**Theme 3: control of the people revision**

**Mass media and propaganda:** There is a great deal of continuity, it is a tried and tested system for indoctrination and protection of the regime.

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|  | Evidence | What does this suggest? – change or continuity? |
| Lenin | The press were central to advancing the revolution.  November 1917: Decree on Press gave the government emergency powers to close down any counter-revolutionary newspaper. State monopoly saw only the government able to publish adverts. The Petrograd Telegraph Agency was nationalized.  January 1918: Revolutionary Tribunal of the Press created to censor them for ‘crimes against the people’  ROSTA were established (All-Russia Telegraph Agency) responsible for distributing news.  1921: 2,000 opposition newspapers had been closed. Pravda (the Communist Party paper) now had a high circulation. Sovnarkom also gave them control of the Soviet newspaper Isvestia (the spark)  A propaganda campaign against the church suggested that they were sabotaging famine relief efforts during 1921. | Protecting the revolution and protecting themselves  Focus on political opposition  protecting themselves  Focus on other threats.  Indoctrination. |
| Stalin | 1928 Glavlit controlled access to economic data and ‘bad news’ was restricted. The Soviet media could not publish reports on natural disasters, suicides, industrial accidents or bad weather.  Mid 1930s: works of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky were purged from Soviet libraries.  Lenin and Stalin’s works were edited to remove statements complimenting Stalin’s opponents.  Propaganda focused upon Stalin and developing the cult of personality. | Change towards internal enemies (political opposition from within)  Continuity in using censorship and use of the media to generate a positive party image. Protecting himself.  Indoctrination. |
| Khrushchev | New consumer magazines, radios and television sets appeared. Letters sent in to the magazines highlighted problems in Russian society such as domestic violence. Khrushchev responded with propaganda campaigns supporting this, focusing upon the domestic failures of men, hypocrisy and lack of devotion to communism.  Films: still focused on the Second World War but emphasized the role of the ordinary worker and not Stalin.  1960-1964: the TV industry grew massively. It focused upon the triumphs of the space race. In 1961 millions of viewers watched a 5 hour documentary of Yuri Gagarin and the same in 1963 with Valentina Tereshkova (first woman in space)  The national news focused upon model works on farms and in factories as part of the drive to increase labour productivity. | Change to focus upon the people/workers and successes (everyone together will work towards communism) – generically patriotic.  Continuity: use of state propaganda to control the minds of the people. Indoctrination. |
| Brezhnev | New consumer magazines, radios and television sets appeared.  Increase in films dealing with working people and their daily lives. They focused upon fashionable citizens living in luxury, increasing the demand for consumer goods.  They kept tight control of footage from Afghanistan so hid the scale and horrors of the war.  Brezhnev’s speeches were transmitted in full, he was the centre of media coverage but by the 1970s this highlighted his physical and mental decline where he lost track in the middle of sentences, could not climb the stairs of the Lenin Mausoleum. This continued until the last week of his life.  Lost control of the print media as western magazines became freely available. They undermined the faith in the Soviet system. | Continuity: censorship – news that will make the state look bad.  Change: control of the media is lost. |
| Andropov |  |  |
| Chernenko |  |  |

**Personality cults:** Sum up the key argument here after filling in all of the examples

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|  | Evidence | What does this suggest? – change or continuity? |
| Lenin | The cult of personality grew up around the leader. Lenin was not happy about it but understood the need to provide workers with a simple, understandable message. January 1918 the first picture of Lenin was published. August 1918 propaganda focused upon the miraculous survival of Lenin from an assassination attempt. He was often pictures with a flat cap, in workers clothes to show he was approachable. |  |
| Stalin | The cult of Stalin emphasised his right to take over the party leadership. It created a figure people could trust, respect and worship. At the start the cult emphasised Stalin as Lenin’s heir but by his 50th birthday this changed and he gave a speech criticizing Lenin.  It created the Myth of the Two Leader – Stalin had been involved in the revolution and victory of the Civil War working alongside Lenin. History had to be rewritten.   * 1938 two histories of the Communist Party, edited by Stalin, were released. * Socialist Realist paintings showed Lenin and Stalin working in close contact. * Photographs were altered to remove Trotsky and other former leaders.   Stalin became known as vozhd – leader. This meant there were no constitutional restrictions upon his power as with a Prime Minister or a president.  1945: Stalin became the Marshal to Genralissimo. A military genius and savior of the nation. He changed to being presented in a white uniform which he designed personally. |  |
