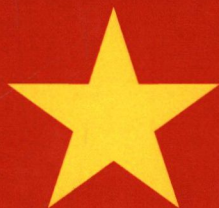


THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF



COMMUNISM

VOLUME I

World Revolution and Socialism
in One Country 1917–1941

EDITED BY
SILVIO PONS AND
STEPHEN A. SMITH

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF COMMUNISM

EDITED BY SILVIO PONS

The Cambridge History of Communism is an unprecedented global history of communism across the twentieth century. With contributions from a team of leading historians, economists, political scientists and sociologists, the three volumes examine communism in the context of wider political, social, cultural and economic processes, while at the same time revealing how it contributed to shaping them. Volume I deals with the roots, impact and development of communism, analyzing the tumultuous events from the Russian Revolution of 1917 to World War II, and historical personalities such as Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. Volumes II and III then review the global impact of communism, focusing on the Cold War, the Chinese Revolution, the Vietnam War and the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union. Together the volumes explain why a movement that sought to bring revolution on a world scale, overthrowing capitalism and parliamentary democracy, acquired such force and influence globally.

VOLUMES IN THE SERIES

VOLUME I

World Revolution and Socialism in One Country 1917–1941

EDITED BY SILVIO PONS AND STEPHEN SMITH

VOLUME II

The Socialist Camp and World Power 1941–1960s

EDITED BY NORMAN NAIMARK, SILVIO PONS AND SOPHIE QUINN-JUDGE

VOLUME III

Endgames? Late Communism in Global Perspective, 1968 to the Present

EDITED BY JULIANE FÜRST, SILVIO PONS AND MARK SELDON

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
www.cambridge.org

ISBN 978-1-107-09284-6



9 781107 092846 >

THE
CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF

COMMUNISM

VOLUME I
World Revolution
and Socialism
in One Country
1917–1941



CAMBRIDGE

THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
COMMUNISM

*

VOLUME I

World Revolution and Socialism in One
Country 1917–1941

*

Edited by

SILVIO PONS

Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata"

STEPHEN A. SMITH

University of Oxford



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107092846

DOI: 10.1017/9781316137024

© Cambridge University Press 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Three Volume Set ISBN 978-1-316-63458-5 Hardback

Volume I ISBN 978-1-107-09284-6 Hardback

Volume II ISBN 978-1-107-13354-9 Hardback

Volume III ISBN 978-1-107-13564-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
COMMUNISM

This first volume of *The Cambridge History of Communism* deals with the tumultuous events from 1917 to World War II, such as the Russian Revolution and Civil War, the revolutionary turmoil in post-World War I Europe, and the Spanish Civil War. Leading experts analyze the ideological roots of communism, historical personalities such as Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky and the development of the communist movement on a world scale against this backdrop of conflict that defined the period. The volume addresses the making of Soviet institutions, economy and society while also looking at mass violence and relations between the state, workers and peasants. It introduces crucial communist experiences in Germany, China and Central Asia. At the same time, it also explores international and transnational communist practices concerning key issues such as gender, subjectivity, generations, intellectuals, nationalism and the cult of personality.

SILVIO PONS is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Rome "Tor Vergata." He is the president of the Gramsci Foundation in Rome and a member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Cold War Studies*. His main publications include *Stalin and the Inevitable War* (2002), *Reinterpreting the End of the Cold War* (2005), *A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Communism* (2010) and *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism* (2014).

STEPHEN A. SMITH is a historian of modern Russia and China. He is a Senior Research Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford and a Professor of History at Oxford University. His most recent book is *Russia in Revolution: An Empire in Crisis, 1890–1928* (2017). He is currently working on a book on "supernatural politics" that compares the ways in which peasants in Soviet Russia (1917–41) and in China (1949–76) used the resources of popular religion and magic to make sense of the turbulent changes that overwhelmed their lives in the course of the communist revolutions.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
COMMUNISM

GENERAL EDITOR

SILVIO PONS, *Università degli Studi di Roma "Tor Vergata"*

The Cambridge History of Communism is an unprecedented global history of communism across the twentieth century. With contributions from a team of leading historians, economists, political scientists and sociologists, the three volumes examine communism in the context of wider political, social, cultural and economic processes, while at the same time revealing how it contributed to shaping them. Volume I deals with the roots, impact and development of communism, analyzing the tumultuous events from the Russian Revolution of 1917 to World War II, and historical personalities such as Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. Volumes II and III then review the global impact of communism, focusing on the Cold War, the Chinese Revolution, the Vietnam War and the eventual collapse of the Soviet Union. Together the volumes explain why a movement that sought to bring revolution on a world scale, overthrowing capitalism and parliamentary democracy, acquired such force and influence globally.

