

## Index

- Abassey Square, 267–268  
 Accelerated Rural Development Program (ARDP), 92  
 Act on Rights of Croatian Veterans, 246  
 Act on the Rights of Croatian Veterans from the Homeland War, 246  
 administrative grassroots engagement, 102  
 AFRC. *See* Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia  
 African Americans, 111–112, 122, 124–125, 128, 135  
   neighborhoods restricted to, 115  
   tenant farmers, 124  
   voting rights of, 113  
   vulnerability of, 123–124, 125  
 agency, 4, 5–6, 18, 20, 196–197  
 agricultural development, 90–91  
 agricultural economy, 99  
 agricultural laborers, 58, 117  
 agricultural production, 86–87, 89  
 agricultural society, 86–87  
 All-China Federation of Trade Unions, 75, 76  
 Alliance for Peace and Democracy, 300–302, 303, 305, 307  
 The Alliance in Support of Our Police Force, 304–305  
 Ameliach, Francisco, 234  
 American Revolution, 143–144  
 Americans for the Preservation of the White Race (APWR), 119–120, 121–122, 123, 127, 131–132, 134  
 Aminzade, Ronald, 2  
 Anders, Odell, 121  
 anti-communism, 41  
 Anti-Coup March, 233–234  
 antifascist direct action, 181  
 anti-gay legislation, 198  
 anti-intelligentsia frame, 43–45  
 anti-leafleting ordinance, 132–133  
 Anti-Maidan drive, 203, 212  
 anti-minority prejudices, 41  
 anti-OCM, 295–296, 298  
   leaders of, 300  
   momentum of, 301–302  
   party-state and, 298  
   social division and, 309  
 anti-Semitism, 27–28, 39–41, 53  
   campaigns of, 51  
   Moczar, and, 46  
   MSW and, 50–51  
   nationalism and, 41–42  
 anti-Zionism, 34, 38, 40–41, 45, 46, 47–48, 50–51  
*Apple Daily* (newspaper), 305  
 APWR. *See* Americans for the Preservation of the White Race  
 Arab Spring, 189, 284–285  
 Arab–Israeli War, 40  
 ARDP. *See* Accelerated Rural Development Program  
 Armed Forces of the Republic of Croatia (AFRC), 241–242  
 Association of Disabled Veterans of the Homeland War (HVIDR-a), 245  
 Association of Patriotic War Volunteers, 245  
 Association of Volunteer Veterans, 245  
 astroturfing, 10–11, 112, 195  
   Nashi and, 167–168, 178–179  
   negative connotations of, 195  
   propaganda and, 193

- Atwal, Maya, 273  
 authoritarian contexts, 6, 11, 284–285  
 authoritarian regimes, 4–5, 8, 13–14, 236–237  
   highly institutionalized, 15  
   legitimacy of, 263  
   political mobilization in, 196  
   populist, 8, 10  
   recalibration of governance under, 168  
   representative institutions and, 10–11  
   savvy, 7  
   SMMs and, 15  
   strategies of social control, 286  
   strong, 310  
 authoritarian rule, 7, 261, 273, 274  
   dynamics of, 270–271  
   postmodern form of, 189  
   pro-state demonstrations and, 272–273  
 authoritarianism, 10, 111, 194, 219–222, 262, 296–297  
 Autonomous Association of Workers, 75
- backwardness, 87, 95  
 Bacon, Edwin, 273  
 Bačić, Dragan, 249–250  
 Bahrain, 147–148, 261  
 Bailey, Philip, 132  
 Baltic republics, 148  
 Barnett, Ross, 119  
 Battle of Moscow, 166  
 Battle of the Camel, 147, 149, 261, 267  
 Battle Units Hugo Chávez (UBCh), 224, 232–236  
 Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), 159  
 Beijing, 58–59, 60, 65, 70–73, 196, 295–296, 318–319  
   Basic Law Article 45 and, 301  
   counter-deployment in, 70  
   OCM and, 297  
   People's Liberation Army and, 72–73, 81  
   pressure on, 299  
   proletariat and, 67–68  
   Shanghai and, 74–77  
   student protest and, 70  
   Workers' Propaganda Teams in, 81  
*Beijing Daily* (newspaper), 72, 76, 78–79  
 Beijing Garrison Command, 62  
 Beijing Olympics, 314, 318, 319–320, 329–330, 337  
 Beijing Women's Summit, 330  
 Ben Ali, Zine El Abedine, 266–267  
 Benford, Robert D., 299  
 Bennett, Gordon, 88, 90
- BIC. *See* Bayesian Information Criterion  
 Black Hundred, 146  
 Blaydes, Lisa, 271  
 Blue Bucket Brigade, 182–183  
 Bolivarian Circle program, 224, 227–228, 233, 235  
 Bolivarian Movement, 217, 219, 236  
   divided opposition to, 224  
   groups affiliated with, 221–222  
   local governance and, 223–224  
   rise to power of, 218, 225  
 Bolivarian Project, 231  
 Bolivarian Revolution, 219–220, 227, 233  
 Bolivarian Venezuela, 9–10, 13, 218, 221–222, 236  
 Bolotnaya protests, 212  
 bombing campaigns, 132, 135  
 Bosnia and Herzegovina, 239, 244  
 Bowers, Sam, 120–121  
 Brenton, Tony, 170  
 Brodzki, Stanislaw, 38  
*Brown v. Board*, 117, 118, 127  
 Brumfield, Robert, 132  
 Bryant, C. C., 130  
 Building a New Socialist Countryside, 104  
 Bujak, Zbigniew, 49  
 Burt, Gordon, 131, 132
- Cairo, Egypt, 267–268  
 Camp David Accords, 264  
 campaign coordination committees, 93–94, 97, 98  
 Capital Iron and Steel Corporation, 75  
 capitalism, 156, 241  
 Capriles, Henrique, 232  
 Carter, Hodding, 129–130  
 Catholic Caucus, 34  
 Catholic Church hierarchy, 51  
 CCA. *See* Citizens' Councils of America  
 CCP. *See* Chinese Communist Party  
 CCs. *See* Communal Councils  
 Ceausescu, Nicolae, 19  
 CEFTA. *See* Central European Free Trade Agreement  
 Cell, Charles, 88  
 Central Commission for Guiding the Construction of Spiritual Civilization, 330  
 Central Cultural Revolution Group, 66  
 Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA), 252–253  
 Chan, Johannes, 308