| Khrushchev | Criticised Stalin for his cult of personality but established two of his own. The cult of Lenin in the 1950s said “Lenin lives”, he was shown as fun, approachable, humane, a person who loved children, family and a simple life. It reminded the citizens the revolution was founded by Lenin and not Stalin and his terror.  1958: Khrushchev’s cult of personality show him as:   * a discipline of Lenin * Responsible for the success of the Space race * A respected statesman * A hero of the Second World War * An authority of literature, art, science, agriculture and industry * A great reformer who was perfecting the Soviet system   As he made himself central to the Virgin Lands Scheme he also made himself central to its failure. |  |
| Brezhnev | Brezhnev’s cult of personality was developed to stabilize the regime. It had four key principles.   1. He was a great Leninist 2. He was a military hero 3. He was dedicated to ensuring world peace 4. He was a true man of the people   He used a series of public festivals, marked important anniversaries such as the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution in 1967 and twentieth and thirtieth anniversaries of the Second World War. He dominated these occasions with speeches and photographs of the leader.  He was mocked for his claim of greatness and young people did not believe he wanted peace as the Soviet military was so large. Brezhnev’s family lived in luxury so his cult was unbelievable. |  |
| Andropov |  |  |
| Chernenko |  |  |

**Religion:** Sum up the key argument here after filling in all of the examples

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|  | Evidence | What does this suggest? – change or continuity? |
| Lenin | He criticized the Russian Orthodox Church as they were an ally of the tsar. He felt that some priests lived lavish lifestyles and the church was very wealthy. Religious groups were often independent of communist governments so could be used to organise opposition.  October 1917: Decree on Land meant peasants could seize land from the church  January 1918: Decree Concerning Separation of the Church and State meant that church land, buildings and property were nationalized. Religious education was banned in schools.  1922: Constitution guaranteed freedom of conscience to all Soviet people.  The church was targeted in the Red Terror. November 1917 the Archpriest Ivan Kochurov was murdered outside of Petrograd.  January 1918 – Metropolitan (in charge of the Russian Orthodox Church) was tortured and shot in Kiev. Orthodox priests in Moscow were massacred following a church decree excommunicating the Bolsheviks.  November 1918 the Politburo issued a secret order to the Cheka to sanction mass executions of priests. Roman Catholic priests were deported and only executed once the Civil War had begun.  Lenin was less antagonistic against Islam. Initially they seized property of waqfs (Islamic foundations and charities) This policy was reversed quickly, Communist leaders encouraged local Muslims to join the party and continue to fund school sin their local areas. There had been no official link between Tsardom and Islam.  They backed a Living Church. This aimed to split the church and weaken it. The Living Church did not support the Communists and public debates about religion and science backfired on the government.  In the 1920s the Soviet authorities campaigned against Islam for ‘crimes based on custom’ especially those infringing on women’s rights. They also recognized that in order to have power in Central Asia and the Caucasus they needed to break the power of the church there.   * Closed mosques and turned them into sports clubs * Discouraged pilgrimages * Attacked Islamic shrines. * Started campaigns against women wearing the chador (traditional dress which sometimes includes a veil) * Opened anti-Islamic museums in the middle of recognized holy places. |  |
| Stalin | Religion: Stalin ordered the closure of many churches but he was pragmatic when dealing with religion. Sometimes it was needed.   * During collectivization they helped to organized/focus the resistance against his policy so he closed them. * During the Second World War he allowed the Russian Orthodox Church some breathing space as he needed the people to support the regime. Allowing them to pray for their loved ones brought comfort. Soldiers also found comfort in the thought that God would welcome them into heaven. He allowed the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church an official residence in Moscow if the Metropolitan (head of the church) encourages Christians to fight for the motherland and supported Stalin as ‘God’s chosen leader’   1948: There were 11,827 priests in comparison to 9254 in 1946.  Stalin was not tolerant of ethnic religious groups. In the 1920s the NKVD attacked groups set up to defend Islam and in Central Asia local priests and intellectuals were attacked.  By 1936 Sufi groups and those in Islamic strongholds such as the Valley of Turkestan had been destroyed. Islam still survived, women often kept the traditions alive and it grew in places such as Kazakhstan. |  |