VOLUME I

World Revolution and Socialism in One Country 1917–1941

EDITED BY SILVIO PONS AND STEPHEN A. SMITH

VOLUME II

The Socialist Camp and World Power 1941–1960s

EDITED BY NORMAN NAIMARK, SILVIO PONS AND SOPHIE QUINN-JUDGE

VOLUME III

Endgames? Late Communism in Global Perspective, 1968 to the Present

EDITED BY JULIANE FÜRST, SILVIO PONS AND MARK SELDEN

Contributors to Volume I

SOBHANLAL DATTA GUPTA retired from the University of Calcutta as Surendra Nath Banerjee Professor of Political Science. He is co-Chair of the International Rosa Luxemburg Society, Tokyo–Berlin. Some of his representative works, published recently, include *Comintern and the Destiny of Communism in India 1919–1943: Dialectics of Real and a Possible History* (2006), *Ryutin Platform: Stalin and the Crisis of Proletarian Dictatorship* (2010) and *Marxism in Dark Times: Select Essays for the New Century* (2013).

MICHAEL DAVID-FOX is Professor in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and the Department of History at Georgetown University and Scholarly Supervisor of the Centre for the History and Sociology of the Second World War and Its Consequences at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow. He is the author of *Revolution of the Mind: Higher Learning Among the Bolsheviks, 1918–1929* (1997), *Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to Soviet Russia, 1921–1941* (2012) and *Crossing Borders: Modernity, Ideology, and Culture in Soviet Russia* (2015).

GEOFF ELEY is Karl Pohrt Distinguished University Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Michigan. His more recent books include *Forging Democracy: A History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000* (2002), *A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society* (2005), *The Future of Class in History* (2007, with Keith Nield) and *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology, and the Ground of Consent in Germany, 1930–1945* (2013). He is co-editor of *German Colonialism in a Global Age* (2015).

DONALD FILTZER is Emeritus Professor of Russian History at the University of East London. His most recent books are *Hunger and War: Food Provisioning in the Soviet Union During World War II* (2015, edited with Wendy Z. Goldman) and *The Hazards of Urban Life in Late Stalinist Russia: Health, Hygiene and Living Standards, 1943–1953* (2010).

ANDREA GRAZIOSI is Professor of History (on leave) at the University “Federico II” of Naples, President of Italy’s National Authority for the Evaluation of Universities and Research, Associé of the Centre d’études des mondes russe, caucasien et centre-européen (Paris) and Fellow of Harvard’s Ukrainian Research Institute and Davis Center for Russian

and Eurasian Studies. He is the author of books on Soviet, East European and Italian history, and the co-chair of the series *Dokumenty sovetskoi istorii*.

JAMES HARRIS is Senior Lecturer in Modern European History at the University of Leeds. He is the author of *The Great Urals: Regionalism and the Evolution of the Soviet System* (1999), *The Great Fear: Stalin's Terror of the 1930* (2016) and *Stalin's World: Dictating the Soviet Order* (2014, with Sarah Davies). He edited *Stalin: A New History* (2005, with Sarah Davies) and *The Anatomy of Terror: Political Violence Under Stalin* (2004).

MARK HARRISON is Professor of Economics at the University of Warwick, Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Russian, European and Eurasian Studies of the University of Birmingham. His most recent book is *One Day We Will Live Without Fear: Ordinary Lives Under the Soviet Police State* (2015).

ADEEB KHALID is Jane and Raphael Bernstein Professor of Asian Studies and History and Professor of History at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. His most significant publications are *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (1999), *Islam After Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia* (2014) and *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR* (2015).

ANNA KRYLOVA is Associate Professor of Modern Russian History at Duke University. She is the author of *Soviet Women in Combat: A History of Violence on the Eastern Front* (2010).

