazines aimed at a female audience, providing literacy and prenatal classes, and encouraging Muslim women to take off their veils.

- In China, the Marriage Law of 1950 was a direct attack on patriarchal and Confucian traditions, decreeing free choice in marriage; relatively easy divorce; the end of concubinage and child marriage; permission for widows to remarry; and equal property rights for women.

- The Chinese Communist Party also launched a Women's Federation, a mass organization that enrolled millions of women, although its leadership was less radical than that of Zhenotdel.

Q. How did the collectivization of agriculture differ between the USSR and China?

- In Russia, the peasants had spontaneously redistributed the land among themselves, and the victorious Bolsheviks merely ratified their actions. In China after 1949, it was a more prolonged and difficult process that featured "speak bitterness meetings" at which peasants were encouraged to confront and humiliate landlords. Ultimately the process resulted in the death of between 1 million and 2 million landlords.

- A second and more distinctively socialist stage of rural reform sought to end private property in land by collectivizing agriculture. In China, despite brief resistance from richer peasants, collectivization during the 1950s was a generally peaceful process. In the Soviet Union, peasant resistance to collectivization in the period 1928–1933 led to extensive violence.

- China pushed the collectivization process further than the Soviet Union did, particularly in huge "people's communes" during the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s.

Q. What were the achievements of communist efforts at industrialization? What problems did these achievements generate?

- One significant achievement was that both the Soviet Union and China experienced major—indeed unprecedented—economic growth.

- Living standards improved.

- Literacy rates and educational opportunities improved massively, allowing far greater social mobility for millions of people than ever before.

- As far as problems, industrialization brought rapid urbanization.

- The countryside was exploited to provide for modern industry in the cities.
- A privileged bureaucratic and technological elite developed, intent on pursuing their own careers and passing on their new status to their children.

Q. Why did communist regimes generate terror and violence on such a massive scale?

- An elastic concept of enemy came to include not only surviving remnants of the old prerevolutionary elites but also, and more surprisingly, high-ranking members and longtime supporters of their respective communist parties who had allegedly been corrupted by bourgeois ideas. Refracted through the lens of Marxist thinking, these people became class enemies who had betrayed the revolution and were engaged in a vast conspiracy, often linked to foreign imperialists, to subvert the socialist enterprise and restore capitalism.
- Large-scale purges took place in light of these fears, including the Terror in the Soviet Union and the Cultural Revolution in China.

Q. **Summing Up So Far:** How did the Soviet Union and China differ in terms of the revolutions that brought communists to power and in the construction of socialist societies? What commonalities are also apparent?

- China's revolutionary struggle lasted decades rather than a single year as in Russia.
- Unlike Russia where intellectuals had been discussing socialism for half a century before the revolution, the ideas of Karl Marx were barely known in early-twentieth-century China.
- China's communists faced a more formidable opponent than their Russian counterparts.
- China's communists found most of their supporters among peasants, not the urban workers of their Bolshevik counterparts.
- Bolsheviks gained support by withdrawing from World War I, the Chinese communists gained popularity by resisting Japanese occupation.
- The Soviet Union built its socialist system on its own, China could rely on a friendly Soviet Union.
- Chinese revolutionaries had more experience governing before they seized power.
- In the Soviet Union, the growth of a privileged bureaucratic and technological elite was largely accepted, whereas in China under Mao Zedong there were recurrent attempts, including the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, to combat these tendencies and revive the revolutionary spirit.

- As part of this process, Mao pushed several reforms, including the promotion of small-scale rural industrialization over urban industrialization, of widespread technical education, and of an immediate transition to communism in the "people's communes."

• The experiences of the Soviet Union and China also diverged dramatically after the mid-1970s, when Soviet communism failed to reform and ultimately collapsed completely, while Chinese communism reformed more slowly and without completely collapsing.

- In terms of commonalities, both carried out aggressive modernization and industrialization initiatives, with China following Soviet models when it industrialized.
- Both communist parties thoroughly dominated their political systems.
- Both at least for a time promoted and implemented feminist policies.
- Both collectivized agriculture.
- Both the Soviet Union and China possessed great confidence in human rationality and centralized planning for economic development.

Q. In what different ways was the cold war expressed?

- The cold war was expressed in a number of ways, including through rival military alliances known as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.
- It was also expressed through a series of regional wars, especially the "hot wars" in Korea and Vietnam and a later conflict in Afghanistan.
- Tense standoffs, like the Cuban missile crisis, occurred.
- It was expressed in a nuclear arms race.
- There was competition for influence in third-world countries across the globe.
- And there were fomenting revolutionary groups across the world.

Q. In what ways did the United States play a global role after World War II?

- The United States spearheaded the Western effort to contain a worldwide communist movement that seemed to be on the move.
- It deployed its military might around the world.
- It became the world's largest creditor and its chief economic power.
- It became an exporter of popular culture.

Q. Describe the strengths and weaknesses of the communist world by the 1970s.

- Communism had reached the greatest extent of its worldwide expansion in the 1970s.
- The Soviet Union had achieved its long-sought goal of matching U.S. military might.
- However, divisions within the communist world increased, especially between Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, China and the Soviet Union, and China and Vietnam.
- The horrors of Stalin's Terror and the gulag, of Mao's Cultural Revolution, and of something approaching genocide in communist Cambodia all wore away at communist claims to moral superiority over capitalism.

Q. What explains the rapid end of the communist era?

- Despite their early successes, communist economies by the late 1970s showed no signs of catching up to the more advanced capitalist countries.
- The horrors of Stalin's Terror and the gulag, of Mao's Cultural Revolution, and of something approaching genocide in communist Cambodia all wore away at communist claims to moral superiority over capitalism.

Q. How did the end of communism in the Soviet Union differ from communism's demise in China?

- The Soviet reform program was far more broadly based than that of China, embracing dramatic cultural and political changes that China refused to consider.
- Unlike what transpired in China, the reforms of the Soviet Union spun it into a sharp economic decline.
- Unlike Chinese peasants, few Soviet farmers were willing to risk the jump into private farming, and few foreign investors found the Soviet Union a tempting place to do business.
- In contrast to what occurred in China, the Soviet Union's reform program led to the political collapse of the state.