## Index

347

- charismatic mobilization, 57–58, 63–66, 70, 77–80, 81–82
- Chávez, Hugo, 217, 219, 226  
 attempts to oust, 229  
 death of, 231, 233  
 failure of the April 2002 coup against, 226, 227–228  
 first few years of, 223–224  
 MTA and, 225  
 New Strategic Map and, 229–230  
 social organization and, 227  
 winning power, 219–222, 224
- Chiang Ching-kuo, 93, 95–96, 102
- Chiang Kai-shek, 93, 95
- Chief Executive election, 2017, 297–298
- China, 7, 11, 261, 293–294, 318. *See also*  
 Hong Kong  
 Basic Law Article, 45, 301  
 blogging factories from, 14  
 Confucian idea of Mandate of Heaven, 11–12  
 contemporary, 9–10  
 Mainland, 302  
 mass associations and, 12–13  
 national interests of, 196  
 nation-building and, 336  
 neoliberalism and, 316–317  
 political life in, 336  
 revolutionary successors in, 59  
 SMMs and, 18, 20  
 Tiananmen Uprising, 15–16  
 urban bias, shift away from, 104–105  
 volunteerism and, 315–316
- China Youth Volunteer Association, 318
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 19, 58, 82, 314, 315, 337  
 Deng and, 77–78  
 guerrilla warfare and, 89  
 Hong Kong and, 294  
 land reform, 86  
 social organizations of, 294
- Chinese Communist Youth League, 330
- Chinese Nationalist Party. *See* Kuomintang regime
- Chinese revolution, 19
- Chinese Youth Volunteer Service Day, 332
- The Chosun Ilbo* (newspaper), 103–104
- CI. *See* Confucius Institute
- Citizens' Councils, 114, 119–120, 123, 127, 134, 135–136
- Citizens' Councils of America (CCA), 118–119, 122
- civil disobedience, 299
- civil liberties, 293, 295
- civil rights  
 activists, 117  
 challenges, 135  
 era, 115  
 organizers, 125  
 programs, 134–135  
 reform, 112–113, 135  
 struggle, 124
- Civil Rights Commission, U.S., 113, 117
- Civil Rights Movement, 9, 17, 111–112, 118
- civil society, 180, 181–182, 295, 311, 320, 330  
 in Hong Kong, 292–293  
 Kremlin and, 198  
 nationalism and, 199  
 participation in, 152–153  
 repression of, 18  
 SMMs and, 294–295  
 social media and, 14  
 state–society cooperation and, 7  
 strong, 310  
 voice of, 295
- civil society organizations, 3–4, 8, 10–11
- Clarksdale, Mississippi, 123–129, 134–136
- CNG. *See* Croatian National Guard
- Coahoma Citizens' Council, 127
- Coahoma County School Board, 128
- coercion, 18, 24–25, 264–265, 283
- COFO. *See* Council of Federated Organizations
- Cold War, 10–11, 140–141
- Cole, L. E., 121
- Colectivos, 224, 232–236
- collective action, 2, 7–8, 297–298
- collective actors, 26, 102
- Colombia, 218–219
- color revolutions, 172–173, 179–180, 197, 231
- Column Five, 62–63
- Comités de Tierra Urbana (CTU), 225–226
- Commission on Community Volunteers of the China Association of Social Work, 329
- Communal Councils (CCs), 221, 222–223, 224, 230–231, 232–233
- communism, 8, 10, 25–26, 27, 52  
 anti-, 41  
 influence of, 93  
 mass organizations and, 25  
 mobilization of concentrated social forces and, 13  
 mobilization strategies and, 12, 15, 26  
 party elites, 45–48  
 proletariat and, 82

- communism (cont.)  
 student protests and, 80–81  
 sympathizers with, 87  
 vanguard revolutionary class and, 57  
 Communist Party Committee, 62–63  
 Communist Party Youth League, 70, 314,  
 315–316, 320, 331–332, 333, 336  
 community development, 96, 97, 98–99  
 Community Development Campaign, 86–87,  
 93, 96  
 foundation for, 94  
 impact of, 99–101  
 results of, 101  
 rural conditions and, 101–102  
 community development councils, 98, 99,  
 101–102  
 Community Development Eight-Year-Plan, 94,  
 96–97  
 Community Development Ten-Year-Plan, 94,  
 96–97  
 compulsory labor, 93–94, 98, 101–102  
 CONAVI. *See* El Consejo Nacional de la  
 Vivienda  
 configuring enforcement, 134–136  
 Confucian idea of Mandate of Heaven, 11–12  
 Confucius Institute (CI), 331  
 El Consejo Nacional de la Vivienda (CONAVI),  
 225–226  
 contention, 194–197, 277–278  
 Council of Federated Organizations (COFO),  
 128–129  
 counterinsurgency subjectivity, 180  
 countermobilization, 8–9, 48, 54, 134, 222, 227  
 anti-OCM and, 295–296, 298  
 proletariat, 58, 59, 81  
 standard forms of, 233–234  
 tactics, 284–285  
 vigilantist, 131  
 counterprotest, 31, 70–71, 72, 74, 231  
 counterrevolutionary mobilization, 141,  
 161–162, 264–265  
 demographic features of, 154, 155  
 effective, 141–142  
 factors associated with participation in,  
 156, 157  
 KHS sample of, 158  
 lifestyles of, 156–157  
 Morsi and, 268–269  
 Orange Revolution, failure of, 160  
 Orange Revolution, survey data and,  
 149–154  
 origins and purposes of, 142–149  
 role in revolutionary processes, 142  
 “thuggish” supporters of, 156–157  
 Ukraine, composite character of, 158–160  
 Ukraine, social sources of, 154–158  
 Crimea, 13, 193, 199, 200–201, 203–204,  
 213  
 Croatia, 239, 240, 241–242, 250–251, 254  
 independence, 240–241, 242–243  
 Knin, 256  
 political dynamics in, 257–258  
 Referendum Act, 251  
 Sinj, 254  
 Split, 254  
 Zagreb, 254–255, 256  
 Croatian Armed Forces, 245  
 Croatian Government, 243–244  
 Croatian National Guard (CNG), 241–242  
 Croatian Policy Agendas Project, 244  
 Croatian Territorial Defence, 241–242  
 Croatian veterans’ organizations, 9–10  
 Crouch, David, 140  
 CTU. *See* Comités de Tierra Urbana  
 Čular, Goran, 242–243, 249–250  
 Cultural Revolution, 8–9, 17, 73, 74, 317–318,  
 324, 334  
 charismatic mobilization and, 81–82  
 decades following, 314  
 experimentation during, 69  
 Marxism and, 65  
 propaganda and, 59–63, 74  
 Wang Hongwen and, 73, 80  
 workers’ patrols and, 74  
 cyber-attacks, 302, 309  
 Czechoslovakia, 29
- Dahlmann, Hans-Christin, 46  
*Daily News* (newspaper), 132  
 Day of Rage, 266–267  
 Declaration on Veterans in the Homeland  
 War, 246  
 defensive mobilization, 8–9, 19–20, 28–29, 35,  
 212, 271–272  
 demobilization, 15, 26, 27, 291–292,  
 304–307, 310  
 democratic governance, 135–136, 286  
 democratic regimes, 6, 8, 11, 111–115, 135  
 Democratic Unity Roundtable (MUD), 229  
 democratization, 10, 241, 242–243, 291–292,  
 293, 295, 307  
 Deng Xiaoping, 69, 77–78, 82, 317–318  
 depoliticizing mobilization, 317, 338  
 desegregation mandates, 134–135

## Index

349

- development, 90, 98, 101, 105. *See also*  
 community development  
 agricultural, 90–91  
 ARDP, 92  
 infrastructural, 9  
 legitimation and, 96  
 promotion of, 102  
 rural, 88, 95  
 of Taiwan, 86
- diagnostic framing, 299
- Dick, W. Arsene, 119–120
- Dickson, Bruce, 95–96
- disability pensions, 243–244
- Donbas, 201, 203–204, 213  
 full-scale warfare in, 205  
 network activity, 204  
 Russian volunteers serving in, 202  
 Ukraine and, 207
- Donetsk People's Republic, 156, 201, 205–207,  
 209–210
- Du Ping, 323
- Dugin, Aleksandr, 175
- Dziady* (Mickiewicz), 24
- Eastland, James O., 118–119
- education revolution, 68–69, 70
- Egypt, 8–9, 261–263, 276  
 Arab Spring and, 284–285  
 Cairo, 267–268  
 Islamism and, 269  
 police and, 264  
 political landscape, 277  
 pre-uprising politics in, 265–266  
 protests during uprisings in, 266–267  
 SCAF and, 279  
 SMMs in, 265  
 state agents and, 263–264
- Eisler, J., 45, 50
- electoral arena, 229–236
- electoral technologies, 180
- Eliasoph, Nina, 316
- Emmerich, Oliver, 131, 133
- emotion work, 183
- empowerment, 97–98, 186–187
- Eurasian Union of Youth, 172
- Eurasianism, 198–199
- Euromaidan Revolution, 160, 199–200,  
 203–204, 205  
 criticism of, 205  
 leaders of, 201  
 period prior to, 205
- European integration, 250–251
- Factory Saemaul, 103–104
- farmers' associations, 99, 101–102
- fascism, 8, 34, 87–88, 93, 205–207
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 113, 127
- Federal Youth Affairs Agency (*Rosmolodezh*),  
 171–172, 185, 186
- Federation of Students, 301, 303
- Fifth Republic (MVR), 220, 221–222  
 dismantlement of, 229–230  
 phases of, 222–223, 224  
 skeptics of, 228  
 social organization and, 227
- First Party Secretary in Warsaw (KW PZPR), 44
- Fishman, Robert, 114
- Flying Tigers, 75
- foreign policy, 196, 199
- Francisco, Ronaldo, 280
- Freedom Summer campaign, 1964, 118,  
 128–129, 130–131
- Freedom Vote campaign, 128–129
- French Revolution, 144–145
- Friday of Departure, 277
- Fundacomunal, 230
- Gamson, William A., 279, 282
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 299
- Gang of Four, 324
- GAR. *See* Grand Army of the Republic
- Gartner, Scott Sigmund, 279
- Gdansk Voivodeship Party Committee, 29–31
- general strike, 226, 227–228
- Georgia, 197
- Gierasimow, Walerij, 5
- Gierek, Edward, 33, 42
- Girkin, Igor, 202
- Glasnost*, 202–203
- Glaurdić, Josip, 249
- Glorious Revolution of, 1688, 143–144
- “Go West Plan” (*xibu jihua*), 333–336
- “Goddess of Democracy” (statue), 78
- Gold, Thomas, 92
- Goldstone, Jack, 6–7
- Gomułka, Władysław, 29, 34, 45, 53  
 anti-Zionism and, 47–48  
 letters of support sent to, 39  
 nationalism and, 40  
 Six Day War and, 40
- GONGOs. *See* government-organized  
 nongovernmental organizations
- gongren juchadui*. *See* workers' patrols
- Goode, J. P., 202–203
- Goodwin, Jeff, 143