HIROAKI KUROMIYA is Professor of History at Indiana University. Kuromiya has authored several books, most recently *The Eurasian Triangle: Russia, the Caucasus and Japan, 1904–1945* (2016, with Georges Mamoulia) and *Conscience on Trial: The Fate of Fourteen Pacifists in Stalin's Ukraine, 1952–1953* (2012).

LARS T. LIH is an Adjunct Professor at the Schulich School of Music, McGill University of Montreal, Canada, but writes on Russian and socialist history in his own time. He is the author of *Bread and Authority in Russia, 1914–1921* (1990), *Lenin Rediscovered* (2006) and co-editor of *Stalin's Letters to Molotov* (1996).

KEVIN MORGAN is Professor of Politics and Contemporary History at the University of Manchester. He is the author of *Bolshevism and the British Left* (2006), *Communists and British Society 1920–1991* (2006, with Gidon Cohen and Andrew Flinn) and co-editor of *Bolshevism, Stalinism and the Comintern: Perspectives on Stalinization, 1917–1953* (2008, with Norman LaPorte and Matthew Worley). His latest book is *International Communism and the Cult of the Individual: Leaders, Tribunes and Martyrs Under Lenin and Stalin* (2017).

MATTHIAS NEUMANN is Senior Lecturer in Modern Russian History at the University of East Anglia. He is the author of *The Communist Youth League and the Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1917–1932* (2012) and co-editor of *Rethinking the Russian Revolution as Historical Divide: Tradition, Rupture and Modernity* (2017, with Andy Willimott).

List of Contributors to Volume I

JOHN PAUL NEWMAN is Senior Lecturer in Twentieth-Century European History and Director of European Studies at Maynooth University, Ireland. He is the author of *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War: Veterans and the Limits of State-Building, 1903–1945* (2015) and the editor of *Sacrifice and Rebirth: The Legacy of the Last Habsburg War* (2016, with Mark Cornwall) and *The Great War and Veterans' Internationalism* (2013, with Julia Eichenberg).

ALEXANDER V. PANTSOV is Professor of History and holds the Edward and Mary Catherine Gerhold Chair in the Humanities at Capital University in Columbus, Ohio. His publications include *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution 1919–1927* (2013), *Mao: The Real Story* (2013) and *Deng Xiaoping: A Revolutionary Life* (2015).

BERTRAND M. PATENAUDE is Lecturer in History and International Relations at Stanford University. He is the author of *Stalin's Nemesis: The Exile and Murder of Leon Trotsky* (2010; published in the United States as *Trotsky: Downfall of a Revolutionary*) and *The Big Show in Bololand: The American Relief Expedition to Soviet Russia in the Famine of 1921* (2002).

SILVIO PONS is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Rome "Tor Vergata." He is the president of the Gramsci Foundation in Rome, and a member of the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Cold War Studies*. His main publications include *Stalin and the Inevitable War* (2002), *Reinterpreting the End of the Cold War* (2005), *A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Communism* (2010) and *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism* (2014).

E. A. REES is currently based at the University of Birmingham. He is the author of *Stalinism and Soviet Rail Transport, 1928–1941* (1995), *Political Thought from Machiavelli to Stalin: Revolutionary Machiavellism* (2004) and *Iron Lazar: A Political Biography of Lazar Kaganovich* (2013). He edited *The Nature of Stalin's Dictatorship: The Politburo, 1924–1953* (2003).

TIM REES is Senior Lecturer at the Department of History, University of Exeter. He is the author of *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919–1943* (1998, with Andrew Thorpe) and *Franco's Spain* (1997, with Jean Grugel).

ROBERT SERVICE is Emeritus Professor of Russian History, Emeritus Fellow of St. Antony's College, REES Senior Research Fellow at the University of Oxford, and Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. He has published *History of Modern Russia* (2013), *Comrades. Communism: A World History* (2009), *The End of the Cold War* (2015) and *The Last of the Tsars: Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution* (2017).

LEWIS H. SIEGELBAUM is the Jack and Margaret Sweet Professor of History at Michigan State University. He is the author of *Cars for Comrades* (2008) and *Broad Is My Native Land: Repertoires and Regimes of Migration in Russia's Twentieth Century* (2014, with Leslie Page Moch).

