

Individuals Using Institutions to Consolidate Power in Russia and China

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History's habits of mind empower and enable individuals to: (from nche.net)

- Grasp the significance of the past in shaping the present
- Perceive past events and issues as they might have been experienced by the people of the time, **with historical empathy** rather than present-mindedness
- Read critically, to discern differences between evidence and assertion and to frame useful and appropriate questions about the past
- Interrogate texts and artifacts, posing questions about the past that foster informed discussion, reasoned debate and evidence-based interpretation

- Recognize that history is an evolving narrative constructed from available sources, cogent inferences and changing interpretations
- Appreciate the diversity of cultures and variety of historical contexts, as well as to distinguish elements of our shared humanity
- Understand the impact made by individuals, groups and institutions at local, national and global levels both in effecting change and in ensuring continuity
- Realize that all individuals are decision makers, but that personal and public choices are often restricted by time, place and circumstance**
- Negotiate a complex, often uncertain and ambiguous world, equipped with the appreciation for multiple perspectives

Niccolo Machiavelli ON POWER

Men are so simple and so much inclined to obey immediate needs that a deceiver will never lack victims for his deceptions.

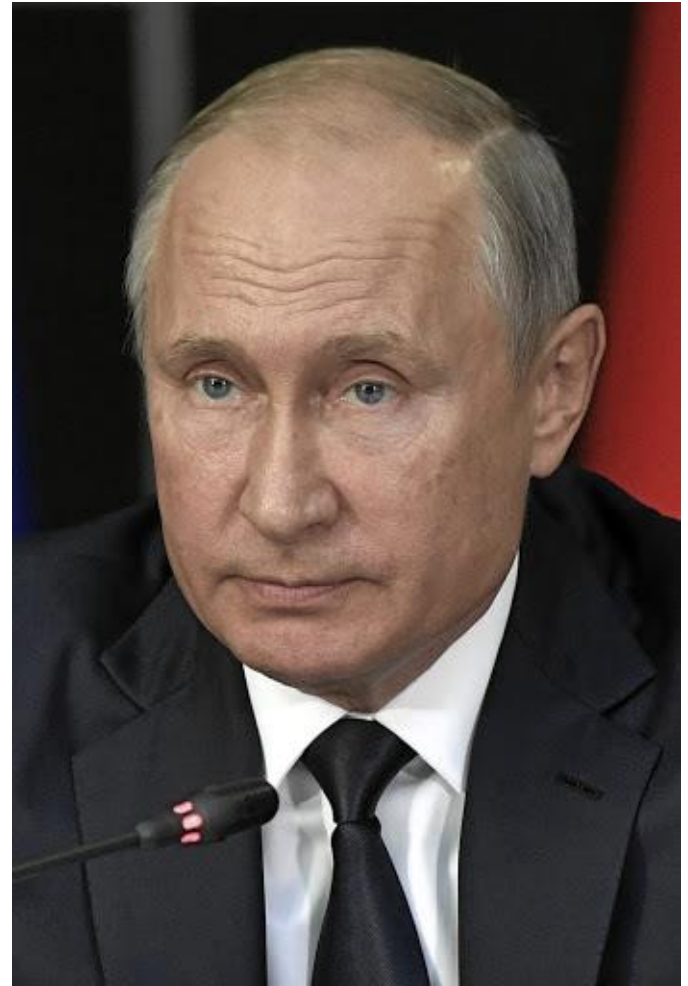
If you only notice human proceedings, you may observe that all who attain great power and riches, make use of either force or fraud; and what they have acquired either by deceit or violence, in order to conceal the disgraceful methods of attainment, they endeavor to sanctify with the false title of honest gains.

Is it better to be loved rather than feared, or feared rather than loved? It might perhaps be answered that we should wish to be both; but since love and fear hardly exist together, if one must choose between them, it is far better to be feared than loved.

The state is not an organism capable of bringing either moral or material improvements to the populace...but merely a vehicle of power for the men and party in power.

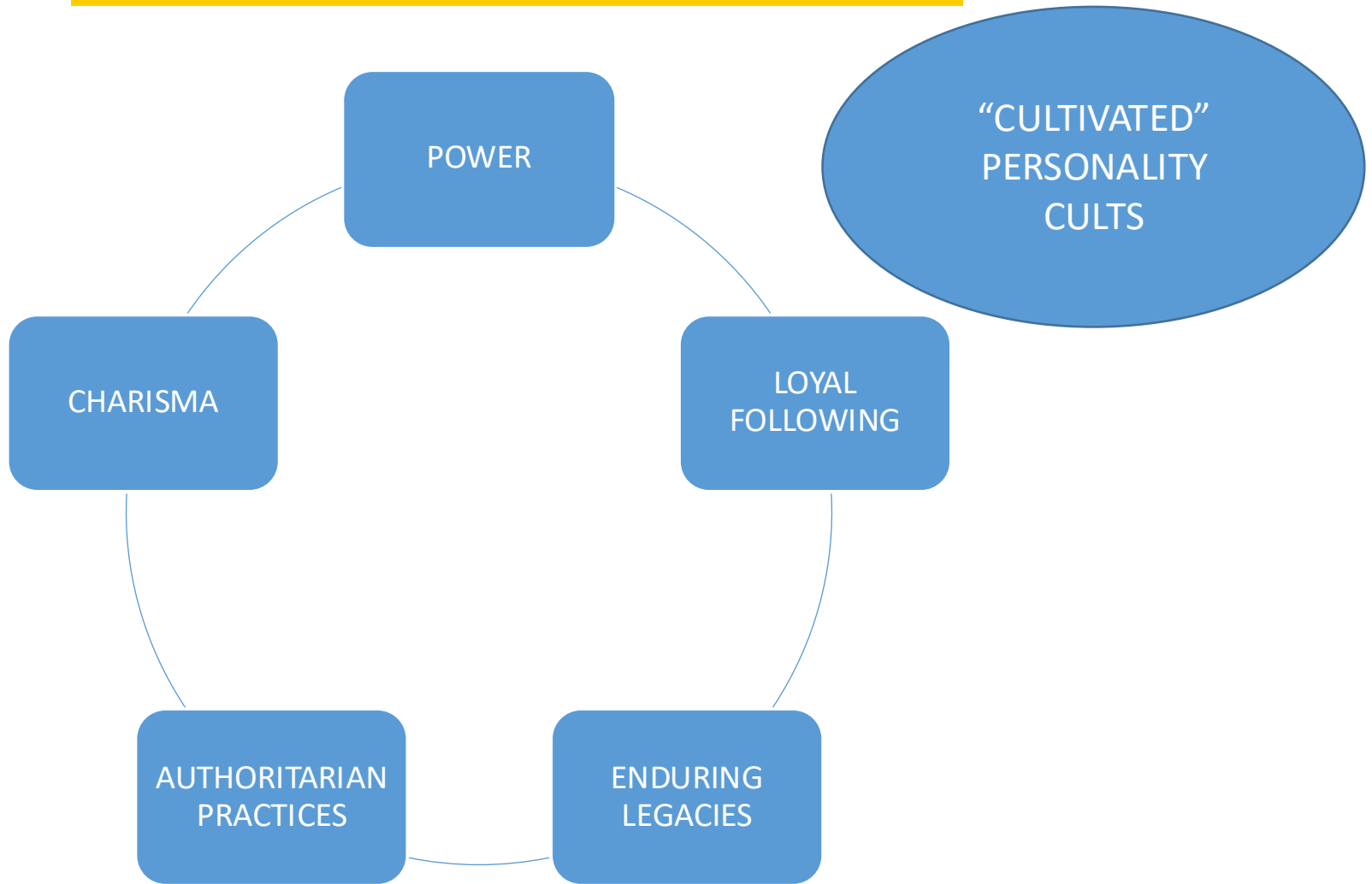


What do these
leaders have
in common?



