Constituent Assembly. This made it hard for them to cooperate and impossible to develop a political strategy. They were also split on their views on national minorities.

- There was little chance that the Whites could develop a military strategy. Often the White generals would not work together because they did not like or trust each other. For example, other generals were suspicious of Kolchak’s motives and intentions.

3) LEADERSHIP

- Trotsky proved himself to be a superb leader. Personally brave, he took his special forces to the parts of the Front where the fighting was fiercest. He was able to inspire and rally men.
- Discipline was very tough in the Red Army; the death penalty was used frequently. Unwilling peasants conscripts knew that certain death lay before them if they retreated in battle. They would be machine-gunned by their own side.
- White leaders were cruel and treated their men with contempt. They reminded the soldiers of the worst aspects of the Russian army and tsarist rule. Therefore, there was little natural warmth or support for the White leaders. Many soldiers deserted.
- There was intense indiscipline and corruption in the White armies.
- Denikin: ‘I can do nothing with my army. I am glad when it carries out my combat orders’.

- In Omsk (Kolchak’s base) uniforms and munitions supplied by foreign interventionist governments were sold on the black market and officers lived in brothels in a haze of cocaine and vodka. Units of the Red Army sometimes ended up in English army uniforms and prostitutes in English nurse uniforms.

4) SUPPORT

Peasants

- The support of the peasants was crucial since they supplied the main body of soldiers for both sides.
- They had little love for either side and were just as inclined to desert from Red as from White armies from which they had been conscripted.
- Lenin had legitimized their right to land while the Whites made it clear that land would be restored to its formed owners. Kolchak even gave estates to landlords who had not owned them before the revolution.
- As a result, peasants were inclined to support the Reds.

Nationalist groups

- White leaders wanted to restore the Russian empire with its pre-1917 borders. This antagonised national groups (separists) such as the Ukrainians and Georgians who were looking for more autonomy in their affairs or complete independence. Therefore separatists would not support the Whites when White forces were based in their territory.

Urban Workers

- The Bolsheviks had a core support group of some workers and soldiers but did not have widespread popular support.
- War Communism and the management of the cities and food supply saw this.
- But urban workers and peasants wanted to protect the gains of 1917 and the Reds seemed to offer them their best chance of doing this. The Whites were associated with the old system of government.

5) PROPAGANDA
• Consequently, Lenin condemned Stalin, saying he is ‘too coarse’ and ‘I am not sure he always knows how to exercise that power with sufficient caution’, and would then urge the party in his testament ‘to think about ways of removing Comrade Stalin’.
• He also questions the ‘stability’ of Trotsky and expressed doubts about his ability to take the Party in the ‘right’ direction.
• Refers to Kamenev and Zinoviev in the ‘October episode’.

DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PARTY
• Many party members did not want to see one person running the party and the government. They wanted ‘collective leadership’ or rule by committee. This was seen as a more socialist way of running the state.
• Party members feared a dictatorship could emerge to take control of the centralised state that had developed by 1924 (mainly due to the Civil War).
• This fear affected the decisions party members took between 1924 and 1926. Many feared Trotsky as commander of the Red Army he was in a strong position to crush the opposition. His arrogant manner and conviction that he knew the direction the party should take seemed to confirm such fears.
• Even before 1924, there were divisions in the Party (despite the ban on factionalism). The divisions concerned both policy and personality. Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev had formed the Triumvirate, because they feared Trotsky succeeding to the leadership.

Divisions over NEP and industrialisation.
• The NEP debate formed a key part of the leadership struggle (due to ideological conflict).
• The left of the party, led by Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, wanted to end NEP and focus on rapid industrialisation.
• The right of the party, led by Bukharin, argued that NEP should continue as it was stabilising the economy and pacifying the peasantry.
• By 1928, Stalin, who had previously supported the NEP, abandoned his alliance with Bukharin and came out in favour of rapid industrialisation.

‘Permanent Revolution’ versus ‘Socialism in One Country’
• The left of the party believed in Trotsky’s ‘Permanent Revolution’. Russian communism could not survive alone as it didn’t have the economic resources and the proletariat was too small and underdeveloped.
• The right of the party, on the other hand, believed in Stalin’s ‘Socialism in One Country’. They reasoned that a world revolution was unlikely, as revolutions had failed in Germany and Hungary. The preservation of the Soviet Union should be the dominant aim, as a workers’ state could be created to rival the capitalist powers. It appealed to Russian patriotism, portraying Trotsky’s ideas as out of touch.

