"Notes." *Revolutionary Moments: Reading Revolutionary Texts*. Ed. Rachel Hammersley. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. 183–202. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781474252669.0029>>.

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Notes

Introduction

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- 2 Ibid, pp. 5–6.
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- 4 It has recently been suggested that Zhou Enlai actually misunderstood the question. See the blogpost by Dean Nicholas, dated 15 June 2011, on the *History Today* blog.

Chapter 1

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- 4 M. Kishlansky, ‘The Army and the Levellers: The Roads to Putney’, *Historical Journal* 22 (1979): 795–824; I. Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645-1653* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); A. Woolrych, ‘Putney Revisited: Political Debate in the New Model Army in 1647’, in *Politics and People in Revolutionary England*, ed. C. Jones, M. Newitt, and S. Roberts (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); J. Morrill and P. Baker, ‘The Case of the Armie Truly Re-Styled’, in *The Putney Debates of 1647*, ed. M. Mendle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 103–24; E. Vernon and P. Baker, ‘What Was the First Agreement

- of the People?', *Historical Journal* 53 (2010): 39–60; and R. Foxley, *The Levellers: Radical Political Thought in the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), chapter 5.
- 5 *An Agreement of the People of England and the Places therewith Incorporated* (1649), broadside.
 - 6 C. H. Firth (ed.), *The Clarke Papers* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1992 reprint edition), vol. 1, p. 301.
 - 7 J. Lilburne, *The Free-mans Freedom Vindicated* (1646), p. 11.
 - 8 I. Hampsher-Monk, 'The Political Theory of the Levellers: Putney, Property and Professor Macpherson', *Political Studies* 24 (1976): 397–422.
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Chapter 2

- 1 James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 11. Hereafter all references for this text will appear in parentheses.
- 2 Z. S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth-Century England* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1945); J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); *The Political Works of James Harrington*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- 3 John Milton's *The Readie and Easie Way* is an obvious exception here, but it was a last-ditch attempt at saving the republic (rather than a detailed reflection of Milton's considered views) and it was to some extent a response to Harrington. On the emphasis of English republicans on moral philosophy rather than constitution-building see J. Scott, *Commonwealth Principles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 4 W. Moyle, *An Essay Upon the Constitution of the Roman Government*, in *The Works of Walter Moyle Esq* (London: Darby &c., 1726), pp. 71–3.
- 5 See B. Worden, 'Republicanism, Regicide and Republic: The English Experience', in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage. Volume I: Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. M. Van Gelderen and Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 307–27. This notion has also been reinforced by recent work on the development of republican exclusivism.

- See David Wootton, 'The True Origins of Republicanism: The Disciples of Baron and the Counter-Example of Venturi', in *Il Repubblicanismo Moderno: L'Ida di Repubblica nella Riflessione Storica di Franco Venturi*, ed. Manuela Albertone (Naples: Bibliopolis, 2006), pp. 271–304; James Hankins, 'Exclusivist Republicanism and the Non-Monarchical Republic', *Political Theory* 38 (2010): 452–82.
- 6 John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. O. L. Dick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949), p. 283. See also John Toland, 'Life of Harrington', in J. Harrington, *Oceana and Other Works of James Harrington*, ed. J. Toland (London, 1737), p. xvii.
 - 7 *The Political Works of James Harrington*, ed. Pocock, p. 574.
 - 8 Harrington's positive use and redefinition of the term 'democracy' has been noted by David Wootton in *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writing in Stuart England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), pp. 39–40. Jason Maloy has demonstrated that the term was also starting to be positively adopted in certain American colonies during the seventeenth century, but for the most part this was extremely unusual at the time. J. Maloy, *The Colonial American Origins of Modern Democratic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
 - 9 *The Political Works of James Harrington*, ed. Pocock, p. 777.
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 - 11 While Derek Hirst's detailed study emphasized the inconsistency of franchises (both in theory and in practice) in seventeenth-century England and the lack of reliable country-wide figures, it would appear that Harrington was advocating fewer restrictions and a wider franchise than was typical of the time. D. Hirst, *The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), especially 1–105.
 - 12 Though they have been the focus of this chapter, these were not the only terms that Harrington redefined in *The Commonwealth of Oceana*. J. C. Davis has written brilliantly on Harrington's inversion of the conventional understanding of 'equality' and Jonathan Scott has also talked more generally about Harrington's innovative attitude towards contemporary languages of politics. J. C. Davis, 'Equality in an unequal commonwealth: James Harrington's republicanism and the meaning of equality', in *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. I. Gentles, J. Morrill and B. Worden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 229–42; J. Scott, 'The Rapture of Motion: James Harrington's republicanism', in *Political Discourse in Early Modern England*, ed. N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 139–63; and Scott, *Commonwealth Principles*.
 - 13 For the recent debate over a 'classical' republican tradition in early modern England and Harrington's place within it see, in particular, P. A. Rahe, *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution* (Chapel

Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); P. A. Rahe, *Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Scott, *Commonwealth Principles*.

Chapter 3

- 1 Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren both in church, and state: set forth in a sermon preach'd before the Right Honourable, the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, at the Cathedral-Church of St Paul, on 5 November 1709* (2nd edn), p. 11.
- 2 Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
- 3 Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- 4 Pincus, 1688.
- 5 Lawrence Klein, 'The political significance of "politeness" in early eighteenth-century Britain', in *Politics, politeness and patriotism : Papers presented at the Folger Institute Seminar, 'Politics and Politeness : British Political Thought in the Age of Walpole'*; directed by N.T. Phillipson (*Proceedings of the Folger Institute Center for the History of British Political Thought*, 5), ed. Gordon Schochet (Washington, DC: Folger Inst., 1993), 73–108.
- 6 Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).
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- 8 Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'Lust and Liberty', *Past & Present* 207 (2010): 89–179.

Chapter 4

- 1 Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, *Des droits et des devoirs du citoyen*, *Collection complete des oeuvres de l'abbé de Mably*, vol. 11 (Paris: Guillaume Arnoux, 1794–5), pp. 285, 300–1, 437–8, 440–1. Further references to this work will appear in parentheses in the text.
- 2 Franco Venturi, *Utopia and Reform in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 73.
- 3 Rachel Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-Century France: Between the Ancients and the Moderns* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), especially pp. 86–98.

- 4 For a convincing analysis of the relations between republicanism and natural rights theory in Mably's thought, in a special issue of the journal *Corpus* devoted to 'natural rights', see Marc Belissa, 'La place du droit naturel chez Mably: éléments de débat', *Corpus: Revue de philosophie*, no. 64 (2013): 111–28.
- 5 For Mably's relation to Babeuf, we now have what is the most important work on the latter in a generation, in the outstanding study by Stéphanie Roza, 'Comment l'utopie est devenue un programme politique: Morelly, Mably, Babeuf, un débat avec Rousseau', Doctoral thesis, Université Paris I – Panthéon-Sorbonne, October 2013.
- 6 Michael Sonenscher, *Sans-Culottes: An Eighteenth-Century Emblem in the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), especially pp. 372–408.

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- 4 J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1960); Joan McDonald, *Rousseau and the French Revolution, 1762–1791* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1965); and Holger Ross Lauritsen and Mikkel Thorup (eds), *Rousseau and Revolution* (London: Continuum, 2011).
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Chapter 6

- 1 The Jefferson Papers project collated and organized the different versions of the Declaration, from first drafts through to the final, approved text. See Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), vol. 1, pp. 413–32.
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- 6 John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 3 July 1776, in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. Paul H. Smith (Washington, DC, 1976), vol. 4, p. 375.
- 7 John Adams to Benjamin Rush, Quincy, 30 September 1805, in *The Spur of Fame: Dialogues of John Adams and Benjamin Rush, 1805-1813*, ed. John A. Schutz and Douglass Adair (San Marino, CA, 1966), p. 43.
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- 4 Bernard Bailyn, 'The Central Themes of the American Revolution: An Interpretation,' in *Essays on the American Revolution*, ed. Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 3–10.
- 5 Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*, in *The Complete Works of Thomas Paine*, 2 vols, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Citadel Press, 1969), i, pp. 4–6.
- 6 Saul Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788-1828* (Chapel Hill: published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture by the University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
- 7 'Vices of the Political System of the United States, April 1787,' Founders Online, National Archives (<http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-09-02-0187>, ver. 2013-08-02). Source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 9, 9 April 1786–24 May 1787 and supplement 1781–1784, ed. Robert A. Rutland and William M. E. Rachal (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 345–58.
- 8 A succinct account of the extensive debate over state versus federal authority is: Peter S. Onuf, 'State Sovereignty and the Making of the Constitution,' in *Conceptual Change and the Constitution*, ed. Terence Ball and J. G. A. Pocock (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), pp. 78–98.
- 9 On the importance of a 'usable past,' see, Trevor Colbourn, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1998; original 1965).
- 10 John Locke, 'The Second Treatise of Government,' *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), § 229, p. 415.