| Khrushchev | Religion: more hardline than Stalin. He wanted to liberate society from the last vestiges of religion. Church attendance was seen as a form of resistance. In the mid-1950s the Protestant churches prophesised that the Soviet regime would come to an end.  1958: Churches reopened in the war close. Anti-religious propaganda was reintroduced, anti-religious magazines were reintroduced, Roman Catholic monasteries were closed in 1959. Orthodox convents were placed under surveillance, patrols refused access to religious sites. He used the space programme to attack religion with Gagarin famously saying he travelled to heaven and he had found no God. His campaign targeted women as over 80% of believers were women, men were encouraged to take over the education of their children in a 1960s propaganda campaign. There were campaigns against nuns and it being unnatural for them to deny their duty as wives and mothers. He campaigned to liberate women from Island.  The KGB closed thousands of churches and reduced the number of Orthodox buildings from 8,000 in 1958 to 5,000 by 1964. Women organized their own campaigns, marching or sending out pamphlets defending Christianity or Islam. This created a new dissident campaign. |  |
| Brezhnev | Religion: advocated spreading the philosophy of atheism rather than attacking the church or religious organisations.  1968: opened the Institute for Scientific Atheism which published articles in newspaper s and advised teachers.  He supported anti-American Islamic groups so described Islam as a ‘progressive, anticolonial and revolutionary creed’ that was comparable with socialism. He established the Spiritual Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan which allowed leaders limited contact with others in the world.  1960-1985 the number of people profession religious faith stayed at 20%. |  |
| Andropov |  |  |
| Chernenko |  |  |

**The secret police** Sum up the key argument here after filling in all of the examples (SEE ALSO TREATMENT OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND CULTURE AND MASS MEDIA FOR ROLE IN CENSORSHIP)

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|  | Evidence | What does this suggest? – change or continuity? |
| Lenin | Political terror was a temporary but necessary measure. It should be abandoned once the revolution was secure.  Dec 1917: the Cheka was established. They targeted counter-revolutionaries. Dzerzhinsky was head of the Cheka from 1917-1926 when he was purged.  1922 changed their name to the GPU. Terror was on a smaller scale than the Red Terror of the civil war. Lenin told Dzerzhinsky to set up an agency within the GPU to monitor the press. They kept former Tsarist officers who served in the Red Army under surveillance. Lenin ordered Dzerzhinsky to supervise the deportations of professors and engineers that were suspected of anti-Communist sympathies. |  |
| Stalin | July 1934: Appointed Yagoda head of the NKVD and put him in charge of leading the hunt for enemies of the Party. He organized the arrest, interrogation and trial of Zinoviev and Kamenev Stalin wanted a greater impact upon the political ‘enemies’. Yagoda was a disappointment to Stalin.  Yezhov replaced Yagoda and the Great Terror moved from targeting political enemies to the whole of the USSR. Stalin argued that as socialism advanced then so did class struggle. Capitalist would fight harder against socialism. Yezhov transformed the NKVD.   * Targets were set by Stalin for arrests, executions and deportations. * 1937 the NKVD was purged. Many joined in 1918 and were opposed to mass terror for ideological reasons. * New agents had no loyalty to the party, they enjoyed, power, violence and the possibility of promotion. They focused upon urban, educated men aged 30-45 as these were judged most likely to oppose Stalin.   They used the conveyor belt system which sped up confessions. NKVD agents worked 24 hours/ 7 days a week. Groups (troikas) would work in shift patterns so torture could be continuous. |  |
| Khrushchev | Three months after Stalin’s death there was an agreement there would not be a return to mass terror. Beria was arrested, tried and executed for treason and terrorism. The head of the KGB became a dead end job, they kept a low profile and it was no longer a leading position within government. |  |
| Brezhnev | Promoted Andropov to head the KGB. He was an astute politician and he enjoyed the trust of Brezhnev. His remit was to achieve maximum control through minimum use of violence in order to control dissidents. He was a conservative, suspicious of cultural freedom. He was keen to expose and prosecute the corruption within the party but Brezhnev was not.  1968: KGB Order No. 0051 ‘On the tasks of state security agencies in combatting ideological sabotage by the adversary’ – increased surveillance and action against dissidents. His strategy was subtle.  1967-1970: code of conduct for the KGB   * Directorate V was established, this was a special branch to deal with dissidents. * Agents were not allowed to accept gifts and had to declare financial assets. * Agents with relatives who broke the law were sacked. * Agents were promoted from across the USSR based upon their track record of dealing with dissidents.   1975: The USSR signed the Helsinki Agreement, to respect human rights. Dissidents used this to publically embarrass the regime.  Law and order campaign to attack anti-social behaviours of hooliganism, drunkenness and corruption. |  |