STALIN
• Stalin was underestimated greatly by his opponents. He was described as a “grey blur” (Sukhanov) and (Westwood) ‘He could stand back and watch his rivals dig their own graves, occasionally offering his spade to one or other of them.’
• Stalin’s actions at Lenin’s funeral. Trotsky was ill and on rest holiday. Stalin lies about the date of Lenin’s funeral so Trotsky does not return and his political prestige is severely damaged by his non-attendance. In contrast, Stalin was a pallbearer and made a speech, where he promised to continue Lenin’s legacy.
PARTY DIVISIONS/ POLITICAL

• The workers’ opposition group set up by Alexander Shlyapnikov and Aleksandra Kollontai argues for greater worker control, removal of managers and military discipline in factories.
• They strongly opposed those in the Party who wanted to continue and intensify war communism (e.g. Trotsky). They wanted an alternative to war communism.
• These were a symptom of the wider political and economic crisis that Russia was facing in 1921.
• Left-wing SRs protested the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. They turned to terrorism. For example, shooting the German ambassador (July 1918), to try wreck the Russian relationship with the Germans. They captured Dzerzhinsky, the head of the Cheka (May) and also shot Lenin (August 1918). 2 other Bolshevik Party leaders were murdered. The assassination attempt prompted the Cheka to launch the Red Terror in the summer of 1918.
• From June onwards the SRs were arrested in large numbers, as well as other groups of opposition. Mensheviks and SRs were excluded from taking part in soviets.

HOW THE NEP DEALT WITH THIS:

• It caused more division that it solved; however, these were papered over by the ‘Ban on Factions’.
• Party divided during NEP over the re-emergence of middle class Nepmen and Kulaks and saw this as a concession to capitalism.

HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS THE NEP (1921-27)?

FEATURES OF THE NEP

• Grain requisitioning was abolished and was replaced by a ‘tax in kind’ so only a fixed proportion and smaller amount of grain went to the state.
• Small businesses reopened and they could now make a profit.
• Ban on private re-opened this meant food and goods could flow more easily between the countryside and towns. People now bought food and goods from their own income again.
• State kept control of heavy industry.

ECONOMIC SUCCESS

• (Figes) ‘If the NEP had continued, the country would have been in a far stronger position to resist the Nazi invasion in 1941.’
• By 1922 the results of the NEP were better than anyone expected. Shops, cafes and restaurants reopened and life began to flow back into the cites.
• Agricultural production recovered from 37.6 million tonnes in 1921 to 76.8 million tonnes in 1926. Cereal production went up by 23% by 1923.
• Industrial production made a rapid recovery. From 1920 to 1923 factory output rose by almost 200%. Larger-scale industry took longer to recover but recovery was well under way by 1924.
• ‘Nepmen’ became important figures in the economic revival. There were around 25,000 of these private traders in Moscow alone in 1925. They were responsible for 75% of trade. They were hated as they were seen as representatives of capitalism, openly flaunting their wealth. They indulged in gambling, prostitution, bribery and corruption. They were generally tolerated as long as taxes were paid.
• (Viola) ‘The Kulak seemed to be largely in the eye of the beholder…Dekulakisation was nothing more than a countryside witch-hunt.’

• December 1929 Stalin announces ‘liquidisation of kulaks as a class’ and in February 1930 ‘all necessary measures’ could be used against the kulaks in a decree.

• Each region was given a number of kulaks to find and they were found whether they existed or not.

• This was seen as the start Stalin spoke of 5-6 million kulaks and later 10 million. There was no accurate record but 10 million were deported to Siberia or Gulag labour camps or shot.

• By the mid 1930s kulaks had disappeared as a class.

• The most successful and skilled farms had been removed.

Famine in late 1932

• Robert Conquest in ‘Harvest of Sorrow’ said 7 million died. He also stated that requisitioned grain was left to rot whilst people starved to death.

• Holodomor (the terror famine in Ukraine) in spring 1932. Ukraine was branded as a ‘white kulak hive’. It was remembered as a genocide by some in Ukraine as it was a man made famine. It killed 4-5 million.

• (Ward) ‘cannot be grasped merely by reciting statistics…the whirlwind which swept across the countryside destroyed the way of life of the vast majority of the Soviet people.’

HOW SUCCESSFUL WERE THE FIVE YEAR PLANS/ DID THEY ACHIEVE STALIN’S AIMS?