Chapter 8

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- 3 For a fuller account, see Michael Sonenscher, *Before the Deluge: Public Debt, Inequality, and the Intellectual Origins of the French Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
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Chapter 9

- 1 A translation of the entire document can be found in Lynn Hunt, *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996), pp. 77–9. When page numbers appear in parenthesis, they refer to documents found in this edition.
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- 4 For more on the question of origins, see Keith Michael Baker, 'The Idea of a Declaration of Rights,' in *The French Idea of Freedom: The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789*, ed. Dale Van Kley (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 91–140.
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- 6 The most influential of the defenders of the French Declaration was Thomas Paine. His *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution* (London: Jordan, 1791) appeared in multiple editions in Britain and the new United States and was translated many times, even into Yiddish in Amsterdam. The Spanish translations played an important role in justifying various independence movements in Latin America in the early nineteenth century. See, for example, John Keane, *Tom Paine: A Political Life* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003).
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- 8 This observation is based on a Google Ngram of 'rights of man' and 'human rights' from 1789 to 2000.
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Chapter 10

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- 4 Jack Fruchtman Jr. uses the term 'secular millennialism' to describe Paine's views ('The Revolutionary Millennialism of Thomas Paine', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 13 (1984): 66), and more generally Fruchtman, *Thomas Paine and the Religion of Nature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 157 ff.
- 5 For example, the call to 'spread the knowledge of human rights', in *A Vindication of the Revolution Society, Against the Calumnies of Mr. Burke* (1792), reprinted in *Political Writings of the 1790s*, 8 vols, ed. G. Claeys (London: Pickering & Chatto, 1995), vol. 2, p. 409. The phrase 'rights of mankind' occurs as early as 1703 and is ten times as common as 'rights of man' between 1740 and 1760 and 'human rights', which emerges chiefly from the 1760s (Peter De Bolla, *The Architecture of Concepts* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), pp. 102, 113, 140).
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- 7 James Burgh, *The Dignity of Human Nature* (London, 1754).
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- 10 Edmund Burke, *The Collected Works of Edmund Burke*, 10 vols (London, 1899), vol. 3, pp. 279–80. For the wider context, see my *Thomas Paine: Social and Political Thought* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), and for the British debate, *Political Writings of the 1790s*.
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Chapter 11

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- 5 For more on the intellectual sources of Robespierre's ideas in this speech, see Marisa Linton, 'Robespierre's Political Principles', in *Robespierre*, ed. Colin Haydon and William Doyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- 6 Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu, (baron de), Foreword, *De L'Esprit des lois*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Roger Caillois, 2 vols (Paris, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1949–51), vol. II. Robespierre's description of virtue as the mainspring of popular government paraphrases Montesquieu's formulation that virtue was the mainspring of republics: *De l'Esprit des lois*, Book III, p. 251.
- 7 Montesquieu, *De L'Esprit des lois*, Book IV, ch. 5, p. 267.
- 8 On the derivations and development of the eighteenth-century concept of virtue, see Marisa Linton, *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001).
- 9 Marisa Linton, 'Robespierre et l'authenticité révolutionnaire', *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 371 (janvier-mars 2013): 153–73. This is also forthcoming in an English version.

- 10 On the ‘politicians’ terror’, see Marisa Linton, *Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship and Authenticity in the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- 11 Peter R. Campbell, Thomas E. Kaiser, and Marisa Linton (eds), *Conspiracy in the French Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
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- 14 Jean-Clément Martin, *Violence et révolution: essais sur la naissance d’un mythe national* (Paris: Sueil, 2006); Annie Jourdan, ‘Les discours de la terreur à l’époque révolutionnaire’, *French Historical Studies* 36, 1 (December 2012): 52–81.
- 15 Robespierre, ‘Contre les factions nouvelles et les députés corrompus’, 8 Thermidor l’an II, 26 July 1794, *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. X, p. 566.

