



SAMPLE B

Diploma Programme subject in which this extended essay is registered: POLITICS  
(For an extended essay in the area of languages, state the language and whether it is group 1 or group 2.)

Title of the extended essay: How useful is the concept of totalitarianism in explaining Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia?

**Candidate's declaration**

*If this declaration is not signed by the candidate the extended essay will not be assessed.*

The extended essay I am submitting is my own work (apart from guidance allowed by the International Baccalaureate).

I have acknowledged each use of the words, graphics or ideas of another person, whether written, oral or visual.

I am aware that the word limit for all extended essays is 4000 words and that examiners are not required to read beyond this limit.

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Name of supervisor (CAPITAL letters) \_\_\_\_\_

## Comments

Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the candidate was zero, you must explain this, in particular how it was then possible to authenticate the essay as the candidate's own work. You may attach an additional sheet if there is insufficient space here.

X approached this question with a positive attitude. He worked well to gather suitable materials - a difficult task in Jeddah.

What struck me at the concluding interview was his evident pleasure at having engaged in a difficult intellectual task and being able to come out with a result. He said that he would recommend to other students to approach Politics topics in the same way.

I have read the final version of the extended essay that will be submitted to the examiner.

To the best of my knowledge, the extended essay is the authentic work of the candidate.

I spent  hours with the candidate discussing the progress of the extended essay.

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Date: 28.1.2009

## Extended Essay

**Subject:** Politics

**Research Question:** “How useful is the concept of totalitarianism in explaining Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia?”

**Candidate Name:**

**Candidate Number:**

**Word Count:** 3,966

This assignment is submitted in partial fulfillment of the International Baccalaureate/BISJ diploma. I certify that this is all my own work, and that all sources used have been cited in accordance with school policy.

**Signed:** .....

**Date:** .....

## ABSTRACT

The concept 'totalitarianism' is one that has caused much controversy and debate. It is a term that describes a state in which the government controls all aspects of society. Totalitarianism is the base of the research in the following essay. The research was conducted in order to test the applicability of the concept of totalitarianism, against two absolute regimes, in the research question: "*How useful is the concept of totalitarianism in describing Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia?*"

The research was undertaken through research of books pertaining to Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, and totalitarian theories. The investigation of the research question was undertaken by separating the body of the essay into two sections: Stalinist Russia, and Nazi Germany. Each section contains sub-sections that contain research about those certain aspects of society. Each sub-section, (such as **Control of Economy**, or **Secret Police**) is a topic of research, which contains much insight regarding the applicability of the term to that regime. In researching each sub-section, and testing it against the theories of totalitarian philosophers, the answer to the question of whether or not the term is applicable is furthered, for each regime.

Through the research and systematic-approach to the essay, a final conclusion has been arrived at. The conclusion states that the term is very applicable towards Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany, as both regimes contain extreme similarities to theories that were created by totalitarian theorists.

**WORD COUNT: 233 words**



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A debate about whether or not Stalin and Hitler could have based their absolute regimes on the concept of totalitarianism has been ongoing for many years. Many people are confused by the differences between autocracy, and totalitarianism. Hannah Arendt stated "Autocracy is merely a form of government which denies democratic and individual rights. Totalitarianism, on the other hand, is a complete social system, not just a style of government"<sup>1</sup>. The term 'totalitarianism' is a controversial term, as many people believe it to be a term created by men, rather than it to be an entire social system. Inevitably, the question will arise to some form of a test, to test the applicability of the term. The object of this essay therefore is to test the relevance of this concept using the two prime examples of Nazi Germany and Stalinist USSR with the question "How useful is the concept of totalitarianism in explaining Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia?"