Portrait Question

Q. In what ways did communism shape Anna's life, and in what respects was she able to construct her own life within that system?

- In terms of the ways communism shaped her life, Anna's family was labeled as kulak by the communist system and their shop and cow were seized.
- She and her family were exiled from their native village.
- Anna participated in the migration of rural people to the cities that was part of the wider push by the Soviet Union to industrialize.
- She received a vocational education in the Soviet system.
- Not being a member of the Communist Party and her lack of higher education limited her work prospects.
- Her marriage choice was shaped by her status as a kulak as was her betrothal at 13 to a local party official.
- She experienced the fear and uncertainty surrounding the terror.
- In terms of constructing her own life within the system, Anna was able to maintain her Christian faith even if she avoided active participation in the church.
- Despite her status as a kulak, she was able to carve out a reasonably rewarding work career in Moscow, taking advantage of vocational training and communist promotion of women in the work force.

Using the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Following are answer guidelines for the headnote questions and Using the Evidence questions that appear in the documents and visual sources essays located at the end of the textbook chapter.

Headnote Questions

Document 21.1: Stalin on Stalinism

Q. What larger goals for the country underlay Stalin's report? Why did he feel those goals had to be achieved so rapidly?

- Stalin wanted to convert the Soviet Union from a weak country unprepared to defend itself into a strong country that was able to defend itself.
- He wanted to catch up with the heavy industry of capitalist countries so that Russia could defend itself from these countries.

- Another goal was to ensure the economic basis of socialism in the country and at the same time crush the exploitive kulaks.

- These goals had to be rapidly achieved because Russia was encircled by hostile capitalist countries, and it needed an industrial base that could produce armaments for war that rivaled those of the capitalist countries.

Q. To what indications of success did Stalin point? Which of these claims do you find most and least credible?

- Under Stalin, Russia created an iron and steel industry, and created new industries, including those to make tractors, automobiles, machine-tools, chemicals, agricultural machinery, electric power, oil and coal, and metals.

- Russia converted from a weak country unprepared to defend itself into a strong country.

- It collectivized the farms and weakened the power of kulaks, and eliminated unemployment.

- Students may find most credible the claims that socialist industry had eclipsed capitalist industry in Russia; that collectivization was imposed on many farms in Russia; and that substantial new industries were developed.

- Least credible is the claim that Russia had no iron and steel industry before the communist revolution, for the country had already begun its industrial revolution before then. It is also unlikely that its industries eclipsed the scale and dimension of European industry.

Q. What criticisms of Stalin's policies can you infer from the document?

- Stalin devoted too many resources to heavy industry and not enough to the production of textiles, clothing, shoes, and other consumer items.

- Collectivization of the farms was necessary.

Q. What do you think Stalin meant when he referred to the "world-wide historic significance" of the Soviet Union's achievement? Keep in mind what was happening in the capitalist world at the time.

- The Soviet Union's achievement showed that a communist economic system could be implemented in a country, providing a model for other countries and debunking the idea that communism was a theory that could not be put into practice.

- The Soviet Union offered a viable alternative to capitalism at a moment when the capitalist

industrial West was in a state of crisis during the height of the Great Depression.

Document 21.2: Living through Collectivization

Q. How do Nadya and the "agitator" understand collectivization and their role in this process? Why do they believe that it was so critical to building socialism?

- They view collectivization as necessary to smash the last vestiges of capitalism in the Soviet Union; rid the Soviet Union of exploitation; stop the peasants from slowly sinking further into poverty with each generation; and to benefit future generations.

- Collectivization is critical to the building of socialism to reorganize the agricultural system so that it can produce more with mechanized equipment. It is also necessary to remove a group of capitalists who threaten the new system.

Q. How do village peasants view collectivization? On what grounds do they object to it? How might they view the role of the agitators?

- The village peasants have real concerns, including that they will have to give up their land, cows, horses, tools, and farm buildings.

- They are concerned that there will be quarrels and fights in these collectivized farms.

- They worry that the collective farms will not be able to ensure that the peasants will have enough to eat, and instead they will have to rely on rations.

- They are concerned that this new system will take away their independence and freedom of action, making them more like serfs than peasants.

- They will become little more than a cog in the system, similar to the domesticated animals on the farm.

- They might view the agitators as outsiders and interlopers who are upsetting the traditional order and thus causing social and material harm to the peasants.

Q. How did the peasants understand themselves and their village community? How did they respond to the communists' insistence on defining them in rigid class terms? Why do you think they finally entered the collective farms?

- The peasants saw themselves as neighbors before the revolution.

- They found the class system artificial; it pitted one neighbor against another.

- Pressure from the outside, and the possibility of being labeled a kulak or supporter of the kulaks and being punished, led many to accept collective farms. Also, some peasants may have had little to lose.

Q. Why were Stalin and the Communist Party so insistent on destroying the *kulaks*?

- They saw collectivization as absolutely necessary to produce enough food to power the Soviet Union's rapid industrialization.
- Kulaks were viewed as capitalists who, if not eliminated, would be an ongoing threat to the communist system from within.
- Kulaks were viewed as exploiters of other peasants.

Document 21.3: Living through Industrialization

Q. In what respects did Soviet workers benefit from Stalinist industrialization?

- Benefits to Soviet workers included education.
- Stalinist industrialization offered new work opportunities and opportunities for advancement.
- Many acquired a sense of responsibility and pride in their work and the enterprises in which they worked.
- The industrialization provided workers with opportunities to leave their villages.

Q. What criticisms were voiced in these extracts? Do they represent fundamental opposition to the idea of socialism or disappointments in how it was implemented?

- Criticisms that were voiced include the low standard of living endured by the workers and the scarcity of basic products.
- The emergence of a new privileged class of officials who lived off the labor of the workers while receiving higher pay and other perks was criticized.
- Educational opportunities for average people were cut off by the privileging of well-connected officials and their families.
- Also criticized was the idolizing of Soviet leaders.
- Students could argue that most of the complaints reflect disappointment with how socialism was implemented, including the poor living conditions of the workers and the emergence of a new privileged class.
- However, it would also be possible for students to argue that these complaints about living

conditions hint at disillusionment with the socialist system's failure to deliver for the worker.