Chapter 12

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- 2 Jeremy Popkin, ‘Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Norbert Thoret, and the Violent Aftermath of the Haitian Declaration of Independence’, in *The Haitian Declaration of Independence*, ed. Julia Gaffield (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015).
- 3 Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006), Chapter 2: ‘The Politics of Slavery in the Years of Crisis’.
- 4 Julia Gaffield, ‘Haiti and Jamaica in the re-making of the early nineteenth-century Atlantic World’, *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (2012): 583–614.
- 5 Deborah Jenson, *Beyond the Slave Narrative: Politics Sex, and Manuscripts in the Haitian Revolution* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), p. 145.
- 6 Julia Gaffield, ‘“Liberté, Indépendance”: Haitian Antislavery and National Independence’, in *A Global History of Anti-Slavery Politics in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. William Mulligan and Maurice Bric (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2013), p. 18.
- 7 Jean-Jacques Dessalines, 14 January 1804, quoted in Thomas Madiou, *Histoire D’Haïti*, Vol 7, (Port-au-Prince: H. Deschamps, 1987), p. 154; and Léo Elisabeth, ‘Les relations entre les Petites Antilles françaises et Haïti,’ *Outre-Mer* 90, no. 340–1 (2003): 179.

- 8 Eliga H. Gould, *Among the Powers of the Earth: The American Revolution and the Making of a New World Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 2.
- 9 David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 20.
- 10 Ada Ferrer, 'Haiti, Free Soil, and Antislavery in the Revolutionary Atlantic', *The American Historical Review* 117, no. 1 (2012): 43.
- 11 Doris L. Garraway, 'Empire of Freedom, Kingdom of Civilization: Henry Christophe, the Baron de Vastey, and the Paradoxes of Universalism in Postrevolutionary Haiti', *Small Axe* 16, no. 3 (2012): 6.
- 12 Doris Garraway, "'Légitime Défense': Universalism and Nationalism in the Discourse of the Haitian Revolution," in *Tree of Liberty: Cultural Legacies of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. Dorris Garraway (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2008), p. 79.

Chapter 13

- 1 <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch02.htm>.
- 2 Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Introduction,' in *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 32.
- 3 <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/preface.htm>.
- 4 Karl Marx, letter to J. Weydemeyer, 5th March 1852 in Karl Marx, Frederick Engels *Selected Works*, I (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977) p. 528.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- 6 The French socialist leader Jean Jaurès took a line not unlike Proudhon's in his discussion of *The Communist Manifesto* in *Etudes socialistes*. This collection of essays was translated in 1906 and is available here: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/jaures/1906/studies-socialism/ch05.htm>.
- 7 Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 111–20.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Chapter 14

- 1 *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*, in A. I. Gertsen [Herzen], *Sobranie sochinenii v tridtsati tomakh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1954–65; hereafter SS), vol. 7, p. 125 (my translation). All subsequent page references to this work in the text of this chapter, which will appear in parentheses,

- will be to this edition. The work was written in 1850, in Russian, and was first published in German translation and then in French (*ibid.*, pp. 412–13). It is sometimes described as a pamphlet.
- 2 'La Russie', in Herzen, *SS*, vol. 6, pp. 150–86; 'Lettre d'un russe à Mazzini', *ibid.*, pp. 224–30; 'Le peuple russe et le socialisme', *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 271–306; 'La Russie et le vieux monde', *ibid.*, vol. 12, pp. 134–66.
 - 3 *Pis'ma iz Frantsii i Italii*, in Herzen, *SS*, vol. 5, pp. 7–224, and *S togo berega*, in vol. 6, pp. 7–142. The latter work has been translated into English, together with one of the essays in the other cycle I have mentioned: see the entry on Herzen in the further reading recommended at the end of the chapter.
 - 4 I. Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, ed. Henry Hardy and Aileen Kelly, 2nd edn (London: Penguin Books, 2008); and A. M. Kelly, *Views from the Other Shore: Essays on Herzen, Chekhov, and Bakhtin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).
 - 5 This chapter, though, was little more than an extended quotation from his recently published collection of essays *From the Other Shore*.
 - 6 That is, Peter the Great, sole ruler from 1696 to 1725.
 - 7 Subsequent editions of Herzen's book are preceded by an introduction dated 1 August 1853. By that time Herzen had taken refuge in London, following the *coup d'état* of December 1851 by which Louis-Napoleon extended his rule in France and following, too, a series of personal catastrophes for Herzen.
 - 8 Herzen, *SS*, vol. 5, pp. 154–5.
 - 9 On the Petrashevskii circles, see especially J. H. Seddon, *The Petrashevtsy: A Study of the Russian Revolutionaries of 1848* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985). On the young Dostoevskii's involvement in these circles, see Joseph Frank, *Dostoevsky: The Seeds of Revolt 1821–1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 239–91.
 - 10 The view of Peter as a ruler who effected a cultural revolution is put forward by James Cracraft in his book *The Revolution of Peter the Great* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2003).
 - 11 Herzen, *SS*, vol. 6, pp. 31, 58, 137, 140–1.
 - 12 See the work by Acton cited in the Further Reading section.