Totalitarianism could be described as a system of leadership of that state maintains complete control over everything within that state, such as aspects of political, cultural, economic, and social life, and is the basis of a ruling ideology, such as fascism or communism<sup>2</sup>. Totalitarianism refers to a political or social system rather than any specific ideology<sup>3</sup>, such as communism, as it is the basis upon which the ideology runs. When describing Nazi Germany, and Stalinist Russia, the term 'totalitarian' is applicable to both regimes. In terms of success, to what extent is the concept of 'totalitarianism' applicable to the two regimes? *How useful is the concept of 'totalitarianism' in explaining Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia?* To what extent, through historical evidence, is totalitarianism apparent in 20<sup>th</sup> century Germany and Russia? The term 'totalitarian' was according to W. Laqueur "coined to cover common features of communist and fascist states"<sup>4</sup>. There will be an underlying similarity between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, which is the basis, the concept of totalitarianism. This topic is worthy of exploration as it outlines, breaks down, and explains two of the most brutal regimes in history, thus, it holds a significance in history. I chose this topic because it covers two subjects that are of particular interest to me: politics, and history. This is an interesting topic to me, as the politics behind totalitarian systems is very controversial, and after creating an interdependent relationship between totalitarianism and 20<sup>th</sup> century regimes, it has become a fascinating research question to explore. I will separate the Nazi regime and the Stalinist regime, and explore to what extent the concept of the totalitarianism applies to both regimes, using historical evidence, looking at the political, social, economic aspects of each regime. The most useful method of assessing the concept of totalitarianism against the two prime examples would be to constantly test the examples of the regimes against the theories of totalitarian theorists such as Friedrich, in key aspects of the society of the two 20<sup>th</sup>-century countries in question.

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<sup>1</sup> (McNaughton, 1996) Page 331

<sup>2</sup> ibid

<sup>3</sup> ibid

<sup>4</sup>(Lee, 1987) Page 300

According to the totalitarian theorist, Friedrich, for a government to be totalitarian, they must have “an ideology of totalism”<sup>5</sup>, “a single party committed to the ideology, usually led by one person, who rules as a dictator”<sup>6</sup>, “a fully developed secret police”<sup>7</sup>, “state monopolistic control of mass communications and all organizations, including all economic organizations, all weapons, and the means of violence”<sup>8</sup>. To test the theory against the two prime examples, the theorists’ laws must always be in constant comparison with the examples from the two regimes.

## STALINIST RUSSIA

One of the two regimes in question here, Stalinist Russia, is very well known example of communism in history. The last Tsar in throne before the revolution was Tsar Nicholas II<sup>9</sup>. Nicholas II was forced to abdicate, and after his abdication, his brother, Grand Duke Michael refused the crown, leaving Russia a republic after 304 years of Romanov rule<sup>10</sup>. After the abdication, Russia had two new leaders, the Provisional Government, and the Petrograd Soviet. Lenin and his Bolsheviks were able to seize power by overthrowing the almost paralyzed Provisional Government. After establishing Soviet power, Lenin suffered numerous strokes and died. At which point, against Lenin’s wish, Stalin was able to seize power and take over Russia.

How useful is the concept of totalitarianism in describing Stalinist Russia? From the description of the revolution, the first few events begin to shape a government or regime, which will hold complete power over its peoples. After the forced abdication of the Tsar Nicholas II, a weak Provisional Government is left in its place, which made it easy for the Bolsheviks to secure their power. Since the entirety of a party would be taking over an entire country, the leader of that party, Stalin, would have “complete power”<sup>11</sup> over the people of Russia. This includes the political, social, economic, and cultural aspects of that country. The following are previous occurrences from Stalin’s rule that will prove towards the research question that was aforementioned, as they are strong examples that show the extent to Stalin’s rule, which will aid in advancing the research question.

### One Party State

Politically, Stalin obviously had control of Russia, but he also had control of many factors regarding politics. For example, the secret police would eliminate any opposition that had come to life<sup>12</sup>, and his extreme policies regarding censorship and issues similar to that, gave opposition little room to even breathe. Stalin seemed to have

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<sup>5</sup> (D&J Jary, 2000) Page 640

<sup>6</sup> *ibid*

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*

<sup>9</sup> (Morris, 1995) Page 213

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

<sup>11</sup> (Morris, 1995) Page 229

<sup>12</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 310

complete control over the politics in his country. Previous to coming to power, the party was known as the Bolshevik party.

