

TOTALITARISM
 A state in which power is concentrated in the hands of one man or small group, exercising excessive control of individuals and denying them fundamental civil and political liberties; monitoring and control of aspects of individuals' lives carried out by secret police who are accountable only to the political elite.

CAPITALISM
 Economic system based on private enterprise and the profit motive in which the market determines the price of goods and regulates the supply and distribution of raw materials and products.

values. There was a high price to be paid for this revolution – millions of deaths, including leading figures in the Bolshevik Party, and immense suffering which resulted from Stalin's policies and the operation of the new command economy. In the process of carrying his policies out, Stalin created a TOTALITARIAN state that provided the models for George Orwell's *1984* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*.
 By the end of the 1930s, Stalin had changed a backward agricultural country into an industrialised country, one that was able to take on the might of the Nazi war machine and defeat it in the Second World War. He had also given shape and form to the institutions of the Soviet state and economy which remained largely unchanged until the 1980s. It was Lenin who made the October Revolution happen and it was Lenin who laid the foundations of the Communist state. But it was Stalin who shaped it into the Soviet totalitarian system that competed with the democratic countries of the CAPITALIST world until the collapse of Russian Communism in 1991. Whether Lenin would have approved of the Soviet state that emerged under Stalin, and how far he was responsible for the shape it took, is an issue that is dealt with at the end of this book.

SOURCE 3 D. Volkogonov, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Empire*, 1998, p. 81
Trotsky wrote: 'Marx was all in the Communist Manifesto, in the preface to his Critique and in Capital. Lenin, on the contrary, was all in revolutionary action. If he had never published a single book, he would still have gone down in history as he does now, as the leader of the proletarian revolution and founder of the Third International'. Trotsky was right. It was not his writings, but his ability to convert Marx's concept of the class struggle into a tool for the achievement of his main goal, the seizure of power, that made Lenin a giant in history. The world changed in the twentieth century in a large measure because of Lenin's intervention. While one part of mankind began to live 'according to Lenin', the other recoiled in horror and fear of repeating the experiment themselves. To avoid it, many countries sought acceptable reform and social change, and concentrated their efforts on economic growth and the rights of their citizens. It was not armed force and barbed wire that saved the people of the capitalist countries from the temptations of the revolution. It was their incomparably higher standard of living and the guarantee of their civil rights.

The marks left by Stalin on the face of the earth cannot easily be wiped away. Whether the thousands of buildings in the 'Stalinist' style of architecture, the canals, highways, blast furnaces, mines and factories – built to a large extent by the slave labour of millions of anonymous inmates of his Gulag – or nuclear weapons, his traces are steeped in blood. Between 1929 and 1953 the state created by Lenin and set in motion by Stalin deprived 21.5 million Soviet citizens of their

ACTIVITY

- 1 What image of Lenin and Stalin is conveyed by Sources 1 and 2?
- 2 Consider Sources 3 and 4. What is Volkogonov's view of the contributions that Lenin and Stalin made to the development of Communism in Russia and to world history?
- 3 What reasons can you suggest for the differences between the visual sources and Volkogonov's views?

TALKING POINT

- 1 Do you agree with Volkogonov that the high standard of living and guarantee of civil rights in capitalist countries are the main factors that have prevented revolutions in them?
- 2 Do you think attitudes towards capitalism are changing in western societies, particularly in view of developments connected with globalisation?



SOURCE 2 Stalin appeared on many posters and paintings leading the workers who were engaged in the transformation of the USSR