Chapter 15

- 1 Introduction, *Socialism and Political Struggle* (1883). All Plekhanov's major texts can be found in the Marxists Internet Archive at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/plekhanov/index.htm>.
- 2 Introduction, *Socialism and Political Struggle*. Emphases added.
- 3 Ironically, the terrorist attempt did contribute eventually to the demise of tsarism. The repression that dominated autocratic political strategy after 1881 alienated

society, stood in the way of political reform and meant an inflexible state was trying to contain the pressures of an evolving, industrializing society.

- 4 As late as the 1970s and 1980s the slogan was used as a description of the Soviet Communist Party.
- 5 Stepan Razin was the Cossack leader of a very violent peasant rebellion in South Russia in 1670–1. Razin was captured and barbarically executed in Moscow.
- 6 Plekhanov's emphases.
- 7 In the words of one historian, Plekhanov 'denounced terrorism as a rash and impetuous movement, which would drain the energy of the revolutionists and provoke a government repression so severe as to make any agitation among the masses impossible.' L. Haimson, *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 37.
- 8 For example, the Rules of the First International, which Marx and others had drawn up, stated that 'the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves.' See: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/iwma/documents/1864/rules.htm>. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875) Marx misquoted the rules in a form which has become more familiar than the original, saying: 'The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the workers themselves.' <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/gotha/ch01.htm>.
- 9 The terms narodnik and narodism are interchangeable with populist and populism, the latter two being used more widely today. However, the former versions are used by Plekhanov's translator and are closer to Plekhanov's own terminology so I have used them extensively here.
- 10 J. D. White in *Lenin* (London, 2001), pp. 44–5 discusses this intriguing possibility. There was also a conservative tendency in Russia, slavophilism, which also argued that Russia had its own path of development, un beholden to other great powers. This idea still has resonance in Putin's Russia.
- 11 Marx died on 14 March 1883 and Plekhanov completed writing *Socialism and Political Struggle* on 25 October 1883.
- 12 For example, the definitive biography of Plekhanov in English, written by Samuel Baron, is entitled *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism* (London and Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963). Baron also edited *Plekhanov in Russian History and Soviet Historiography* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995). Relatively few other historians have focused on Plekhanov. Two significant exceptions are: L. Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism*, Book 2, ch. xiv, pp. 620–39 (one volume edition) (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2005); and D. McLellan, *Marxism after Marx* 4th Rev. Edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- 13 The full quote is: 'But I know that recently in some rural assemblies the voices have been heard of people carried away by senseless daydreams of

the representatives of the *zemstvos* participating in the business of domestic administration. Let all be appraised that I, dedicating all My efforts to the well-being of the people, shall preserve the principle of autocracy as firmly and steadfastly, as it was preserved by My unforgettable late Parent.’

- 14 V. I. Lenin, ‘What the “Friends of the People” Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats: A Reply to Articles in *Russkoye Bogatstvo* Opposing the Marxists,’ in *Collected Works*, vol. 1, available at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1894/friends/index.htm> and ‘The Heritage We Renounce,’ *ibid.*, vol. 2, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1897/dec/31c.htm>.
- 15 For a discussion of *What Is to Be Done?* from this point of view see Christopher Read *Lenin: A Revolutionary Life* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 51–9; and Neil Harding, *Lenin’s Political Thought* (London: Macmillan, 1977), vol. 1, ch. 7, which is significantly entitled ‘The Reaffirmation of Orthodoxy’.