Q. Which of these selections do you find most credible?

- Although the letter to the newspaper by a Tartar electrician and the commentary by an engineer may accurately reflect the writers' views, readers cannot be certain of this because they appeared in the public forum of a newspaper.
- The letter to a Soviet official from a worker in 1938 seems credible, for the author took a risk by writing in such a critical manner to an official.
- The disillusionment of the student in a private letter to his teacher concerning his failure to secure a place at the institute could be credible, but might simply reflect the disappointment of a student who failed in a competitive system of admissions.
- The factory workers' comments and the worker's diary entry are credible in that voicing their criticisms carried risk; the diary's private nature means that there was less reason for the worker to dissimulate his views.
- Because the comment about Stalin by an anonymous communist is critical of him and therefore was risky, it rings true.

Q. Through its control of education and the media, the Stalinist regime sought to instill a single view of the world in its citizens. Based on these selections, to what extent had they succeeded or failed?

- The first two extracts, which appeared in newspapers, support the notion that the Stalinist regime succeeded.
- However, the more private comments in other selections that criticized living standards, the new privileged elites, and the cult of personality surrounding Stalin provide evidence of failure.

Document 21.4: Living through the Terror

Q. What might you infer from these selections about the purposes of the Terror, the means by which it was implemented, and its likely outcomes, whether intended or not?

- The purposes of the Terror were not only to root out counterrevolutionaries and other threats to the state, but also to stifle loyal dissent and spread fear in the population, thereby encouraging conformity.
- The Terror was implemented in a large-scale manner, as is reflected in the prisons and Gulags

dedicated to the project; with brutality; and secretly.

- As for likely outcomes, intended or not, the Terror swept up many innocent people; resulted in a great deal of human suffering; and created enemies of the state because of the arrest of neutral or supportive members of the population.

Q. Many innocent people who were arrested believed that others were guilty as charged, while in their own case a mistake had been made. How might you account for this widespread response to the Terror?

- Many innocent people swept up in the Terror were supporters of the revolution and the communist system in the Soviet Union.
- Many knew that they were innocent but did not know whether others arrested were also innocent.
- Many believed in the leadership of Stalin.
- This is a natural human reaction of people who are falsely arrested.

Q. In what different ways did people experience the Stalinist Terror? What do you think motivated each of these women who wrote about it?

- People who experienced the Terror were victims, the relatives and friends of victims, or government functionaries carrying out the purges.
- Irina Kakhovskaya and Eugenia Ginsberg both may have sought to document their own experiences to ensure that the abuses of the Great Purges were made public. They also may have written in an effort to come to terms with their experiences.
- Anna Akhmatova may have written to express her grief and concern for her son, to provide solace for others in her situation, or to express her feelings about the political system in Russia.

Q. The extent of the Terror did not become widely known until well after Stalin's death in 1953. How do you imagine that knowledge was used by critics of communism? What impact might it have had on those who had ardently believed in the possibilities of a socialist future?

- For critics of communism, the Terror provided evidence of the communist system's weaknesses, especially in the forms of government used to administer it.
- The extent of the Terror revealed the lack of protections for individuals and the lack of checks and balances in the communist system.

- It likely disillusioned many who ardently believed in the possibilities of a socialist future.

- It may have served as a cautionary tale of leaders like Stalin in a socialist state.

- The extent of the Terror may have led some socialists to redouble their commitment to secure a pure socialist future without the abuses of Stalin's regime.

- Or, some may have seen the Terror as necessary to overcome opponents of the communist regime.

Q. How might you compare the Soviet terror and Nazi Holocaust?

- Both caused the death of millions of innocent people, were state sponsored, and ideologically driven.

- There are differences though. One central motivation for the Holocaust was genocide, whereas the Soviet terror was not directed against a single group of people. The Soviet terror occurred during a time of peace while the Holocaust occurred during a period of war. The terror occurred only in the Soviet Union while the Holocaust occurred across Nazi-occupied Europe.

Visual Source 21.1: Smashing the Old Society

Q. Notice the various items beneath this young revolutionary's feet. What do they represent to the ardent revolutionaries seeking to "destroy the old world"? What groups of people were most likely to be affected by such efforts?

- The statues of Christ and Buddha represent religion; the slot machines and dice represent gambling and perhaps vice in general; and the record may represent music, or Western music specifically.

- The people most likely to be affected are those who practice religion; work in vice-related industries; and entertainers.

Q. What elements of a new order are being constructed in this image?

- In the background there is a parade or rally of Communist Party supporters.

- A class where people are being educated in the communist system is shown.

- The men on ladders are repairing or altering the signs.

- The prominence of the star, the symbol of the Chinese Communist Party, indicates that the communist state was at work unifying the people in

support of the state and teaching or indoctrinating the people with communist ideas.

Q. How does the artist distinguish visually between the old and the new? Note the use of colors and the size of various figures and objects in the poster.

- The old is represented in black, while the new is depicted in red.
- The only part of the new order partially depicted in black is the large figure of the communist supporter with a sledgehammer in the foreground. He projects an image of strength as he steps on the smaller-than-life symbols of religion and vice, providing a powerful protector of society from the old elements of vice and religion in black and the new vibrant and orderly society in the background.
- In the foreground, the old items of vice are depicted without human figures, indicating that such items were abandoned by the population. The new order in the background is full of figures actively embracing the revolution.

Visual Source 21.2: Building the New Society: The People's Commune

Q. What appealing features of commune life and a communist future are illustrated in these posters? Notice the communal facilities for eating and washing clothes as well as the drill practice of a “people’s militia” unit at the bottom of the picture.

- The many appealing features depicted in the poster include the productive fields, benefiting from substantial infrastructure improvements like the dam in the background; the active industrial enterprises; the well-ordered village designed around communal centers for eating, washing clothes, and caring for children; the idyllic sense of the whole village going about their daily routine in harmony; and the overall indication of self-sufficiency.

Q. One of the Mao’s chief goals was to overcome the sharp division between industrial cities and the agricultural countryside. How is this effort illustrated in these posters?

- This effort is depicted by the two industrial buildings with smokestacks and the three iron smelting furnaces depicted in the upper right of the image.