| Andropov | retained control of the KGB after 1982. He was worried about growing dissent in Eastern Europe and corruption within the party.   * Continued to monitor public opinion through phone tapping, posing as westerners and stating anti-Soviet conversations.   KGB reported a loss of faith in the system led to:   * Alcoholism * Poor labour discipline * Increased black market trade * Demand for western goods. * Sympathy for strikers in Poland. * Increased Church attendance * Falling birth rates.   Actions:   1. Investigation of corrupt officials. Shchelokov, Minister for Interior was arrested but committed suicide before his trial. 2. Anti-alcohol campaign, workers could be sacked or fined for damaging machinery. 3. Operation Trawl: KGB officers patrolled and arrested people who were drunk or absent from work. There was less absenteeism in the short term. |  |
| Chernenko | Continued the policy of work place discipline but reduced the policy of anti-corruption within the party in order to protect his supporters. |  |

**Treatment of political opposition by the secret police:** Sum up the key argument here after filling in all of the examples

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|  | Evidence | What does this suggest? – change or continuity? |
| Lenin | Civil War: the Cheka’s duties were to protect Communist rule in areas already held by the Communists. They did not enforce laws or were not subject to laws. They helped the Red Army to requisition grain, closed down opposition newspapers and imprisoned, tortured and executed socialist opposition. They used extreme violence against those who were counter revolutionaries. Priests were crucified, members of the white army froze to death and were turned into statues, people were scalped or buried alive. They were positioned behind the Red Army with machine guns so it anyone retreated then they would be shot. They ran concentration camps and stopped private trading.  January 1918; targeted other socialists such as the SRs. They closed down the Constituent Assembly.  NEP: They attacked the governments’ political opponents. They monitored public opinion, could intercept post and communications. Intellectuals and students were closely watched. Surveillance reports were sent directly to the Central Committee. They reported on moral problems such as drunkenness, gambling and other signs of inequality. They imprisoned NEPmen, harassed women who dressed in western styles, persecuted young people who danced to jazz and persecuted priests. There were no laws against these, they were just safeguarding the revolution.  1922: Lenin ordered political trials were set up for members of the other socialist political parties. The Socialist Revolutionary leaders were put on trial for treason, sabotage and plotting to overthrow the Soviet State. By August 1922 they were sentenced to death, most were imprisoned until the Great Terror of the 1930s. |  |
| Stalin | Show trials such as the trial of the 17 and 21 made these actions very public. Yagoda and Yezhov were tried as part of the Trial of the 21. Yezhov and 300 of his closest associates were shot. Beria succeeded him as head of the NKVD in April 1939.  1937-1938 Yezhovschina (Yezhov bloodbath, historian Donald Rayfield) saw 1.5 million (10% of the adult male population. Only 5% of those arrested were women) arrested. 635,000 were deported to places such as Siberia and 680,000 were executed. All of Soviet society was targeted. Government districts in Moscow and Leningrad were ghost towns. Mass arrests left apartment blocks empty.   * In local areas some NKVD agents demanded higher targets * Workers and peasants organized their own show trials of factory managers and government officials. In Kazan, government officials were publically tried for the misuse of public funds.   During the Second World War the NKVD policed ethnic minorities for collaboration with the Germans. 1942 there was mass deportation of the Kalmyks as Stalin feared they would welcome a German invasion. By 1953 only 53,000 of the 130,000 survived.  1944 all 460,000 Chechens were deported from Chechnya to Siberia within 7 days. Those unwilling to leave were locked in to buildings and burned to death (around 170,000)  1945 the NKVD interrogated 1.5 million liberated Soviet prisoners of war as Stalin saw them as traitors. Most were deported to Siberia.  1949: the Leningrad Affair – Stalin purged 200 officials from the Leningrad party as they acted independently. Beria’s rivals were based here.  1952-53: The Doctor’s Plot saw medical staff arrested for trying to position Stalin and other party members. Many were Jewish and Stalin was highly anti-Semitic. He died before his Drs could be executed and following his death they were released. | Stalin was able to replace old party members with newer more loyal members.  There were massive economic problems as a result of the Great Terror. Removal of experts meant rates of production declined or stagnated during the third Five Year Plan. |