CONTEXT

The First Five Year Plan: 1928 – 1932

• The First Plan focused on the industrialisation of heavy industries. Industries such as coal mines and steelworks were particularly targeted by this plan in order to kick start the Soviet economy. The plan itself lasted 4 years, rather than the estimated five, which was viewed as a monumental success in the eyes of the Russian people.

• Despite this apparent success, the plan contained targets for industry that were viewed as 'hopelessly unachievable' by industrial leaders.

• The Supreme Economic Council (SEC) began a planning fervour ('target mania') amongst themselves (particularly Gosplan and Vesenkha, the State Planning Committee) and continuously incremented the targets of the original plan.

• Because of these increments, two revisions of the plan were made in 1929: the basic plan and the optimum plan. The basic contained realistic targets for the Soviet economy whilst the Optimum revision's targets were extreme in proportion. The latter was chosen.

The Second Five Year Plan: 1933 - 1937

• This plan placed greater emphasis on consumer goods and the development of industries in the commercial sector than the First Plan, though the overall priority was still placed on industrialisation of heavy industries.

• Additionally, the plan itself was considered much better prepared than the first, whilst its organisation was less chaotic and more ambitious. This attention to detail and realistic targets were likely a result of the famine that gripped the Soviet population after the first plan.

• A larger share of investment was given to the production of consumer goods and led to a boost in worker morale. Productivity and worker wages across the country began to increase, while the prices of goods and materials began to decrease. Workers were now driven by financial and material incentives rather than fear. Despite this apparent success of the plan, it did not reach
• He acquired greater control of the people. Communist control strengthened in the countryside. Party officials supervised peasants and secret police units were stationed at each MTS to check up on the rural population. In the cities, workers were kept in strict order through labour books and internal passports and the threat of denial of rail cards, eviction from lodgings and even sentences for misdemeanors.

• Women were given opportunities. 10 million women entered the workforce, although they were likely to be paid less and found it more difficult to gain advancement. Only 4 women were head doctors, but 50-60% of all doctors were women. They were still expected to be ‘ideal mothers’ and were encouraged to continue with their duties at home.

• A huge propaganda campaign was mounted to encourage workers’ productivity. For example, the Stakhanovite movement. Alexei Stakhanov was a productive miner, who in ideal conditions cut 14x the average amount. He received money and goods (like furniture, cinema, holiday). Stalin called for Stakhanovitism to spread ‘widely and deeply’.

• Propaganda also tried to teach a new mentality. Zinoviev coined ‘Homo Sovieticus’ and the ‘New Soviet Man’ was supposed to reinvent the mentality of every Soviet. Stalin told a group of Soviet writers that they should regard themselves as ‘directing the reconstruction of the human soul’.

• Transport and communication grew rapidly. The first lines of the Moscow Metro were opened to improve transport in the cities.

• The years 1934-36 were known as the ‘three good years’ since the pressure was not so intense, food rationing was ended, and families had more disposable income.

SOCIO-POLITICAL FAILURES

• Rations provided a significantly poor diet compared to that under the NEP.

• Queuing became part of mundane life due to lack of shops and products.

• Labour discipline was harsh. Lateness was criminalized. Strikes were outlawed. Breaking machinery made you a ‘capitalist saboteur’ or exiled to gulag labour camps. Absenteeism and low productivity increased under the plan.

• Quality of life for all non-Party personnel was poor due to low rations, poor housing and constant pressure. Stalin sacrificed the people in the interest of his economic vision.

• The Communist Party members had much better living conditions than that of factory workers; chauffeur driven limos, private houses, holiday homes and reserved seating at the cinema. They also had access to ‘secret shops’ that sold goods not available to the general public.

• New factories were built with no safety so many workers died, for example, by scaffolding collapsing. Peasants who had only recently moved to the cities and had little experience of industry periled quickly and this left Stalin at a loss of workers.

• Many of the workers were slave labourers or kulaks from the gulag camps.