- Gotovina, Ante, 251  
 Gould, Roger V., 145–146  
 government-organized nongovernmental organizations (GONGOs), 4–5, 13–14, 197  
 Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), 247  
 grassroots organizations, 5, 12–13, 89, 223, 230  
 Great Depression, 102–103  
 Great Leap Forward, 90  
 Great Patriotic War, 177  
 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 66  
 Griffin, Larry J., 278–279  
 Gross, Jan, 17–18  
 Guangdong Peoples' Congress, 332  
 Guangzhou People's Trolley Bus Company, 325–326  
 Guy, George, 110, 131, 132–133
- Hague Tribunal, 250–253, 257–258  
 Hangzhou University, 68–69  
 Hankiss, Elmer, 15, 26, 338  
 HDZ. *See* Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica  
 Help, Inc., 131–132  
 Hemment, Julie, 196–197  
 Henderson, Errol, 279  
 Henry, Aaron, 125–126, 127, 128  
 Henry, Noelle, 128  
 hierarchical mobilization networks, 37  
 high-risk mobilization, 213  
 Hillebrandt, Bogdan, 36–37  
 Hinton, William, 59, 63  
 HKSAR. *See* Hong Kong Special Administrative Region  
 Hobsbawm, Eric, 6  
 Hoffman, Nicholas Van, 132  
 “A Holiday Returned,” 166, 179, 180  
 Holmes, Douglas, 182  
 Homeland War, 239, 240–241, 243–244, 246, 252, 253–254  
 Hong Kong, 8–9, 12–13, 291–292, 295, 327–328  
   autonomy of, 302  
   CCP and, 294  
   civil society in, 292–293  
   government of, 304  
   party-state indirect rule over, 308–309  
   political cleavage in, 19–20  
   political control over, 309–310  
   pro-democracy forces in, 295–296  
   pro-democracy movement in, 292–294  
   Sient Majority of Hong Kong, 298  
   volunteerism and, 314  
   *Hong Kong Economic Journal* (newspaper), 296  
 Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), 295, 302, 307  
 Hoover, J. Edgar, 113  
 horizontal accountability, 219–222  
 horizontal diffusion, 26–27  
 Horn, Nancy, 274–275  
 Horvath, Robert, 173  
 household incomes, 71  
 Howard, Philip N., 195  
 Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (HDZ), 13, 239, 240–241, 244  
   party leadership, 246  
   party membership of, 242–243, 257  
   protest arena and, 252–257  
   veteran organizations and, 244, 246, 248–257  
   welfare programmes from, 245  
 Hu Jintao, 104–105  
 human capital, 52  
 Human Development Index, 293–294  
 Human Rights Watch, 234  
 Hundred Flowers Campaign, 82  
 Hungary, 11, 26, 338  
 Hurley, Ruby, 125–126  
 Hurst, E. H., 130  
 HVIDR-a. *See* Association of Disabled Veterans of the Homeland War  
 hybrid regimes, 168–169, 263, 273–274, 286  
 hyperinflation, 232  
 hyper-mobilization, 301–302
- “I Learn from Lei Feng, I volunteer” (*Xue Lei Feng, wo zhiyuan*), 321  
 identity formation, 16  
*Idushchie Vmeste* (Moving Together), 169–170  
 Illinois Central railroad, 129  
 Impartiality (Tagarrod), 269–270  
 imperialism, 27–28, 40  
 incumbent regimes, 6–7, 161, 162  
 Indian tribes, 143–144  
 inducements, 18  
 industrial workers, 58, 72  
 industrialization, 91–92, 96  
 informal institutions, 89  
 informational management, 186  
 infrapolitics, 5  
 infrastructural development, 9, 220–221

## Index

351

- infrastructural mobilization, 87, 90, 101, 217–218  
   local governance and, 225  
   party-state and, 315  
   use of, 236  
   water provision and, 225  
 Institute of Sociology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 151  
 institutional change, 80–81, 115  
 insurrectionary plots, 144  
 interest groups, 89  
 international democracy, 168, 169  
 interracial cohabitation, 132–133  
 interstate conflict, 264  
 intra-elite conflicts, 33–34  
 intra-state conflict, 7–8, 113, 270–271  
 Iraq, 266  
 Irish Catholics, 143–144  
 irrigation associations, 99  
 Islamism, 269  
 Israel, 36, 40  
 Istúriz, Aristóbulo, 234  
  
 Jackson, Mississippi, 113, 118, 129  
 James V (King), 143–144  
 Japan, 86–87, 90–91, 94, 102–103  
 Al-Jazeera, 147  
 Jędrychowski, Stefan, 46–47  
 Jim Crow, 12–13, 20, 111, 114–115, 126  
   banning of, 134–135  
   breaches of, 117  
   challenges to, 114, 118, 125, 134  
   dissolution of, 111–112  
   emergence of, 115  
   enforcement of, 117, 125, 129–130  
   logic of, 116–117  
   maintenance of, 114  
   preservation of, 118, 124  
   state and civil pillars of, 115–124  
   threats to, 122  
   uncodified “rules” associated with, 115–116  
 Jiménez, Marcos Pérez, 218–219  
 Johnson, Paul, 122–123  
 Johnson, Paul B., 110–111, 113  
 Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, 93  
 Joint Declaration of Workers and Students in the Capital Region, 75–76  
 Jordan, 261  
 Josipović, Ivo, 255–256  
 Jowitt, Kenneth, 95–96  
 June Fourth crackdown, 74  
 June Uprising, 145  
  
