

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This select bibliography lists archival sources and the principal scholarly texts relating to communism and the cult of the individual consulted specifically for this study. Full references will be found in the endnotes, and these include extensive contemporary printed sources which are not separately listed here.

PRINCIPAL ARCHIVAL SOURCES

ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES DE LA SEINE-SAINT-DENIS

Parti communiste français archives including PCF secretariat and central committee; Fonds Jean-Richard Bloch; Fonds Marcel Cachin; Fonds André Marty

ARCHIVES NATIONALES, PARIS

Fonds Maurice Thorez

CENTRE D'HISTOIRE SOCIALE DU XXE SIÈCLE, PARIS

Fonds André Marty

NATIONAL ARCHIVES, LONDON

Security Service personal files (KV 2)

PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS, PARIS

Fonds Henri Barbusse

PEOPLE'S HISTORY MUSEUM, MANCHESTER

Communist Party of Great Britain archives including CPGB central committee, R. Palme Dutt papers, William Gallacher papers, Tom Mann papers, Harry Pollitt papers

RUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY (RGASPI), MOSCOW

Comintern archives including Comintern personal files, Marty secretariat, CPGB and Parti communiste belge opisi

SCHOLARLY BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Günter Agde, *Kämpfer. Biographie eines Films und seiner Macher* (Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 2001).

Aldo Agosti, *Palmiro Togliatti. A biography* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

Gleb J. Albert, "Esteemed Comintern!" The Communist International and world-revolutionary charisma in early Soviet society', *TCC*, 8 (2015), 10–39.

Balázs Apor, *The 'Invisible Shining': the cult of Mátyás Rákosi in stalinist Hungary, 1945–1956* (Budapest: Central European University Press, forthcoming 2017).

Balázs Apor, 'Leader in the making: the role of biographies in constructing the cult of Mátyás Rákosi' in Apor et al., *Leader Cult*, pp. 63–82.

Balázs Apor, 'National traditions and the leader cult in communist Hungary in the early cold war years', 1 (2009), 50–71.

Balázs Apor et al. (eds), *The Leader Cult in Communist Dictatorships. Stalin and the Eastern bloc* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Gilbert Badia, *Clara Zetkin, féministe sans frontières* (Paris: Éditions Ouvrières, 1993).

Gilbert Badia, 'Le comité Thaelmann' in Badia et al., *Les bannis de Hitler. Accueil et lutte des exilés allemands en France 1933–1939* (Paris: Études et Documentation Internationales, 1984), pp. 199–260.

James R. Barrett, 'Revolution and personal crisis: communist politics and personal narrative in the life of William Z. Foster' in Morganet al., *Agents of the Revolution*, pp. 111–32.

James R. Barrett, *William Z. Foster and the Tragedy of American Radicalism* (Urbana & Chicago, ILL: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

- Philippe Baudorre, *Barbusse. Le pourfendeur de la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995).
- Jan C. Behrends, 'Drei Gesichter der Führerkults. Eine vergleichende Skizze zu Bolschewismus, Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus' in Ennker and Heinkircher, *Der Führer im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 325–46.
- Jan C. Behrends, 'Exporting the leader: the Stalin cult in Poland and East Germany (1944/5-1956)' in Apor, *Leader Cult*, pp. 161–78.
- Jean-Pierre A. Bernard, 'La liturgie funèbre des communistes (1924–1983)', *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire*, 9 (1986), 37–52.
- Jean-Pierre A. Bernard, *Le Parti communiste français et la question littéraire* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1972).
- Andrew G. Bonnell, 'The Lassalle cult in German social democracy', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 35 (1989), 50–60.
- Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power. Soviet political posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993).
- Marie-Cécile Bouju, *Lire en communiste. Les Maisons d'édition du Parti communiste français 1920–1968* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010).
- David Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism. Stalinist mass culture and the formation of modern Russian national identity 1931–1956* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- David Brandenberger, *Propaganda State in Crisis. Soviet ideology, indoctrination, and terror under Stalin, 1927–1941* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).
- D.L. Brandenberger and A.M. Dubrovsky, "'The people need a tsar". The emergence of national bolshevism as stalinist ideology, 1931-1941', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 50 (1998), 873–82.
- David Brandenberger, 'Stalin as symbol: a case study of the personality cult and its construction' in Davies and Harris, *Stalin: a new history*, pp. 249–70.
- Pierre Brocheux, *Hô Chi Minh* (Paris: Presses de Science Po, 2000).
- Jeffrey Brooks, *Thank You, Comrade Stalin! Soviet public culture from revolution to Cold War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (Cambridge, MA: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Luciano Cavalli, 'Considerations on charisma and the cult of charismatic leadership', *Modern Italy*, 3 (1998), 159–71.
- William J. Chase, 'Stalin as producer: the Moscow show trials and the construction of mortal threats' in Davies and Harris, *Stalin: a new history*, pp. 226–48.
- Ian Christie, 'Canons and careers: the director in Soviet cinema' in Richard Taylor and Derek Spring (eds), *Stalinism and Soviet Cinema* (London: Routledge, 1993).
- Katerina Clark, *Moscow, the Fourth Rome. Stalinism, cosmopolitanism, and the evolution of Soviet culture, 1931–1941* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

- Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel. History as ritual* (Chicago, ILL: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
- Vanessa Codaccioni, *Punir les opposants. PCF et procès politiques (1947-1962)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2013).
- Yves Cohen, 'The cult of number one in an age of leaders', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 8 (2007), 597–634.
- Yves Cohen, *Le Siècle des chefs. Une histoire transnationale du commandement et de l'autorité (1890–1940)* (Paris: Éditions Amsterdam, 2013).
- Alexander C. Cook (ed.), *Mao's Little Red Book. A global history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Alexander Courban, *Gabriel Péri: un homme politique, un député, un journaliste* (Paris: La Dispute, 2011).
- Sarah Davies, 'The "cult" of the *Vozhd'*: representations in letters from 1934–41', *Russian History*, 24 (1997), 131–47.
- Sarah Davies, *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia. Terror, propaganda and dissent, 1934–1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Sarah Davies, 'Stalin and the making of the leader cult in the 1930s' in Apor et al., *Leader Cult*, pp. 29–46.
- Sarah Davies and James Harris (eds), *Stalin: a new history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Unarmed. Trotsky: 1929–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970 edn).
- Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast. Trotsky: 1921–1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970 edn).
- Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin. A political biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949).
- Judith Devlin, "'Recreating history on film". Stalin and the Russian revolution in feature film, 1937–1939', *Media History*, 13 (2007), 149–68.
- Benno Ennker, *Die Anfänge des Leninkults in der Sowjetunion* (Cologne: Bohlau Verlag, 1997).
- Benno Ennker, 'The origins and intentions of the Lenin cult' in Ian D. Thatcher (ed.), *Regime and Society in Twentieth-Century Russia. Selected papers from the Fifth World Congress of Central and East European Studies, Warsaw, 1995* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).
- Benno Ennker, 'The Stalin cult, Bolshevik rule and Kremlin interaction in the 1930s' in Apor et al. (eds), *Leader Cult*, pp. 83–101.
- Benno Ennker and Heidi Hein-Kircher (eds), *Der Führer im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg: Herder-Institut, 2010).
- Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution. The language and symbols of 1917* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).
- Philippe Forest, *Aragon* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015).