Chapter 16

- 1 Lars T. Lih, ‘How a Founding Document was Found, or One Hundred Years of Lenin’s *What Is to be Done?*’, *Kritika* 4, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 1–45. For an extended critique of the standard ‘worry about workers’ interpretation, see Lih, *Lenin Rediscovered* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2009); this book contains a new translation of *What Is to Be Done?*, and the passage analysed here can be found on pp. 770–1.
- 2 Konstantin Dushenko, *Tsitaty iz russkoi istorii : spravochnik : 2200 tsitat ot prizvaniia variagov do nashikh dnei* (Moscow: EKSMO, 2006).
- 3 The phrase ‘worry about workers’ is taken from Reginald Zelnik, ‘Worry about Workers: Concerns of the Russian Intelligentsia from the 1870s to *What Is to Be Done?*’, in *Extending the Borders of Russian History*, ed. Marsha Seifert (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003).
- 4 An excellent performance of Prokofiev’s Cantata conducted by Gennady Rozhdestvensky can be found on Chandos CD 9095; performances of the Cantata can also be found on YouTube.
- 5 Lih, *Lenin Rediscovered*, p. 13.
- 6 For example, see Leopold Haimson, ‘Lenin’s Revolutionary Career Revisited,’ *Kritika* 5, no. 1 (Winter, 2004): 57–9.
- 7 In my translation of *What Is to Be Done?*, I avoided these difficulties by retaining the Russian word. In this shorter translation, I have used ‘elemental’ and ‘elementality’. For a full discussion of the meaning of *stikhiinost*, see Lih, *Lenin Rediscovered*, pp. 616–28.
- 8 For example, in a Menshevik comment from April 1917, we read that Lenin is dangerous because ‘he can recruit new supporters from among the revolution’s

- unconscious and spontaneous [*stikhiinye*] elements': Michael Hickey, *Competing Voices from the Russian Revolution* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), p. 115.
- 9 The word and its exalted overtones are used in an ironic way in one version of a well-known prison-camp song by Yuz Aleshkovsky: 'Tov. Stalin, vy bol'shoi uchenyi, V iazykoznanii prosto korifei' (Com. Stalin, you are a great scholar, a really great leader in linguistics). One of Stalin's last writings was *Marxism and Linguistics* (1950).
 - 10 Lenin, PSS 38:215; CW 29:224–5 (March 1919).

Chapter 17

- 1 Peter Kropotkin, 'Modern Science and Anarchism', in *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, ed. Roger N. Baldwin [1901] (New York: Dover, 1970), pp. 150, 153, 157, 188. In-text references are to this edition.
- 2 General histories of anarchism include those by George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975); James Joll, *The Anarchists*, 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1979); and Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: Fontana, 1992).
- 3 The origin and meaning of this phrase is discussed by A. G. N. Flew, *Evolutionary Ethics* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 13–15.
- 4 Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* [1902] (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1939). See also Kropotkin, *Ethics: Origin and Development*, trans. Louis S. Friedland and Joseph R. Piroshnikoff [1924] (Dorchester: Prism, n.d.)
- 5 Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, p. 14.
- 6 Martin A. Miller, *Kropotkin* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 149–50, 174–5.
- 7 See the idea of 'value pluralism' sketched, for example, by Isaiah Berlin, *Liberty*, ed. Henry Hardy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 212–17.
- 8 Stuart Hampshire, *Innocence and Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 60–1.
- 9 John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* [1689], ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), Bk. II, ch. 2.

Chapter 18

- 1 Liu Shao-chi, *How to Be a Good Communist* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1951), pp. 8–9 and 12–13. Page numbers in parentheses hereafter.
- 2 Howard L. Boorman, 'How to be a Good Communist: The Political Ethics of Liu Shao-Ch'i', *Asian Survey* 3, no. 8 (1963): 374–6.