| Khrushchev | Organised the rehabilitation of thousands of political prisoners. He preferred ‘popular oversight’ as a means of social control.  1959: Khrushchev proclaimed there were no longer any political prisoners in the USSR. ‘There are no political prisoners, only persons of unsound mind’. He preferred to use compulsory psychiatric treatment. |  |
| Brezhnev | 1964-1966: a number of trials of well-known artists caused international outcry about the preservation of artistic freedom.  Methods used by the KGB:   1. Emigration – 100,000 high profile dissidents with an international following were allowed to emigrate. Many Soviet Jews were allowed to emigrate to Israel after 1948. 1/5th of writers, journalists etc. were Jewish but they only made up 1% of the population of the USSR. Andropov argued this was a pragmatic way of dealing with potential dissidents without resorting to oppression. 1973 Solzhenitsyn, author of The Gulag Archipeligo (smuggled out and published in the west in 1968) was forced into exile in America. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature. 2. Repressive psychiatry – used under Stalin and Khrushchev but expanded massively under Brezhnev. Lesser well known dissidents were forced to have compulsory treatment. April 1969 the Council of Ministers agreed this measure in a secret resolution. Records were private so journalists could not trace people sent here, prison records were public. This was less likely to cause international outcry as it was harder to prove. This was used against Protestant Christians, Jehovah Witnesses. An American delegation visited but were only shown the positives and convinced it was medical. 3. November 1972 – KGB adopted a policy of issuing official warnings. 1970s 70,000 dissidents were interviewed and warned. The KGB estimated that this stopped the formation of 2,000 subversive groups. This policy reflected the attitude of the party that socialism was incompatible with widespread repression. If you continued after this then you could be:    1. Sacked/demoted at work    2. Sent to an institution for ‘treatment’    3. Exiled    4. Sent to prison. Numbers rose from 171 in 1965-7 to 528 in 1968-1970.   1972: Show trials of Yakir and Krasin for running the human rights magazine Chronicle of Current Events.  1974: violence could also be used. ‘Bulldozer Exhibition’ where they drove bulldozers into an art exhibition and destroyed the exhibits.  Sakharov became public enemy number one. He was the Father of the Hydrogen Bomb. He was critical of the damage of Soviet nuclear tests. He led a campaign to expel Lysenko (Khrushchev’s favourite scientist) from the Soviet Academy of Sciences in 1964. In 1968 he published Reflections on Progress arguing the USSR should respect human rights. Thus was published in the west and by the BBC. It was a samizdat publication. The KGB restricted his right to travel and kept him under surveillance. He was sent into internal exile in Gorky as KGB intimidation did not work. He published My Country and the World in 1975. He won a Nobel Peace Prize. |  |
| Andropov |  |  |
| Chernenko |  |  |

**Culture:** Sum up the key argument here after filling in all of the examples

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|  | Evidence | What does this suggest? – change or continuity? |
| Lenin | 1922: Dzerzhinsky introduced Glavlit to oversee censorship. It:   * Policed every publication in the USSR. * Employed professional censors * All books were investigated for anti-Communist bias * Compiled a list of banned books.   New special holding libraries (book Gulags) were set up to house banned books and access was restricted, only senior party members could get access.  **Lenin** believed that the cinema was the most important art form of the twentieth century. It should be used to inspire and support for the new government.  New forms of art flourished and there were disagreements within the leaders of the party as to what revolutionary art should mean. Lenin was interested in the potential and purposes of art. Lunacharsky (People’s Commissar for Enlightenment) argued the revolutionary proletariat culture should flourish but Lenin believed it would learn best from the bourgeois culture. Proletkult would be the new movement, this gave working people access to studios across Russia. By 1920 there were 84,000 members working in over 300 studios. They had a monthly magazine which showcased their work. This was called Gorn (Furnace). It was independent of Communist Party control. Lenin felt futurism was degenerate. Working people needed education more than an ability to express themselves artistically.  1920s cinema flourished. Vertov was an experimental film maker. He preferred a ‘cinema of fact’. His technique was to film people as they worked, shopped or had fun. Agitprop was to encourage people to ‘beat the whites with the red wedge’ and show peasants films to persuade them of the red cause in the civil war.  Eisenstein made agitational films, they had a revolutionary message with experimental filming. They were criticised as they could not be understood by workers and peasants.  During the period of the NEP there was relative creative freedom. Prolekult and avant-garde artists flourished. In the1920s went on the Communist Party was able to assert a greater degree of artists control as a result of the civil war coming to an end. Artists were forced to change their styles. |  |