• Stalin also introduced a seven-day working week, so there wasn’t a ‘day of rest’. Stalin failed to recognise the sacred nature of Sunday due to his hatred of religion.
USE OF TERROR

- An integral part of the communist system and indeed of the earlier Russian regimes. There was a culture of fear within society.
- However, when the terror was at its height, it was against imagined opposition.
- The Yezhovschina (1936 to 1938) affected all sections of society, bringing mass terror and repression to central and local levels. Conquest said that there were 7-8 million arrests.
- First show trial (August 1936) of Zinoviev and Kamenev. Zinoviev strangely confessed ‘I am fully and utterly guilty’.
- The spread of ‘Red Terror’ coincided with a series of national show trials, called the Great Purges. The Trial of the 17 (January 1937) saw 13 of the ‘Trotskyists’ executed. The Military Purge (May-June 1937) saw several Generals, including war hero Tukhachevsky, accused of espionage and around 50% of the officer corps were imprisoned or executed. The Trial of 21 (Old Bolsheviks) (March 1938) saw a group of prominent communists, such as Bukharin, Rykov, Yagoda (replaced as head of secret police for not being active enough in uncovering the ‘conspiracy’) and Tomsky. They faced wild and fabricated claims. Bukharin held out for 3 months, sending 34 personal letters to Stalin, but threats to his young wife and infant son saw him confess to the ‘sum total of crimes.’
- Children over 12 could be tried and punished as adults (April 1935) and this was used to coerce parents into confessions. Further, death penalty extended to anyone just aware of subversive activity, leaving a low threshold for execution (June).
- Torture and interrogation was used for confessions. The ‘conveyor belt’ system saw Tukhachevsky’s signed confession ‘splattered with blood from a moving belt’.
- The Kolyma camps were some of the most brutal in the entire Gulag system. About 120,000 to 130,000 prisoners are estimated to have died in Kolyma alone.
- Human cost of forced collectivisation and industrialisation include the Holodomor famine in 1932. It was remembered as genocide by some in Ukraine as it was a man made famine. It killed 4-5 million.
- There was a tradition in Russian culture, linking back to the Tsars, for obedience.
- In other countries there was an extreme threat from Religion, this was not true of Soviet Russia, as Stalin destroyed the peasant link to orthodoxy. However, 55% of the peasantry were still active Christians.

Limitations

- The risk of relying on terror created opposition because of resentment.
- It led to the ‘Year of Crisis’ when Stalin’s wife committed suicide.
- It was not well organised by Stalin, so many people were selected at random. The terror was generated from above as well as below.
- The purges spiraled out of control and gained momentum, so Stalin had little control.

PROPAGANDA

- Used as a method of indoctrination and the overall impact of propaganda is difficult to measure, due to the difficulty to think outside of this. This was seen when Stalin rewrote history in the ‘Short Course’.
- It was necessary to promote their legitimacy, as they never had a popular mandate for taking power. It emphasised their role as vanguard of the workers and peasants.
- It was a useful way of covering up ‘santising’ dreadful events, such as the suffering of the purges. It was essential to support the claim that the regime was taking the country forward to
a worker’s utopia and that sacrifices would be necessary, in a situation in which life was very hard for people.

- His image came reassurance; paintings, poems, posters and sculptures were produced to glorify Stalin’s role as the ‘mighty leader’, ‘father of the nation’, ‘universal genius’ and ‘shining sun of humanity.’

- It was a way to communicate to the masses, the use of mass media, like films, the radio and the press helped keep out alternative views. For example, ‘October’.

- The Stalin Constitution (1936) was introduced, drafted by Bukharin. It intended to mark the progress towards socialism. It declared that socialism had been achieved (thus the next step was to achieve true communism). Stalin said the constitution was ‘the most democratic in the world’. It looked democratic, with an extensive statement of civil rights and elections, but theses were largely ignored in practice. It was a paper propaganda exercise.

- Two youth organisations were set up. The Pioneers were set up for children under 25. The Komsomol was from 14/15 to early 20s. Komsomol membership was seen as preparation for entry into the Party and was a serious tool in the Cultural Revolution.

- The transformation of Moscow epitomized socialist realism in culture. The style was monumental, with Lenin’s mausoleum ‘shrine’ on the Red Square ‘parade ground’ and on the Kremlin, in 1935; five red stars replaced the imperial eagles. The new Moscow Metro opened in 1935, which included mosaic designs, marble floors and stained glass to inspire pride.

- The cult of personality. Paintings, poems, posters and sculptures were produced to glorify Stalin’s role as the ‘mighty leader’, ‘father of the nation’, ‘universal genius’ and ‘shining sun of humanity.’ It was fully established in the years 1933 to 1939, although it reached its height after WW2.

- Promoted his own fears of enemies within. This was seen with Dekulakisation and the later denouncing of ‘saboteurs’ and ‘wreckers’.

- (Service) ‘There is no doubt that in any young member of the party and the Komsomol responded positively to propaganda.’

**Limitations**

- Propaganda was over used and became ineffective in the end.
- People abided by propaganda due to fear of being imprisoned or executed.