- 3 Lowell Dittmer, *Liu Shaoqi and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (Armonk, NY and London: ME Sharpe, 1998), pp. 127–30 and 283–8.
- 4 Dittmer, *Liu Shaoqi*, pp. 8–18.
- 5 Mark Selden, *The Yanan way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 188–200.
- 6 Communist Party of China, *Mao's China: Party Reform Documents, 1942-46*, trans. and intro. Boyd Compton (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1952), pp. x, xlii and xxxviii–xxxiv.
- 7 David S. Nivison, 'Communist Ethics and Chinese Tradition,' *The Journal of Asian Studies* 16, no. 1 (1956): 58.
- 8 *Party Reform Documents*, pp. xvi–xxix.
- 9 Dittmer, *Liu Shaoqi*, p. 285; and *Party Reform Documents*, pp. xlv.
- 10 Gong Wenxiang, 'The legacy of Confucian culture in Maoist China,' *The Social Science Journal* 26, no. 4, (1989): 365–6; Cheng Yinghong, *Creating the 'New Man': From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), pp. 57–8; and David S. Nivison, *The Ways of Confucianism: investigations in Chinese philosophy* (Chicago: Open Court, 1996), pp. 252–3.
- 11 Teemu Ruskola, 'Law, Sexual Morality, and Gender Equality in Qing and Communist China,' *Yale Law Journal* 103 (1993): 2539–40.
- 12 Chen Weigang, *Confucian Marxism: A Reflection on Religion and Global Justice* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 187–9.
- 13 Norman Stockman, *Understanding Chinese Society* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 70–6, 81, 91 and 151.
- 14 Nivison, 'Communist Ethics,' pp. 58–60.
- 15 Boorman, 'Good Communist,' pp. 381–2.

Chapter 19

- 1 The translation of the speech is taken from John K. Leung and Michael Y. M. Kau (eds), *The Writings of Mao Zedong, 1949-1976. Volume II, January 1956 – December 1957* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1992), pp. 43–66.
- 2 The document was circulated as Central Document (65) 751 on 27 December 1965, see Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (ed.), *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao* [Mao Zedong's Post-1949 Manuscripts], vol. 11 (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1996), p. 490. A reprint of page 1 from the Central Archives may be found in Zhongyang dang'an guan (ed.), *Zhongguo gongchandang bashi nian zhengui dang'an* [Precious archival materials from 80 years of Communist Party history], vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 2001), p. 1058.

- 3 Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (ed.), *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao* [Mao Zedong's Post-1949 Manuscripts], vol. 6 (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1992), p. 105.
- 4 For this argument see Stuart Schram, 'Chairman Hua edits Mao's Literary Heritage: "On the 10 Great Relationships"', *The China Quarterly* 69 (March 1977): 126–35.
- 5 The policy line of achieving 'greater, faster, better, and more economical results' was officially repudiated as part of the Great Leap policies in the early reform era.
- 6 See *Xuexi wenjian* [Study documents], 4 vols (n.p.: 1967), pp. 114–33.
- 7 The immediate context of the speech included mediating between two bureaucratic interest groups: see David Bachman, *Bureaucracy, economy, and leadership in China. The institutional origins of the Great Leap Forward* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991), p. 173f.
- 8 On the introduction of the term in Chinese discourse see Daniel Leese, "'Revolution.' Conceptualizing Political and Social Change in the Late Qing Dynasty", *Oriens Extremus* 51 (2012): 25–61.
- 9 Compare Cao Yingwang, 'Zhou Enlai yu Mao Zedong de "Lun shi da guanxi"' [The 'Ten Major Relationships' of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong], *Zhonggong dangshi yanjiu* 1 (1998): 54–60, which emphasizes Zhou Enlai's intellectual contributions to the speech.
- 10 This statement is taken from the 1981 resolution on party history, see 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party since the Founding of the People's Republic of China', *Beijing Review* 27 (1981): 17.
- 11 On Jiang Zemin's twelve major relationships, see Jiang Zemin, "Zhengque chuli shehui zhuyi xiandaihua jianshe zhong de ruogan zhongda guanxi" [Correctly Deal With the Crucially Important Relations in the Construction of Socialist Modernization], in *Jiang Zemin wenxuan* [Jiang Zemin's Works], vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2006), pp. 460–75.