- J. Arch Getty, *Practicing Stalinism. Bolsheviks, boyars and the persistence of tradition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).
- José Gotovitch, *Du communisme et des communistes en Belgique. Approches critiques* (Brussels: Editions Aden, n.d.).
- José Gotovitch, 'Construction and deconstruction of a cult: Edgar Lalmand and the Communist Party of Belgium', *TCC*, 1 (2009), 129–52.
- Jean-Marie Goulemot, *Pour l'amour de Staline. La face oubliée du communisme français* (Paris: CNRS, 2009 edn).
- Stephen Gundle, 'The legacy of the prison notebooks: Gramsci, the PCI and Italian culture in the post-war period' in Christopher Duggan and Christopher Wagstaff (eds), *Italy in the Cold War. Politics, culture and society 1948–58* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), pp. 131–48.
- Stephen Gundle, Christopher Duggan and Giuliana Peri (eds), *The Cult of the Duce. Mussolini and the Italians* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
- Anssi Halmesvirta, 'A foreign benefactor and a domestic liberator: the cults of Lenin and Mannerheim in Finland', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 34 (2009), 414–32.
- Rolf Hellebust, 'Reflections on an absence: novelistic portraits of Stalin before 1953' in Nina Kolesnikoff and Walter Smyrniw (eds), *Socialist Realism Revisited. Selected papers from the McMaster conference* (Hamilton, Ontario: McMaster University, 1994), pp. 111–20.
- Klaus Heller and Jan Plamper (eds), *Personality Cults in Stalinism – Personenkulte im Stalinismus* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2004).
- Gina Hermann, *Written in Red: the communist memoir in Spain*, 2010 (Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 2010).
- Antony Howe, "'Our only ornament". Tom Mann and British communist "hagiography"', *TCC*, 1 (2009), 91–109.
- Chang-tai Hung, *Mao's New World. Political culture in the early People's Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).
- Edward P. Johanningsmeier, *The Forging of American Communism. The life of William Z. Foster* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).
- Polly Jones, *Myth, Memory and Trauma. Rethinking the stalinist past in the Soviet Union, 1953–70* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013)
- Pierre Juquin, *Aragon. Un destin français. 1: Le temps des rêves (1897–1939)* (Paris: Éditions de la Martinière, 2012); *2: L'Atlantide (1939–1982)* (Paris: Éditions de la Martinière, 2013).
- Ian Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth'. Image and reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989 edn).
- Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin (eds), *Stalinism and Nazism. Dictatorships in comparison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997),

- David King, *The Commissar Vanishes. The falsification of photograph and art in Stalin's Russia* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1997).
- Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: paradoxes of power 1897–1928* (London: Penguin, 2015 edn).
- Annie Kriegel, 'Bureaucratie, culte de personnalité et charisme. Le cas français: Maurice Thorez, secrétaire général du PCF (1900–1964)' in idem, *Communisme au miroir français* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), pp. 132–58.
- Miklós Kun, *Stalin. An unknown portrait* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2003).
- Norman LaPorte, 'Ernst Thälmann: the making of a German communist, 1886–1921', *Moving the Social*, 51 (2014), 127–58.
- Norman Laporte and Kevin Morgan, "'Kings among their subjects?' Ernst Thälmann, Harry Pollitt and the leadership cult as Stalinization' in LaPorte et al., *Bolshevism, Stalinism and the Comintern*, pp. 124–45.
- Norman LaPorte, Kevin Morgan and Matthew Worley (eds), *Bolshevism, Stalinism and the Comintern: perspectives on Stalinization* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- Daniel Leese, *Mao Cult. Rhetoric and ritual in China's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Matthew E. Lenoe, *The Kirov Murder and Soviet History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
- Moshe Lewin, 'Stalin the mirror of the other' in Ian Kershaw and Moshe Lewin (eds), *Stalinism and Nazism: dictatorships in common* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 107–34.
- Russel Lemmons, *Hitler's Rival. Ernst Thälmann in Myth and Memory* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2013).
- Robert Levy, *Ana Pauker. The rise and fall of a Jewish communist* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).
- Lars T. Lih, *Lenin* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011).
- Christine Lodder, 'Lenin's Plan for Monumental Propaganda' in Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor (eds), *Art of the Soviets. Painting, sculpture and architecture in a one-party state, 1917–1992* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 16–32.
- Robert H. McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution. Krupskaya and Lenin* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1972).
- Robert H. McNeal, 'Krupskaya: the feminine subcult' in Bernard W. Eissenstat (ed.), *Lenin and Leninism. State, law, and society* (Lexington, KY: Lexington Books, 1971).
- John Manley, "'Audacity, audacity, still more audacity: Tim Buck, the party, and the people, 1932–1939', *Labour/Le Travail*, 49 (2002), 9–41.
- Marzia Marsili, 'De Gasperi and Togliatti: political leadership and personality cults in post-war Italy', *Modern Italy*, 3 (1998), 249–61.

- Jamie Miller, 'Soviet politics and the Mezhrabpom studio in the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 32 (2012), 521–35.
- Kevin Morgan, 'Ainsi pour Gallacher? Quelques regards sur la construction de la vie communiste modèle en Grande-Bretagne', *Communisme*, 87 (2006), 29–46.
- Kevin Morgan, *Harry Pollitt* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).
- Kevin Morgan, 'Harry Pollitt, Maurice Thorez and the writing of exemplary communist lives' in Julie Gottlieb and Richard Toye (eds), *Making Reputations: power, persuasion and the individual in British politics* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 56–69.
- Kevin Morgan, Gidon Cohen and Andrew Flinn, *Agents of the Revolution. New biographical approaches to the history of international communism in the age of Lenin and Stalin* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2005).
- Kevin Morgan, Gidon Cohen and Andrew Flinn, *Communists in British Society 1920–1991* (London: Rivers Oram, 2007).
- J.P. Nettl, *Rosa Luxemburg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2 vols, 1966).
- Claude Pannetier, 'André Marty à l'épreuve des archives' in Paul Boulland et al. (eds), *André Marty: l'homme, l'affaire, l'archive* (Paris: Codhoss, 2005), pp. 15–34.
- Claude Pannetier, 'Thorez-Marty: Paris-Moscou, Moscou-Paris' in Mikhail Narimsky and Jürgen Rojahn (eds), *Centre and Periphery. The history of the Comintern in the light of new documents* (Amsterdam: Institute of Social History, 1996), pp. 203–17.
- Claude Pannetier and Bernard Pudal (eds), *Autobiographies, autocritiques, aveux dans le monde communiste* (Paris: Belin, 2002).
- Claude Pannetier and Bernard Pudal, 'Les autobiographies des "fils du peuple". De l'autobiographie édifiante à l'autobiographie auto-analytique' in idem, *Autobiographies, autocritiques, aveux*, pp. 215–46.
- Claude Pannetier and Bernard Pudal, 'Deux générations de militants communistes français (1931–1951) en proie à des procès d'épurations internes' in José Gotovitch and Anne Morelli (eds), *Militantisme et militants* (Brussels, 2000).
- Claude Pannetier and Bernard Pudal (trans. Kevin Morgan), 'Stalinism: workers' cult and cult of leaders', *TCC*, 1 (2009), 20–9.
- Maureen Perrie, *The Cult of Ivan the Terrible in Stalin's Russia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
- Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult. A study in the alchemies of power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).
- Silvio Pons (trans. Allan Cameron), *The Global Revolution. A history of international communism 1917–1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Paul Preston, *The Last Stalinist. The life of Santiago Carrillo* (London: William Collins, 2015 edn).
- David Priestland, *Stalinism and the Politics of Mass Mobilization. Ideas, power and terror in inter-war Russia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