**SUCCESS OF POLICIES**

- In **1928** the regime did not have a stable food supply from the countryside, **but by 1941** Collectivisation had ensures that the industrial towns and army were fed reasonably regularly.
- The FYPs are of some success and by 1941 the economy was growing considerably and they were highly industrialised.
- This meant there was a **certain degree of security**, nevertheless because of the draconian discipline imposed in society.
- The independent-minded military leaders were purged and this meant the armed services were **under Stalin’s control**.
- The **enthusiasm was genuine** from some and the propaganda was based on real industrial success. For example, the younger, enthusiastic members in Magnitogorsk.
- He managed to **abolish the family and replace it with love for society and the state**.
• The Orthodox Church was prohibited and religious buildings were closed down. Religious leaders were arrested and exiled.
• The attack on the Church intensified under the Great Terror. By 1940, only 1% of the churches in 1917 were still open, despite 55% of the population being active Christians.

Women and Family
• Marxist ideology:
• 1917 Revolution was to mark an end to female subjugation at home and in the workplace as divorce and abortion was made legal and easier to obtain and the state had a role in childcare, liberating women to work and establish careers.
• Stalin’s policies marked a ‘Great Retreat’ as under Lenin, women had enjoyed state-provided childcare, the right to abortion on demand and the right to divorce their husbands.
• In the 1930s there was a renewed emphasis on the importance of family values. Due to concerns over a falling birth rate, family breakdowns and juvenile delinquency, there was a renewed emphasis on discipline. Stalin wished to reverse the earlier Bolshevik policies regarding women and the family. This was part of ‘The Great Retreat’.
• Stalin emphasised traditional social values about the role of women in the home. In June 1936 he passed a decree, the Family Code, which reversed many of Lenin’s changes. In this abortion was outlawed, adultery was criminalized and divorce became more difficult.
• During Great Patriotic War in 1944 Stalin introduced new family laws. They encouraged women to have large numbers of children. Propaganda hailed ‘Mother-heroines’ who had large families. They introduced rewards for women with large families. Women who had 7 children received 2,000 roubles a year for 5 years, while mothers with 11 children received 5,000 roubles a year for 5 years.
• Stalin rejected many of the progressive laws as introduced during the 1920s and re-emphasised traditional roles for women. However, at the same time, he encouraged women into paid employment. For example, 10 million women joined the workforce. Similarly, by 1945, over 6 collective farm works were women. Furthermore, communist government increased the number of places for women in higher and technical education by 20% in 1940.

Youth and Education
• Education had the role of indoctrination since 1917 and it was a critical tool for building a socialist society. Primary education was made compulsory for 4 years in 1930. A core curriculum was established, emphasizing reading, writing, history and Russian and Marxist theory. School prepared children for the disciplined work environment, so the day consisted of test and homework and uniforms were compulsory. The results were impressive as literacy rates increased from 51% (1926) to 88% by 1939.
• Shulgin was a radical who favoured the project method where education focused on socially useful work. He believed that schools should be directly attached to factories.
• ‘The Cultural/Social Revolution’ in schools did not last long, but it had a lasting effect on teachers. Many older, non-Party teachers were driven out and called ‘bourgeois specialists’ and replaced by ‘red specialists’.
• The Young Communist League/ Komsomol was established in 1926. Young people between the ages 10 and 28 were invited to attend and by 1940 it had 10 million members.
• The ‘Short Course’ was published as the main historical textbook for all educational institutions in 1938. In this Stalin assumed the major role in the October/November revolution and Civil War, while Trotsky and other old Bolsheviks were portrayed as ‘enemies of the people’.
• **Comecon (January 1919)** prioritised economic recovery. The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance was not very successful as all countries were committed to Communist economic theory, such as state-ownership and planning.

• It was important helping Stalin maintain his autocratic power, as well as keeping Russia secure.

• Important to ensure sure the bloc countries wouldn’t fall under Western influenced.

**SECURITY**

• The importance of the bloc and to have a friendly ally or ‘vassal’ state in East Germany was because of the prospect of a united, non-communist Germany after 1945.

• Stalin’s paranoia is also a principle reason why security was so important to him. Stalin could not trust even those closest to him, let alone men such as Churchill, quoted once as saying *that the Bolshevik baby should be strangled in its crib.*

• Events exacerbated Stalin’s paranoia, he was particularly anxious following the ‘Hess Affair’ in 1941 and the ‘Bern negotiations’ in 1945.