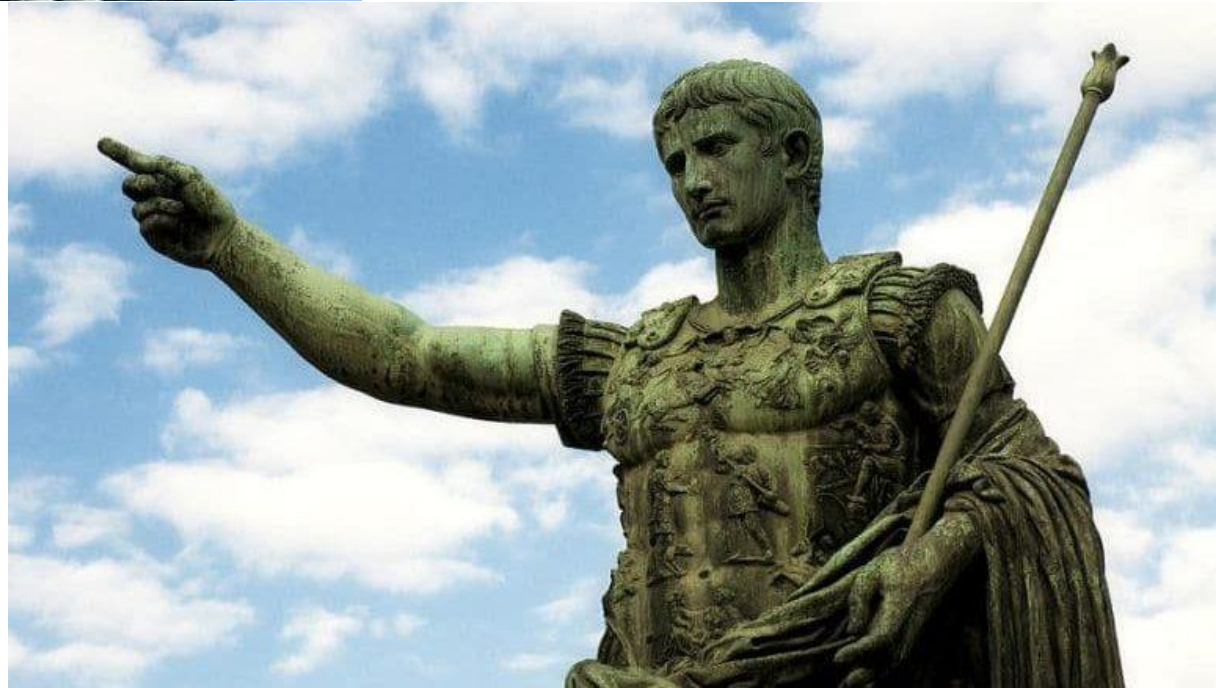
What do *these* leaders have in common?

20th Century vs. 21st Century





“The deification of dead Emperors and then of living emperors was used to *legitimize* personal power in Ancient Greece and Rome, especially with the dynasty of Augustus.” (Rees, 2004)



20th and 21st Centuries

Technology and Mass Media



Police Monitoring



Definition of Charismatic Authority

-Max Weber

- According to Weber, a state is
- “a relationship of rule by human beings over human beings, which rests on the *legitimate* use of violence.” (Weber, Lassman, & Speirs, 1994: 311)
- Weber outlined three ideal types of legitimate authority.

1. Tradition, habit, and cultural beliefs



2. Legal-rational authority based on laws and principles



3. Charismatic authority:

“The entirely personal devotion to, and trust in, revelations, heroism, or other qualities of leadership in an individual”

(Weber et al 1994, 312)



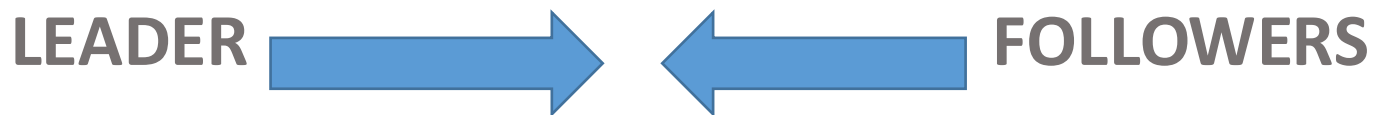
The difference between Weber's idea and modern personality cults:

Use of institutions to support the personality cult

A leader will develop a **personal relationship** with the people and then

Establish an authority structure through **institutions**

A personality cult is a relationship between the leader and his followers.



Reasons Why a Personality Cult Arises

- Dissatisfaction builds to distress
- A “salvationist” character emerges who proclaims a solution

- Social Injustice
- Economic Difficulties
- Threats to National Integrity/Identity



Key Factor to the Success of a Personality Cult

Example:

“Among 20th-century statesmen, Ho Chi Minh was remarkable both for the tenacity and patience with which he pursued his goal of Vietnamese independence and for his success in blending Communism with nationalism.”

(Alden Whitman)

• Articulation of a *MISSION*



Institutionalization

Key Factor to the *ENDURANCE* of
the Personality Cult

MISSION

Commemorative events

Formularized practices

Organized structure for devotion

Choosing a successor

Integrates daily living practices with the spirit of the cult

Stories and depictions

LEADER

LEADER

MISSION

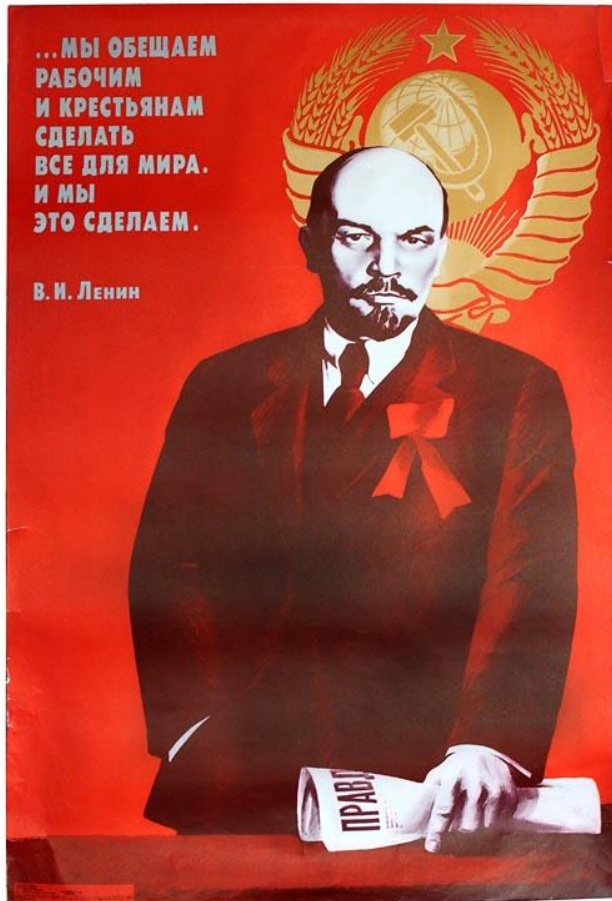


Patrimonialism

Authority is based on ties of personal loyalty and personal dependency between a leader (patron) and his administrative staff (clients).