Visual Source 21.3: Women, Nature, and Industrialization

Q. In what ways does this poster reflect Chinese communism’s core values?

- Working at night indicates mastery over the natural order.
- The large construction project symbolizes rapid industrialization.
- The women working as stonemasons, a trade traditionally dominated by men, represents the mobilization of women to build socialism.
- The caption of the poster reinforces these same ideas in words.

Q. How is the young woman in this image portrayed? What does the expression on her face convey? Notice her clothing and the shape of her forearms, and the general absence of a feminine figure. Why do you think she is portrayed in this largely sexless fashion? What does this suggest about the communist attitude toward sexuality?

- The young woman is portrayed as a confident, skilled worker enthusiastically engaged in her work.
- Her facial expression conveys a sense of happiness, concentration, and confidence.
- Her portrayal in a largely sexless fashion downplays the issue of gender. It implies that workers are not regarded in gendered terms, and that the new communist system challenged traditional gender roles.

Q. What does this image suggest about how the party sought to realize gender equality? What is the significance of the work the young woman is doing?

- The image emphasizes the woman’s role as a worker while downplaying her feminine features, indicating that the Communist Party wished to eliminate or limit distinctions in the workplace between men and women.
- The party sought to fully integrate women into the workforce.
- Her depiction may indicate that they sought to secure full gender equality; however, the lack of women in managerial roles and the portrayal only of a workplace environment make it impossible to fully establish this intention.
- The work is significant because she is a stonemason, a profession traditionally dominated by men. It is a trade that requires hard physical labor, which traditionally might have been considered beyond a woman’s physical capabilities.

Q. Notice the lights that illuminate a nighttime work scene. What does this suggest about attitudes toward work and production?

- Work and production were of paramount importance, more so than leisure or ensuring a traditional family life.
- The communist push to industrialize sought to overcome rather than live within the constraints of nature.

Visual Source 21.4: The Cult of Mao

Q. What relationship between Mao and his young followers does the poster suggest? Why might some scholars have seen a quasi-religious dimension to that relationship?

- The poster suggests a relationship of adulation, affection, and hero worship on the part of Mao's young followers.
- Mao's pose as a benevolent and approachable leader or teacher; the adulation of the young people; and the centrality of the "Red Treasured Book" which, like the writings of other religious leaders, offers a guide to living one's life, lend a quasi-religious dimension to the poster.

Q. How do you understand the significance of the "Red Treasured Book" of quotations from Mao, which the young people are waving?

- The prominence of the book reflects its importance in the movement; emphasizes its role as a moral guide for the youth; and represents the wisdom of Mao.

Q. How might you account for the unbridled enthusiasm expressed by the Red Guards? In this case, the poster portrays the realities of these rallies with considerable accuracy. Can you think of other comparable cases of such mass enthusiasm?

- The Red Guards' enthusiasm was the result of the creation of a cult of personality, in part through images like the one in this poster. They were inspired by Mao's teachings, as found in his "Red Treasured Book." They were also enthusiastic about the education of the youth.
- Comparable cases of mass enthusiasm can be seen with popular nationalist leaders like Gandhi; charismatic spiritual leaders like some popes; and other political leaders like Mussolini or Hitler.

Using the Evidence Questions

Documents: Experiencing Stalinism

1. **Defending Stalinism:** Develop an argument that the fundamental goals of Stalinism (building socialism) were largely achieved during the 1930s.

- Stalin transformed the Soviet Union into a modern industrial economy.
- He succeeded in strengthening its industrial base enough to repel a German invasion in the 1940s.
- He nearly completely eliminated capitalism in industry and agriculture.
- His economic agenda offered opportunities for some workers.
- The old capitalist, noble, and substantial peasant classes were largely eliminated in favor of a workers' class, even if a new elite made up of communist officials emerged later.

2. **Criticizing Stalinism:** Develop an argument that genuine socialism was essentially betrayed or perverted by the developments of the Stalin era.

- A new privileged elite emerged among Soviet officials who, like their capitalist predecessors, extracted wealth from the workers and used their positions for private gain.
- The authoritarian rule of Stalin and the Terror were not envisioned by Marx or other socialist thinkers.
- The workers never fully benefited from the fruits of their labor in the Soviet system.

3. **Assessing change:** In what ways did the Stalin era represent a revolutionary transformation of Soviet society? In what ways did it continue older patterns of Russian history?

- The Stalin era represented a revolutionary transformation in its elimination of capitalist industry and agriculture; the rapid industrialization of the Soviet Union; the collectivization of Soviet agriculture; the new status of workers in Russian society; the new opportunities for some workers in Soviet society; and the elimination of noble landowners.
- However, Stalin continued the tsarist tradition of arbitrary authoritarian rule. The arrest and punishment of political prisoners and the Gulag system had precursors in the tsarist Russian system.

The emergence of a new hereditary elite class among communist officials bore some resemblance to prerevolutionary Russia. Stalin's ultimate rejection of socialist feminism allowed for the perpetuation of older traditions.

4. Considering moral judgments: Why do you think that historians have found it so difficult to write about the Stalin era without passing judgment on it? Does this represent a serious problem for scholars? Should students of the past seek to avoid moral judgments or is it an inevitable, perhaps even useful, part of the historian's craft?

- Because Stalin both accomplished remarkable things and also committed terrible crimes, scholars can create very different images of him depending on what they choose to emphasize. Also, both his accomplishments and his crimes elicit strong reactions.

- A student could argue that when scholars pass judgment they lose objectivity, which may result in the selective use and presentation of evidence; may lead to a historical interpretation of Stalin and his times; or may shape the reader's opinion of Stalin.

- A student could also argue that historians make such judgments constantly in their work, and the case of Stalin is not unusual. As long as the writer is transparent in his or her opinion, avoids a historical analysis, and works to present the evidence objectively, there is little harm in passing judgment.

Visual Sources: Poster Art in Mao's China

1. Reading communist intentions: Based on these visual sources how would you describe the kind of society that the Chinese Communist Party sought to create in China during Mao's lifetime?

- The Chinese Communist Party sought to create a society where the old vices were destroyed, replaced with a new, pure communist environment.