• After Barbarossa, Stalin feared that the British policy was to sit back and watch Germany and Russia bleed each other dry. In a cable to *Ivan Maisky* (the Russian ambassador to Britain), *October 1941*, Stalin wrote ‘*Churchill is aiming at the defeat of the USSR, in order to come to terms with Germany*’. Stalin believed that ‘*Churchill is the kind of man who will pick your pocket for a Kopeck if you don’t watch him.*’

• Stalin asked the British Foreign Secretary in 1941 for an agreement as to where the Soviet borders should be when the war was won, Stalin insisting they should return to where they were in 1941.

• *Even as the war progressed, Stalin’s demands for the 1941 borders remained constant,* at *Yalta in 1944* Stalin still felt the need to explain that ‘*in a little history Poland was always a corridor through which the enemy has gone to attack Russia*.’

• Territory of the USSR was extended and neighboring states quickly became ‘satellite states’ due to Soviet military and political influence. Stalin created a ‘buffer’ to protect from invasion. The *Berlin Blockade (June 1948)* created this buffer.

• Stalin viewed the USA *bombing of Hiroshima in 1945* as a disadvantage in the power stakes, so he placed *Beria* in charge of developing the Soviet atomic bomb and he succeeded in *1949*. FP was conditioned for the expensive battle to produce the moist advanced weaponry.

• In the *Novikov Telegram (1946)*, Novikov warned that the USA emerged as an economic power, bent on world domination. Stalin declared Marshall Aid to be ‘*dollar imperialism*’ and forbade the Eastern bloc countries to apply for it.

• Stalin responded to formation of **NATO** with the **Warsaw Pact** (May 1955) and **Cominform** (1947) was in response to the **Truman Doctrine. Comecon** (1949) was in response to the **Marshall Plan**. Shows FP were simply responses to Western offensives.

• Stalin was beginning to commit himself to achieving security through the continuation of the alliance in peace. He was beginning to see the coalition not as an obstacle to his desires, but as central to achieving his expansionist and security aims.

• After Yalta, to satisfy his paranoid security concerns, Stalin brought the ‘iron veil’ down over Poland, much to British chagrin. Poland was the key to Soviet security.
Five Year Plans, which saw rapid industrial expansion. There was a **270% increase in electricity expansion** and an **88% increase in coal production**.

- However, the Five Year Plans’ exuberant targets were never met, which was a key trait of totalitarian governments, as pursuit of a goal, regardless of the cost, was the only ideological foundation for a totalitarian state, so achievement of the goal can never be acknowledged.
- Through the installation of collectivisation and industrialisation, control over the Soviet Union and its economy became much more centralised for Stalin’s totalitarian state.

**PROPAGANDA AND CULT OF PERSONALITY**

- Finally, Stalin exercised control over the media, particularly to create glorification of his own cult, which further supported his ability to lead a government under totalitarian control.
- Stalin dominated every aspect of Soviet life, so that he became not simply a leader, but the embodiment of the nation himself.
- Communism was no longer a set of theories; it was no longer Leninism, it was whatever Stalin said and did.
- From the early 1930s onwards, Stalin’s picture began to appear everywhere, and his absolute control of the media allowed him to manufacture his image as the hero and saviour of the Soviet people.
- Roy Medvedev, a Soviet historian states ‘Stalin did not rely on terror alone, but also on the majority of the people, who were deceived by cunning propaganda’.
- Stalin became an icon and his greatness was published in the official Soviet newspapers and articles, which oversaw the subsequent deification of Stalin as leader, with terms such as the “granite Bolshevik” and the “Man of Steel” commonly used.
- The actual extent of Stalin’s popularity is difficult to gauge in real terms, however, it is clear that his presence was glorified through his total control of the media, stressing the complete totalitarian regime he operated.
- A huge propaganda campaign was mounted to encourage workers’ productivity. For example, the Stakhanovite movement Stalin called for Stakhanovitism to spread ‘widely and deeply’.
- Propaganda also tried to teach a new mentality. Zinoviev coined ‘Homo Sovieticus’ and the ‘New Soviet Man’ was supposed to reinvent the mentality of every Soviet. Stalin told a group of Soviet writers that they should regard themselves as ‘directing the reconstruction of the human soul’.

**HOWEVER, THIS CONTROL WAS LIMITED**

- Influence of the Church as an authority figure.
- Dizzy with Success
- Great Retreat
- Uprisings during Collectivisation
- War priority appeals to patriotism
- After Stalin’s death, Khrushchev’s speech