20th Century Personality Cults Linked to Totalitarian Systems



A single mass party led by one man, embodying a distinct ideology

Russia/Soviet Union

Distress

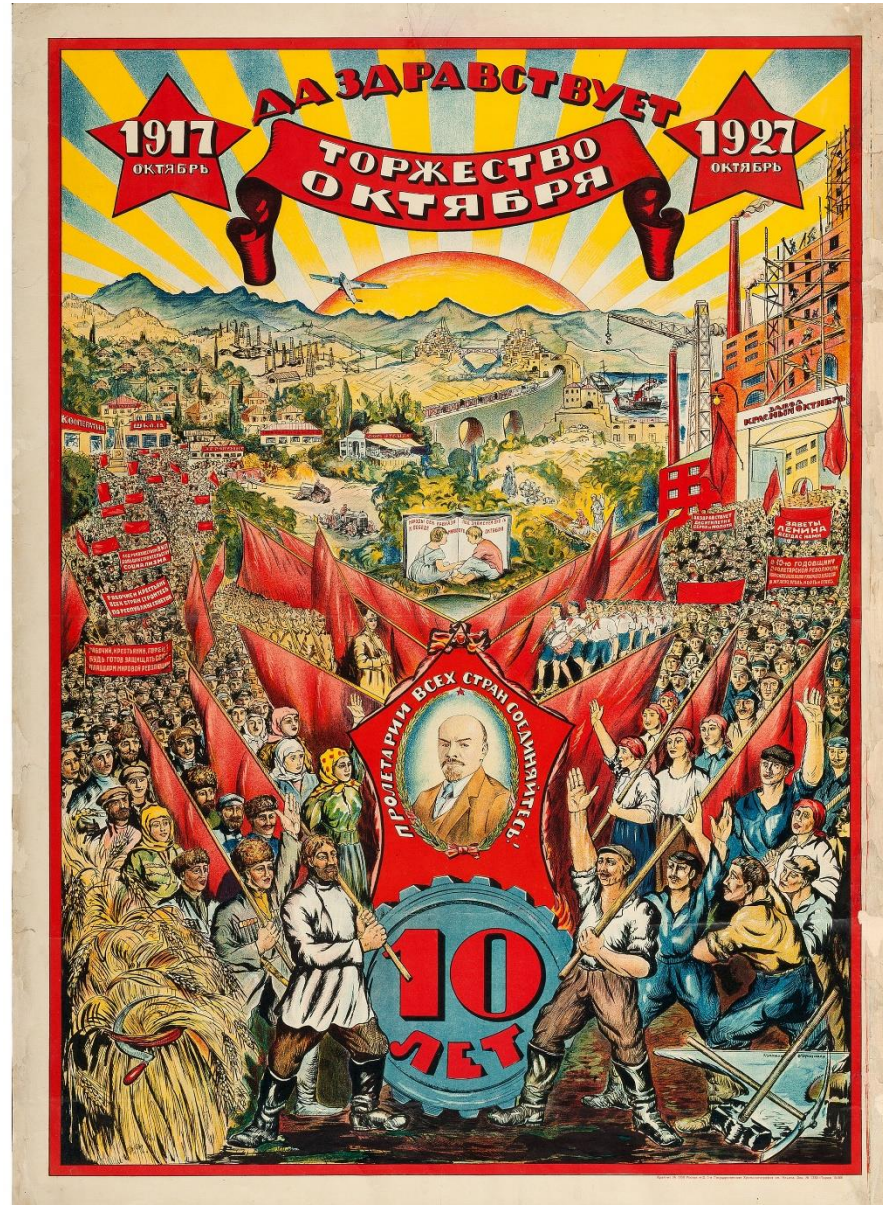


Crises in the political,
economic, and social
spheres

Mission



Change from an
oppressive Czarist regime
to an egalitarian
communist society



Imaged by Heritage Auctions, HA.com

Lenin's Propaganda Tools



Pravda "The Truth" Newspaper



The October 1917 Revolution

Lenin “immortalized”





ВПЕРЕД,
К КОММУНИЗМУ!

СЛАВА ПАРТИИ ЗА МИРНЫЙ
ЛЕНИНА-СТАЛИНА! ТРУД!

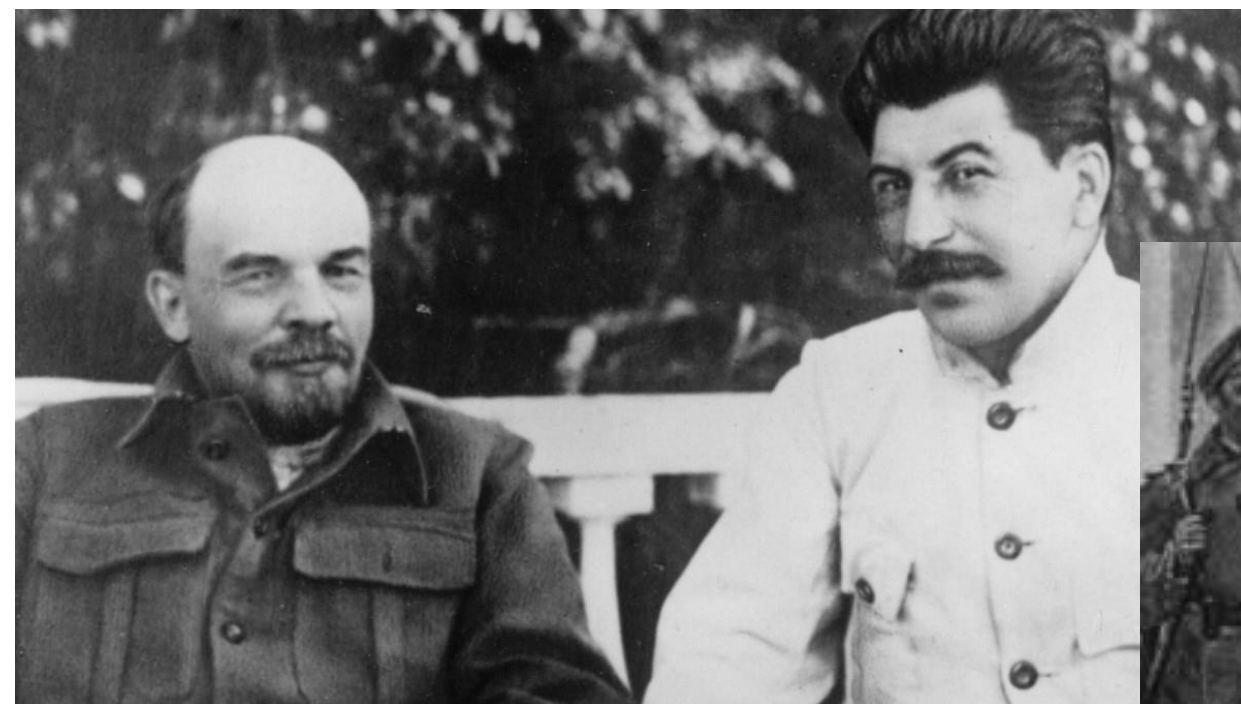
ЗА
НА

ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ ВЕЛИКОЕ, НЕПОБЕДИМОЕ ЗНАМЯ

МАРКСА-ЭНГЕЛЬСА-ЛЕНИНА-СТАЛИНА

Stalin's Personality Cult

- Editing of History
- Presented himself as Lenin's constant companion at important revolutionary events





КАПИТАН СТРАНЫ СОВЕТОВ
ВЕДЕТ НАС ОТ ПОБЕДЫ
К ПОБЕДЕ!