| Stalin | 1926: The Petrograd State Institute of Artistic Culture was forced to close due to the campaign in Pravda against avant-garde. The newspaper claimed that the art school was using government money to encourage individualism and debauchery.  They were critical of American fashion and music on the young. Flapper styles and Jazz were very popular with young people but party leaders claimed that it led to sexual promiscuity and drunkenness. They were concerned that young people would focus their attentions on free time rather than listening to political lectures. From the mid-1920s the party were using the OGPU to break up parties where Jazz was played.  Late 1920s – The Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia who painted in a traditional style and celebrated the achievements of the Soviet government emerged. Works such as The Defiance of Petrograd was praised by party officials.  1930s – films were revised to remove references to Trotsky.  1930: Stalin wrote an article in The Bolshevik which argued that revolutionary art should reflect government priorities rather than individual creativity. Abstract art and films were too difficult for the average citizen to understand. Dissenting artists celebrated Lenin’s achievements rather than Stalin’s.  1932: opening of the Union of Soviet Writers who developed ‘Socialist Realism’ which showed the heroic workers participating in the building of socialism. It used real images rather than abstract art. In literature there needed to be a plot that people could follow. Ballet changed to celebrate industrialism. In the 1930s Ballet and music became more about telling epic stories and much less about creative choreography. Artists were set targets and then were required to go to factories or collective farms to record what they saw. Soviet sculptors had to produce a giant sculpture of a ball bearing (10 metres in diameter) for the opening of a new ball bearing factory. |  |
| Khrushchev | appealed to a bright future and criticized Stalin, communism should liberate artists. It went through a cycle of thaws and freezes. This showed the leaders approach to art and then him responding to being pressured by the party (freezes - where the government took greater control). He also believed ordinary people could deal with the truth about Stalin or freedom. If the Party allowed some criticism of the government he would help to keep public support for the government. This meant his policy went through freezes and thaws.  The Social Intelligentsia were a fast growing group in Soviet society as there had been a great deal of investment in university education. Khrushchev wanted to use this group and create an alliance with them to help the government to build socialism.  Female sexuality was a concern and their desire to shop was seen be a real concern for the government. They assumed that western fashion implied sexual promiscuity. 1950s and 1960s there were campaigns against ‘loose women’.  1950s: not all artists could publish their work through government owned publishing houses. In the later 1950s writers produced self-published magazines and books (samizdat). Foreign editions were smuggled into the country. Artists were refused to submit to government control were sent to psychiatric institutions. Brodsky was sent Serbsky Institute where he was confined with people who suffered from mental illness that made them violent. Some artists were forcibly medicated. Conditions in hospital were extremely poor, they lived on watery soup and in cold and damp conditions their physical and often mental health deteriorated.  1953-54: the government allowed a series of novels which showed the differences between old Stalinists and the new generation of the 1950s. Ehrenburg’s novel The Thaw criticised Stalin’s use of mass terror. Boris Pasternak’s Dr Zhivago was critical of Lenin, this was unacceptable to Khrushchev so the book was banned in the USSR until 1980.  After 1954: propaganda changed from ‘socialist realism’ to ‘popular oversight’ which showed conformist citizens as bald, fat or lazy.  1956-57: Following the secret speech there was another period of cultural liberalization. Not By Bread Alone was published which told the story of an innovative worker’s battles with unjust Party bureaucracy.  1957: World Youth Festival was held in Moscow and saw young people dance to Jazz and African drumming. Classical western European and U.S music was put on the school curriculum. The work of George Gershwin (inspired by Jazz) was taught. The double standard that soviet males having sex with foreign women was not seen as a problem but women having sex with foreign delegates was a problem meant that party squads patrolled the streets and shaved the heads of young women discovered having sex. They were deported and forced to work on the virgin land scheme.  