 Kadyrov, Ramzan, 203  
 Kardov, Kruno, 249–250  
 Kennedy, Robert, 113  
 Kępa, Józef, 44  
 Kifaya pro-democracy movement, 266  
 KIIS. *See* Kyiv International Institute of Sociology  
 King, Martin Luther, Jr., 130–131, 299  
 Kitarović, Kolinda Grabar, 255–256  
 KKK. *See* Ku Klux Klan  
 KMT. *See* Kuomintang regime (Chinese Nationalist Party)  
 Knin, Croatia, 256  
*Kommersant* (newspaper), 182  
 Korea, 95, 103–104, 105  
 Korean War, 317–318  
 Kremlin, 169–171, 188–189, 199, 203, 212–213  
   Anti-Maidan drive and, 203  
   civil society and, 198  
   Color Revolutions and, 231  
   managerial weapons of, 197–198  
   Nashi and, 176–177  
   objectives of, 213  
   state television, 200  
   Ukraine and, 193, 210, 273  
 Kristallnacht, 3–4, 20–21  
 Ku Klux Klan (KKK), 110–111, 113, 119–120, 127, 131  
   bombing trial of, 133  
   intra-KKK competition, 121  
   law and order, flouting of, 122–123  
   in Mississippi, 120  
   organized vigilantism from, 134  
   police and, 121, 132–133  
   rise of, 132  
   support for, 134  
 Kuchma, Leonid, 140–141  
 Kunming World Horticulture Exhibition, 330  
 Kuomintang regime (Chinese Nationalist Party) (KMT), 86–88, 95  
   agricultural development and, 90–91  
   founder of, 93  
   political development of, 95–96  
   political elite of, 92  
 KW PZPR. *See* First Party Secretary in Warsaw  
 Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), 149–150, 151, 154, 158–159  
 Kyrgyzstan, 197  
  
 Labor Day, 34  
 labor protest, 196

- labor reform, 69  
 labor unions, 12, 294  
 labour by obligation (*Yiwu laodong*),  
   326–327, 337  
 lad's logic, 182  
 Lake Seliger, 170, 178–179, 185, 186–187  
 Lam, Carrie, 304  
 land reform, 86, 91  
 landless peasants, 58  
 landlords, 117, 143–144  
 landowning employers, 116–117  
 Langer, Jacob, 146  
*laobaixing* (ordinary people), 78  
 Latvia, 148  
 law 122 (Russia), 173, 174  
 Law and Justice party (PiS), 1, 239–240,  
   256–257  
 League of Equality (*Liga Spravedlivosti*), 181  
 “Learning from Lei Feng” (LLF), 324, 327, 339  
   renewal of, 337  
   slogans and activities, 321–324  
   volunteerism and, 338  
 Lee Teng-hui, 86, 102  
 Leese, Daniel, 65  
 legitimization, 96  
 Lei Feng, 314, 320–321, 337, 339. *See also*  
   “Learning from Lei Feng”  
   depoliticizing, 324–326  
   iconic image of, 321  
   image and discourse of, 336  
   shifting representations of, 315  
 Lei Feng Memorial Day, 323, 325, 328, 332  
 Lei Zhengxing. *See* Lei Feng  
 Leung, C. Y., 304  
 Ley de Consejos Comunales, 230  
 Li Peng, 74, 75  
 Liaison Office, 295, 297, 298  
 Liang Shuming, 93  
 Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, 172, 199  
 liberalization, 71, 92  
*Liberation Daily* (newspaper), 74, 76, 79  
*Liga Spravedlivosti* (League of Equality), 181  
 Limonov, Eduard, 174–175, 199–200  
 Linz, Juan, 88–89, 194, 195–196  
 Lithuania, 148  
*Little Red Book* (Mao), 334  
 LLF. *See* “Learning from Lei Feng”  
 local governance, 223–224, 225, 227, 230  
 Local Improvement Movement, 102–103  
 Loga-Sowiński, Ignacy, 47  
 Łoś, Kazimierz, 42  
 Louisiana, 110, 129  
 Loyalists, 143–144  
 Lugansk, 205–207  
 lumpenproletariat, 145–146  
 Luo Ruiqing, 323  
 Luzhkov, Yury, 199  
 lynchings, 116–117  
 Maduro, Nicolás, 231, 232, 233–235  
 Magaloni, Beatriz, 196  
 Mahalla labor protests, 266  
 mainland China, 86  
 Malaysian airliner, flight MH-, 17, 203–204  
 Mallet, Victor, 310–311  
 managed campaigns, 336–338  
 Mandate of Heaven, 11–12  
 Mango Cult, 63–66  
 manufactured ambiguity, 13, 25–26, 48–51,  
   52–53, 60, 308–309  
 Mao Zedong, 59, 66, 79, 317, 323, 334  
   blessing of, 62, 66–67  
   campaigns under, 89  
   Hundred Flowers Campaign, 82  
   instructions of, 62–63  
   loyalty to, 81  
   market reforms post-, 71, 78  
   National Day Parade and, 65  
   organizational forms from era of, 314  
   Tsinghua University and, 63  
   veneration of, 65  
 Maoism, 104  
 March of Millions, 266–267, 277  
 market reforms, 15–16, 71, 78  
 market strategies, 13–14  
 martial law, 70–71, 75–76  
 Marx, Karl, 145–146  
 Marxism, 39–40, 65  
 Marxism-Leninism, 57  
 mass associations, 12–13  
 mass campaigns, 179, 315, 336  
 Mass Education and Rural Reconstruction  
   Movements, 93  
 mass enthusiasm, 20  
 mass mobilization, 8, 95, 247, 253–254, 325  
   capacity for, 241  
   revolutionary, 10, 145, 316–317  
   during World War II, 242  
 mass organizations, 25, 26–27, 35–37  
 Mass Task Force to Maintain Order in the  
   Capital, 70–71  
 material incentives, 71  
 May Fourth Movement, 19  
 Mayer, Arno, 144–145



## Index

353

- MBR-, 200, 219  
 McAdam, Doug, 273  
 McComb, Mississippi, 110, 114, 123–124, 129–136  
 McDaniel, E. L., 120–122  
 Medvedev, Dmitry, 169, 171, 178, 185, 197–198  
 Mesas Técnicas de Agua (MTA), 225–226  
 Meyer, David S., 273, 274  
 Michnik, Adam, 24  
 Mickiewicz, Adam, 24  
 Middle East, 14, 261  
 Migdal, Joel S., 11  
 Mihalec, Ivica, 245  
 Milicja Obywatelska (People's Militia) (MO), 24, 45, 49–50  
 military crackdown, 70, 82  
 military suppression, 73, 82, 146–147  
 million-man march, 268  
 Mills, Erline, 126  
 Ministry for Croatian Veterans of the Homeland War, 246  
 Ministry of Civil Affairs, 314, 315–316, 330  
 Ministry of Interior (MSW), 36, 37–38, 45, 46, 48, 50–51  
 Ministry of Veterans, 255–256  
 Minsk Agreements, 207  
 Minsk Protocol, 210–211  
 Miraflores Palace, 226, 227–228  
 Mironov, Sergei, 174  
 mirror-image design, 217–218  
 Mississippi, 17, 110–111  
   Clarksdale, 123–129, 134–136  
   Jackson, 113, 118, 129  
   KKK in, 120  
   McComb, 110, 114, 123–124, 129–136  
   officials governing, 112–113  
   racist practices in, 114–116  
   segregationist associations in, 122  
 Mississippi Highway Patrol, 121  
 Mississippi Movement, 129–130  
 Mississippi Progressive Voters League (MPVL), 125–126, 128  
 Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC), 114, 118, 119, 127, 134–135  
 MO. *See* Milicja Obywatelska (People's Militia); People's Militia (Milicja Obywatelska)  
 Mobile Guard, 145–146  
 mobilization capacity, 26, 28–29, 247  
 mobilization challenges, 176–177  
 mobilization strategies, 176–177, 223  
 mobilization technologies, 12–14  
 mobilizational politics, 88  
 mobilization-social movement spectrum, 5–6  
 mobilizing affect, 183–184  
 mobilizing networks, 35–37  
 Moczar, Mieczysław, 29, 45, 46, 47  
 modernization, 101, 105, 185  
 Monitoring survey, 151, 152, 153, 154, 158–159  
 Morsi, Mohammed, 265, 268–270, 279, 283  
 Moses, Bob, 122, 129–130  
 motivational framing, 299  
 movement regimes, 88–89  
 Moving Together (*Idushchie Vmeste*), 169–170  
 MPVL. *See* Mississippi Progressive Voters League  
 MSSC. *See* Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission  
 MSW. *See* Ministry of Interior  
 MTA. *See* Mesas Técnicas de Agua  
 Mubarak, Hosni, 149, 261, 263, 267, 277, 283  
   political hegemony of, 266  
   resignation of, 266–267  
   rule of, 265–266  
 MUD. *See* Democratic Unity Roundtable  
 Muslim Brotherhood, 266, 269–270  
 MVR. *See* Fifth Republic  
 NAACP. *See* National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
*El Nacional* (newspaper), 227  
 Nanjing Teachers' College, 69  
*Narodno-Oslobodilački Pokret* (People's Liberation Movement) (NOP), 242  
 Nashi, 9–10, 20, 112, 166, 174, 212  
   astroturfing and, 167–168, 178–179  
   challenges to, 176–177  
   contextualizing, 172–176  
   founding of, 169–170, 273  
   geopolitical context of, 189  
   hybrid regimes and, 168–169  
   inaugural rally, 170  
   Kremlin and, 176–177  
   offshoot projects of, 171–172  
   Orange Revolution and, 172–173  
   precursor to, 170  
   Putin and, 171, 176–177  
   SMMs and, 168, 188  
   socially oriented work of, 183  
   spoiler mobilization and, 175–176  
   street technologies and, 178–179  
   student protest and, 231