The communist party was the party in rule of the single party state. Lenin was the initial leader, but after his death, Stalin had taken control of the party. The communist party was group of professional revolutionaries. The party was run under a strict internal hierarchy<sup>13</sup>, which would mean that the powers in the party were extremely centralized. They were the only existent party in the state, who had complete control over all of Russia.

Friedrich theorizes that a totalitarian government must have "a single party committed to the ideology, usually led by one person, who rules as a dictator"<sup>14</sup>. From history, all of the aspects are evident; the single party is the communists, the ideology is communism, and Stalin had ruled as a dictator. It is very evident that all of these aspects from historically correct examples fall into the explanation of totalitarianism defined by a totalitarian theorist.

### Secret Police

The political police played a very large part in Soviet Russia. It aided in Stalin's consolidation for power, and Stalin had complete power over it. The political police, also known as the secret police, controlled the labor camps, which held approximately 10 million people<sup>15</sup>. The secret police was responsible for purging the Soviet party, and murdering many who were believed to have been opposition. The secret police was at Stalin's command. Leonardo Schapiro has noted, "in practice, it never lacked the power to do whatever it was required to do by the party"<sup>16</sup>. The secret police were used also to enforce terror upon Russian citizens. Many Russian's were killed or sent to labor camps if they were suspected oppositionists. It was a method for Stalin to keep his citizens loyal, and live in fear of the government. Stalin used whatever weapons he had in his arsenal to secure his power, and the secret police was a form of power security. The use of the secret police is an excellent example of how Stalin used his absolute power and had complete control of the social aspects of his country.

According to the theories of Friedrich, for a state to be totalitarian, its government must have "a fully developed secret police"<sup>17</sup>, and "the means of violence"<sup>18</sup>. Stalin used his secret police to control labor camps, purge the Soviet party, and mindlessly murdering many people as they were thought to have been opposition. Due to Stalin's extreme use of the secret police, it is safe to say that the USSR secret police was fully developed and belonged to the government, and definitely had "the means of violence"<sup>19</sup>, which evidently places Stalinist Russia further under the theories of totalitarianism.

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<sup>13</sup> ibid

<sup>14</sup> (D&J Jary, 2000) Page 640

<sup>15</sup> ibid

<sup>16</sup> (Morris, 1995) Page 233

<sup>17</sup> (D&J Jary, 2000) Page 640

<sup>18</sup> ibid

<sup>19</sup> ibid



### Control of Economy

It is considered that Stalin had been considered an “economic genius”<sup>20</sup>. He completed in 10 years what would have taken most countries 50 years<sup>21</sup>. Stalin’s introduction of the Five Year Plans is single handedly the biggest success from within Stalin’s rule. The aim of the Five Year Plan ‘was to match and to overhaul in the shortest possible time the economies of the advanced capitalist states’<sup>22</sup>. The Five Year Plans set a large target for certain materials (such as Coal, Iron, Steel, etc)<sup>23</sup>, and harshly enforced the achievement of these targets. Only Stalin’s complete power over the economics of Russia would allow him to introduce the Five Year Plans, as it instituted a complete change in the economic system. Even though the Five Year Plans have altered Russia for the better, the term totalitarian defines a system of rule that has complete power over its country, economically, socially, and politically, and any other aspects included. Be it positive or negative, Stalin had enough power of the Russian economy to introduce two Five Year Plan’s, and abandon Lenin’s capitalistic New Economic Policy. However, there were negative aspects belonging to the ideologies pertaining to the Five Year Plan’s. Stalin’s economically successful plans were followed by extreme assertion of force, to those workers who did not complete a minimum quota of work, were ruthlessly executed by Stalin’s cheka<sup>24</sup>.

