

CHAPTER XXII OUTLINE

I. Opening

A. *The Berlin Wall was breached on _____.*

1. Built in _____ to seal off _____ from _____
2. Became a major symbol of _____

B. *Communism had originally been greeted by many as a _____.*

1. Communist regimes had transformed their societies
2. Provided a major _____ / _____ to the Western world
 - a. The cold war (_____ - _____)
 - b. Scramble for influence in the _____ between the _____ and the _____
 - c. Massive nuclear arms race
3. And then it _____

II. Global Communism

A. *Communism had its roots in nineteenth-century socialism, inspired by _____.*

1. Most European socialists came to believe that they could achieve their goals through the _____
2. Those who defined themselves as “communists” in the twentieth century advocated _____
3. “Communism” in Marxist theory is the final stage of _____, with full development of _____ and _____

B. *At communism’s height in the 1970s, almost _____ of the world’s population was governed by communist regimes.*

1. The most important communist societies by far were the _____ and _____
2. Communism also came to _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____, _____
3. None 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 _____
2. Inspiration of the _____
3. The _____ created a military alliance of _____ and the _____
 - a. Council on Mutual Economic Assistance tied _____ economies to _____
 - b. Treaty of Friendship between the USSR and China (1950)
4. But relations between _____ countries were also marked by rivalry and hostility, sometimes war



III. Comparing Revolutions as a Path to Communism

A. Communist revolutions drew on the mystique of the _____.

1. Got rid of landed aristocracies and the old ruling classes
2. Involved _____ upheavals in the countryside; educated leadership in the cities
3. _____, _____, _____ revolutions all looked to a modernizing future, _____ any nostalgia for the past
4. But there were important differences:
 - a. Communist revolutions were made by highly organized parties guided by a _____ ideology
 - b. The _____ were among the victims of communist upheavals, whereas _____ were chief beneficiaries of French Revolution

B. Russia: Revolution in a Single Year

1. Russia's revolution (_____) was sudden, explosive
 - a. _____ 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. _____ from WWI
 - c. Left opening for the rise of more radical groups
 - d. Most effective opposition group was the _____, led by _____ (_____)
3. _____ seized power in a coup (October 1917)
 - a. Claimed to act on behalf of the "_____"
 - b. _____ - _____ followed: _____ vs. a variety of enemies
 - c. By 1921, _____ (now calling their party "_____") had won
4. During the civil war, the _____:
 - 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 _____ as well as from internal exploiters
 - f. Strengthened their tendency toward authoritarianism
5. For 25 years, the new _____ was the only communist country
 - a. Expansion into _____ thanks to Soviet occupation at the end of WWII
 - b. Stalin sought a buffer of "friendly" governments in Eastern Europe; imposed communism from _____



C. China: A Prolonged Revolutionary Struggle

1. Communism won in China in _____, 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. Next 28 years, the CCP grew and transformed its strategy under _____
3. Had a formidable enemy in the Guomindang (Nationalist Party), which ruled China after 1928
 - a. _____ - _____ 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 _____ for support, not city workers
 - b. Only gradually won respect and support of _____
 - c. Given a boost by _____ invasion of China
5. 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 in Two Countries

A. _____ *built a socialist society in the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s;* _____ *did the same in China in the 1950s and 1960s.*

1. First step: _____ and _____
2. Serious attack on class and gender inequalities
3. Both created political systems dominated by the _____
 - a. High-ranking party members were expected to exemplify socialism
 - b. All other parties were _____
 - c. The state controlled almost the entire _____
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 “ _____ ”
 - a. Largely directed by the _____
 - b. The USSR almost immediately declared _____ and _____ for women
 - c. Divorce, abortion, pregnancy leave, women's work _____



2. 1919: USSR's Communist Party set up Zhenotdel (_____)
 - a. Pushed a feminist agenda
 - b. _____ and ordinary people often opposed it
 - c. Stalin _____ it in 1930
3. Communist China also worked for women's _____
 - 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. CCP tried to implement pro-female changes against strong opposition
 - c. Women became much more active in the _____
4. Limitations on communist women's liberation
 - a. Stalin declared the women's question " _____ " in 1930
 - b. no direct attack in either state on male domination within the family
 - c. women retained burden of _____ and _____ as well as _____
 - d. few women made it into top _____

C. Socialism in the Countryside

1. In both states, the communists took landed estates and _____ the land to peasants
 - a. Russia: _____ took and _____ 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 _____ in land by _____ agriculture
 - a. in China, _____ was largely peaceful (1950s)
 - b. in the USSR, _____ was imposed by _____ (1928–1933)
 - c. China's _____ went further than the USSR's

D. Communism and Industrial Development

1. Both states regarded _____ as _____
 - a. Need to end humiliating backwardness and poverty
 - b. Desire to create _____ to survive in a hostile world
2. China largely followed the model established by the USSR
 - a. _____ ownership of property
 - b. Centralized planning (_____)
 - c. Priority given to _____
 - d. Massive mobilization of _____
 - 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 _____



4. China under Mao Zedong tried to combat the social effects of _____
 - a. The _____ (1958–1960) promoted small-scale industrialization in rural areas
 - b. The Great Proletarian _____ (mid-1960s)