- Collectivized agriculture and the decentralization of industry from the cities into the countryside defined the economy and the lives of workers.

- Women were full participants in the labor force, taking on trades and professions that before the revolution were practiced exclusively by men.

- Mao became an inspiring focus for the youth and his teachings, as laid out in the "Red Treasured Book," provided a base set of teachings for all members of society to live by.

2. Distinguishing image and reality: Based on the narrative of this chapter and especially on what happened after Mao's death, assess the realities that lay behind these visual sources. To what extent do the posters accurately represent the successes of Maoist communism? What insights do they shed on its failures?

- Visual Source 21.1 is accurate in that Maoist communism did overthrow the existing system, although it never fully stamped out vice nor did it succeed in creating the level of unity depicted in the background of the poster.

- Visual Source 21.2 is accurate in that Maoist communism did collectivize farms and its industrial policy did seek to decentralize industries into the countryside, but the poster depicts an unusually well-ordered and prosperous collectivized community.

- Visual Source 21.3 is accurate in that Maoist communism did give women the freedom to enter trades and professions once dominated by men.

- Visual Source 21.4 is accurate in that Maoism did attract a passionate following and the "Red Treasured Book" did become a critical text and moral guide in communist China.

- The visual sources also shed light on failures. The idealistic scenes in Visual Sources 21.1 and 21.2 depict unity and prosperity that never materialized. Visual Source 21.4 depicts an adulation that obscured the worst excesses of the Maoist regime and the missteps in policy that resulted in widespread famines and other disasters.

3. Defining audience and appeal: To whom do you think these posters were directed? What appeal might they have for the intended audience?

- The subject matter of the posters, supported by evidence from the introduction to the visual sources, indicates that common working people were the audience.

- Visual Source 21.1 might have informed the viewer as to the intentions of the communist regime.

- Visual Source 21.2 might have inspired the viewer to support collectivization through an idyllic vision of the future.

- Visual Source 21.3 might have inspired the viewer to embrace the communist system.

- Visual Source 21.4 might have contributed to the viewer's reverence of Mao and reminded the viewer of the importance of the "Red Treasured Book."

4. **Noticing change:** How could you use these posters to define the dramatic changes that transformed China since 1949? How might a traditional Chinese official from the nineteenth century respond to them?

- Visual Source 21.1 represents the overthrow of the old order and the establishment of a communist regime.

- Visual Source 21.2 represents the collectivization of Chinese agriculture and the decentralization of industry from the cities to the countryside.

- Visual Source 21.3 depicts the considerable new opportunities that opened up for women after the communist revolution.

- Visual Source 21.4 depicts both the cult of Mao and the importance of the “Red Treasured Book” for China after the revolution.

- Visual Source 21.1 might be decipherable to a nineteenth-century Chinese official in that it clearly represents a rejection of religion and vice, but the background of the scene would be less decipherable.

- An official would find Visual Sources 21.2 and 21.3 difficult to make sense of because they depict collectivization and the new freedoms for women, two profound changes in the economic and social order that came out of the revolution.

- Visual Source 21.4 would have some meaning in that it bears some resemblance to the reverence due to an emperor, even if it is far more populist an image of reverence than the more formal Chinese imperial protocol would have involved.

5. **Assessing posters as evidence:** What are the strengths and limitations of poster art for understanding Chinese communism under Mao?

- The posters effectively represent the ideals, ambitions, and hopes that the authorities wished to instill in the population.

- They provide models for citizens to aspire to.

- They present an idealistic image of what communist reforms will mean for communal organization and the lives of average workers.

- They represent the priorities of the communist regime.

- They represent the profound changes in society following the revolution and the death of Mao.

- However, the posters do not depict the realities of living in communist China.

- They offer no evidence concerning the failures of the revolution; the suffering caused by the Great

Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution; or opposition to communist rule.

LECTURE STRATEGIES

Lecture 1: A tale of two communist leaders: Stalin and Mao

Both Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong were denounced after their deaths for the brutality and harm inflicted by their regimes. The purpose of this lecture strategy is to consider the careers of the two men in greater detail, searching for positive as well as negative elements in their careers. Its objectives are:

- to explore how these two men rose to positions of power
- to examine the nature of that power, including the constitutional or other limitations, if any, within which they had to work
- to help students understand the realities of life under the rule of Stalin and Mao
- to present the massive death toll of both regimes, and to investigate the reasons for the widespread killing
- to consider the long-term legacies of Stalin and Mao.

Begin with the career of Stalin (1878–1953), since he is chronologically earlier than Mao. Some points to include are:

- what it meant to be general secretary of the Soviet Union’s Communist Party
- the style of government that came to be known as “Stalinism”
- the goals of Stalin’s programs to industrialize and collectivize the Soviet Union in the 1930s
- the reasons behind Stalin’s political purges
- the gulag—who was sent there, what they did, the conditions of life there
- the role of the NKVD under Stalin
- to what degree the Soviet Union’s eventual success in World War II was due to Stalin’s leadership
- how much Stalin’s policies can be blamed for the famine of 1932–1934
- the cult of personality during the Stalin regime (many great posters of Stalin can be found easily on the Internet)
- Soviet encouragement of advances in science
- moves to improve education, give equal rights to women, and improve health care

- Stalin's original burial in Lenin's Mausoleum, and the removal of his body in 1961
- how Stalin is regarded in Russia today.

Mao Zedong (1893–1976), longtime chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, makes for an interesting contrast to Stalin. Some points worth emphasizing are:

- Mao's much more important leadership role in the revolution and the Chinese civil war
- Mao as writer and poet
- Mao's role in World War II
- the style of government that came to be known as "Maoism"
- the rationale behind, and the effects of, the Great Leap Forward (with comparison to Stalin's reforms; famine is an important consideration in both cases)
- the Hundred Flowers Campaign and its aftermath
- the Cultural Revolution of 1966–1969
- the cult of personality during Mao's reign
- the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall (mausoleum) in Tiananmen Square, Beijing
- what the Chinese think of Mao today.

It may be useful to refer to the chapter's Documents and Visual Sources features during your lecture.