The regime had “state monopolistic control of all economic organizations”<sup>25</sup>, which is evident in Stalin’s ability to disregard the capitalistic New Economic Policy, and implement a very large-scale economic policy that is the Five Year Plan. We see that Stalin had “state monopolistic control of all economic organizations”<sup>26</sup>, which Friedrich theorized all totalitarian governments to have. Stalinist Russia had complete control over all of its economic organizations, and thus, Stalinist Russia falls further under the definition of totalitarianism according to totalitarian theorists.

### Social Aspects

Looking into the culture of the Soviet citizens is a primary indicator of the extent to which totalitarianism dominates the society.

Religion is a major aspect of society that Stalin had changed. As Stalin believed that religion is an ideological reflection of a past society. Although Stalin had been educated to be an Orthodox priest<sup>27</sup>, his hatred for the Orthodox Church had been apparent as it was very closely connected to the Tsarist throne. Under Stalin’s orders, priests suffered constant atrocities such as imprisonment and being sent to gulags<sup>28</sup>. As the years passed Stalin began to tighten his grip on religion. For example, in 1929, Stalin deemed it illegal to conduct religious practices outside a church or a licensed

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<sup>20</sup> (Hart, 1978) Page 94

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*

<sup>22</sup> (Morris, 1995) Page 235

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 310

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*

<sup>26</sup> *ibid*

<sup>27</sup> (Corin & Fiehn, 2002) Page 290

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*

congregation<sup>29</sup>. The Islamic religion was banned<sup>30</sup>, Muslims were forced to abandon millennia old traditions, such as pilgrimage to Hajj (which was banned)<sup>31</sup> and women's use of the veil (of which, removing was forcibly encouraged<sup>32</sup>). By 1939, Stalin's grip on religion was extreme, which is evident in the fact that "only twelve out of 168 bishops active in 1930 were still at liberty"<sup>33</sup>. Stalin's extreme view on religion is evident in the fact that his extremism had 156 out of 168 bishop's dead, in labor camps, or in jail<sup>34</sup>.

Stalin used terror as a method of manipulating and controlling Soviet peoples. Any opposition was not tolerated. Stalin's paranoia reached an extremely high point. His paranoia caused the death of many, anti-Soviet people and neutrally situated residents within the USSR, alike. Stalinist terror was viewed as a form of rule. People lived in extreme fear of the government, as executions, and being sent to work camps was an extremely common occurrence. The slightest mistake in the 'punishable-by-death' society was feared, and thus transformed its society greatly as the people's fear caused them to act irrationally and only in favor of the government.

Stalin's grips on many social aspects of Russia were tight and used for his benefit. The government controlled for example the arts, much like religion. The 1930's brought about Partinost ("Party Spirit")<sup>35</sup>, and socialist realism, which is "to convey immediately obvious pro-soviet messages"<sup>36</sup>. The arts were controlled and used as widespread propaganda, again in attempt of controlling and spreading soviet ideologies across the USSR.

Stalin's complete control over the social aspects of the USSR extremely evident through many examples such as, religion, the arts, Stalin's use of terror. Many definitions of totalitarianism are similar to: "A political system in which the government maintains and controls all aspects of society"<sup>37</sup>. This term and its various definitions, which are mostly parallel to each other, clearly state that the government should "maintain and control all aspects of society"<sup>38</sup>. It is evident through historical examples of Stalinist Russia that the state controlled all aspects of society, and maintained their control over it. Various examples, such as the control over the religion, and the arts further define Stalinist Russia as a totalitarian state.