- Nashi (cont.)  
 summer educational camps, 170  
 technologies of, 177–178  
 trajectory of, 169, 188–189
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 118, 125–126, 127, 128, 134
- National Bolshevik Party (NBP), 172, 174, 178  
 counterculture and, 174  
 demographics of, 175  
 founder of, 174  
 potential recruits of, 175–176  
 tactics of, 182
- National Day, 65, 303
- National Democratic Party (NDP), 265–266
- National People's Congress, 291–292
- National Police Day, 266–267
- National Salvation Committees, 148
- nationalism, 19, 27–28, 41–42, 51, 52, 257  
 anti-Semitism and, 41–42  
 civil society and, 199  
 ethno-, 19, 52  
 Gomulka and, 40  
 Hindu, 8  
 Slavic, 204  
 xenophobic, 39–40
- nationalist revolutionary movements, 88–89  
 nation-building, 202–203, 314–315, 336
- natural resources, 197–198
- Navalny, Alexei, 182–183
- Nazi Germany, 20–21, 42
- NBP. *See* National Bolshevik Party
- NDP. *See* National Democratic Party
- neighborhood governance, 102
- neoliberalism, 189–190, 197, 316–317
- New Community Movement, 103
- New Life Campaign, 94, 102–103
- New Life Movement, 93
- New Orleans, Louisiana, 110, 129
- New Strategic Map, 229–230
- New Village Campaign, 102–103
- New Village Movement, 103
- NGOs. *See* nongovernmental organizations
- Niedziałkowski, Jerzy, 36
- Nikić Čakar, Dario, 242–243, 249–250
- Nominating Committee, 299
- nondemocratic regimes, 52, 54, 195, 263
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 3–4, 185, 250, 320
- non-state collective actors, 7–8, 265
- NOP. *See* People's Liberation Movement (*Narodno-Oslobodilački Pokret*)
- Norac, Mirko, 251, 253–254
- Novorossiia, 9–10, 20, 193, 203–211, 212–213  
 constituencies making up, 213  
 core community of, 204  
 leaders of, 202
- NPCSC. *See* Standing Committee of the National People's Congress
- Number One Machine Tool Plant, 65
- Occupy Central Movement (OCM), 8–9, 19–20, 291–292, 306, 308  
 anti-OCM and, 295–296  
 Beijing and, 297  
 consequence of, 300  
 failing to attract public support, 301, 306, 309  
 nonviolent resistance and, 299  
 prodemocracy movement and, 299  
 weakness of, 298, 309
- Occupy Central with Love and Peace (OCLP), 296, 297–298, 301, 302, 303, 304
- Occupy Movement, 189
- OCLP. *See* Occupy Central with Love and Peace
- OCM. *See* Occupy Central Movement
- Oddziałowe Organizacje Partyjne (OOP), 35
- Office of Spiritual Civilization, 314, 315–316
- oil industry, 226
- oil prices, 197, 232
- Olzak, Susan, 278
- One Country, Two Systems White Paper*, 302, 309–310
- online communities of protest, 173
- OOP. *See* Oddziałowe Organizacje Partyjne
- Opening-up policy, 324
- oppositional media sources, 210
- Orange Revolution, 9–10, 140–141, 142, 162, 273  
 aftermath of, 169–170  
 counterrevolutionary mobilization, attitudinal profile for, 161  
 counterrevolutionary mobilization, survey data and, 149–154  
 demographic features of, 154  
 failure of counterrevolution during, 160  
 Nashi and, 172–173  
 outcome of, 141  
 political groupings in, 152  
 success of, 162  
 supporters of, 157–158
- ordinary people (*laobaixing*), 78
- organizational infrastructure, 12–13

## Index

355

- organizational weapons, 12–14  
 organized vigilantism, 129  
 ORMO. *See* Voluntary Reserves of People's Militia  
 Orthodox Christianity, 200–201  
 Oseka, Piotr, 37–38, 46  
 Other Russia, 199–200
- Pakistan, 63  
 Palestine, 40  
 paramilitaries, 145  
 Park Chung-hee, 103  
 parliamentary arena, 248–252  
 parliamentary politics, 5  
 Partnership for Peace, 252–253  
 party-state, 304, 307, 308, 311  
   agents, 15  
   anti-OCM and, 298  
   challenging, 292  
   indirect rule by, 308–309  
   influence, 294  
   infrastructural mobilization and, 315  
   Liaison Office and, 298  
   mobilization, 26–27, 35  
   proletariat and, 80–81  
   rule of, 316–317  
   Shanghai and, 73  
   volunteering and, 314  
 paternalistic culture, 124–125  
 Patriotic Education project, 177, 186  
 patronage networks, 17  
 Patterson, Joe T., 122–123  
 Patterson, Robert, 118  
 Patterson, Tut, 127, 128  
 Pavlin, Pamela, 245  
 Payne, Charles, 116–117  
 peaceful marches, 5–6  
 Pearl Revolution, 147–148, 149  
 peasantry, 89, 95  
 peer groups, 17  
 Peking University, 59–60  
*Peoples' Daily* (newspaper), 323, 325–326, 327, 337  
 People's Liberation Army (PLA), 70, 72–73, 75–76, 81, 301–302, 304, 322, 325–326  
 People's Liberation Movement (*Narodno-Oslobodilački Pokret*) (NOP), 242  
 People's Livelihood Construction Campaign, 93  
 People's Livelihood Social Policy, 94  
 People's Militia (*Milicija Obywatelska*) (MO), 24, 45, 49–50  
 People's Republic of China (PRC), 58, 82  
*Perestroika*, 202–203  
 Perry, Elizabeth, 183, 330, 336  
 Phillippe, Louis, 145  
 Pigeo, Vera, 128  
 PiS. *See* Law and Justice party  
 PLA. *See* People's Liberation Army  
 Plan Bolívar, 2000, 221  
 planned villages, 90  
 plantation system, 111–112  
 “Please Hear What the Peasants Have to Say” (*Beijing Daily*), 72  
 Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna (POP), 29–31, 35, 36  
 pogroms, 147  
 Poland, 8–9, 11, 20, 26–27, 52. *See also*  
   Warsaw, Poland  
   crisis in, 25–26, 27–28  
   defensive mobilization in, 28–29  
   destruction of, 41–42  
   diversionist actions in, 51  
   March 1968 campaign, long-term consequences of, 51–52  
   mass rally, Gdansk, 31  
   party organizations in, 53–54  
   pre-World War II experience, 39–40  
   reaction to student protest in, 52  
   SMMs in, 27, 28, 33  
   Upper Silesia, 31–34  
 police, 118, 121, 132–133, 146–147, 264  
 policy-making, 195  
 Polish Catholic Church, 1  
 Polish People's Republic (PRL), 47  
 Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), 29–33, 43–44, 53–54  
 Politburo's Leading Group on Spiritual Civilization Building, 314, 320–321  
 political correctness, 57, 80  
 political manipulation, 181  
 political technology, 180  
 Poor People's Campaign, 118–119  
 POP. *See* Podstawowa Organizacja Partyjna  
 popular protests, 2  
 popular uprising, 302–303  
 populism, 19, 25–26, 39–40, 182–183  
 postcolonial world, 88–89  
 postcommunist regimes, 8  
 postmodern dictatorship, 189  
 postsocialist context, 168, 176–177  
 poverty, 87, 92, 97  
 practical labor, 68–69  
 Prague Spring, 82