Lecture 2: The "hot wars" of the cold war era

Thanks to the History Channel, movies, and family stories, many students connect easily to the Korean and Vietnam wars (be aware that many people don't like to call U.S. involvement in either conflict a "war"). An exploration of these two East Asian conflicts can start with American involvement as the "hook" to engage students, going on to consider the two wars as important events in the history of the cold war. The objectives of this lecture strategy are:

- to educate students about the reasons underlying the Korean and Vietnam wars
- to consider the resources that China and the United States put into the war
- to examine the ways the wars were fought
- to investigate the costs of the wars for the people of the two countries
- to step back and examine the implications of the wars for the history of the cold war.

Use a clip from a popular movie about the Vietnam War, something that shows the nasty reality of jungle fighting, as a beginning point to draw from students what they already know about the Korean and Vietnam wars. You will probably find that

frighteningly few students know when or why the wars were fought. From there, it would be particularly useful to examine the two wars together, theme by theme, instead of discussing first one war and then the other. Major themes to consider for each war are:

- the extent of communism in each country before war broke out
- the role of Western colonialism in creating the conditions for war
- what caused the first shot to be fired
- how the United States got involved
- the way in which the United States was involved
- how and in what way other communist states became involved
- how deep the outside involvement was (it is very interesting, for example, to compare the percentage of their gross national product that China and the United States spent in Korea)
- the nature of the fighting that took place
- what the wars meant to the Korean and Vietnamese people
- how the wars ended
- long-term effects.

Lecture 3: Beyond the Iron Curtain: Life and death in communist Eastern Europe

While communism had its problems in the USSR and China, at least it had developed organically from perceived needs and a native response. Such was not the case in Eastern Europe, where Soviet occupation at the end of World War II led directly to the imposition of communism. This lecture strategy proposes to explore what communist rule and Soviet domination meant for Eastern Europe. More specifically, its objectives are:

- to examine the ways in which Eastern European governments were put in place after World War II
- to investigate ways in which communist rule improved life in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc.
- to examine ways in which communist rule was resented as a foreign imposition
- to explore the ways in which communists maintained control
- to consider why the communist regimes crumbled in 1989.

Begin with a consideration of East and West Germany at the time they reunified in 1990.

Compare the physical and ideological condition of the two regions, including industrial capability, condition of roads, public services, per capita income, attitude toward the government, and cultural life. Encourage students to discuss ways in which the two Germanies remained similar and ways that they diverged in the period 1949–1990.

From that point, consider the conditions of life in communist Eastern Europe more broadly. Among the many possible approaches to this rich topic, some points to consider for inclusion are:

- the condition of Eastern Europe in 1945
- Soviet reparations levied against the states of Eastern Europe
- how Yugoslavia managed to preserve relative freedom from the Soviet Union
- the Berlin Wall and its significance
- the Berlin airlift
- the Stasi and other police organizations and the nature of their repression
- anticommunist movements and rebellions and what the USSR did about them
- the Polish Solidarity movement
- sports (especially international sports)
- the education system
- the role of propaganda
- levels of economic development and prosperity and how they changed in the period 1945–1990
- the resettlement of millions of Poles (1945–1950)
- religious repression
- the “shortage economies” of the 1970s and 1980s
- what it meant to have a Polish pope (John Paul II)
- the Prague Spring of 1968
- the various ways in which communist rule was ended in 1989.

THINGS TO DO IN THE CLASSROOM

Discussion Topics

1. Contextualization (large or small group). “Cultural Revolution.”

As briefly as possible, outline the major points and policies of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Then ask students to discuss what effects such policies would have if imposed on modern America.

2. Comparison (large or small group). “Communism goes bust.”

Ask students to chart out the decline of communism in the USSR and China. First, have them decide on a number of categories for comparison (such as the source of reform ideas, government efforts to repress reformers, the revival of traditional ideas, etc.). Then ask them to list, in two columns, how each of these factors came into play during the breakup of communism in the USSR and China.

3. Misconception/Difficult topic (large or small group). “The communist ‘experiment’ was all bad.”

While acknowledging that many bad things happened in the Soviet Union and China under communist rule, it is useful to remind students that few things are all bad. Ask various groups of students to focus on either the USSR or China, instructing them to discuss and make a list of (1) conditions in that country before the communist revolution and (2) points that the text makes about real improvements for at least part of the population while under communism.

Classroom Activities

1. Analysis exercise (large or small group). “President Kennedy at the Berlin Wall.”

Play for the class a recording of John F. Kennedy’s speech given in Berlin on June 26, 1963 (a recording of good quality is available at www.coug.com/kennedyinBerlin.htm). Then ask them to list the main points of the speech, and go on to discuss the speech’s effectiveness as a propaganda masterpiece of the cold war. (Note: “Civis Romanus sum” is Latin for “I am a citizen of Rome.” With the statement “Ich bin ein Berliner,” the president intended to say “I am a citizen of Berlin.”)

2. Role-playing exercise (small group). “An interview with the Stasi.”

Select a small group of students to do research on the Stasi, the government police of communist East Germany. The rest of the class will play the role of applicants who want to be employed by this elite organization. Ask the “applicants” to reason various methods the Stasi could have used to identify dissenters and maintain control of East Germany. It is the role of the experts to form a panel of Stasi

officers who are weeding out applicants and who will tell the class if a suggested practice is one that the Stasi actually used.

3. Clicker question.

Did communism do more harm than good to the people of the USSR and China?

Class Discussion for the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Comparison (large and small group): Fascism and Stalinism

Use the documents in Chapters 20 and 21 to explore the similarities and differences between the fascist and Stalinist systems. Open the conversation by asking what similarities students can identify. Points to consider include:

- how the two systems understand the relationship between the individual and the state
- the ideals of Enlightenment freedoms and equality
- the authority and the legitimacy of the state.

Ask students what differences they can identify. Some issues to consider are:

- ideas of race versus class
- capitalism and industry
- Marxist socialism versus fascist socialism.

Conclude by introducing the concept of authoritarianism as a possible alternative term.