- Kimmo Rentola, 'Finnish communism, O.W. Kuusinen, and their two native countries' in Tauno Saarela and Kimmo Rentola (eds), *Communism: national and international* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1998), pp. 159–81.
- Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi; invention of a hero* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008 edn).
- Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *The Image of Peter the Great in Russian History and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- Alfred J. Rieber, 'Stalin, man of the borderlands', *American Historical Review*, 106 (2001), 1651–91.
- Philippe Robrieux, *Maurice Thorez. Vie secrète et vie publique* (Paris: Fayard, 1975).
- James G. Ryan, *Earl Browder. The failure of American communism* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1997).
- Tauno Saarela, 'Dead martyrs and living leaders: the cult of the individual within Finnish communism', *TCC*, 1 (2009), 30–49.
- Marco Aurélio Santana, 'Re-imagining the Cavalier of Hope: the Brazilian Communist Party and the images of Luiz Carlos Prestes', *TCC*, 1 (2009), 110–28.
- Donald Sassoon, 'Italian images of Russia, 1945–56' in Christopher Duggan and Christopher Wagstaff (eds), *Italy in the Cold War. Politics, culture and society 1948–58* (Oxford: Berg, 1995), pp. 189–202.
- Robert Service, *Trotsky. A biography* (London: Pan edn, 2010).
- Alexander Shklyaruk and Sergei Larkov, *Gustav Klutsis – Valentina Kulagina: posters, book graphic arts, magazine graphic arts, newsphotomontage 1922–1937* (Moscow: Contact-Cultura, 2010).
- Karl Schlögel, *Moscow, 1937* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012).
- Stéphane Sirot, *Maurice Thorez* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2000).
- Paulo Spriano (trans. John Fraser), *Antonio Gramsci and the Party: the prison years* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1979).
- Marietta Stankova, *Georgi Dimitrov. A biography* (London: Tauris, 2010).
- Brigitte Studer, 'More autonomy for the national sections? The organisation of the ECCI after the Seventh World Congress' in Mikhail Narinsky and Jürgen Rojahn (eds), *Centre and Periphery. The history of the Comintern in the light of new documents* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History, 1996), pp.102–13.
- Brigitte Studer, *The Transnational World of the Cominternians* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- Brigitte Studer and Heiko Haumann (eds), *Stalinistische Subjekte. Individuum und System in der Sowjetunion und Der Komintern 1929–1953* (Zurich: Chronos, 2006).
- Ronald Grigor Suny, 'Stalin and his Stalinism: power and authority in the Soviet Union, 1930–53' in Kershaw and Lewin (eds), *Stalinism and Nazism*, pp. 26–52.

- G.R. Swain, 'Tito: the formation of a disloyal Bolshevik', *International Review of Social History*, 34 (1989), 248–71.
- Geoffrey Swain, *Tito. A biography* (London: Tauris, 2011).
- Andrew Thorpe, 'Communist MP: Willie Gallacher and British communism' in Morgan et al., *Agents of the Revolution*, pp. 133–58.
- Alexey Tikhomorov, 'The Stalin cult between center and periphery: the structures of the cult community in the empire of socialism, 1949–1956 – the case of GDR' in Ennker and Hein-Kircher, *Der Führer im Europa des 20*, pp. 297–324.
- Robert C. Tucker, 'The rise of Stalin's personality cult', *American Historical Review*, 84 (1979), 347–66.
- Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power. The revolution from above 1928–1941* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992 edn).
- Nina Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives! The Lenin cult in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).
- Tania Ünlüdag-Puschnerat, 'A German communist: Clara Zetkin (1857–1933)' in Morgan et al., *Agents of the Revolution*, pp. 93–110.
- G.R. Utley, *Picasso: the communist years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).
- Erik van Ree, *The Political Thought of Joseph Stalin. A study in twentieth-century revolutionary patriotism* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002).
- Olga Velikanova, *Making of an Idol. On uses of Lenin* (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt Verlag, 1996).
- Eric D. Weitz, "'Rosa Luxemburg belongs to us!'" German communism and the Luxemburg legacy', *Central European History*, 27 (1994), 27–64.
- Annette Wiewiorka, *Maurice et Jeannette: biographie du couple Thorez* (Paris: Fayard, 2010).
- Annette Wiewiorka, 'Picasso and Stalin' in Lynda Morris and Christoph Grunenberg (eds), *Picasso: peace and freedom* (London: Tate Publishing, 2010), pp. 26–33.
- Serge Wolikow (ed.), *Pierre Semard. Engagements, discipline et fidélité* (Paris: Cherche Midi, 2007).
- Rashit Yangorov, 'Onwards and Upwards!: the origins of the Lenin cult in Soviet cinema' in Richard Taylor and Derek Spring (eds), *Stalinism and Soviet Cinema* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 15–33.
- Tovah Yedlin, *Maxim Gorky. A political biography* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999).

INDEX

A

- Abusch, Alexander, 201
Alliluyeva, Nadezhda, 89, 282
Alves, Castro, 88
Amado, Jorge, 88, 97–9, 194, 218, 288–9, 304
 The Cavalier of Hope, 97, 98, 108
Amendola, Giorgo, 237
anarchism/anarchists, 12, 48, 193
Antikainen, Toivo, 197
Aragon, Louis, 145, 157, 214–18, 220, 299
 biographical details, 215–17
 on Gabriel Péri, 146, 196, 292
 and *Les Lettres françaises*, 275–6
 and Thorez, 216–17
 writings, 216, 217, 226, 280
Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung, 189, 198, 266
Arendt, Hannah, cited, 77, 92
Arma, Paul, 193
Arp, Hans, 192
Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 91

Australia

- communist party, 55, 84, 89

B

- Bakunin, Mikhail, 12, 203
Baldwin, Stanley, compared to Stalin, 140, 265
Barbusse, Henri, 27–8, 39, 151, 166, 188, 192, 210, 219, 224
 career details, 210–12
 Clarté movement, 212
 cult of, 139, 143, 213–15
 death, 212–15
 Monde, 131, 188, 212–13, 224
 and PCF, 212–14
 Stalin film scenario, 261–2, 285
 and Thorez, 215–16
 writings, 212, 285
Stalin biography, 18, 29, 36, 50, 71, 83, 131–3, 135, 139, 140, 197, 214, 269–70, 278, 282–5, 288, 291, 333

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” denote notes.