### Conclusion

The concept of totalitarianism in description is considered when a government has complete control of all aspects of a country. Many totalitarian theorists, such as Friedrich, and Hannah Arendt share the same views as to the definitions of totalitarianism. Friedrich

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<sup>29</sup> ibid

<sup>30</sup> ibid

<sup>31</sup> ibid

<sup>32</sup> ibid

<sup>33</sup> ibid

<sup>34</sup> ibid


<sup>35</sup> (Corin & Fiehn, 2002) Page 291

<sup>36</sup> ibid

<sup>37</sup> (McNaughton, 1996) Page 331

<sup>38</sup> ibid

and Arendt formulated common ideologies and theories that depict a totalitarian state. The way in which Soviet Russia was run under the rule of Stalin very similarly resembles the concept of totalitarianism from many definitions, and theorists. Stalin had control of all aspects of Russian life, politically, socially, and economically. From the many examples of Stalin ruling methods, the concept of totalitarianism is compared with Stalinist Russia, and the comparison is blatant, and becomes apparent very quickly. Arendt stated "Totalitarianism, on the other hand, is a complete social system, not just a style of government"<sup>39</sup>. Arendt's statement regarding totalitarianism is consistent with Stalinist Russia, as it is evident that the USSR was a "complete social system"<sup>40</sup>, rather than a "style of government"<sup>41</sup>.



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<sup>39</sup> *ibid*

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*

<sup>41</sup> *ibid*

## NAZI GERMANY

The second regime in question is Nazi Germany, or mid 20<sup>th</sup> century Germany. Germany is a country in which during the 20<sup>th</sup> century was regarded as fearful. Germany was blamed for World War I, with the declaration of the Treaty of Versailles and its War Guilt Clause, and was the reason behind the start of World War Two<sup>42</sup>. However, it could be argued that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles led Germany to push for World War Two; one thing is for certain, Germany played a big role in the outbreak of World War Two.

To what extent is the term 'totalitarianism' applicable to this regime? Hitler was, described as, "one of the most ruthless dictators in history"<sup>43</sup>. Through many events and occurrences, Hitler has achieved this title, and still today, many remember him for what he has done. One of the worst, and most commonly known genocides in history, the Holocaust, was his doings. Hitler ordered the mass extermination of the Jewish population in Germany. Hitler's view of an elite race, the Aryan's, pushed Hitler to accomplish many of the evil events widely known today. His utter dedication towards the "perfect race"<sup>44</sup> may have been the driving force behind his utter ruthlessness. Hitler also wanted to control the entirety of Europe, making him an extremely militaristic dictator. Through many examples, the question of the applicability of totalitarianism of Nazi Germany will be understood. Hitler's control over the social, political, economical, and militaristic aspects of Germany, and his utter disregard for any other race except for the Germans, prove his rule to be totalitarian.

The ideology of Hitler differs greatly to that of Stalin or Lenin's, as he used fascism as the basis of his ruling ideology, while command a totalitarian state in Germany. Fascism is the ideology of anti-rationalism, and its definition is "a system of government marked by centralization of authority under a dictator, stringent socioeconomic controls, suppression of the opposition through terror and censorship, and typically a policy of belligerent nationalism and racism."<sup>45</sup>

### Secret Police

Much like Stalin, Hitler had a very oppressive secret police. The secret police had been known as the Gestapo. Its brutal and destructive methods had German citizens living in fear of the Gestapo<sup>46</sup>. Himmler, the head of the Gestapo<sup>47</sup>, "created the enormous terror apparatus which would eventually run the Gestapo, the concentration camps, and the extermination system"<sup>48</sup>. The Gestapo was, on a large scale, a massive terror factor that implemented fear into the lives of many Germans. The Gestapo was extremely weary of opposition, much like Stalin, and eliminated many people who were suspected to be oppositionists<sup>49</sup>. The Gestapo had five main departments, Enemies, Sects

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<sup>42</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 163

<sup>43</sup> *ibid*

<sup>44</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 163

<sup>45</sup> (Pearce, 1997)

<sup>46</sup> (Bullock, 1993) Page 456

<sup>47</sup> (Griffin, 1995) Page 146

<sup>48</sup> *ibid*

<sup>49</sup> *ibid*

and Churches, Administration and Party Affairs, Occupied Territories, and Counterintelligence<sup>50</sup>. It was evidently a very well organized and effective official secret police of the state.