Analysis (large and small group): Posters as Primary Sources

The visual source in Chapters 20 and 21 both feature posters. Ask students to consider these images of both chapters in order to assess the strengths and weaknesses of posters as a historical source. Some questions to consider:

- These sources come from two different cultural traditions, does this affect how they are used?
- For what functions are these posters used?
- For what audience are they intended?
- How are the posters similar?
- What makes them different?

Conclude by expanding the scope of this comparison to include the visual sources from Chapter 19 and even those published in popular magazines. In what ways are they similar to posters? In what ways do they differ? Conclude by assessing the strengths and weaknesses of posters as primary sources.

Classroom Activities for the Documents and Visual Sources Features

Critical Analysis (large and small group): Assessing Stalin

Using the textbook and the documents, ask students to draw up a list of Stalin's accomplishments and his failures and abuses. Then ask them to make cases for Stalin's positive and negative legacy. Some further questions to consider together include:

- Which do students think is more compelling?
- How would they describe Stalin to another student?

Conclude by considering the mixed legacies of other authoritarian figures from the twentieth century.

Comparison (large or small group): The Cult of Personality

Use Visual Source 21.4 to examine the phenomenon of the personality cults surrounding twentieth-century authoritarian leaders. This activity will require PowerPoint or a similar image projection system. Ask students to identify the key features of Visual Source 21.4 that reflect the cult of personality surrounding Mao. Then project propaganda posters of other authoritarian rulers like Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, or Saddam Hussein and ask students to identify the key features of these images. What do they share? What is distinctive? How might students explain the distinctive features? Conclude by discussing the relationship between authoritarianism and cults of personality.

WHAT'S THE SIGNIFICANCE?

Anna Dubova: Born to a Russian peasant family in 1916 she lived through the communist experience of her country. Her life illustrates the complexities that ordinary citizens faced as they

sought to navigate the communist system. (*pron.* An-uh Du-BO-buh)

Bolsheviks: Russian revolutionary party led by Vladimir Lenin and later renamed the Communist Party; the name *Bolshevik* means “the majority.” (*pron.* BOWL-sheh-vik)

building socialism: Euphemistic expression for the often-forcible transformation of society when a communist regime came to power in a state.

Chinese Revolution: Long revolutionary process in the period 1912–1949 that began with the overthrow of the Chinese imperial system and ended with the triumph of the Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Zedong.

collectivization: Process of rural reform undertaken by the communist leadership of both the USSR and China in which private property rights were abolished and peasants were forced onto larger and more industrialized farms to work and share the proceeds as a community rather than as individuals.

Cuban missile crisis: Major standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union in 1962 over Soviet deployment of nuclear missiles in Cuba; the confrontation ended in compromise, with the USSR removing its missiles in exchange for the United States agreeing not to invade Cuba.

Cultural Revolution: China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a massive campaign launched by Mao Zedong in the mid-1960s to combat the capitalist tendencies that he believed reached into even the highest ranks of the Communist Party; the campaign threw China into chaos.

Deng Xiaoping: Leader of China from 1976 to 1997 whose reforms essentially dismantled the communist elements of the Chinese economy. (*pron.* dung shee-yao-ping)

Mikhail Gorbachev: Leader of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991 whose efforts to reform the USSR led to its collapse. (*pron.* MEE-ka-eel GORE-bah-CHOF)

Great Purges/Terror: Also called the Terror, the Great Purges of the late 1930s were a massive attempt to cleanse the Soviet Union of supposed “enemies of the people”; nearly a million people were executed between 1936 and 1941, and 4 million or 5 million more were sentenced to forced labor in the gulag.

glasnost: Gorbachev’s reform policy of openness, which permitted an unprecedented range of cultural and intellectual freedoms. Far from strengthening socialism and reviving a stagnant

Soviet Union, the reforms led to its further weakening and collapse. A democracy movement of unofficial groups and parties sprang to life, many of them seeking a full multiparty democracy and a market-based economy. They were joined by independent labor unions, which actually went on strike. Furthermore, a multitude of nationalist movements used the new freedoms to insist on greater autonomy, or even independence, from the Soviet Union.

Guomindang: The Chinese Nationalist Party led by Chiang Kai-shek from 1928 until its overthrow by the communists in 1949. (*pron.* gwo-min-dong)

Nikita Khrushchev: Leader of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964. (*pron.* ni-KEE-tah KROOSH-chef)

Mao Zedong: Chairman of China’s Communist Party and de facto ruler of China from 1949 until his death in 1976. (*pron.* maow dzuh-dong)

perestroika: Bold economic program launched in 1987 by Mikhail Gorbachev with the intention of freeing up Soviet industry and businesses. (*pron.* pe-rih-STROY-kuh)

Russian Revolution: Massive revolutionary upheaval in 1917 that overthrew the Romanov dynasty in Russia and ended with the seizure of power by communists under the leadership of Lenin.

Stalin: Name assumed by Joseph Vissarionovich Jugashvili (1878–1953), leader of the Soviet Union from 1924 until his death; “Stalin” means “made of steel.”

Zhenotdel: Women’s Department of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union from 1919 to 1930; Zhenotdel worked strongly to promote equality for women. (*pron.* zen-OHT-del)

FURTHER READING

- Cold War Hot Links: Some Cold War Web Resources, http://homepages.stmartin.edu/fac_staff/dprice/cold.war.htm. A very thorough collection of Internet resources on the cold war.
- The Cold War Museum—Fall of the Soviet Union, http://www.coldwar.org/articles/90s/fall_of_the_soviet_union.asp. A useful site, with exhibits and a convenient timeline of events.