There was a rise in teen pregnancy and abortion rates. Welfare policies attempted to direct women towards marriage and child bearing.  Economic planners planned the production of cosmetics and clothes in accordance of semi-official standards of beauty. The Teacher’s Gazette set out guidance on how to dress appropriately as they were role models for young women.  1959: The Alcoholic showed a man lying in a pool of his own vomit. Good citizens were encouraged to intervene with moral advice rather than report them to the authorities.  1959: American National Exhibition which contained a beauty salon and a fashion show had restricted public access. Government posters contrasted wholesome Soviet young women with those following American fashion (capri pants). They were unable to prevent the rise of stilyagism (fashion hunters).  1961: Propaganda poster entitled the ‘Lazy Bureaucrat; showed a fat man at a disorganized desk.  1961-62: The Twenty-Second Party Congress voted to remove Stalin’s body from the Red Square. Solzhenitsyn’s short story One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich which told the story of a worker in the Gulag.  January 1964: several artists were arrested and imprisoned. Khrushchev reacted badly to an abstract art show shouting loudly that Ernst Neizvestny’s work was ‘dog shit’. |  |
| Brezhnev | cultural conservatism.  He wanted to celebrate the achievement of Stalin’s era. Official art became backward looking. Focusing upon the triumph of the Second World War.  1964-70: spending on fashion tripled. Over half the clothes available in cities never sold as they were considered too unfashionable. Rich city families employed dressmakers who worked from foreign dress magazines.  Early 1965: KGB report which outed 1,292 anti-Soviet authors who had written 10,000 documents.  Sept 1965: Arrest of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel for the production of ‘anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda’  1966: Sinyavsky-Daniel show trial. The only evidence presented against them was their own writing, This is Moscow speaking (Daniel) and The Trial Begins (Sinyavsky). Both writers had been given freedom under Khrushchev and become famous. They were both found guilty and sentenced to 5-7 years in a labour camp. This led to fears that Brezhnev was reviving Stalinism. After this show trials and imprisonment became rare as international community pressured them. Artists were allowed to emigrate. Brodsky emigrated to the U.S and won the Nobel Prize for literature. Lesser known artists were put in psychiatric institutions. Possibly 7,000-8,000 in the 1970s.  1968 - The Prague Spring (reformers in Czechoslovakia tried to make ‘socialism with a human face’, Stalinism was rejected but the people of Czechoslovakia called for an end to Communism and a break away from the USSR. Brezhnev crushed this with the Red Army) saw Brezhnev’s attitude harden towards art and culture as it confirmed cultural liberation was dangerous. There was increased crackdown on artists to encourage conformity. Solzhenitsyn (Gulags) found it increasingly difficult to get published. The editor of the New World advocated greater artists freedom and was eventually forced to resign in 1970. Nostalgia was the dominant trend.  There was a thriving underground art scene - dissident artists continued to write, paint and perform in the USSR. Nonna Goriunova’s Forest Ritual was a live performance where she posed naked in a forest. It was a direct attack on the prohibition of nudity in Soviet art and a statement that female beauty is separate from male desire.  1970s Moscow Conceptualists attempted to make art ‘rebellion against everyday life’, exposing the truth about Soviet Society so it would be an antidote to official propaganda.  Leningrad Underground Art was formed, it rejected the system and highlighted their preferences for ‘warm and soulful pursuits’  1970s trade with the west increased and western films were shown in the cinemas. This showcased Western fashion.  Some exhibitions took place without official interference whereas others were repressed. The ‘Bulldozer Exhibition’ in Sept 1974 targeted exhibitions organised by artists Rukin and Rabin. Police drove bulldozers and destroyed the artwork.  1970s-1980s Soviet ballet became world famous. Soviet magazines ridiculed women who dressed in western styles and teachers were supposed to discourage it. Men approached tailors to get suits made in the western style.  1977: An Office Romance (film) ridiculed the fashionable young female secretary but the audiences connected with her character rather than the poorly dressed, conservative boss.  There were three groups of artists:  Obedient functionaries (prepared to work for the system without questioning it)  Loyal opposition it’s (critical of the system but used official channels to criticise it)  Dissidents: (publish openly)  Andropov – conservative, suspicious of cultural freedom.  There was a thriving underground art scene.  The Blonde Around the Corner (1983) showed a heroine living in a fashionable apartment and dressing in western clothes. The film got 24 million viewers. |  |
| Andropov |  |  |
| Chernenko | There was a thriving underground art scene  1985 The Mitzi exhibition was raided by the police. |  |