- Barbusse, Henri (*cont.*)
 Thälmann pamphlet, 84, 139, 188,
 191–4, 199, 214
- Bebel, August, 28, 203, 205
- Bedny, Demyan, 27, 28
- Belgium, 74, 158, 296
 communist party, 50, 113n17,
 165–9, 232
 conference (Charleroi, 1935), 167
 Parti ouvrier belge, 165–6
 Trotskyism, 167
- Bell, Tom, 130
 on John Maclean, 303
- Beloyannis, Nikos, drawn by
 Picasso, 271
- Benjamin, Walter, cited, 276
- Berei, Andor, 165, 167
- Beria, L.P., 306
- Bernal, J.D., 82, 295, 296
- Bernstein, Eduard, 12, 17, 18, 76, 77,
 300, 331, 334
- Bierut, Boleslaw, 40, 41, 293
- Bihalji-Merin, Oto, 296
- biography/biographies
 cadre biographies, 107, 137,
 158–60, 166, 168, 289
 of communist cult figures, 15, 27,
 45, 78, 89, 105–6, 277–93, 330
 (*see also* individual authors and
 subjects)
- birthdays and anniversaries
 of communist cult figures, 1–3, 16,
 27, 34, 38–42, 50, 54–6, 82,
 91–2, 102, 149–50, 154, 156,
 193, 200, 222–3, 226–7,
 229–30, 232, 263, 305, 327
 of historical figures, 91
- Blanqui, Auguste, 304
- Bloch, Jean-Richard, 144, 287, 294, 295
 on Stalin, 286, 294
- Bloor, Ella Reeve ‘Mother,’ 51, 231
- Blum, Léon, 142–3, 147, 231
- Bolívar, Simón, 98, 304
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 138, 298
 Bonapartism, 10, 33, 110, 133
- Borkenau, Franz, cited, 43, 100–1,
 103, 107–9, 111, 163, 164
- Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, 305–6
- Bourke-White, Margaret, 268–9
- Brazil, 47, 88, 97, 98, 108
 communist party, 97
- Brecht, Bertolt, 191
- Bredel, Willi, 201, 280
- Brezhnev, Leonid, 333
- Browder, Earl, 43, 130, 137, 222,
 261, 297
 biography and family background, 88
 as cult figure, 44, 48, 50, 111, 139,
 162, 231–2, 277, 304
 expulsion and anathematisation, 44,
 155–6, 232
 radio broadcasts, 265
- Buck, Tim, 296
 as cult figure, 45, 48, 49
- Bukharin, Nikolai, 33–5, 128, 207,
 208, 282, 297
- Bulgaria, 49, 188, 191, 196, 200
 communist party, 200, 202
- Bunyan, John, 299
- Burns, Emile, 169–70
- Byron, George Gordon, Lord,
 204, 214
- C**
- Caballero, Largo, 51–2
- Cachin, Marcel, 18, 25–6, 51, 81,
 101, 141, 146, 149, 213, 223
 biography and family background,
 143, 148, 229
 drawn by Picasso, 275–6
 as foundation cult figure, 102,
 142–3, 151, 187, 212, 222,
 224, 228–31

- birthdays commemorated, (1934); (1949), 42, 229, 230
 in Second World War, 148
 and Stalin cult, 81, 136–8
- Campanella, Tomasso, 14, 203
- Campbell, J.R., 161, 163
- Cannon, James P., 231, 232
- capital, human and biographical, 104–7, 110–12
 as factors in cult construction, 53, 129, 140–2, 145–7, 151–2, 154, 157–63, 170, 188, 190–2, 202, 203, 216–17, 222, 224, 226, 233, 236, 271, 279, 287, 292–3
- Carlyle, Thomas, 13
 ideal of the hero, 132, 293, 305
- Carr, E.H., cited, 96
- Carrillo, Santiago, 100, 108
- Casanova, Danielle, 146
- Ceaușescu, Nicolai and Elena, 91
 executed, 327
- Cervantes, Miguel de, 299
- Chaintron, Jean, 2, 293
- Chamberlin, W.H., 135, 267–8
- Charisma, defined and discussed, 11, 38, 74, 75, 103–12, 136, 288, 296, 331, 333, 335
- Chervenkov, Valko, 41
- Chiang Kai-shek, 9
- Chiaureli, Mikhail
The Fall of Berlin (1949), 39, 88, 264, 285–6
The Vow (1946), 39, 88
- China, 187
 communist party, 41, 56–7, 185
 Cultural Revolution, 41, 106, 218, 327
- Chopin, Frédéric, 204
- Christian imagery and analogies in
 communist cults, 27, 30, 32, 52, 98, 103, 108, 197, 213, 228, 231, 279, 280
- Churchill, Winston, 29, 38, 40, 165, 265
- class and social origin, as factor in cult construction, 83–6, 89–90
- Clemenceau, Georges, 221
- Cogniot, Georges, 220
- Cohen, Rose, 162
- Cold War, 39, 53, 215, 235
 as second phase of cult-building, 4, 7–8, 43, 47, 49, 73–6, 79, 92, 94, 135, 141, 142, 148, 169, 170, 201, 215, 219, 264, 293, 306, 328–9
- Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), 153, 237
- Communist International (Comintern), 27, 83, 96, 234, 265, 331
 congresses, (1919); (1921); (1922); (1928); (1935), 43, 106, 138, 223, 229, 267, 300–2
 and cult of the individual, 9, 35, 38, 42–3, 45, 46, 107, 135–8, 185–6, 190–1, 200, 202–3, 222
 executive (ECCI) and secretariats, 166, 224
 International Lenin School, 83, 137, 166
 press and publications, 44, 132
 West European Bureau, 187–8
 women's secretariat, 224
- congress ritual and ceremonial, as
 examples of cult practices, 43–4, 53, 109–10, 138, 143–4, 162–3, 187, 191, 209–10, 229, 235–6, 266, 269, 303
- Constant, Benjamin, 98
- Cook, A.J., 46
- Cornford, John, 99, 138, 199
- Cromwell, Oliver, 298
- cult community, concept of discussed, 6–7

cult of the individual, defined, 10–11,
17–18

Czechoslovakia, 170

communist party, 40–1, 54, 266

D

Dahlem, Franz, 156

Daix, Pierre, 216

Dali, Salvador, 192

Darwin, Charles, 299

da Vinci, Leonardo, 33, 299

Davis, Angela, 332

Debs, Eugene, 47, 233

de Gaulle, Charles, 38, 147, 149, 152,
265, 296

De Leon, Daniel, 29

de Man, Hendrik, 296

Dennis, Eugene, 233

Deutscher, Isaac

Stalin biography, 279

Díaz, José, 43, 44, 50, 84–6, 100–1,
103, 109–10, 196

Dickens, Charles, 298

Dimitrov, Elena, 191, 193

Dimitrov, Georgi, 38, 45–6, 53–4,
86–7, 97, 107, 111, 128, 135,
138, 140, 151, 153, 170, 227,
229, 259, 292, 304, 306

as cult figure, 9–10, 46, 52, 107,
154, 185–203 *passim*, 261,
277, 304

biographies, 195, 200, 202

cult film *Fighters* (1936), 195, 200,
262, 280

death (1949), 41, 152, 202, 215

family and domestic relations, 90,
191, 279–80

heads Comintern, 9, 42–3, 189–90,
199–200

heads post-war Bulgaria, 53–4,
200, 202

at Reichstag fire trial (1933), 9, 36,
96, 107, 162, 185–8, 195, 202

writings works, 193, 195, 221

dress and appearance, cult conventions
and peculiarities, 44, 84, 103,
128, 138–40, 167–8, 257