- PRC. *See* People's Republic of China  
 Prilepin, Zakhar, 175  
 principle-agent problems, 221  
 private property rights, 86–87  
 privatization, 152–153, 156  
 PRL. *See* Polish People's Republic  
 proactive mobilization, 9–10, 212, 217–218,  
 220–221, 236  
 in electoral arena, 223  
 SMMs and, 272  
 prodemocracy movement, 292–294, 299, 307  
 prodemocracy political parties, 297–298  
 productive labor, 39–40, 44  
*proektnyi podkhod* (project approach),  
 185–186  
 prognostic framing, 299  
 pro-government demonstrations, 261  
 El Programa de Habilitación Física de Barrios,  
 225–226  
 project approach (*proektnyi podkhod*),  
 185–186  
 project design technologies, 169, 185–189  
 project implementation, 99–101  
 proletarian patrols, 69–70  
 proletariat, 57, 70  
 Beijing and, 67–68  
 bottom-up proletarian upsurge, 60  
 Chinese term for, 58  
 communism and, 82  
 countermobilization, 58, 59, 81  
 counterprotest, 74  
 lumpenproletariat, 145–146  
 party-state and, 80–81  
 SMM and, 69  
 propaganda, 34, 39–40, 46–47, 54. *See also*  
 Workers' Propaganda Teams  
 anti-student sentiment and, 38–39  
 apparatus of, 35  
 astroturfing and, 193  
 as bottom-up proletarian upsurge, 60  
 campaign, 37, 51, 70  
 counterprotest and, 72  
 Cultural Revolution and, 59–63, 74  
 infrastructure, 314  
 student protests and, 44–45  
 pro-state demonstrations, 263–264, 267,  
 268, 273  
 authoritarian rule and, 272–273  
 domestic audiences and, 271–272  
 frequency of, 269  
 rise in, 277  
 threat of, 280  
 protagonistic democracy, 217, 219  
 protest, 11–12. *See also* counterprotest; student  
 protests  
 data on, 275  
 deliberately expansive definition of, 274–275  
 disregard of, 264–265  
 duration of, 280–282  
 genuine, 8–9  
 intensity of, 277–278  
 labor, 196  
 online communities of, 173  
 popular, 82  
 against Putin, 198  
 social, 82  
 states and, 4  
 temporally dependent nature of, 275  
 theories of, 4  
 timing of, 277  
 during uprisings in Egypt, 266–267  
 protest arena, 226–228, 231–236, 252–257  
 Provisional Government, 145  
 PSUV. *See* United Socialist Party of Venezuela  
 Public Chambers, 198  
 public criticism sessions, 68–69  
 Public Monitoring Commissions, 196–197  
 Public Opinion Programme, 297–298, 301,  
 305–306  
 public transcript, 15, 26  
 punishment regime, 196  
 Punto Fijo democracy, 218–219  
 Pushilin, Denis, 202  
 Putin, Vladimir, 167–168, 204  
 first two terms of, 197  
 foreign policy of, 199  
 legitimacy of, 174  
 Nashi and, 171, 176–177  
 political crisis for, 173, 174  
 popularity ratings of, 200  
 protest against, 198  
 support for, 193  
 PZPR. *See* Polish United Workers' Party  
 quasi-mobilization, 15, 26, 338  
*Quotations from Chairman Mao*, 67  
 Rabaa' al-Adawiyah Mosque, 270  
 racial equity programs, 134–135  
 racial norms, 129–130  
 racial segregation, 111–112, 114–115  
 racialized norms, 115–116  
 racist practices, 115–116  
 Radnitz, Scott, 6

## Index

357

- RCNL. *See* Regional Council of Negro Leadership
- reactive mobilization, 8–9, 19–20, 35, 212, 217–218, 220–221, 236  
 pro-state demonstrations and, 271–272  
 in protest arena, 226
- Read, Benjamin, 102
- Rebellion (Tamarrod), 269, 270, 277, 282
- Red aristocracy, 68
- Red Guards, 17, 58, 62, 66, 82, 317–318, 324–325  
 contentious, 68–69  
 demobilizing, 58, 80–81  
 height of, 82  
 suppression of, 73
- Referendum Act (Croatia), 251
- Regan, Patrick M., 279
- Regional Council of Negro Leadership (RCNL), 125–126, 128
- Relja, Marin, 245
- repression, 10–11, 24–25, 161, 219–222, 285  
 of civil society, 18  
 concessions and, 279  
 high intensity, 311  
 insufficient, 274  
 popular uprising and, 302–303
- Republic of Korea, 103–104
- resentments, 52
- Resolution on Rights of Croatian Veterans of the Homeland War, 246
- “Restore the Dignified Look of Tiananmen Square as Soon as possible” (*Beijing Daily*), 78–79
- Revolution of 1905, Russia, 146
- revolutionary challenges, 146–147
- Revolutionary Committee, 66–67
- revolutionary era, 314, 321–324, 339
- Revolutions of, 1848, 144–145
- Roach, E. L., 126
- Robertson, Graeme, 147–148
- Rodina, 199
- Roman Catholic Episcopate, 27–28
- Romanian revolution, 19
- Rosmolodezh* (Federal Youth Affairs Agency), 171–172, 185, 186
- rural  
 conditions, 101–102  
 culture, 94, 95–96  
 development, 88, 95  
 incomes, 92  
 infrastructure, 103–104  
 living conditions, 91–92  
 modernization campaigns, 88–90  
 organizations, 105  
 policy, 91, 95  
 poverty, 87, 92  
 resource extraction, 105  
 society, 90  
 transformation, 101
- Rural Revitalization Campaign, 102–103
- Russia, 5, 11, 157–158, 160, 189–190, 234–235, 261, 273  
 apoliticism and, 176–177  
 blogging factories from, 14  
 contextualizing, 172–176  
 Donbas, Russian volunteers serving in, 202  
 foreign policy of, 199  
 informational management by state, 186  
 law, 122, 174  
 Orange revolution and, 9–10  
 Revolution of, 1905, 146  
 Russo-Ukrainian crisis, 199–203  
 SMMs and, 196–199  
 social problems in, 187  
 southern, 199–200  
 state goals, 194  
 Syria and, 213  
 Tver’, 166–169, 172, 180  
 Ukraine and, 9–10, 193, 194, 200
- Russian Federation, 169–170, 173, 198, 200–201
- Russian Spring, 193, 203, 212–213  
 constituencies making up, 213  
 core community of, 204  
 leaders of, 202  
 media on, 211  
 network activity, 204
- Rwandan Genocide, 3–4, 20–21
- Sadat, Anwar, 264
- Saemaul councils, 104
- Saemaul Undong, 103
- Sanader, Ivo, 251, 254
- Sanecki, Edward, 39
- Sankya* (Prilepin), 175
- Saudi Arabia, 261
- SB. *See* Security Service
- SCAF. *See* Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
- Scarborough, Tom, 127
- Schedler, Andreas, 10–11
- schistosomiasis, 69
- Scott, James C., 15, 26, 256–257
- Scottish Highlander clans, 143–144