Defender of the State

СПАСИБО ЛЮБИМОМУ
СТАЛИНУ-

Protector of his people



ЗА СЧАСТЛИВОЕ ДЕТСТВО

Stalin's Achievements

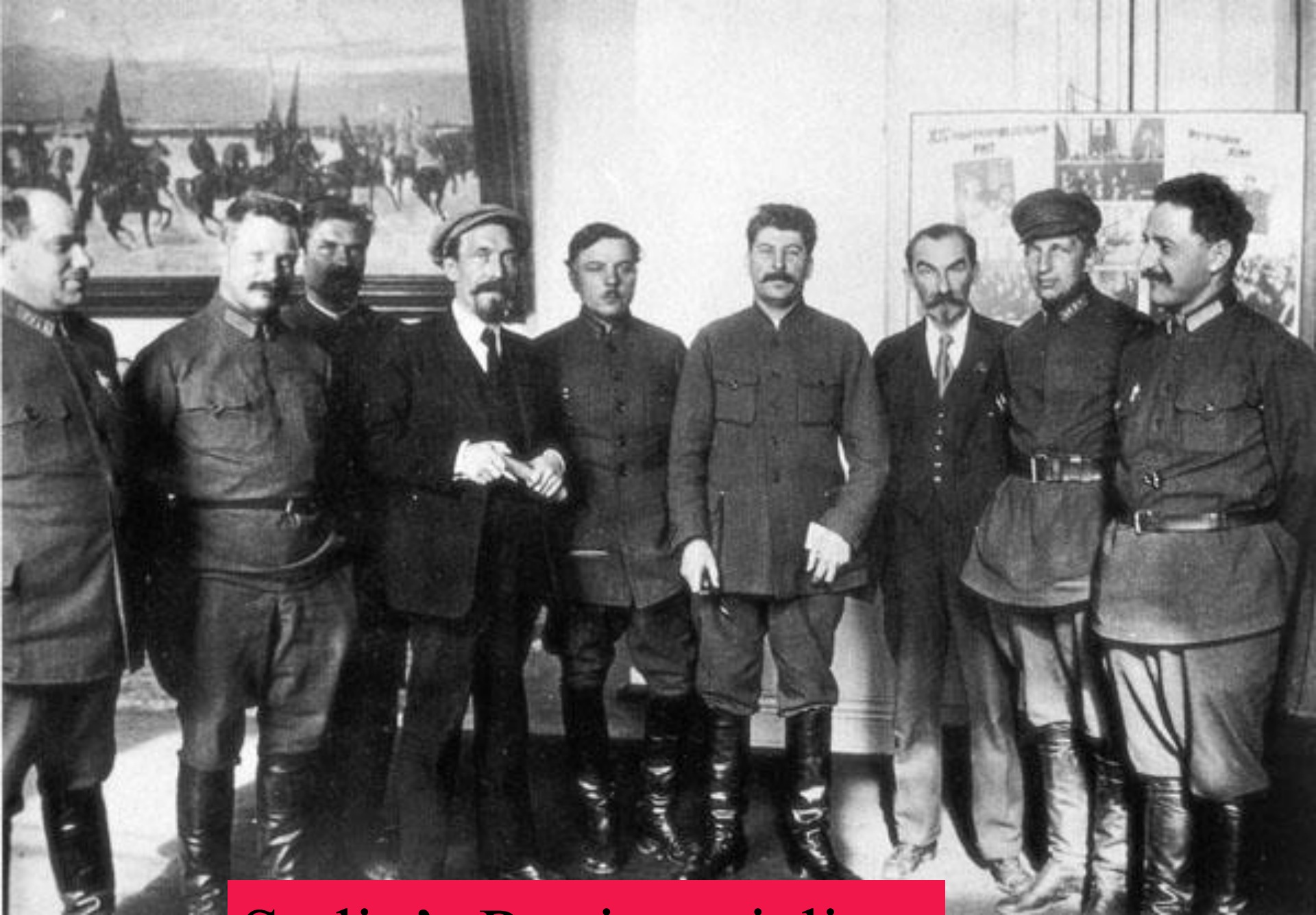
Industrialization
New Towns

Moscow Metro
Victory in WW II



• Birthday Celebrations





Stalin's Patrimonialism



НАРОДЫ ЧТУТ ПАМЯТЬ ВОЖДЯ

Фотографии А. Гаранина, М. Бугаевой, В. Гребнева, Ю. Королева.



Mass public grieving over
the death of Stalin in 1953

Mao Zedong (1893-1976)



Mao on the “Long March” 1934-36

DISTRESS

China's Century of Humiliation 1830s-1949





Mao declares the founding
of the
People's Republic of China,
October 1st, 1949



MISSION

Lead the masses to political, economic and social transformation

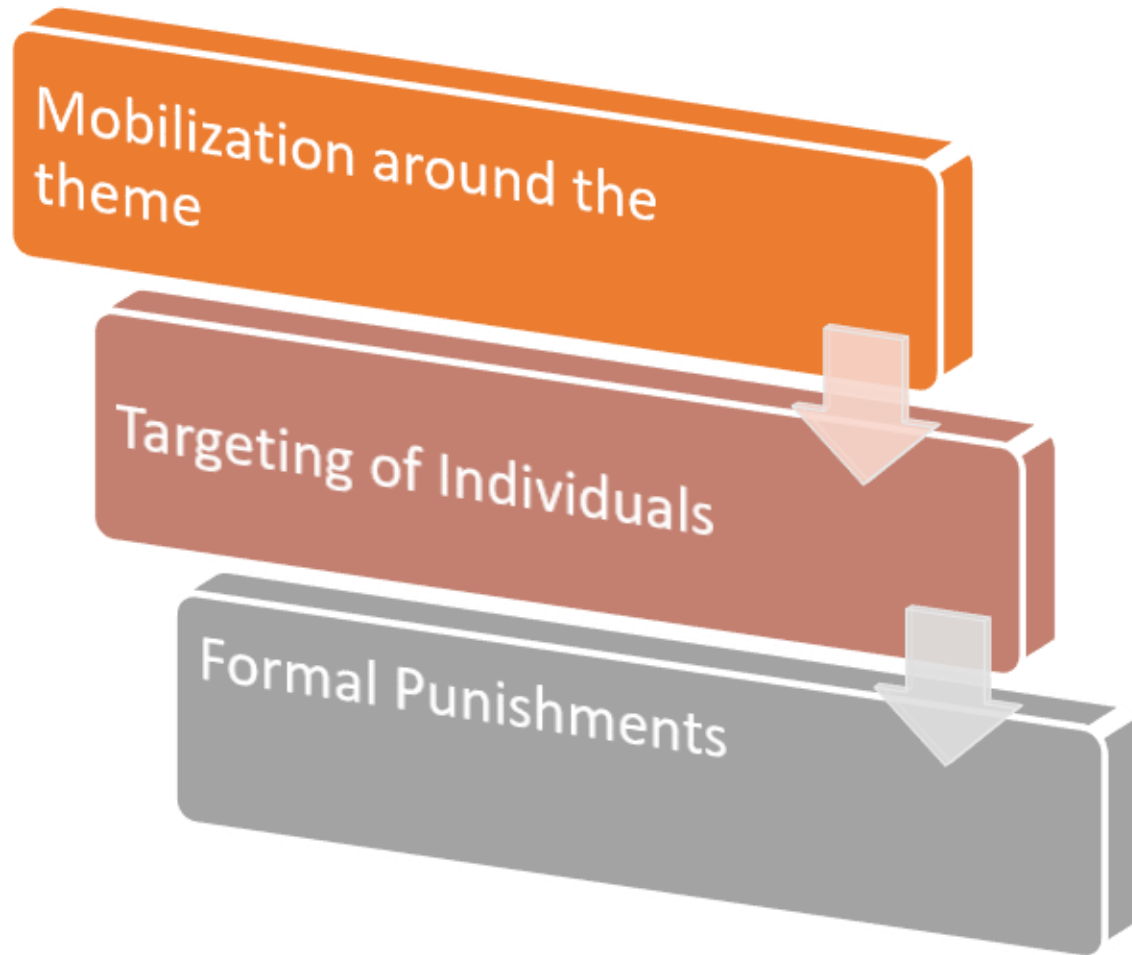


chinese posters.net



chinese posters.net

Stages of a Campaign



Major Campaigns under Mao

Land Reform 1950

Three Anti Five
Anti Reform of
Intellectuals 1951

Hundred Flowers
1957

Great Leap
Forward
1958-61

Cultural
Revolution
1966-76

Mao on personality cults:

- “There are two types of personality cults. One is correct, for example, we have to worship the correct things of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and to worship them forever. Not to worship them is not possible. (...) Members of a squad must worship their squad leader. Not to worship is impossible (...). *The problem does not rest with the cult of the individual but with whether it represents the truth or not.* If it represents the truth, it should be worshipped. If it does not, even collective leadership won't work.” (Pang & Jin, 2003: 802)

为全面地提早完成和超额完成五年计划而奋斗



“The role and power of newspapers consist in their ability to present the Party’s line, its specific policies, goals and work methods, to the masses in the most effective and rapid of ways.”

-Mao Zedong, 1961



坚持文艺革命 反击右倾翻案风

学习革命样
坚决反右
一放一花放

痛斥今不...
...论



BIG CHARACTER POSTERS

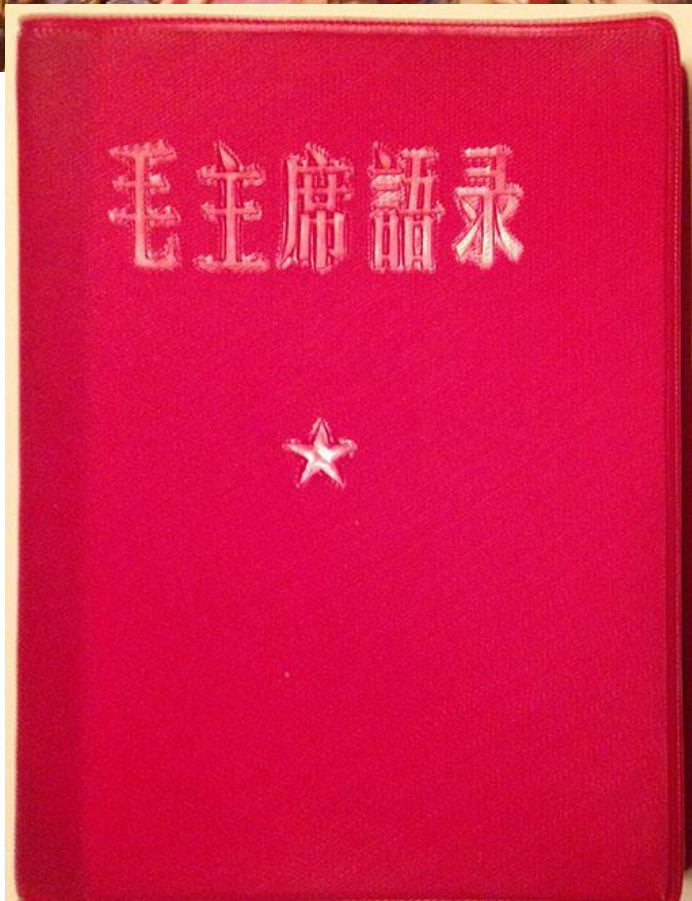
*Proudly we wear the badges of Chairman Mao,
The ever-red sun rises in our hearts;
With Chairman Mao's call engraved within us,
We become pathbreakers in revolution and
production.*



*The golden sun illuminates the plane's controls,
Rainbow clouds glow in the wide clear skies;
With Chairman Mao pointing the direction for us,
We dare to brave any dangerous storms.
With the golden sun on our chests,
Our hearts light up and fill with strength;
The golden sun is the great Chairman Mao.*



Mao's "Little Red Book",
Quotations of Chairman Mao,
First edition, May 1964





Mao's Official Portraits



The East is Red (*Dongfang hong* 東方紅)

The east is red.
The sun is rising.
China has brought forth Mao Zedong.
He has a plan to bring the Chinese
people good fortune.
Hooray!
He is the people's great savior.

Mao Zedong
loves the people.
He is the one who will lead our way.
In order to construct a new China.
Hooray!
He will lead our advance.

The communist party
is like the rising sun.
Wherever it goes it will shine.
Wherever the communist party is
hooray
that is where the people are liberated





Red Guards

Adoring crowds



“That day the banks were alive with crowds cheering amid forests of colorful bunting and huge banners. The melody ‘The East Is Red,’ the song in praise of the Chinese people’s respected leader Chairman Mao, sounded from the loudspeakers installed on both banks of the Yangtze.”

At this point, the great leader stopped by.

“Just as the contest was beginning, Chairman Mao came by motorboat to review the swimmers. *‘Chairman Mao has come! Long live Chairman Mao!’* shouted the first person who spotted him aboard the motorboat. Immediately, the army of swimmers, carrying hundreds of red flags, swung around and swam toward Chairman Mao. At the same time, all ships and boats in the port sounded their sirens in honor of the great leader. The cheers and sirens mingled in a tremendous roar.”



Public grieving over
Mao's death in 1976







21st Century Personality Cults

Vladimir Putin
and
Xi Jinping

Valdimir Putin (1952-)



Росси́я - Российская Федерация - Russia with Rade Gigic and 3 others

February 13 at 11:34am · 🌐

ЗА ПУТИНА ! В Европе обиделись на баннер с Путиным на матче по гандболу!

[See Translation](#)



Like · Comment · Share · 👍 6,098 💬 130 ➦ 466

DISTRESS:

1999 Moscow terrorist attacks
Chechen Separatist Movement
Economic collapse in 1998
Cold War “loser”



Restore Russia's stature on the world stage

Restore political stability after chaos of the 1990s

Build strong nationalism



MISSION

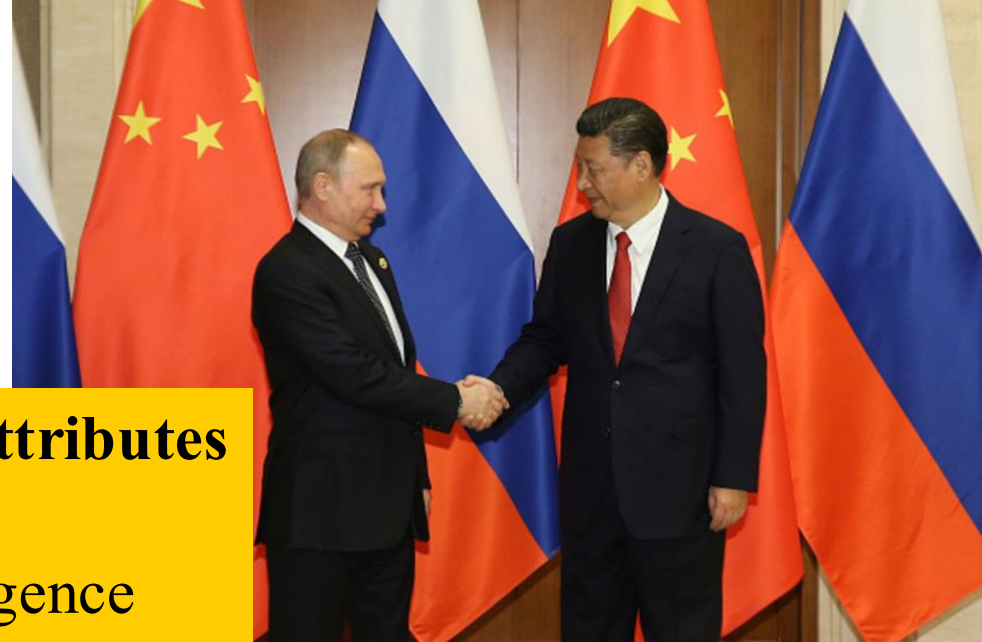


Above all, we should acknowledge that the collapse of the Soviet Union was a major geopolitical disaster of the century. As for the Russian nation, it became a genuine drama. Tens of millions of our co-citizens and co-patriots found themselves outside Russian territory.