Duclos, Jacques, 4, 92, 146, 148,
213, 220

Ducroux, Joseph, 154

Dun, Mao, 299

Duranty, Walter, 39, 268

Dutt, R. Palme, 84, 161–3, 228, 283

on Lenin, 2, 206–7, 283

on Stalin, 2, 130, 306

E

Eastman, Max, 33, 110–11

Ebert, Friedrich, 295

Eisenstein, Sergei, 260

Ivan the Terrible, 14

October (1927), 34, 36, 197, 262

Eisner, Kurt, 11

elections, cults represented in, 47–8,
88, 143, 265

Éluard, Paul, 2, 148, 275

Engels, Friedrich, 208

anniversary (1935), 81, 300

as cult figure, 190, 206, 209–301

enkindling cult, defined and discussed,
8–9, 77–8, 93–103 *passim*

Ernst, Max, 192

Essad-Bey, Stalin biographer, 267, 281

F

family and domestic relations, in cult
construction, 88–91, 101, 109,
194, 266, 279–80, 282

fascism

Institute for the Study of
(Paris), 296

- leader cults, 43, 134
 communist attitudes to, 295–6
 Feuchtwanger, Lion, 71, 134, 295
 film and cinema, cults represented in,
 2, 29, 36–7, 39–40, 48, 74,
 88, 90, 192, 195, 200–1,
 208, 215, 258–64, 269, 275,
 279–80
 Finland, 29, 53
 communist party, 85–6
 First World War, 28, 155, 163, 212
 Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley, 288
 Foot, Michael, cited, 96
 Ford, James B., 88
 Foster, William Z., 48, 88
 as cult figure, 4, 41, 50, 231–3
 writings, 232–3
 autobiographies, 45, 233, 288–9
 Fougeron, André, 275
 founders and veterans, as cult figures,
 221–37, 292
 ‘Four Giants’ (Marx-Engels-Lenin-
 Stalin), 81–2, 190, 219, 222
 depicted by Klutskis, 206, 209,
 266, 269
 Fourier, Charles, 204
 Fox, Ralph, 213–14
 on Dimitrov, 195–6
 Lenin biography, 52, 283–4, 300
 Frachon, Benoit, 146
 France, 25, 72, 91
 Association Républican des Anciens
 Combattants, 152
 Ciné-Liberté, 260, 261
 communist party, 2–4, 7–9, 25–6,
 42, 49, 50, 53, 82, 90–2, 105,
 140–58, 165, 203, 212–21,
 229–31, 266, 280, 282–8,
 303–4
 anniversaries, (1945); (1950),
 150, 230
 Cold War isolation, 148–9
 congresses, (1920); (1936); (1945);
 (1950), 53, 143–4, 150, 154,
 187, 229, 230, 303
 as counter-community, 74, 76, 92
 cult of Stalin, 1–2, 39
 The Man We Love the Most (1949),
 2, 263–4, 271
 as parti des fusillés commemorated,
 55, 145–6
 popular front and anti-fascism,
 143, 151–2
 press and publications, 100, 142–4,
 266, 299
 occupation and resistance (1940–5),
 2, 39, 100, 145–7, 151–5, 157,
 215–17
 popular front, 192, 213–14, 260
 Union des femmes françaises,
 90, 156
 Freeman, Joseph, 34, 137
 Fréville, Jean, 84–5, 89, 151,
 212, 214–15, 230, 287,
 294, 305
 Fried, Eugen, 143
 Friedmann, Georges, 217, 298
 Frölich, Paul, 302, 303
 funerals and obsequies, communist,
 25–6, 143, 152, 167–8, 213,
 224, 261
- G**
 Gallacher, William, 104–5, 161–3,
 165, 304
 autobiographical writings, 50, 94–6,
 142, 232, 292, 303
 as cult figure, 93–6, 99, 102–3
 and John Maclean, 302–3
 as sole communist MP,
 94–6, 166
 Gandhi, Indira, 101
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 27, 139

- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 13, 76, 277
 communist commemorations of,
 13, 155–6, 299
- Garveyism, 91
- Gelovani, Mikhail, 88
- genius, 99, 207–8, 300
 discussed, 33–4, 81, 204, 276, 301
 of Stalin (alleged), 38, 81–2, 219,
 305–6
- Gerasimov, Alexander, 209
- Germanetto, Giovanni, 276
Memoirs of a Barber, 281
- Germany, 208
 communist party, 46–8, 191–2,
 223, 301–2
 ‘March Action’ (1921), 223
 German Democratic Republic
 (GDR), 200–2, 263, 302
 Nazism in, 9, 185–203 *passim*
 political cults of, 296, 330 (*see also*
 Hitler, Adolf)
 social democracy, 223, 300
 Socialist Unity Party (SED), 201
 Spartacists, 304
- Gheorghiu-Dej, Gheorghe, 41, 87, 293
- Giacometti, Alberto, 100
- Gide, André, 134, 192
- Gladstone, W.E., visual images of,
 267, 269, 277
- Gomulka, Wladyslaw, 40, 45
- Goodman, Richard, 199
- Göring, Hermann, humiliated by
 Dimitrov, 188
- Gorky, Maxim, 195, 212, 224
 as cult figure, literary career
 commemorated (1932), 205,
 209–10, 213–15, 263
 death, 214–15
 on Lenin, 31–3, 51
 on ‘socialist individuality’, 296–7
 not on Stalin, 214, 282
- Gottwald, Klement, 43, 87
 as cult figure, 4, 40–2, 54, 57, 89,
 138, 170
- Gramsci, Antonio, 13, 48, 99, 187
 as cult figure, 86, 234–7
 prison writings, 193, 202, 221,
 234, 236
- Great Britain
 communist party, 2, 36, 42–4, 46,
 84, 93–6, 102–3, 130, 150,
 151, 158–65, 169–70, 188,
 191–5, 199, 221, 226–8,
 289–92, 302–4
 cult of Stalin, 137, 139, 270, 277
 press and publications, 50, 264,
 266–7, 281
- Greene, Graham, cited, 37, 140
- Griffin, Dick, 296
- Grotewohl, Otto, 201
- Guéhenno, Jean, 31
- Guesde, Jules, 54, 229, 300
 commemorated, 303–4
- Guevara, Ernesto Che, 49, 157, 332
- H**
- hagiography, characteristics of, 279
- Hardie, James Keir, 28, 29, 31, 304
- Haywood, ‘Big Bill,’ 281
- Heartfield, John, photomontages,
 188–9, 197–8, 266
- Heckert, Fritz, 223, 224
- Heine, Heinrich, 204, 299
- Hemingway, Ernest, *For Whom the Bell
 Tolls* (1940), 144
- Heslop, Harold, on Dimitrov, 195
- Hitler, Adolf, 38, 40, 139, 191–2,
 197, 298
 as cult figure, 36, 38, 46, 71–2, 91,
 103, 263, 268, 294–5
- Ho Chi Minh, 41, 218, 332
- Hugo, Victor, 91, 204, 216, 299
- Hurwitz, Leo, 260

I

- Ibárruri, Dolores, 57, 100–1, 106, 137–8
 biography and family background, 101, 111
 charisma ascribed to, 107
 oratory and platform presence, 108–9
 radio broadcasts, 109, 265–6
 as cult figure, 40, 41, 101–2, 164
 Ingersoll, Ralph, 268
 integrating cult, discussed, 8–9, 71–4, 78–92
 intellectuals, 89, 130, 210–12
 as cult figures, 99, 213–14, 216, 235
 International Brigades, 141, 144, 145, 148, 152, 155, 156, 163
 Ireland
 communist party, 43, 55, 89
 Italy, 264
 communist party, 41, 53, 55, 74, 76, 86, 221, 234–7
 congress (1951), 41
 press and publications, 236
 fascist regime, 71, 295, 330
 Ivens, Joris, 195

J

- Jacquemotte, Joseph, 224
 biography and family background, 165–7
 cadre autobiography, 166, 168
 as cult figure, 50, 167–9
 death (1936) and memorialisation, 168–9, 267
 and Parti ouvrier belge, 166
 Japan, 74, 185, 223–4, 281
 Jaurès, Jean, 298
 commemorated by communists, 28, 203, 205, 298, 303, 304