- SDP. *See* Social Democratic Party  
 Security Service (SB), 38  
 self-determination, 310–311  
 self-improvement, 186  
 selfless sacrifice, 339  
 self-mobilization, 15, 26  
 separatism, 205, 207, 310–311  
 Serbia, 196, 197, 255  
 Serra, Robert, 235  
 SFRY. *See* Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia  
 Shanghai, 58–59, 66–68, 73–74, 326  
   Beijing and, 74–77  
   industrial hub of, 72–73  
   party-state and, 73  
   workers' patrols and, 81  
   Workers' Propaganda Teams in, 81  
 "Shanghai Must Not Become Anarchic; What Should We Do?" (*Liberation Daily*), 79  
 Shanghai's Workers' General Headquarters, 66–67  
 Shelton, Robert, 132  
 Shenzhen Civil Affairs Bureau, 327–328  
 Shenzhen Volunteer Social Service Federation, 327–328  
 Sichuan Earthquake, 314, 318, 329–330, 337  
 Silent Majority of Hong Kong, 298, 300  
 Silesian Polytechnic Institute, 44–45  
 Silicon Valley, 185  
 Sinj, Croatia, 254  
 Al-Sisi, Abdel Fattah, 270  
 Six Day War, 38, 40  
 Slater, Dan, 142–143  
 slavery, 124–125  
 Slavic people, 198, 204, 208  
 Slovenia, 251  
*Slowo Powszechnie* (newspaper), 46  
 Smerić, Tomislav, 242  
 Smith, Jackie, 6–7  
 Smith, Kerry, 102–103  
 Smith, Nicholas Rush, 142–143  
 SMMs. *See* state-mobilized movements  
 Smolensk plane crash, 239–240  
 SNCC. *See* Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee  
 Snow, David A., 299  
 Sochi Olympics, 200–201  
 social control, 262, 263–265, 272, 286  
 Social Democratic Party (SDP), 242–243, 244, 248–249, 251, 252–253  
 social division, 306–307, 309  
 social media, 14, 297–298  
 social mobilization, 7–8, 87–88, 286  
 social movements, 2, 3–4, 7, 20–21, 142  
   classic theories of, 2–3, 18  
   formally organized, 278–279  
   literature on, 6  
   mobilization of, 7, 14  
   students of, 194–195  
 social order, 11, 79–80  
 social organization, 225, 227  
 social protest, 82, 295  
 social services, 9–10, 52, 314  
 socialism, 26, 42, 50–51, 156, 176–177  
 Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), 241–242  
 Socialist Patrols, 232–233  
 Sokolov, Evgenii, 185–186  
 solidarity, 1, 82, 183, 318–319  
 Song Renqiong, 323  
 Soule, Sarah, 278–279  
 South Korea, 86–87, 103  
 Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 118–119  
 Soviet Union (USSR), 1–2, 82, 167–168, 175–176, 199, 203  
   collapse of, 149, 193  
   color revolutions and, 172–173  
   movement regimes and, 88–89  
   nostalgia for, 204  
   Palestine, support of, 40  
   revisionism in, 59  
   wartime songs, 167  
   youth organizations in, 178  
 Špegelj, Martin, 245  
 spoiler mobilization, 9–10, 87, 175–176, 212, 272  
 Staggenborg, Suzanne, 273, 274  
 Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPCSC), 302–303, 304, 307  
 Starewicz, Artur, 46–47  
 state agents, 13, 263–264  
 State Highway Patrol, 118  
 state-building, 10, 241  
 state-insured pensions, 243–244  
 state-mobilized movements (SMMs), 2, 5–7, 8–9, 29–34, 261, 262–263  
   in authoritarian contexts, 11, 284–285  
   authoritarian regimes and, 15  
   backbone of, 77  
   broad contours of, 10  
   broad terms of, 117  
   China and, 18, 20  
   civil society and, 294–295

## Index

359

- in comparative relief, 134–136
- consequences of, 19–21
- considerations associated with, 112
- Cox proportional hazards models for, 281
- definitional criteria for, 276
- democratic regimes and, 111–115, 135
- dynamics of, 272–274
- in Egypt, 265
- expectations of, 184
- features of, 276
- fluidity in, 58–59
- framing, 39–40
- full range of, 7
- goals of, 285
- improvised, 18
- incentives for, 46
- incidence of, 280–282
- institutional change and, 80–81
- intensity of, 277–278
- intra-elite conflict and, 33–34
- Kaplan-Meier survival estimates for, 283
- limits of, 309
- logic of, 218, 236–237
- military suppression, 82
- Morsi and, 269–270
- motivations of, 270–272
- Nashi and, 168, 188
- nationwide, 66
- new questions about, 285–286
- onset of, 280
- participation in, 16, 184
- in Poland, 27, 28, 33
- political geography of, 17
- possibility of, 285
- proactive mobilization and, 272
- processes inherent in, 15
- proletarian, 57
- proletariat and, 69
- purposes of, 142–143
- by repertoire, 32
- risk of, 282
- Russia and, 196–199
- Russo-Ukrainian crisis and, 199–203
- under SCAF, 267–269
- social control and, 262, 263–265
- spoiler mobilization and, 272
- spontaneity of, 62
- strategic dilemmas of, 26–27
- strategies, 13
- student protests and, 25
- symbolic framing of, 15–16
- technologies of, 35, 58
- timing of, 277
- transformative policies and, 88
- transnational, 5
- variation over time in, 222–224
- varieties of, 286
- in Venezuela, 218, 220–221
- states
  - civil society organizations and, 4, 11
  - complexity of modern, 18
  - components of, 264
  - conceptualization of, 6–7
  - effectiveness of, 10
  - interests of, 7–8
  - one-party, 27
  - protest and, 4
  - working class collaboration with, 57–58
- state–society
  - concerns, 20–21
  - confrontation, 304
  - cooperation, 7
  - dynamics, 297, 311
  - equation, 4
  - interaction, 16, 20–21
  - interconnections, 6–7
  - relationship, 5–6, 18
- state-sponsored organizations, 13
- Stephenson, Svetlana, 182
- Stola, Dariusz, 38, 47
- Strauss, Julia, 95–96
- street technologies, 169, 178–179
- Strelkov, I., 202
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 128–131
- student protests, 24, 33–34, 43–44, 48–49, 51, 54, 77, 81, 229
  - Beijing and, 70
  - communism and, 80–81
  - main forms of countermobilization to, 31
  - Nashi and, 231
  - organizers of, 37
  - Poland, reaction to, 52
  - proletarian SMMs and, 57
  - propaganda and, 44–45
  - SMMs and, 25
  - working class and, 48, 49–50
- subnational diversity, 58–59
- subsidized publics, 12–14, 195
- suburban rallies, 72
- Sun Yat-sen, 93
- Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), 262, 267–269, 279