Chapter 20

- 1 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington with a preface by Jean-Paul Sartre (New York: Grove Press, 1963), pp. 245–6. Originally under the title *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris: François Maspero Ed., 1961). Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text of this essay.
- 2 Michael Burawoy, 'Colonialism and Revolution, Fanon meets Bourdieu', <http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/Bourdieu/5.Fanon.pdf> (accessed 28 June 2014), p. 3.
- 3 See Alice Cherki, *Frantz Fanon: A portrait* (Paris: Seuil, 2000; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

- 4 Zia Sardar, 'On Frantz Fanon', *Naked Punch Review*, 9 August 2011, <http://www.nakedpunch.com/articles/47> (accessed 28 July 2014).
- 5 See Max Silverman, 'Frantz Fanon: Colonialism and Violence', in *Postcolonial Thought in the French-Speaking World*, ed. Charles Forsdick and David Murphy (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), particularly pp. 86–9.
- 6 Matthieu Renault, *Frantz Fanon: De l'Anticolonialisme à la Critique Postcoloniale* (Paris: Editions Amsterdam, 2011), Introduction. It has been pointed out that postcolonial studies have put too much focus on using Fanon to understand current fights against inequalities, oppression and domination, at the risk of de-contextualizing the man and his writings. Here, Matthieu Renault has, rightly, highlighted that it is now necessary to go beyond the conflict of interpretations which presented a simple opposition between the 'anti-colonial Fanon' (historical) and the 'postcolonial-discourse Fanon', beyond a past and a future that deprive Fanon of any present.
- 7 See for instance, Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (translated from French *Portrait du Colonisé précédé du Portrait du Colonisateur*, Preface: Jean-Paul Sartre, Paris, 1957; London: Earthscan Ltd, 1990). Both Fanon's *Wretched* and Memmi's *Colonizer* original texts had a preface by Jean-Paul Sartre.
- 8 Pal Ahluwalia, *Out of Africa: Post-structuralism's Colonial Roots* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 54.
- 9 Grant Farred, 'Wretchedness', in *Living Fanon: Global Perspectives*, ed. Nigel C. Gibson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 160.
- 10 This last part is too often obliterated in scholars' commentaries, which focus perhaps too much on the first part of the process of Fanon's exploration of violence.

Chapter 21

- 1 For an English translation, see: *Speech by the Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-ping, at the Special Session of the U.N. General Assembly (10 April 1974)* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1974), pp. 2–3.
- 2 United Nations, General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Special Session Supplement No. 1 (A/9559), 3201 (S-VI) A/9556 and 3202 (S-VI) A/9556.
- 3 Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), pp. 244–72. On the New Economic Order see: *Ibid.*, pp. 299–304.
- 4 Ezra F. Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 83–7.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

- 6 Alexander C. Cook, 'Third World Maoism', in *A Critical Introduction to Mao*, ed. Timothy Cheek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 288–312, p. 297; Odd Arne Westad, 'Epilogue: The Cold War and the Third World', in *The Cold War in the Third World*, ed. Robert J. McMahon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 208–19, p. 216.
- 7 Christoph Kalter, 'A Shared Space of Imagination, Communication, and Action: Perspectives on the History of the "Third World"', in *The Third World in the Global 1960s*, ed. Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 23–38, 25.
- 8 Westad, 'Epilogue', pp. 208–19.
- 9 'Premier Chou Enlai's Main Speech at the Plenary Session of the Asian-African Conference, April 19, 1955', in *China Supports the Arab People's Struggle for National Independence: A Selection of Important Documents*, ed. Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1958), pp. 9–19. On the Intermediate and Two Intermediate Zones see Chen Jian, 'China, the Third World, and the Cold War', in *The Cold War in the Third World*, ed. Robert J. McMahon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 85–100.
- 10 The first quotation is taken from the article 'Vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping heads Chinese delegation to special session of U.N. General Assembly'; the second is taken from the article 'Resolute support for the Third World's just demands', both in *Peking Review* 17, no. 15 (12 April 1974): 5 and 8. Original documentary footage of the Chinese delegation at Beijing airport can be accessed at: <http://mirc.sc.edu/islandora/object/usc%3A2089> [accessed 29 December 2013].
- 11 See Jeremy S. Friedman, 'Reviving Revolution: The Sino-Soviet Split, the "Third World", and the Fate of the Left', PhD-diss. Princeton, 2011, p. 287.
- 12 Friedman, 'Reviving the Revolution', p. 313; and Chen Jian, 'China, the Third World, and the Cold War', p. 86.
- 13 Arif Dirlik, 'Spectres of the Third World: Global Modernity and the End of the Three Worlds', *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2008): 131–48.