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The Use of Nationalism Discourses in the Soviet Propaganda in the Second World War

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ABSTRACT

The Soviet Union preferred to avoid the discourse of nationalism in its propaganda activities since the first day of establishment. Moreover, the people who opposed the administration with nationalism discourses were severely punished. This process lasted until Nazi Germany occupied the Soviet Union in 1941. After World War II, Nazi Germany began to occupy the Soviet Union, the country was declared to be mobilized. In this process, Soviet propaganda sought to use the discourse of nationalism to mobilize the Russian people against the German armies. In this study, it was tried to find out how and in what way the Soviet propaganda used the discourse of nationalism in World War II. For this purpose, Soviet propaganda posters containing the discourse of nationalism determined by the All World Wars site were examined using the semiotic analysis method in the qualitative research methods. In the study, the propaganda posters were analyzed by the linguist Charles Sanders Peirce on the concepts of semiotics. As a result of the study, it was seen that the idea of the Russian people as a warrior society was aimed to be constructed by using the visuals of Russian historical personalities and referring to their words in the propaganda posters. At the same time, the posters gave messages that the Soviet troops would regain the same victory, reminding the Russian triumphs of the past.

Keywords:Soviet union, nationalism, World War II, propaganda, poster

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İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Sovyet Propagandasında Milliyetçilik Söylemlerinin Kullanılması

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ÖZ

Sovyetler Birliği kurulduğu ilk günden itibaren propaganda faaliyetlerinde milliyetçilik söylemlerinden uzak durmayı tercih etmişti. Hatta kimi zaman milliyetçilik söylemleri ile yönetime karşı muhalefette bulunanlar şiddetle cezalandırılmıştı. Bu süreç Nazi Almanyası'nın 1941 yılındaki Sovyetler Birliği'ni işgaline kadar sürmüştü. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Nazi Almanyası'nın Sovyetler Birliği'ni işgale başlamasından sonra ülke genelinde seferberlik ilan edilmişti. Bu süreçte Sovyet propagandası, Rus halkını Alman ordularına karşı harekete geçirebilmek için milliyetçilik söylemlerinden yararlanma yoluna gitmişti. Bu çalışmada Sovyet propagandasının İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda milliyetçilik söylemlerini nasıl ve ne yönde kullandığı ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu amaçla All World Wars sitesi tarafından belirlenen milliyetçilik söylemleri içeren Sovyet propaganda posterleri nitel araştırma yöntemleri içerisinde bulunan göstergebilimsel analiz yöntemi kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Çalışmada propaganda posterleri ABD'li dilbilimci Charles Sanders Peirce'in göstergebilim kavramları üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma sonucunda, propaganda posterlerinde Rus tarihi şahsiyetlerinin görselleri kullanılarak ve sözlerine atıfta bulunularak Rus halkının savaşçı bir toplum olduğu düşüncesinin inşa edilmesi amaçlandığı görülmüştür. Aynı zamanda posterlerde geçmişteki Rus zaferleri hatırlatılarak, Sovyet askerlerinin de aynı zaferi tekrar kazanacağı mesajı verilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:Sovyetler birliği, milliyetçilik, İkinci Dünya Savaşı, propaganda, poster

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Introduction

After the October Revolution in 1917, Tsardom of Russia collapsed. The Communists took over the country shortly after the October Revolution and entered a civil war with the Nationalists in the country until 1922. In this process, the Soviet propaganda, while glorifying Communism, turned to harsh discourses against the concept of nationalism. The Soviet Union preferred to be cautious about the concept of nationalism because the ideology of Communism was opposed to nationalism and it was fought against nationalists in the Civil War. This process continued until the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany on June 22, 1941. The Soviet Union declared nationwide mobilization against the unexpected attack of Nazi Germany. At this stage, Soviet propaganda took a radical change in order to mobilize everyone against the German armies throughout the country and sought to exploit its discourse from nationalism. Soviet propaganda created the discourse of nationalism using the historical elements of Russia. In this study, it was tried to find out how and in what way nationalism discourses were constructed in Soviet propaganda during the Second World War by using semiotic analysis method.

In the last period, in Turkey, some important studies were carried out in the field that examines the propaganda activities during the Second World War using the semiotic analysis method. Among them; In the study of "The Examination on The Propaganda Posters of The Italian Social Republic in The Influence of The Nazi Germany", Çakı (2018a) analyzed propaganda posters published by Italian Social Republic under the occupation of Nazi Germany by using a semiotic analysis method. In the findings, it was seen that Italy propaganda reflected Nazi Germany as a direct friend and ally. In the study of "The Role of the Cartoons in The Propaganda Wars in The Second World War: An Examination on Nazi Germany and The United States of America", Çakı (2018b) analyzed *The Spirit Of '43* (1943) made in USA and *Nimbus Libéré* (1944) made in Nazi Germany in the Second World War, by using the semiotic analysis method. Within the scope of the study, it was observed that both countries made heavy criticisms against each other through cartoons. In the study of "Occupation Propaganda in Vichy France", Çakı and Gülada (2018a) examined how Vichy France used occupation propaganda concept in the Second World War, using semiotic analysis method. The study showed that French propaganda used posters to build hate speech against the Allies. In the study of "German Women in Nazism Ideology: An Examination on "NSFrauen-Warte" Propaganda Magazine", Çakı and Gülada, (2018c) examined how the German women were presented in the NSFrauen-Warte magazine by Nazi propaganda before and during the World War II. In the findings, it was revealed that propaganda was carried out for women to contribute directly to the war.