-Vladimir Putin, 2005

Foreign and Internal “Enemies”





Putin's Attributes

Intelligence

Competence

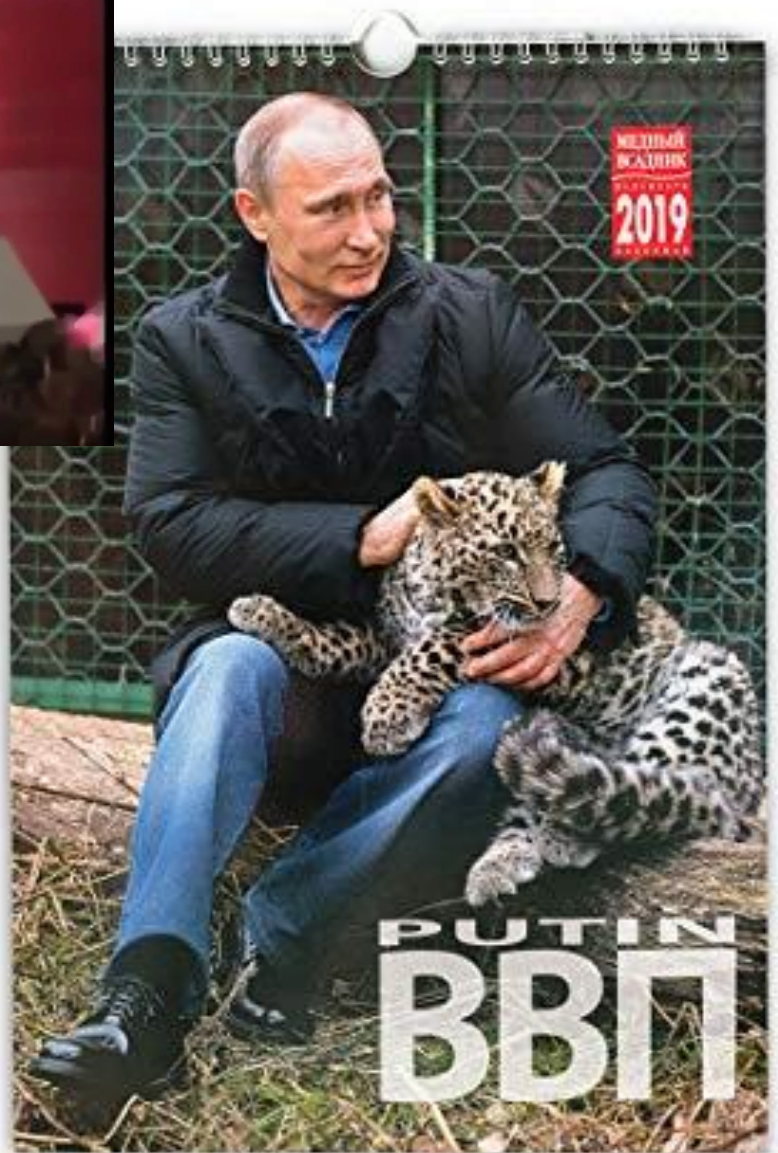
Sobriety

Manliness





I want a man like Putin, who won't run away



A bad press

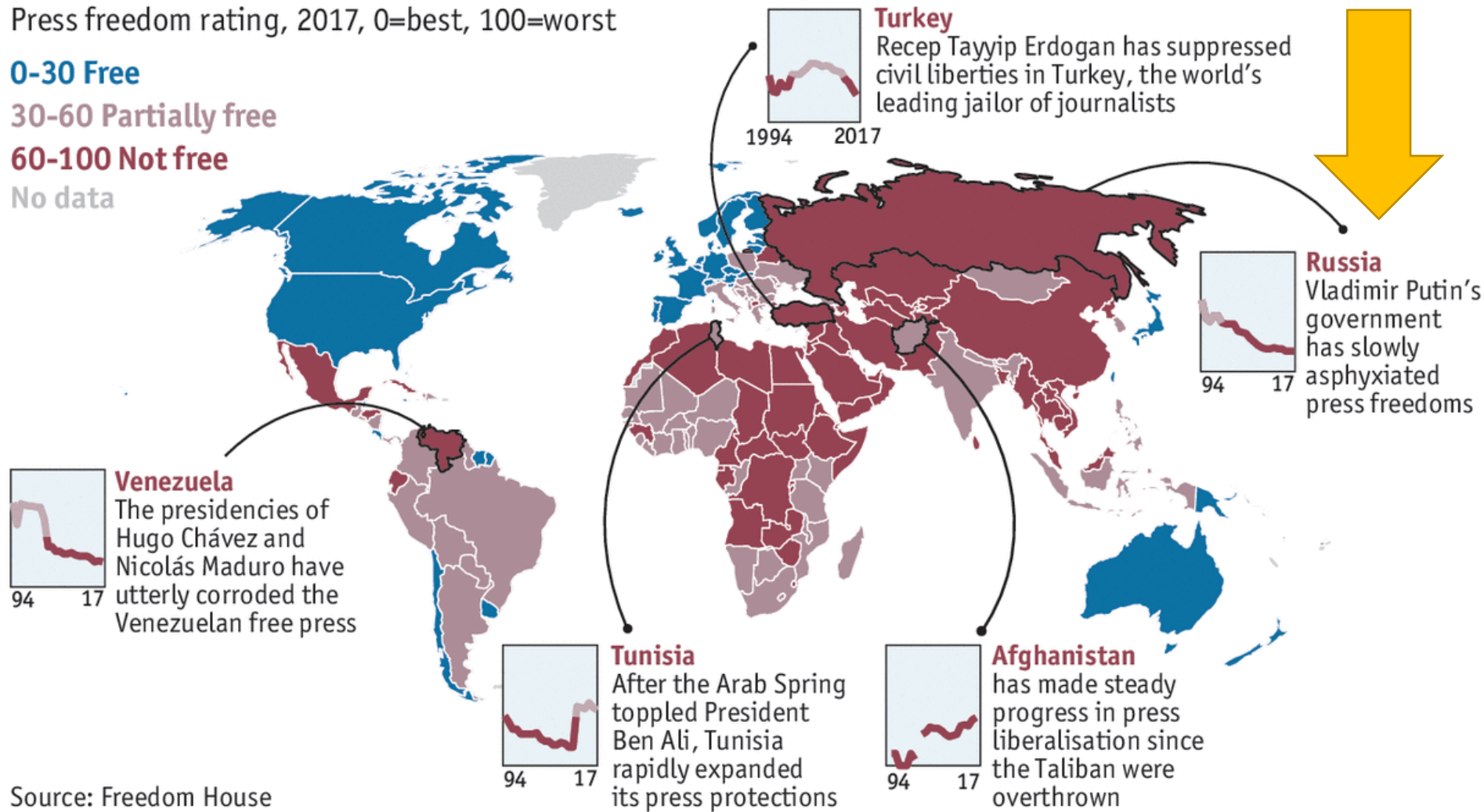
Press freedom rating, 2017, 0=best, 100=worst