E. The Search for Enemies

1. The USSR and China under Stalin and Mao were rife with _____
 - a. Fear that important communists were corrupted by _____; became class enemies
 - b. Fear of a vast conspiracy by class enemies and _____ to restore capitalism
2. USSR: The Terror (_____) of the late 1930s
 - a. Enveloped millions of Russians, including tens of thousands of prominent communists
 - b. Many were sentenced to harsh labor camps (_____)
 - c. Nearly a million people were _____ between 1936 and 1941
3. China: the search for enemies was a more public process
 - a. The _____ (1966–1969) escaped control of communist leadership
 - b. Mao had called for rebellion against the _____ itself
 - c. Purge of millions of supposed _____
 - d. Mao had to call in the army to avert _____
4. Both the Terror and the Cultural Revolution discredited _____ 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 _____
 - b. American and British desire for open societies linked to the capitalist world economy
2. Creation of rival military alliances (_____ and the _____)
 - a. American sphere of influence (_____) was largely voluntary
 - b. Soviet sphere (_____) was imposed
 - c. The “_____” divided the two spheres
3. Communism spread into Asia (China, Korea, Vietnam), caused conflict
 - a. _____ invaded _____ in 1950
 - b. Vietnam: massive _____ in the 1960s



4. Major cold war–era conflict in _____
 - a. A Marxist party took power in 1978 but soon alienated much of the population
 - b. Soviet military intervention (_____ - _____) met with little success
 - c. USSR withdrew in _____ under international pressure; communist rule of _____ collapsed
5. The battle that never happened: _____
 - a. _____ came to power in 1959
 - b. _____ of U.S. assets provoked U.S. hostility
 - c. _____ gradually aligned himself with the USSR
 - d. _____ (October 1962)

B. Nuclear Standoff and Third World Rivalry

1. The USSR succeeded in creating a nuclear weapon in _____
2. Massive arms race: by 1989, the world had nearly _____ nuclear warheads, with complex delivery systems
3. _____ - _____ : 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 _____, since it might turn into a nuclear war
5. Both the United States and the USSR courted _____
 - 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 _____, authoritarian regimes
 - c. many third world countries resisted being used as pawns
 - d. some countries (e.g., India) claimed “ _____ ” status in the cold war
 - e. some tried to play off the _____ against each other

C. The United States: _____ of the West, 1945–1975

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. fear that _____ was being undermined
 - d. _____ (1950s) narrowed the range of political debate
 - e. strengthened the influence of the “ _____ - _____ ”
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 _____, unlike every other major industrial society
 - b. Americans were a “ _____ ”
 - 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 1990s, American movies took about _____ of the European market
 - c. around _____ McDonald's restaurants in 100 countries

D. *The Communist World, 1950s–1970s*

1. _____ took power in the USSR in 1953; in 1956, he denounced _____ as a criminal
2. The cold war justified a continuing Soviet emphasis on military and defense industries
3. Growing conflict among the _____ countries
 - a. _____ rejected Soviet domination
 - b. Soviet invasions of _____ (1956–1957) and _____ (1968) to crush reform movements
 - c. Early 1980s: _____ 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 _____ and _____
 - e. sharp opposition between the USSR and China
 - f. China went to war against a communist _____ in 1979
4. World communism reached its greatest extent in the 1970s

VI. *Comparing 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 _____
3. Both cases show the _____ of communism
 - a. communist states couldn't catch up economically
 - b. the Soviet economy was _____
 - c. failures were known around the world
 - d. economic failure limited _____
4. Both cases show the *moral* failure of communism
 - a. Stalin's _____ and _____
 - b. Mao's _____
 - c. Near-genocide in _____
 - d. Happened in a global climate that embraced _____ and _____

B. *China: Abandoning Communism and Maintaining the Party*

1. Deng Xiaoping came to power in 1976
 - a. relaxed _____
 - b. released some 100,000 political prisoners
 - c. dismantled _____

2. China opened itself to the world economy
 - a. result: stunning _____ and _____
 - b. also generated massive _____ 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 _____ movement in late 1980s
 - b. _____ massacre
4. China is now a “_____” that combines nationalism, consumerism, and new respect for ancient traditions

C. *The Soviet Union: The Collapse of Communism and Country*

1. _____ became general secretary in mid-1980s
 - a. launched economic reform program (_____, or “_____”) in 1987
 - b. was met with heavy resistance
 - c. Gorbachev responded with glasnost (“_____”) to greater cultural and intellectual freedoms
2. Glasnost revealed what a _____ the USSR was (crime, prostitution, suicide, corruption, etc.)
 - a. the extent of Stalin’s atrocities was _____
 - b. new openness to religious expression
 - c. ending of government _____ 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 _____ of the USSR
 - a. the planned economy was _____ before a market-based system could develop
 - b. new freedoms led to more strident demands
 - c. subordinate states demanded greater _____ or _____
 - d. Gorbachev refused to use _____ to crush the protesters
6. Eastern European states broke free from USSR-sponsored communism
7. conservatives attempted a _____ (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. _____ had lost its dominance completely in the USSR and Eastern Europe
2. China had mostly abandoned communist _____ 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 and private food markets



5. _____ 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: The Ambiguous Legacy of Communism

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. _____ brought hope to millions
2. _____ killed and imprisoned millions

C. Is it possible to acknowledge such ambiguity?