- Jews and Jewishness, 87
 anti-Semitism, 87
 Joannès, Victor, 54
 Joan of Arc, commemorated by communists, 157, 299
 Jordan, Maggie, 137

K

- Kafengauz, B.F., 298
 Kaganovich, Lazar, 80, 81, 213
 Kamenev, Lev, 33, 34
 Kaplan, Fanny, 26
 Katayama, Sen, 222, 224, 226, 229, 231, 304
 seventieth birthday (1929), 223
 Kerensky, Alexander, 109, 129
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 10–11, 17, 38, 57, 306, 327, 328
 Kim Il-sung, 327
 Kim Jong-il, 327
 Kirkwood, David, 95
 Kirov, Sergei, 49, 92, 209
 Klutskis, Gustav, 33, 206, 209, 259, 264, 266, 269
 Knorin, Vilhelm, 190
 Koltsov, Mikhail, 139, 140
 Korea
 cults in communist North, 327
 war in (1950–3), 155
 Kotane, Moses, 89
 Kriegel, Annie, 275–6
 Kropotkin, Peter, 12
 Krupskaya, Nadezhda, 31, 52, 55, 89, 282, 285
 memories of Lenin, 285
 Kun, Béla, 86–7, 132–3, 135, 286
 Kurella, Alfred, 132, 172n20–2, 190, 195, 200, 262, 284–5
 Kuusinen, Otto Wille, 35, 190
 cult of, 41, 85–6

L

- Lahaut, Julien, assassinated (1950), 113n17
- Lalande, Edgar, 41, 169, 170
- Langevin, Paul, 214
- Lansbury, George, 25, 29, 30, 227
- Lassalle, Ferdinand, 12, 17, 33, 76–7, 331
- Le Bon, Gustave, 11–13
concept of prestige, 104
- Lecoq, Auguste, 220
- Le Corbusier, 100
- Ledel, Dolf, 168, 169
- Léger, Fernand, 192
- Lenin, V.I., 2, 35, 96, 202, 204–6, 258, 259
attempted assassination (1918), 26–7, 197
biographies, 27, 30, 31, 51–2, 281–5, 300
birthdays and anniversaries, 27, 48, 51, 91, 265
charisma ascribed to, 75, 104, 106, 109–10
as cult figure, 12, 14, 25–33, 37, 40, 71–2, 80–1, 85, 130, 132–3, 139, 161, 197, 205–8, 210, 220–2, 236, 282, 285, 300–1, 305, 329–30, 333
international character, 27–32, 37, 51–2, 134–5, 138, 153, 262, 276–7, 280, 304, 306
death (1924), 25, 36, 48, 55, 261
family and domestic relations, 86 and Krupskaya, 89, 282, 285
film and stage representations, 29, 36, 37, 39, 51, 208, 260–2, 265, 269
mummification, 26, 30–1, 33
painted and photographic representations, 29, 264, 267, 269–70, 287
writings, 33–4, 51, 205
- What Is To Be Done?*, 11–12, 294
'works,' 207–8
- Lenski, Julian, 42, 43
- Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 294
- Le Troquer, André, 147
- Levi, Paul, 223, 301–3
- Liebknicht, Karl, 25, 29, 48, 51, 194, 202, 301, 302
- Lincoln, Abraham, 299, 304
- Lizzani, Carlo, 263
- Ludwig, Emil, 35, 36, 39, 128, 131, 132, 257–8, 267–8, 281–2, 293, 296, 298
- Lunacharsky, Anatoly, 204, 207
- Luxemburg, Rosa, 28, 29, 111, 201, 219, 223, 301–3
'Luxemburgism,' 81, 133, 302–3
Luxemburg-Liebknicht and '3 Ls' campaigns, 25, 48, 301–2
- Lyons, Eugene, 257, 267

M

- MacColl, Ewan, *Ballad of Stalin*, 277
- MacDiarmid, Hugh, 52, 102, 303
- MacDonald, Ramsay, 161
- Macfie, Ronald Campbell, cited, 28–9
- Maclean, John, 302–3
- Malatesta, Errico, 12
- Malraux, André, 192
- Mandela, Nelson, 333–4
- Manner, Kullervo, 85
- Mann, Tom, 51, 336
as foundation cult figure, 223, 226–8, 230, 232, 304
birthdays commemorated, 223, 226, 227
and Pollitt, 162, 226–8
prosecutions and imprisonments, 162
- Manuilsky, Dmitri, 35, 140, 190, 300
- Marat, Jean-Paul, 304
- Marcos, Subcomandante, 334–5

- Martin, Henri, drawn by Picasso, 271
 Martin, Kingsley, cited, 164
 Marty, André, 92, 100–1, 142, 146,
 153–8, 212, 263, 281, 292
 biography and family background,
 144, 152
 Black Sea mutiny (1919), legend
 and writings, 141, 144, 145,
 153–7, 280–1
 on cult of the individual,
 141, 156, 221
 expulsion and anathematisation
 (1952), 141, 202, 280, 304
 legends and cult of, 144–5
 as political prisoner, 187
 martyr, figure of, 26–7, 48–9, 146,
 185, 196–7, 291, 330
 Marx, Eleanor, 228, 331
 Marx-Engels(-Lenin) Institute, 209,
 228, 283, 300
 Marx, Karl, 11–12, 17, 205, 283
 anniversaries, (1933); (1943);
 (1953), 81, 206, 208
 as cult figure, 29, 51, 206–9,
 299–301
 contested with social democrats,
 208, 299–300
 writings and *works*, 206–9, 219
 Maxton, James, 46, 302–3
 Mayakovsky, Vladimir, 29, 31, 205–7
 meneur, figure of, 11–14
 invoked by Marty, 156
 Méray, Tibor, 107
 Merkurov, Sergnei, 37
Mezhdunarodnaya Organizatsiya
Pomoshchi Bor'tsam Revolyutsii
 (MOPR) (International Red Aid),
 48, 224
 Mezhrabpom-Film, 260–2
 Michel, Louise, 299
 Michel, Rosa, 145
 Michels, Robert, 11–13
 Mickiewicz, Adam, 299
 Miles, Jack, 84, 89
 Minor, Robert, 232
 modesty, as cultlike attribute,
 1, 29–30, 80, 128
 Molotov, V.M., 213, 219
 Monmousseau, Gaston, 152–3
 Montagnana, Mario, 236
 MOPR. *See Mezhdunarodnaya*
Organizatsiya Pomoshchi Bor'tsam
Revolutsii (MOPR)
 (International Red Aid)
 More, Thomas, 203, 298
 Morizet, André, 267
 Morris, William, 336
 Moscow
 palace of the soviets, 37
 Shukov's radio tower, 264–5
 Moussinac, Léon, 261
 Mukhina, Vera, Worker and Collective
 Farm Girl (1937), 37
 Münzenberg, Willi, 65n113, 192,
 266, 281
 Münzer, Thomas, 14, 204
 Murphy, J.T., 137
 Murray, Sean, 43, 89
 music and song, cults represented in,
 38, 138–9, 193, 277
 Mussolini, Benito, 229, 234, 281
 as cult figure, 36, 71, 91,
 263, 278
- N**
 national and ethnic identities, as factor
 in cult construction, 86–9
 Neruda, Pablo, 98, 194, 304
 Nietzsche, Friedrich and
 Nietzscheanism, 31, 213, 285,
 296–7
 Nizan, Paul, 214, 296
 slandered by PCF, 217
 Norway
 communist party, 55