STEPHEN A. SMITH is a historian of modern Russia and China. He is a Senior Research Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford and a Professor of History at Oxford University. His most recent book is *Russia in Revolution: An Empire in Crisis, 1890–1928* (2017). He is currently working on a book on "supernatural politics" that compares the ways in which peasants in

Soviet Russia (1917–41) and in China (1949–76) used the resources of popular religion and magic to make sense of the turbulent changes that overwhelmed their lives in the course of the communist revolutions.

BRIGITTE STUDER is Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Bern, Switzerland. Her recent publications are *The Transnational World of the Cominternians* (2015) and “Communisme Transnational,” *Monde(s)* 10 (2016) (with Sabine Dullin).

REX A. WADE is Professor of History at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia. He is the author of *The Russian Search for Peace: February–October 1917* (1969), *Red Guards and Workers’ Militias in the Russian Revolution* (1984) and *The Russian Revolution, 1917* (2016).

ERIC D. WEITZ is Distinguished Professor of History at the City College of New York. His major books include *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (2013), *A Century of Genocide: Utopias of Race and Nation* (2015) and *Creating German Communism, 1890–1990* (1997).

NICOLAS WERTH is Senior Researcher (Directeur de recherche) at the Institut d’Histoire du Temps Présent since 1995. He is the author of a number of books on Soviet history, Stalinism and Soviet mass violence. Among his books are *Histoire de l’Union Soviétique: De l’Empire russe à la CEI, 1900–1991* (1990), *L’île aux cannibales. Une déportation-abandon en Sibérie, 1933* (2006), *L’ivrogne et la marchande de fleurs. Autopsie d’un meurtre de masse, URSS, 1937–1938* (2014), *La Terreur et le désarroi: Staline en son système* (2007) and *La route de la Kolyma* (2012). Nicolas Werth participated, with Russian historians, in a number of publications of archival documents, including *Istoriia Stalinskogo Gulaga* (7 vols., 2004) and *Sovetskaia derevnia glazami VChK, OGPU, NKVD* (6 vols., 1998–2012). Forthcoming books in 2017 are *Les révolutions russes* and *Goulag: une anthology* (with L. Jurgenson).

SERGE WOLIKOW is Professor Emeritus at Burgundy University in Dijon, France. He is also the scientific coordinator of the Humanités-Numérique network set up by the French Minister of Higher Education and Research. His latest book is *L’Internationale communiste (1919–1943): Le Komintern ou le rêve dechu du parti mondial de la révolution* (2010).

Preface

If one hundred years after the October Revolution of 1917 communism has become history, it cannot simply be confined to the past. The projects and experiences of world revolution, noncapitalist economies and collectivized societies of the twentieth century are a matter for reflection in terms of historiography, memory and the legacies they left behind. The endurance of communist regimes in some Asian countries and the integration of their economies into globalized capitalism (with the exception of North Korea) have stimulated interest, analysis and questions. This is particularly the case in light of postsocialist China's influence in the world economy and world politics. Indeed, an entirely new phase of scholarship started after the demise of communism in Europe and Russia in 1989–91, with historical research fueled by the opening of the archives. Scholars have investigated, debated and even redefined major topics and periods of communist history on the basis of previously inaccessible evidence. Many collections of documents have been published in several languages. New books and articles have displaced pre-archival literature, thus decisively moving the field of communist studies beyond "Sovietology." A decisive transformation in terms of scholarship is under way. Complaints by historians of communism about the relative backwardness of their own field, when compared with other fields in contemporary history, are in many respects a thing of the past.

Such a transformation has not always been obvious in the last quarter-century. Archival evidence sometimes led historians to embrace a positivist approach that favored accumulation of sources over interpretation, and to use documents in support of already established arguments. The advantage represented by greater distance from the object of study has been counterbalanced by the decreasing interest in it, especially as far as Europe and Russia are concerned. Some might even reject any need to explore the communist experience at all, considering it either irrelevant to our current problems or as an anomaly in the course of European and Russian history.