0-30 Free

30-60 Partially free

60-100 Not free

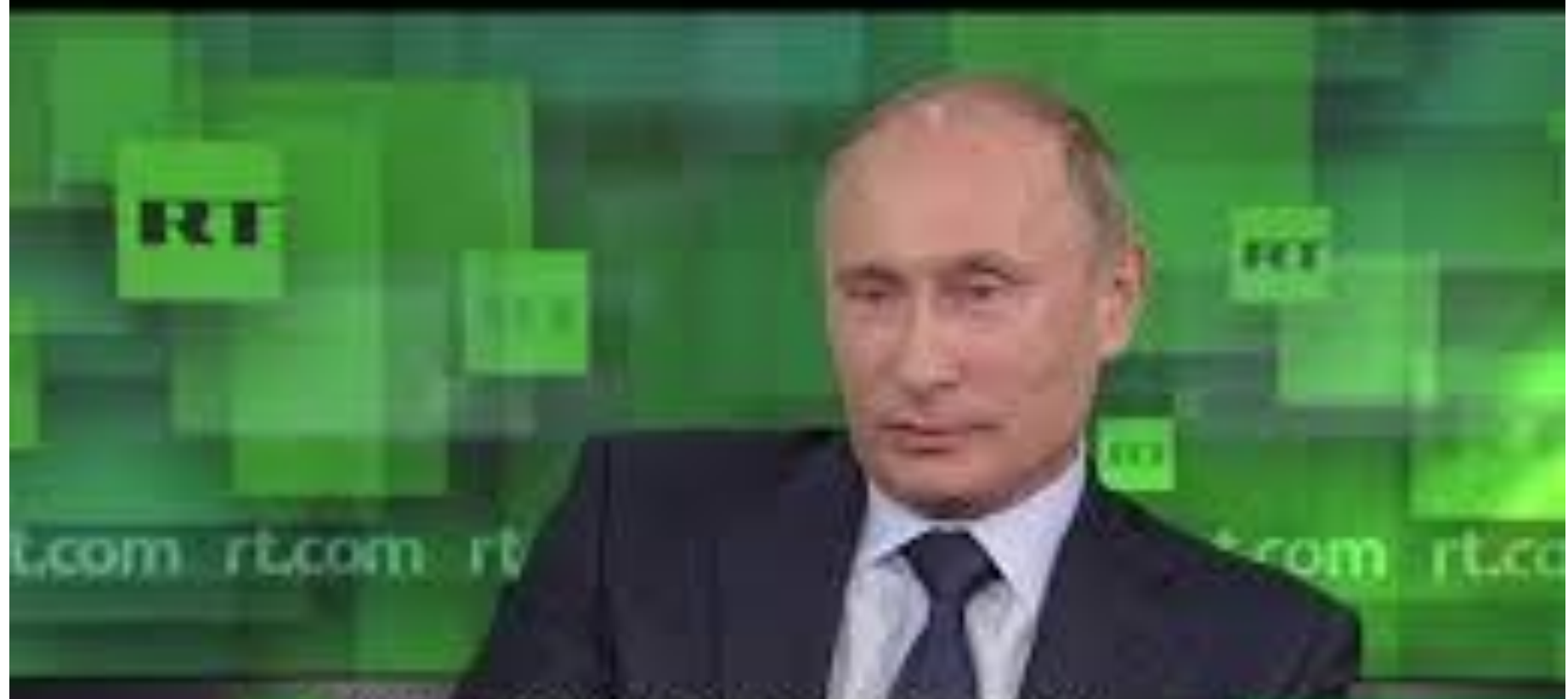
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Source: Freedom House

Institutional Changes

- “Appointed” Medvedev
- Tandemocracy
- Changed Presidential Term to 6 years
- Changed Electoral System for Duma Twice
- Eliminated Most Opposition
- Restricted NGOs/Civil Society
- Annexed Crimea through a “Referendum”
- Control of Media
- Crackdown on anti-government protests



PUTIN: OPPOSITION NEEDS TO STICK TO PROPOSED TOUGH SOCIAL POLICIES

RT MOSCOW

GMT

16:39

FOR MORE ON THESE STORIES VISIT

WWW.RT.COM



n

Putin's patrimonialism



PHOTO: SERGEI ZH



United Russia...76.2 % (343)
Communists.....9.3 % (42)
Liberal Democrats...8.7 % (39)
Just Russia.....5.1 % (23)
Homeland...1 seat
Civic Platform...1 seat
Independent...1 seat

United Russia's overarching control over most institutions at the national, regional, and local levels



Putin's close connection to the Russian Orthodox Church



Russians buying Putin merchandise to celebrate President Putin's Birthday





BUILDING XI'S CULT

DISTRESS

Corruption

Slowing Economy

Separatism

Foreign policy issues

Environment

Social Divisions

China is in a new phase of development.
It must deal with its role as a world economic
AND
political power.

“Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era”

By 2020: China will be a “moderately well-off society
(double its GDP per capita since 2012)

By 2049: China will be a “fully developed nation”

MISSION

Strong China
Civilized China
Harmonious China
Beautiful China



Chinese Dream

*The **Chinese dream**, after all, is the dream of the people.
We must realize it by closely depending on the people.
We must incessantly bring benefits to the people.*

*Realizing the great renewal of the Chinese nation is the
greatest dream for the Chinese nation in modern history.*

——— quotes from Chinese President Xi Jinping



周永康、薄熙来、徐才厚、郭伯雄、令计划、贪官集团





黄浦区绿化和市容管理局瑞金二路街道管理所

290



做雷锋精神
子，使雷锋精神在
大地上得到广泛传播。
习近平



习近平
做雷锋

上海市
大布

上海市
爱心助学
办公室

上海市
青少年发展
基金会



习近平应约同美国总统特朗普通电话 特朗普祝贺中共十九大胜利闭幕, 祝贺习近平再次当选中共中央总书记

新华社北京10月25日电 美国总统特朗普25日应约同中国领导人习近平通电话。特朗普在通话中向习近平致以诚挚问候, 祝贺中共十九大胜利闭幕, 祝贺习近平再次当选中共中央总书记。特朗普表示, 美中两国关系健康稳定发展符合两国利益, 符合两国人民利益。特朗普表示, 美中两国关系健康稳定发展符合两国利益, 符合两国人民利益。特朗普表示, 美中两国关系健康稳定发展符合两国利益, 符合两国人民利益。

习近平同志主持会议并作重要讲话 习近平李克强栗战书汪洋王沪宁赵乐际韩正任中央政治局常委 党的十九届一中全会产生中央领导机构



习近平同志

新华社北京10月25日电 中国共产党第十九届中央委员会第一次全体会议25日在北京人民大会堂举行。会议选举习近平同志为中共中央总书记, 李克强同志为中共中央常委, 栗战书同志为中共中央常委, 汪洋同志为中共中央常委, 王沪宁同志为中共中央常委, 赵乐际同志为中共中央常委, 韩正同志为中共中央常委。会议还选举产生了中央政治局、中央政治局常委和中央书记处书记。会议还选举产生了中央军事委员会。



10月25日, 中国共产党第十九届中央委员会第一次全体会议在人民大会堂举行。会议选举习近平同志为中共中央总书记, 李克强同志为中共中央常委, 栗战书同志为中共中央常委, 汪洋同志为中共中央常委, 王沪宁同志为中共中央常委, 赵乐际同志为中共中央常委, 韩正同志为中共中央常委。



“Breathing the same air,
and bearing the same fate.”