O

- O'Connor, Feargus, 335
 oratory and platform presence, as
 factors in cult production,
 46, 106, 109, 133, 138–9
 Ordzhonikidzhe, Sergo, 261
 Orwell, George, 131, 266
 Owen, Robert, 14, 203, 228

P

- paintings and drawings, cults
 represented in, 270–6
 Paris, 1–2, 37, 90, 100, 111, 142–3,
 152, 192–4, 201, 213, 296,
 333–4
 as art centre, 192, 270
 Commune (1871), 25, 304–5
 Ivry, 2, 147
 Panthéon, 30, 298, 303
 Saint-Denis, 25, 30
 Villejuif, 144
 Pasionaria. *See* Ibárruri, Dolores
 Pauker, Ana, 87, 197, 202
 peace campaigns, communist, 90,
 153–5, 215, 271
 World Peace Committee, 299
 Péri, Gabriel, 145
 autobiography, 292–3
 death and memorialisation, 25, 100,
 146, 194, 196, 291
 Peri, Peter, 270
 Peter the Great, commemorated,
 157, 298
 Petrovsky, D.E., 162
 photography, cults represented in,
 266–9
 Piatnitsky, Osip, 130, 190, 281
 Picasso, Pablo, 2, 289–91
 joins PCF, 148
 Stalin drawing,
 271–6, 290
 Pieck, Wilhelm, 191–2, 194, 201,
 293, 304
 Plekhanov, Georgi, 223, 300–1, 305
 Role of the Individual in History
 (1898), 294
 poetry and verse, cults represented in,
 2, 28–9, 50, 52, 98, 191, 194,
 199, 217, 304
 Pogodin, Nikolai, 262
 Pokrovsky, M.N., 129–30, 133, 298
 ‘Pokrovsky school’, 298
 Poland, 105
 communist party, 40, 42
 Pollitt, Harry, 46, 51, 54, 57, 96, 106,
 226–8, 265, 283
 biography and family background,
 90, 159–61, 163–4
 cadre autobiography, 158–60, 166
 as cult figure, 41–6 passim, 49–50,
 84, 89, 102, 161–5, 167,
 169–70, 221, 304
 in eastern Europe, 170, 233
 labour movement associations, 84,
 99, 160, 163–4
 oratory and platform presence,
 139, 227
 removed as CPGB general secretary
 (1939–41), 44, 160, 163
 Serving My Time (1940), 57, 164,
 170, 289–91
 as unsuccessful parliamentary
 candidate, 93–5, 164
 Pollitt, Mary Louisa, 160, 164
 Popov, Blagoy, 188, 196
 Pouget, Émile, 334
 Prestes, Leocádia, 194
 Prestes, Luis Carlos, 51, 304
 as cult figure, 4, 45–8, 88, 90, 96–9,
 101–2, 138, 194, 202, 218,
 288–9, 304
 Prestes, Olga, 90
 Priacel, Stefan, 197

- prisons and imprisonment, as factor in
 cult construction, 42, 48, 86–7,
 90, 97, 145, 162, 185–203
 passim, 226, 234–7, 332
- Pritt, D.N., 164
- Prokofiev, Sergei, 38, 88, 277
- Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, 203
- Pudovkin, Vsevolod, 210, 260
- Pushkin, Alexander, 218
 centenary (1937), 212, 299
- R**
- Radek, Karl, 36, 130, 206, 208, 297
- radio and sound recordings, cults
 represented in, 48, 101, 109,
 147, 258–9, 264–6
- Rákosi, Mátyás, 57, 266
 as cult figure, 9, 41, 52, 55, 86–8,
 99, 202, 263, 277, 293
 as political prisoner, 48, 86,
 185, 187, 194, 197,
 234, 296
- Ransome, Arthur, 29, 30
- Ray, Man, 192
- Razin, Stenka, 14, 135
- Red International of Labour Unions
 (RILU) (Profintern), British
 section, 226
- Reed, John, 204
- Relecom, Xavier, 165, 169
- Renoir, Jean, 260
- Riazanov, David, 209, 283, 300–1
- Rice, Elmer, 195, 295
- Riefenstahl, Leni, *Triumph of the Will*
 (1935), 263
- RILU. *See* Red International of
 Labour Unions (RILU)
 (Profintern), British section
- Robeson, Paul, 231
- Robespierre, Maximilien, 11, 14, 298
- Rochet, Waldeck, 296
- Rolland, Romain, 28, 35, 99, 133–4,
 192, 193, 204, 210, 212, 213,
 234–5, 291
- Romania
 communist party, 87, 91, 327
- Romm, Mikhail
Lenin in 1918 (1939), 39, 263
Lenin in October (1937), 37, 39,
 140, 262–3, 285
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 35, 38, 40,
 265
- Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel, drawn by
 Picasso, 275
- royal personalities, cults of,
 72, 305–6
- Roy, Claude, 216–18
- Ruskin, John, 228
- Russia/USSR, 12, 31–2, 204–5, 208
 communist party (Bolsheviks), 80,
 85, 131, 136–7, 220, 298
 congresses (1934); (1956), 4,
 10–11, 36, 42, 81, 131, 137,
 138
 history of (‘Short Course’) (1938),
 81–2, 278, 291, 294
 ‘Old Bolsheviks,’ 32, 110, 281
Pravda, 1, 16, 34–9 passim, 219,
 259, 269
 Great Patriotic War (1941–5)
 (*see* Second World War)
 historiography, 5–6, 330–1
 revolution, 110, 203–4, 264,
 301, 305
 anniversaries (1927); (1937), 34,
 37–9, 51
History of the Civil War in the
USSR, 270
 trials and purges, 79, 134, 136,
 140–1, 197, 280
 tsarism, 26, 72, 203
- Ruthenberg, Charles E., 194, 231
- Rykov, Akexei, 34

S

- Sacco and Vanzetti campaign (1920s), 48, 193
- Sadoul, Georges, 264
- Saint-Simon, Claude-Henri, comte de, 204
- Schmitt, Carl, 295
- Scriabin, Alexander, 204
- Sculpture and statuary, cults
represented in, 29, 37, 54, 100, 110, 139, 168, 221, 270
- Second International, 208, 300, 336
- Second World War, 38–9
- Seigneur, André, 192
- Semard, Pierre, 104, 105, 152–3, 165, 291
- Semprún, Jorge, 108
- Serge, Victor, 230
- Shaw, George Bernard, 35
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 214
- Sheridan, Clare, 29
- Shumyatsky, Boris, 259, 261, 262, 264
- socialist realism, 52, 269
- soldiers and the military
as cult figures, 2, 33, 38, 46–7, 81–2, 97–9, 218, 227
- Solomon, Jacques, 143
- South Africa, 89
- Souvarine, Boris, 26, 30, 31, 33, 106, 139, 140, 167, 279
- Spain
civil war, 54
communist party, 13, 138, 306
- Spartacus, 14, 135
- ‘Stalin generation’ of communist leaders, 43, 46, 84–7
- stalinisation, discussed, 42, 43, 328–9
- ‘stalinist,’ term discussed, 54
- Stalin, Joseph, 33, 40, 93, 163, 189–90, 196, 197, 199–200, 202, 204, 210–13, 230–1, 298
biographies, 50, 71, 83, 95, 127, 131–7, 214, 215, 269–70, 277–87, 291
birthdays, (1929); (1934); (1939); (1949), 1–2, 34, 38, 39, 56, 81, 92, 107, 266, 286, 306
charisma ascribed to, 38, 104
constitution (1936), 79, 218
as cult figure, 5, 11, 13–14, 18, 26–7, 30, 34, 71–5, 78, 80–2, 98, 127–40, 212, 258, 301, 305–6, 328–30
condemned (1956), 4, 10–11
internationally, 2–4, 8–9, 35–40, 43–4, 46–7, 50–7, 106–7, 131–8, 152, 187, 201, 202, 264, 294–7, 336
within USSR, 7–8, 34–5, 38–9, 217
death (1953), 2, 79, 206, 221, 306
on Engels, 302
entertains western literati, 35, 39, 133–4, 281, 293
film representations, 39–40, 88, 259, 261–4
Georgian origins and identity, 34, 38, 88
and Lenin, 37, 39, 81, 132, 140, 207, 214, 220–2, 236, 262, 285
letter to Proletarskaya Revolyutsiya (1931), 81, 282–3, 302
oratory and platform presence, 136–7
painted and photographic representations, 37, 266–76
personal life and history, 89–90, 282–3, 285–6
as pipe-smoker, 139–40, 257–8
as polymath, 81–2, 218–19
radio broadcasts, 259, 265
social origins, 83
statues and busts, 37, 270, 278
writings, 206–8, 233
‘works,’ 35–6, 219, 221
- Stepanov, Ivan, 156
- Stetsky, Alexei
and Barbusse, 131, 284–6