- Surkov, Vladislav, 167–168, 172  
 surveillance, 10–12, 221  
 Sutherland, Donald M. G., 144  
 Świat (newspaper), 38  
 Syria, 213, 272  
 Szlajfer, Henryk, 24
- Tagarro (Impartiality), 269–270  
 Tahrir Square, 147, 261, 266–268  
 Tai, Benny, 296, 308  
 Taiwan, 9–10, 86–88, 90–102, 105  
   community development policies in, 96  
   development of, 86  
   Korea and, 104  
 Tamarrod (Rebellion), 269, 270, 277, 282  
 Tan Janguang, 320, 333, 339  
 Tantawi, Hussein, 267–268  
 Tanzania, 90  
 Tate, Leola, 126  
 technocratic rule, 87–88  
 tenancy rates, 91  
 tenant farmers, 124  
 terrorism, 14  
 Thompson, Allen, 118  
 Thornhill, J. E., 132  
 Tiananmen Democracy Movement, 58, 69, 76  
 Tiananmen Square, 70, 81  
 Tiananmen Square Management Office, 78–79  
 Tiananmen Uprising, 15–16, 17, 58, 81–82,  
   317–318  
 Tianjin, 328–329  
 Tilly, Charles, 4, 144, 274–275  
 Tito, Josip Broz, 242  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 111–112  
 Tong'il production, 103–104  
 Torres, Miguel Rodríguez, 235  
 totalitarianism, 15, 26, 195–196, 286  
 township coordination committee, 98  
 trade unions, 26, 35–37, 82  
 transformative policies, 88  
 transnational activism, 5  
 Traugott, Mark, 145–146  
 tribalism, 14  
 Triple Rustication, 334  
 Trump, Donald, 13–14  
*Trybuna Ludu* (newspaper), 29, 34, 38, 43,  
   53–54  
   anti-student sentiment and, 38–39  
   names of protest organizers published in, 46  
 Tsarist authority, 146  
 Tsinghua University, 59–60, 62  
   experimental farm and, 69  
   Mao and, 63  
   occupation of, 63, 68  
 Tsoi, Tony, 302  
 Tucker, Robert, 88–89  
 Tuđman, Franjo, 242–243, 245, 246  
 Turner, Denzill, 126  
 Tver', Russia, 166–169, 172, 180  
 Tyson, Tim, 116
- UBCh. *See* Battle Units Hugo Chávez  
 UDVDR. *See* Veterans of the Republic of  
   Croatia  
 UKA. *See* United Klans of America  
 Ukraine, 4–5, 41, 153–154, 197, 212  
   counterrevolutionary mobilization,  
   composite character of, 158–160  
   counterrevolutionary mobilization, social  
   sources of, 154–158  
   Donbas and, 207  
   Donetsk province, 156  
   Euromaidan Revolution in, 160, 199–200  
   geopolitical orientation of, 152–153  
   Kremlin and, 193, 210, 273  
   Orange Revolution and, 9–10  
   political context in, 211  
   political landscape of, 205  
   Russia and, 9–10, 193, 194, 200  
   Russo-Ukrainian crisis, 199–203  
   trends within Ukrainian society, 151  
   Yanukovych fleeing, 201  
 Ukrainian Supreme Court, 140–141  
 Umbrella Movement, 291–292, 303, 304, 308  
   demobilization of, 304–307  
   NPCSC, 309  
 UN *See* United Nations  
 Union of Communist Youth, 172  
 Union of Russian People (URP), 146  
 united front organizations, 298, 306, 307  
 United Klans of America (UKA), 120–121,  
   131–132  
 United Nations (UN), 94, 293–294  
 United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV),  
   229–230, 234  
 United States South, 111–112, 115–124  
 unproductive labor, 44  
 “Upholding Social Stability is the Most Urgent  
   Task, Critical to the Overall Situation”  
   (*Beijing Daily*), 76  
 Urban Land Committees, 225–226  
 URP. *See* Union of Russian People  
 Useem, Bert, 274, 278–279  
 USSR. *See* Soviet Union



## Index

361

- Vanguard of Red Youth, 172  
 velvet revolutions, 172–173  
 Venezuela, 217, 228, 234–235, 261. *See also*  
   Bolivarian Venezuela  
   competitive nature of, 236  
   local governance and, 223–224  
   recall referendum in, 229  
   in recession, 232  
   SMMs in, 218, 220–221  
   state crisis in, 221–222, 236  
 Venezuela, Indestructible Heart Campaign,  
   233–234  
 Venezuelan exceptionalism, 218–219  
 veteran organizations, 245–248  
   HDZ and, 244, 246, 248–257  
   NGOs, 250  
   protest arena and, 252–257  
 veteran population, 241, 249  
   Homeland War and, 243–244  
   interests of, 248  
 veteran protests, 253  
 Veterans of the Republic of Croatia (UDVDR),  
   245, 246  
 VI Congress of Trade Unions, 40  
 Victory Day, 252, 256–257  
 vigilante violence, 127, 131, 133, 135, 147  
 village improvement projects, 93–94, 104  
 VKontakte, 202, 203–211, 212–213  
 Voivodship Committees, 31–33, 36–37, 46  
 Voluntary Reserves of People's Militia  
   (ORMO), 24, 48–49  
 volunteerism, 9–10, 314, 322, 336  
   China and, 315–316  
   emergence of category of “volunteer,”  
     327–329  
   institutionalising, 329–333  
   LLF and, 338  
   official discourses on, 318–320  
   youth volunteer work, 332  
*Volunteers in Action*, 318  
 Vukovar Remembrance Day, 239, 240, 252,  
   255, 256, 257  
 Vuković, Vuk, 249
- Wade, Robert, 86–87  
 Waafd Party, 266  
 Wałęsa, Lech, 36, 37  
 Wang Hongwen, 66–67, 73, 80  
 Wang Xiaoping, 65  
 warfare, 5–6  
 Warren, R. R., 131, 132–133  
 Warren, R. W., 110
- Warsaw, Poland, 1–2, 3, 31, 42,  
   239–240  
 Warsaw Committee, 37, 39  
 Warsaw National Theater, 24  
 Water Tables, 225–226  
 Watkins, W. H., Jr., 133  
 Wedeen, Lisa, 272  
 Weiss, Chen, 196  
 welfare programmes, 245, 247  
*Wen Wei Po* (newspaper), 308  
 Western media, 78  
 Weyland, Kurt, 144–145  
 White, Tyrene, 89  
 white elites, 125  
 White Knights, 120–121  
 “whites-only” restaurants, 115  
 Williams, John Bell, 119  
 Worker-Peasant-Soldier Trainees, 68–69  
 Workers' General Headquarters, 73  
 Workers' Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda  
   Teams, 59  
 workers' patrols, 69, 70, 81  
   Cultural Revolution and, 74  
   dispatch of, 79–80  
   historical significance of, 77  
 Workers' Propaganda Teams, 62–63, 67,  
   68–69, 81  
 working class, 42, 43, 48, 49–50, 57–58, 63,  
   76–77  
 “The Working Class is the Primary Force in  
   Upholding Social Stability” (*Liberation  
   Daily*), 76  
 “The Working Class Must Lead in Everything”  
   (Yao), 66  
 World Bank, 293–294  
 World Trade Organization (WTO), 252–253  
 World War II, 39–40, 86, 102–103, 170,  
   204, 242  
 WTO. *See* World Trade Organization  
*wuchan jieji*. *See* proletariat
- Xi Jinping, 68, 104–105,  
   296–297  
*xibu jihua* (“Go West Plan”), 333–336  
 Xinhua News Agency, 75, 76  
 Xinhua Printing Plant, 62  
*Xue Lei Feng, wo zhiyuan* (“I Learn from Lei  
   Feng, I volunteer”), 321
- Yakemenko, Vasily, 169–170, 171–172,  
   179  
 Yan'an period, 317–318

- Yang, M. C., 91–92  
 Yanukovych, Viktor, 140–141, 150–151  
   campaign of, 141  
   commitment to, 154–156  
   demonstration for, 151  
   fleeing Ukraine, 201  
   home base of, 156, 162  
   rule of, 205  
   support of, 153–154, 156  
   “thuggish” supporters of, 156–157  
 Yao Wenyuan, 66–67  
 Yashin, Ilya, 182  
 Yeltsin, Boris, 180, 199, 202–203  
 Yen, Y. C. James, 93  
*Yiwu laodong* (labour by obligation),  
   326–327, 337  
 youth organizations, 26  
 Youth Service Corps (YSC), 325–326  
 youth volunteer work, 332  
 YSC. *See* Youth Service Corps
- Yugoslav war legacy, 243–244  
 Yugoslavia, 199  
 Yung Chow, 298  
 Yushchenko, Viktor, 140–141, 150–151  
   demonstration for, 151, 154–156  
   lifestyle of supporters of, 156–157  
   support of, 153–154, 156, 159
- Zagreb, Croatia, 254–255, 256  
 Zakharchenko, Aleksandr, 202, 207  
 Zald, Mayer N., 274, 278–279  
 Zhang Chunxia, 319–320  
 Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir, 199  
*zhiyuan*, 328–329  
 Zhou Enlai, 323  
 Zhu Rongji, 73–74, 76–77  
 Zieleniewski, Marek, 36  
 Zionism, 34, 40–41, 44, 45, 48. *See also* anti-  
   Zionism  
 Znak, 34