- Davies, Norman. *God's Playground*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. An excellent one-volume history of Poland.
- East & Southeast Asia: An Annotated Directory of Internet Resources: The Korean War, <http://newton.uor.edu/Departments&Programs/AsianStudiesDept/korea-war.html>. A fascinating collection of materials on the Korean War.
- East & Southeast Asia: An Annotated Directory of Internet Resources: The Vietnam War, <http://newton.uor.edu/Departments&Programs/AsianStudiesDept/vietnam-war.html>. Another excellent site managed by the Asian Studies Department at the University of Oregon.
- Fulbrook, Mary. *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR, 1949–1989*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. An interesting study of the East German communist government.
- Tiananmen, April–June 1989, <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/sdc/tiananmen.html>. A photo archive of the Chinese student protests in Tiananmen Square in 1989 and the ensuing massacre.
- Mao Zedong (Tse-Tung). *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung*. San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals, Inc., 1990. Used by millions of Chinese people during Mao's regime, this volume includes his thoughts on most aspects of communism and the future of China.
- Orwell, George. *Animal Farm*. New York: Plume, 2003. Short enough for classroom use, this darkly comedic novel from 1945 tells of socialism gone awry.
- Orwell, George. *1984*. New York: Plume, 2003. Perhaps the most chilling dystopia ever written, this 1949 novel is the classic tale of one man's search for freedom in a communist police state of the future.
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Trans. H. T. Willetts. 2nd ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005. First published in 1962, this short but painful novel based on the author's firsthand experience tells of life in a labor camp in Siberia.
- Zamyatin, Yevgeny. *We*. Trans. Clarence Brown. London: Penguin, 1993. Originally published in 1920, this novel is a prophetic look at the future of Soviet communism.

LITERATURE

- Akhmatova, Anna. *Selected Poems*. Trans. D. M. Thomas. London: Penguin, 1992. One of the greatest female poets of all time, Akhmatova (1889–1966) presents a magnificently chilling vision of Stalin's Great Purges.
- Bulgakov, Mikhail. *The Master and Margarita*. New York: Vintage, 1996. Written in the 1930s, but not published until 1967—for reasons that become obvious while reading this allegorized indictment of Stalin's regime.
- Carré, John le. *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*. New York: Scribner, 2001. The first novel of a great writer who was himself a British agent in Berlin in the early stages of the cold war.
- Fleming, Ian. Any of the author's James Bond novels—great tales of espionage in the cold war.
- Ma Bo. *Blood Red Sunset: A Memoir of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*. Trans. Howard Goldblatt. London: Penguin, 1996. A particularly effective memoir by a supposed counterrevolutionary who survived the Cultural Revolution.

FILM

- *China at the Crossroads*. Insight Media, 2000. 26 minutes. Examines contemporary China in the period of the reform program initiated by Deng Xiaoping.
- *China Through Mao's Eyes*. Four-part series. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2005. 60 minutes each. An overview of the Chinese communist revolution, with a focus on the communist leader Mao Zedong; divided into four hour-long episodes: “1893–1945: Against the Tide—Mao's Early Years,” “1945–1959: The Sorcerer's Apprentice—Founding the Republic,” “1958–1969: Not a Dinner Party—The Cultural Revolution,” and “1970 and Beyond: Mao Is Not Dead.”
- *Communism*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1995. 49 minutes. Provides an overview of the rise and decline of world communism.
- *Communism: The Fall of the Romanovs and the Berlin Wall*. Insight Media, 2003. 51 minutes. Focusing on two crucial moments in twentieth-

century history, this film explores the birth and death of the Soviet Union.

- *The Cultural Revolution: Mao's Last Battle*. Two-part series. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2003. 53 minutes each. Examines China's Cultural Revolution in two episodes: "No Rest for the Weary: The Cultural Revolution and Its Origins" and "The Unfortunate Generation: The Cultural Revolution and Beyond."
- *Eastern Europe: 1953–1991*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1991. 55 minutes. Provides an overview of Eastern Europe in the post-Stalin communist era.
- *Inside the Cold War with Sir David Frost*. Two-part series. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1998. 48 minutes and 50 minutes. Examines the course of the cold war between the capitalist and communist worlds in two episodes.
- *The Life and Times of Joseph Stalin*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 90 minutes. Explores the life and career of this central figure in Soviet history.
- *The Nuclear Age*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1995. 49 minutes. Traces the development of nuclear weapons and their importance to the cold war.
- *October 1917: Lenin's Story*. Two-part series. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2007. 52 minutes each. Two episodes, "The People's Revolution" and "Lenin's Revolution," examine the course of the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia and Lenin's role in it.
- *Soviet Disunion: Ten Years That Shook the World*. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1995. 57 minutes. Focuses on the ten years of glasnost and perestroika that defined the Soviet reform efforts of the 1980s.

ADDITIONAL BEDFORD/ ST. MARTIN'S RESOURCES FOR CHAPTER 21

PowerPoint Maps, Images, Lecture Outlines, and i>clicker Content

These presentation materials are downloadable from the Media and Supplements tab at bedfordstmartins.com/strayer/catalog, and they are available on an

Instructor's Resource CD-ROM. They include ready-made and fully customizable PowerPoint multimedia presentations built around lecture outlines that are embedded with maps, figures, and selected images from the textbook and are supplemented by more detailed instructor notes on key points. Also available are maps and selected images in JPEG and PowerPoint format; content for i>clicker, a classroom response system, in Microsoft Word and PowerPoint formats; the Instructor's Resource Manual in Microsoft Word format; and outline maps in PDF format for quizzing or handouts. All files are suitable for copying onto transparency acetates. Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/strayer.

Documents and Essays from *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader*, Fifth Edition

The following documents, essays, and illustrations to accompany Chapter 21 are available in the following chapters of this reader by Kevin Reilly:

Chapter 26:

- Heonik Kwon, *Origins of the Cold War*
- *The Vietnamese Declaration of Independence*
- Edward Lansdale, *Report on CIA Operations in Vietnam*
- *Time Magazine*, Nikita Khrushchev: "We Will Bury You,"
- *New York Times*, "Khrushchev Tirade Again Irks Envoys"
- Welles Hagen, *Pravda Modifies Khrushchev Slur*
- *Soviet Telegram on Cuba*

Chapter 27:

- Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika and Glasnost*

Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/strayer

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the textbook as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. Each chapter contains specific testing exercises, including a multiple-choice self-test that focuses on important conceptual ideas; a flashcard activity that tests students on their knowledge of key terms; and two interactive map activities intended to strengthen students' geographic skills. Instructors can monitor students' progress through an online Quiz Gradebook or receive email updates.

Computerized Test Bank

This test bank provides over fifty exercises per chapter, including multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, short-answer, and full-length essay questions. Instructors can customize quizzes, add or edit both questions and answers, and export questions and answers to a variety of formats, including WebCT and Blackboard. The disc includes correct answers and essay outlines.