- Strachey, John, 206, 296
 suicide, communist disapproval of, 196
 Sverdlov, Yakov, 263
 Switzerland, 88–9
 communist party, 55
- T**
- Tanev, Vassil, 188, 196
 Tardieu, André, 265
 Tarlé, Eugene, 298
 Tasca, Angelo, 143, 224
 Thälmann, Ernst, 51, 302
 biography and family background, 193–4
 as cult figure, 9, 42–4, 46, 52, 84–6, 93, 108, 135, 139, 185–202, 226, 229, 277, 296, 298
 birthdays as commemoration (1936); (1941), 42, 193, 200, 227
 cult biography, 45, 201, 280, 284
 cult film, 192, 201, 215, 261, 263
 posthumous, 56, 200–1, 235
 Thälmann campaign and campaign committee, 45, 188, 191–2, 197, 234
 KPD presidential candidate, (1925); (1932), 48, 147, 224
 oratory and platform presence, 84, 139
 as political prisoner, 197–9
 Thälmann, Rosa, 194, 201
 Thompson, E.P., and ‘decade of heroes,’ 49, 332–3, 336
 Thompson, Frank, 49
 Thorez, Maurice, 40, 73, 163, 164, 229–30, 265, 275
 biography and family background, a coal-miner by upbringing, 85, 89, 111, 144, 158, 271
 cadre autobiography, 158–9, 166
 as cult figure, 3–4, 7, 9, 43–4, 49–50, 53–5, 74–6, 82–5, 89–92, 108, 110–12, 139–58, 170, 199, 202, 215–17, 266–7, 277, 327
 ascription of youthfulness, 142–3
 birthdays commemorated, 2–3, 41, 55, 92, 148, 155, 295, 305
 personal history and relations (*see* Vermeersch, Jeannette)
 Son of the People, 45, 49, 51, 57, 84–6, 90, 93, 96, 142, 143, 149, 151, 157, 158, 194, 220, 230, 271, 287–93, 296
 stroke (1950), 86, 149
 in USSR (1939–44); (1950–3), 145–7, 149–50, 196, 216–17, 236, 266, 291
 ‘works’, 149, 219–21
 Tillon, Charles, 141, 142, 152, 157
 Tito, Josip Broz, 51, 53
 anathematisation of, 54, 85, 293
 as cult figure, 41, 309n40
 Togliatti, Palmiro, 4, 53, 57, 138, 152, 156, 266
 attempted assassination (1948), 74, 236, 263
 as cult figure, 41, 45, 55–6, 74, 76, 86, 93, 236, 271
 and Gramsci, 86, 234–7
 ‘works’, 221
 Tokuda, Kyūichi, 113n17
 Tolstoy, Alexei, Bread (1937), 263
 Tolstoy, Leo, 32, 204
 Torgler, Ernst, 188, 191
 Torr, Dona, 228
 totalitarianism, concept of, 77
 Tovstukha, Ivan, 281–4
 trials and court proceedings, as factors
 in cult construction, 9, 36, 86–7, 107, 187–91, 193, 195, 197, 202, 262, 334
 Triolet, Elsa, 216
 Trotskyism, 200, 201, 283, 302
 in Belgium, 166–7

- Trotsky, Leon
 anathematised and denounced,
 34–5, 140–1, 280, 330
 autobiography, 129–30, 281
 and Lenin, 26–8, 31, 33, 197, 281,
 283, 305
 and Stalin, 81, 109, 110, 127–35,
 229, 281
- U
- USA, 131, 195, 231, 265, 282
 communist party, 50, 231–3, 288,
 332
 as ‘Negro party,’ 88
 Workers’ Film and Photo League,
 260
- USSR. *See* Russia/USSR
USSR in Construction, The, 266, 268
- V
- Vaillant-Couturier, Paul, 54, 100,
 142–5, 151, 194, 261, 269, 291,
 297–9, 304
- Vaillant, Edouard, 205
- Van Overstraeten, War (Edouard), 166
- Vergneau, Gustave, 148
- Vermeersch, Jeannette, 89–90
 criticised by Marty, 156
 as cult figure, 90–1
- Vertov, Dziga, 260–1
Three Songs of Lenin (1934), 36, 51,
 208, 260, 261, 265, 268
- Vietnam, 154, 332
- Voroshilov, Kliment, 38, 209
- W
- Wallon, Henri, 82
- Wangenheim, Gustav von, 195, 200
- Washington, George, 192, 299
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice, 134, 280
Soviet Communism (1935), 278,
 295, 330
- Weber, Max, 6, 11, 42, 103–4, 108.
See also Charisma, defined and
 discussed
- Weinert, Erich, 185, 193
- Wells, H.G., 206
 meets Lenin, 29, 35
 meets Stalin, 35, 39, 133
- Werth, Alexander, 268, 277–9
- Willard, Marcel, 199, 219
The Defence Accuses, 202
- Wilson, Woodrow, 27
- Workers’ International Relief, 260
- workers, working class, as cult figures,
 45, 50, 80, 83–7, 89, 99, 104–5,
 107, 111, 130, 139, 140, 153,
 161–3, 190, 196, 287
- ‘works’, as cult production, 219–21
- World Committee Against War and
 Fascism, 213
- writers
 as cult figures, 203–21
 as engineers of human souls, 204,
 205, 212
 Soviet Writers’ Congress (1934),
 209, 269, 296–7
- Y
- Yaroslavsky, Emelyan, 33, 286
- Z
- Zapata, Emiliano, 335
- Zapatistas, 334, 335
- Zedong, Mao, 4
 as cult figure, 9, 17, 41, 56–7, 71,
 218, 258, 267, 327–8, 332–3
 Little Red Book, 7, 218, 277
- Zetkin, Clara, 51, 197

- birthdays commemorated, 222–4
- disillusionment with Stalinism,
224–5
- as foundation cult figure, 222–6,
228–30, 289
- and Rosa Luxemburg, 223, 302
- Zhdanov, Andrei, 49, 54
- Zhdanovism, 271
- Zhukov, Georgy, 209
- Zinoviev, Grigory, 26, 27, 33, 35,
128, 207, 224, 282