Man of the People

Institutionalization

Anti-corruption campaign

Head of two new panels under the Politburo:

Central leading group for Comprehensively Deepening Reforms
National Security Commission of CPC

Called for Communist Party members to pledge loyalty first to the CCP

Greater censorship of the media, especially social media

19th National Party Congress 2017 Major Announcements

Abolition of term limit for President

Xi Jinping Thought added to Constitution March 2018

Xi referred to as “Core” Leader

Elimination of many top leaders who may have challenged his power

Mapping the Belt and Road Initiative's progress



China's Expansive Belt and Road Initiative

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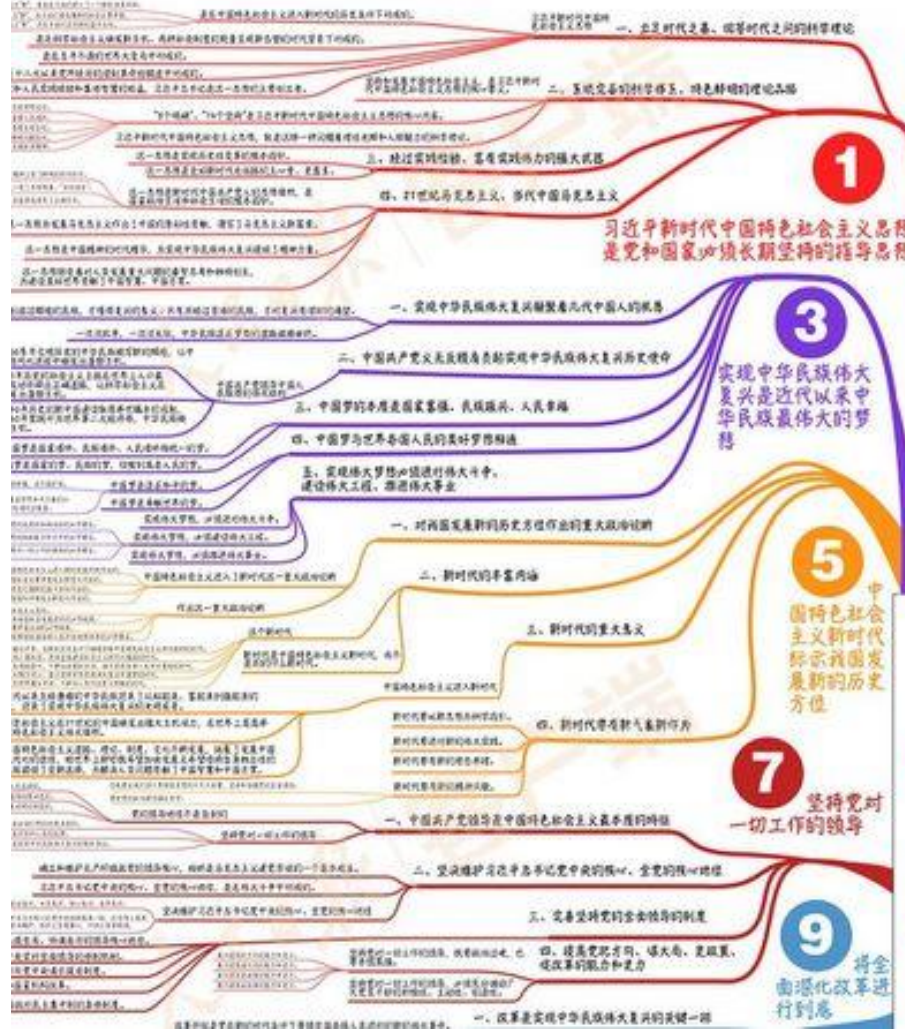
Xi's Plan for Achieving the Chinese Dream



The app, "Study (Xi) Strong Country," started to climb up the rankings in late January and became the most downloaded free app on China's App Store on Tuesday, surpassing some phenomenally big hitters like WeChat and TikTok, known as Weixin and Douyin in the local market, according to mobile analytics firm App Annie.

Users of the app are able to learn Xi's thoughts, read state media news, take MOOC online learning courses and earn points based on their usage. These points accumulate and can be used as a point of reference for their employers and ultimately the Communist Party (CCP).





A simple guide to studying Xi Jinping Thought



Xi Jinping Thought

By *Liu Mingfu* *Wang Zhongyuan*

Xi Jinping Thought Study Center
New Classic Press

Xi's Big Red Book

APRIL 11, 2016

TIME



China's President
makes like Mao

CHAIRMAN

XI

By Hannah Beech

time.com

Reflections

Authoritarian systems tend to be breeding grounds for personality cults.

Key to their success in the 20th and 21st centuries: manipulation of institutions

Can it happen in democratic systems?

Key = Building and maintaining strong institutions that can withstand challenges and manipulations by individuals

“What the American Founding Fathers understood was that institutions were built for human imperfection, not human perfection.”

-Condoleezza Rice



Discussion Questions for Students

1. Do personality cults serve any positive purposes?
2. What are the negative effects of personality cults?
3. How can personality cults be avoided?
4. How can personality cults be dismantled?
5. What other personality cults exist or have existed in the past?
6. Do you agree with Machiavelli's quotes about power?
7. How do these personality cults support Machiavelli's arguments about power?

Lesson Plan Ideas

1. Assign students to select a leader from the past such as Peter the Great, Napoleon, Genghis Khan, Mansa Musa, Julius Caesar, Pericles...

AND

to select a leader from the 20th or 21st Century such as Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Putin, Xi, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, Kim Il Sung, Kim Jong Un, Robert Mugabe, Hugo Chavez...

Have them evaluate their leadership and assess their types and levels of personality cult.

2. Have students role-play leaders who meet to discuss their policies, decisions, actions, and leadership styles.

Other students can serve as journalists who interview them about their policies, decisions, actions and leadership styles.

As a follow-up writing activity, students can

- a. determine which leaders were effective and which leaders were ineffective
- b. explain why certain leaders were effective and others were ineffective
- c. discuss the legacies of these leaders

3. Students can make a video of themselves role-playing a leader or leaders discussing the ideas of Machiavelli. Use quotes from *The Prince* to guide the discussions.

4. Assign students to different historical leaders and have them create a visual representation of their leadership using primary source materials such as art, newspaper articles, songs, clothing, audio/video clips, quotes, photographs... The representation can be digital or a poster board.

5. Conduct debates by having students present opposing perspectives of leaders. Assign other students to represent people from different backgrounds during that time to evaluate their leadership. They can each respond to the points presented in the debate. They will have to research their positions and provide evidence to support their positions.

Example: Peter the Great

Debate Roles: Pro Peter and Con Peter

Other roles: peasant, military general, soldier, construction worker (St. Petersburg), Merchant, teacher, Russian Orthodox priest, ship builder, government official...

These students can present their views of Peter the Great and ask him questions about his policies, decisions, and actions.

Sources:

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Soviethistory.msu.edu

"Why Xi Jinping's cult of personality is more dangerous than it looks." The Globe and Mail. March 2, 2018

Thank you!

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