Others have contended that communism deserves no particular attention because of its manifest failures. Yet assessment of the place of communism remains crucial for framing narratives of the past century, even as scholars assign it different meanings and adopt diverse intellectual perspectives. Historians will continue analyzing how and why communist revolutions, parties, states and societies built mass followings, shaped identities, attracted ordinary people and outstanding intellectuals, everywhere gave rise to passions of hope and hate, set in motion radical change, spurred modernization, incited violence and genocides, challenged world power and eventually underwent rapid decay, dissolution and profound transformation. Furthermore, to the extent that we recognize the global impact of communism – regardless of our assessment of its outcomes – the issue should have intellectual significance far beyond the bounds of professional historians. The focus on communism helps us understand how our world took shape in the past century, as its history displayed multiple local, national, international and transnational aspects, while connecting Western and non-Western perspectives. Scholars have developed innovative approaches in accordance with the emergence of new historiographical trends, in order to overcome mono-dimensional interpretations inherited from the past, and to place communist history in a multidimensional narrative of twentieth-century history.

The project of *The Cambridge History of Communism* started four years ago, drawing on precisely such insights. This work aims to contribute to the global history of communism. Its purpose is to adopt comprehensive and multiple perspectives, within an inclusive framework of “the global” in history. It aims to understand communism in the context of wider political, social, cultural and economic processes, constraints and vectors, at the same time as acknowledging how communism contributed to shaping them. The chapters combine assessments of classical themes with inquiries into freshly explored issues. They deal with national, regional and international topics, thus unifying scholarly perspectives that were until recently often separated. They focus on Asia and the global South no less than on Europe and Russia. They highlight relationships, interactions and connections while adopting different approaches to social, cultural, economic and political history. While recognizing the Soviet experience as seminal, they devote extensive attention to the other communist experiences, their peculiarities and their increasing diversity.

The Cambridge History of Communism brings together a team of internationally distinguished editors representing different overlapping competences. They helped define the project, organized the volumes and gathered a group of about seventy experts from various countries.

The authors of individual chapters have been selected primarily because of their standing in the various fields of studies on communist history. They include both younger and more established scholars, which is particularly important in order to combine an assessment of scholarly debates with the development of new approaches. Representing various schools of thought, they have been invited to advance their own distinctive approaches and arguments. In the tradition of Cambridge Histories, this work provides synthetic accounts for key periods and topics, while aiming at offering interpretive keys and at being wide-ranging and pluralist. As an authoritative work of reference, it should serve as an ambitious scholarly achievement, written by experts for fellow academics and advanced students, as well as providing an introduction that can be consulted by nonprofessionals.

The Cambridge History of Communism has a basically chronological structure, though several chapters provide long-term overviews and links between the different volumes. Volume I – *World Revolution and Socialism in One Country, 1917–1941* – deals with the period from 1917 to World War II. It includes chapters analyzing momentous events such as the Russian Revolution and Civil War, the revolutionary turmoil in post-World War I Europe, the crisis of the colonial system and the Spanish Civil War. It deals with the ideological roots of communism as well as with historical personalities such as Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. It addresses the making of Soviet institutions, economy and society while also looking at mass violence and relations between the state, workers and peasants. It introduces crucial communist experiences in Germany, China and Central Asia. At the same time, it also explores international and transnational communist practices concerning key issues such as gender, subjectivity, generations, intellectuals, nationalism and the cult of personality, whose historical significance exceeds its chronological boundaries.

Volume II – *The Socialist Camp and World Power 1941–1960s* – focuses on the period from World War II and the outbreak of the Cold War to the 1960s, but also has many longer-term accounts. It includes chapters dealing with the emergence of Soviet power in the aftermath of the war, anti-fascist resistance, the Sovietization of Eastern Europe, the Chinese Revolution, Chinese modernization, de-Stalinization, Soviet dominance in post-Stalin Eastern Europe, the Prague Spring, the Cuban Revolution, Mao Zedong's personality, the Chinese Cultural Revolution and Cold War anti-communism in the West. It analyzes the political and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the decolonizing world as well as the rise and fall of the Sino-Soviet alliance. It provides an overview of world communism

by analyzing national and regional communist experiences in Korea, Vietnam, Latin America, India, Indonesia, Africa, the Arab world and Iran, Yugoslavia, France, Italy and the United States. In addressing all of these single topics efforts are made to supply long-term assessments and also comparative and transnational implications.