According to the theories of Friedrich, a totalitarian state must have “a fully developed secret police”<sup>51</sup>, and “the means of violence”<sup>52</sup>. The Gestapo was a secret police that operated brutally, and forced fear upon the citizens of Germany. It was a fully developed secret police, which was extremely organized, with five departments. “The means of violence”<sup>53</sup> were definitely existent, as the brutally murdered many Jews, Germans, or oppositionists. According to Friedrich’s theories, we can understand and begin to see that Nazi Germany is falling under a theoretical definition of a totalitarian state.

### Control of Economy

In 1933, “the government’s economic policy was highly pragmatic”<sup>54</sup>. It worked realistically and for the benefit of the German population. 1933-1936 was a period of ‘partial Fascism’<sup>55</sup>. Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank from March 1933, economically led this period of time<sup>56</sup>. It was a time in which the state had created a programme of job creation to reduce unemployment, control wages, and eliminate trade union powers<sup>57</sup>.

By 1936, Hitler was not at ease at the way Schacht had cautiously approached the economic policy. Hitler planned and devised the ‘Four Year Plan’. The Four Year Plan served basic purposes, one of which was “to achieve self-sufficiency or ‘autarky’”<sup>58</sup> in primarily industry and agriculture, through increased productivity. Ultimately, the plan wasn’t entirely effective. As it is obviously seen that Hitler had the power to change the economic policies of the country, as he liked. The amount of change that Hitler was able to implement on the economy is evident in Schacht’s resignation, as he was completely undermined, compelling him to quit<sup>59</sup>.

Friedrich stated that for a government to be totalitarian it must have “state monopolistic control of all economic organizations”<sup>60</sup>. This appeared to be true for Nazi Germany, as Hitler had the means to abolish an economic policy and instate a policy that had been drafted by the Nazi party. The fact that Nazi Germany’s economy falls under Friedrich’s laws of totalitarianism advances the link between Nazi Germany and totalitarianism.

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<sup>50</sup> (Bullock, 1993) Page 456

<sup>51</sup> (D&J Jary, 2000) Page 640

<sup>52</sup> ibid

<sup>53</sup> ibid

<sup>54</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 176

<sup>55</sup> ibid

<sup>56</sup> ibid

<sup>57</sup> ibid

<sup>58</sup> ibid

<sup>59</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 176

<sup>60</sup> ibid

### Social Aspects

One of the most well known social policies of Hitler is that of his anti-Semitism. "Fundamental to all Hitler's policies was his absolute belief in the superiority of the 'Aryan' race and the need to prepare the German people for their role as masters of Europe"<sup>61</sup>. Many of the German public supported Hitler's hatred of the Jews. The reasoning behind this is because Hitler had the idea of a superior race, the Aryan's. Hitler worked "to gradually purify the German race so that the majority of people would eventually conform to the ideal 'Aryan'"<sup>62</sup>. Hitler viewed the Jews, the 'subman'<sup>63</sup> as a plague that was just deteriorating the 'value' of the elite race. Examples of his anti-Semitism include Krystallnacht<sup>64</sup>, the night in which German's and Nazi's ransacked Jewish businesses and assaulted Jewish people. Another example is April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1933, the day in which all Jewish businesses were boycotted.<sup>65</sup> Hitler's anti-Semitism reached an extreme point. Eventually, Hitler's hatred of the Jews allowed him to carry out the mass-extirmination of the Jewish race, known as the holocaust. The holocaust was a systematic extermination of the Jewish race<sup>66</sup>, in which approximately 6 million Jews were killed<sup>67</sup> through extremely brutal methods such as gas chambers, starvation, torture, shootings, etc<sup>68</sup>.

Hitler's Nazi Germany falls under many theories of totalitarianism, such as the general theory of totalitarianism is "a political system in which the government maintains and controls all aspects of society"<sup>69</sup>. The society was controlled and maintained by Hitler, for example, Hitler's anti-Semitism. Hitler's hatred for the Jews was evident in his social policies, which constantly targeted Jews. His absolute disregard for them led Germany to become a socially racist state.