Volume III – *Endgames? Late Communism in Global Perspective 1968 to the Present* – covers the period from the 1960s to 1989–91 and to our own day. It includes chapters on the “global 1968,” the world impact of the Vietnam War, the role of the Soviet Union in the global Cold War, communist propaganda in the Cold War, Marxist revolutions in Latin America and Africa, communism and genocide in Cambodia, post-Stalin social and cultural developments in the Soviet Union, the decline of Soviet-type economies, reform tendencies in international communism and the Soviet Union, and post-Maoist transformation in China. It deals with Deng Xiaoping’s socioeconomic changes and with the failure of Gorbachev’s reforms. It looks at the relationship of late socialist experiences and communist cultures to religion, human rights, gender regimes, feminism and environmentalism. It puts a focus on the “global 1989” and on the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. It analyzes economic, social and geopolitical developments in postsocialist China. And finally, it offers reflections on the implications of globalization and the legacies of communism.

I am thankful to Juliane Fürst, Norman Naimark, Sophie Quinn-Judge, Mark Selden and Stephen Smith for sharing responsibilities in the project, for their contributions at every stage, and for their invaluable efforts as co-editors of the volumes. I wish to extend my gratitude to all contributors who joined us in making possible the realization of this ambitious work. Michael Watson, our editor at Cambridge University Press, put forward the original idea and then provided advice at crucial moments of the project’s development. Elizabeth Hanlon and Cassi Roberts did an essential job in the implementation of the work. Alessandro Larussa helped in keeping order and editing the chapters. The Gramsci Foundation in Rome kindly hosted a workshop in which key topics, concepts and periodizations were debated in depth from different scholarly perspectives. Over several years, I had the chance to discuss this project with many friends, colleagues and experts in Russia, China, the United States, Latin America and Europe. I feel in debt to all of them. This has been a great scholarly and cultural experience, which I hope may bear some lasting fruits.

Silvio Pons

Contents

<i>List of Plates</i>	page viii
<i>List of Figures</i>	xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xii
<i>List of Contributors to Volume I</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xvii

General Introduction 1

SILVIO PONS

Introduction to Volume I 28

SILVIO PONS AND STEPHEN A. SMITH

PART I

ORIGINS 47

1. Marxism and Socialist Revolution 49

GEOFF ELEY (UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN)

2. The Russian Revolution and Civil War 74

REX A. WADE (GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY)

3. Revolution and Counterrevolution in Europe 1917–1923 96

JOHN PAUL NEWMAN (MAYNOOTH UNIVERSITY)

4. Lenin as Historical Personality 121

ROBERT SERVICE (UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD AND STANFORD
UNIVERSITY)

5. Bolshevik Roots of International Communism 142
LARS T. LIH (MCGILL UNIVERSITY)
6. Stalin as Historical Personality 166
JAMES HARRIS (UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS)
7. Trotsky and Trotskyism 189
BERTRAND M. PATENAUD (STANFORD UNIVERSITY)
8. Communism and the Crisis of the Colonial System 212
SOBHANLAL DATTA GUPTA (UNIVERSITY OF
CALCUTTA, RETIRED)
9. The Comintern as a World Network 232
SERGE WOLIKOW (BURGUNDY UNIVERSITY)
10. The Popular Fronts and the Civil War in Spain 256
TIM REES (UNIVERSITY OF EXETER)
- PART II
PATTERNS AND EXTENSIONS 277
11. Communism, Violence and Terror 279
HIROAKI KUROMIYA (INDIANA UNIVERSITY)
12. The Soviet Government 1917–1941 304
E. A. REES (UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM)
13. Migration and Social Transformations in Soviet Society 1917–1941 327
LEWIS H. SIEGELBAUM (MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY)
14. Foundations of the Soviet Command Economy 1917–1941 348
MARK HARRISON (UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK)
15. The Soviet State and Workers 377
DONALD FILTZER (UNIVERSITY OF EAST LONDON)
16. The Soviet State and Peasants 399
NICOLAS WERTH (INSTITUT D'HISTOIRE DU TEMPS PRESENT)