### Conclusion

Totalitarianism applies greatly to Nazi Germany, as the examples given for the Nazi Germany, shows that Hitler indeed had complete and utter rule over Germany and its peoples. Through many of the events taken place under Hitler's rule, it is obvious that he had control over all aspects of Germany as a nation, which defines the term totalitarianism. The theories of Friedrich fall into place and fit in with Nazi Germany. Through the holocaust, Hitler's disregard for the Treaty of Versailles, which led to the outbreak of World War I, and many other significant events, Nazi Germany proves to be a totalitarian state, based on the ideology of fascism.

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<sup>61</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 172

<sup>62</sup> *ibid*

<sup>63</sup> *ibid*

<sup>64</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 174

<sup>65</sup> (Lee, 1987) Page 173

<sup>66</sup> (Bullock, 1993) Page 444

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*

<sup>68</sup> *ibid*

<sup>69</sup> (McNaughton, 1996) Page 331

## FINAL CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

Before offering a final conclusion, the concept of totalitarianism must be evaluated. The question of, 'to what extent does the concept obscure more than it clarifies?' must be evaluated. To evaluate, we must assess the creation of the term. 'Totalitarianism' is a man-made term, which was created in the Cold War era, in an attempt to classify, and to link together the many existent autocratic states. Does the term create any obscurities? Is it a real term, or is it a term coined together by man? For instance, it is argued the term is a man made term which encircles all similarities between different autocratic states. The existence of these factors in a state does not necessarily prove the existence of totalitarianism, however, the existence of aspects that are synonymous with all autocratic or single-party states.

The term totalitarianism creates some obscurities, in its endless debate regarding the actual meaning, but ultimately, it clarifies more than it creates obscurities, as the term itself is helpful in grouping together different autocratic regimes. The term has been given a structure of features, which must be existent in a state for it to be totalitarian, thus, it is more clarifying than obscuring.

Through research and much application of theoretical definition of the term totalitarianism, it is evident that the concept of totalitarianism is extremely useful when describing both states, and both states are extremely useful in describing and outlining totalitarianism. The two states fall under Friedrich's laws of totalitarianism. Friedrich provided a structure to a totalitarian state, giving examples of what must be existent in that state, all of which are factors that are existent in the two regimes in question. The concept itself is a controversial definition, which people believe either exists, or does not exist, however, for those who believe it does exist formulate very similar ideologies pertaining to current theories of totalitarianism, proving its near-universal acceptance. There remains some concerns, however, for example, the actual necessity of such a term. Is the term synonymous to most aspects of autocratic regimes, or is it an applicable term? Ultimately, through the historical evidence given for both regimes, it is obvious that the two regimes, Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia fall under theoretical definitions of totalitarianism, thus, I believe that the concept of totalitarianism is very useful in explaining Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany.

The question seems 'really to have been: were these regimes totalitarian, since the 'usefulness' of totalitarianism as a descriptor isn't discussed.

Given this shortcoming however the student has produced a competent, well organised essay. It is, however, reliant on a few sources only and hardly comes out of their comfort zone.

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**Assessment form (for examiner use only)**

Candidate session number	
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Assessment criteria	Achievement level		
	First examiner	maximum	Second examiner
A research question	<input type="text" value="2"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
B introduction	<input type="text" value="1"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
C investigation	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
D knowledge and understanding	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
E reasoned argument	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
F analysis and evaluation	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
G use of subject language	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
H conclusion	<input type="text" value="1"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
I formal presentation	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
J abstract	<input type="text" value="1"/>	2	<input type="checkbox"/>
K holistic judgment	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="checkbox"/>
Total out of 36	<input type="text" value="19"/> ✓		<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of first examiner: \_\_\_\_\_  
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of second examiner: \_\_\_\_\_  
(CAPITAL letters)

Examiner number: \_\_\_\_\_