In the results of comprehensive literature review conducted in Turkey, it wasn't revealed any studies that analyzed the nationalist discourse in the field of propaganda. On the other hand, there is no study on the discourse of nationalism in Soviet propaganda in the studies on international academic studies. In this respect, the study carries the characteristic of being unique in terms of analyzing the concepts of propaganda and nationalism in Turkey and examining the phenomenon of nationalism in the Soviet propaganda in the international arena.

1. The Nationalism in the Soviet Union

In 1914, the Russian Empire joined the First World War at the side of England and France. In this war, the Russian Empire intensely directed the nationalism propaganda in order to mobilize the Russian people throughout the country. Thus, Russian propaganda tried to rouse the masses against the Alliance States. In spite of this, the ideology of Communism rising within Russia was prevented from strengthening the propaganda of nationalism throughout the

country. On the other hand, after the heavy defeat of the Russian Army against the Germans in Tannenberg in 1914, the discourse of nationalism further weakened (Strachan, 2014, p.176-177). The fact that Britain and France could not give sufficient support to Russia in the First World War led to the strengthening of the opposition within the country.

In Russia in 1917, the parties that brought the Communist ideology to the fore against nationalist rhetoric revolutionized the country. With the October Revolution, nationalism throughout the country was replaced with communist discourses (Zinoviev, 2012, p.227). Nationalist groups in Russia, who dissented the management of the Bolsheviks, revolted against the new administration. The White Army, which was formed under the leadership of Admiral Aleksandr Kolçak, attacked the Red Army under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. The members of the White Army called themselves Russian patriots. The clashes between the Red Army and the White Army caused the Russian Civil War in 1917. The White Army aimed to establish a nation-based-state in Russia. On the other hand, White Army did not allow different nations to act independently under the Russian umbrella. Members of the White Army directly opposed Communism. The White Army believed it to be dominated by a conservative ideology. The Red Army fought against the White Army until 1922. Finally, in 1922, the last resistance of the White Army was destroyed (Riasanovsky and Steinberg, 2011, p.524-525). With the abolition of the White Army, the Communists succeeded in seizing power throughout the country and the Soviet Union was declared the same year. Shortly after the declaration of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Lenin became ill and lost his life. After Lenin's death, Joseph Stalin came to the government. Stalin pursued a stern policy to keep the central authority strong in the Soviet Union. Even the smallest uprising in the country was immediately suppressed.

The Soviet Union, from the day it was founded, preferred to avoid the discourse of nationalism. Stalin knew that the Soviet Union came together from many different nations. In order to keep the country together, the ideology of Communism, in which everyone's equality was highlighted, was brought to the forefront. The Soviet Union carefully avoided the use of Russian nationalism in its propaganda activities. In Soviet propaganda visuals, the nations with different colors, languages and cultures from different regions were generally portrayed. Soviet propaganda preferred more to the use of Stalin and Lenin's images than Russian national heroes. As a matter of fact, Soviet propaganda sought to build a new nation and a new culture within the Soviet Union. Stalin and Lenin were built as a cult leader by Soviet propaganda (Kelly, 2005, p.203). The history of the people who lived in the Soviet Union was dominated with the 1917 October Revolution and Lenin became the cult leader (Gazi et al., 2018: 26). The pre-Lenin period was not generally emphasized in Soviet propaganda. In other words, the history of the Soviet Union began in 1917.

Lenin and Stalin regarded Russian nationalism as a great danger (Martin, 2001, p.7-8). Stalin aimed to reach a wide audience across the country (Priestland, 2017, p. 181). As a matter of fact, the dominance of Russian nationality throughout the country was considered to be one of the biggest obstacles in the coming together of the Soviet peoples.

The Soviet Union consisted of 15 different states. The largest of these countries was the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. In the discourse of nationalism used in Soviet propaganda, no nation was shown superior. Every society was promoted equally. In contrast, the names of the federal states established had the names of the nations they represented. The basis of the collapse of the Soviet Union lies in the desire for independence of countries within the union (Suny, 1993, p.3). In the 1980s, the Soviets could not prevent nationalist currents that increased throughout the union. In the end, the union became history, with declaring the independence of the nations.

2. The Russian Nationalism in Soviet Military Propaganda in World War II

Propaganda is a type of communication which aims to transfer a certain ideology to masses using mass media. The communication process in propaganda proceeds unilaterally from source to recipient (Jowett and O'donnell, 2014, p.1). Since the foundation of the Soviet Union, it attached great importance to propaganda activities. Particularly during the Second World War, the Soviet Union carried out an intense propaganda effort to mobilize the Soviet people against Nazi Germany (Çakı and Gülada, 2018b: 162). In this process, it was observed that it affected the nationalist discourses for the first time in Soviet propaganda.

On June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany started to invade the Soviet Union with a sudden attack. The Soviet Union lost an important part of its armies due to unexpected attack (Macksey, 2012, p.61). In a short period of time, the German armies advanced to the suburbs of Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union wanted to mobilize everyone in the country against Nazi Germany. In this process, Soviet propaganda outclassed some taboos that had prevailed since Lenin. The most remarkable among these was the use of nationalist discourses in propaganda activities. As a matter of fact, when the German armies occupied the Soviet Union, they cooperated with some nationalist groups living in the country. Even the nationalist groups living in the country under the control of the German armies were formed military units. Among them, the Russian Liberation Army (ROA) formed by Nazis was one of the most prominent units (McNab, 2015, p.235). Some of the nationalists in the country fought against the Soviet Union for Nazi Germany.

In 1942 the German armies came to the front of the Stalingrad Front. The Nazis gained control over a significant part of Russia's territory on the European continent (Hart, 2015, p.360). The Soviet Union wanted to prevent Nazi Germany from obtaining all nationalists in the country. For this purpose, Soviet Union aimed to soften the perception of Communism as an enemy of nationalism. The support of all nationalists in the country, especially the Russian nationalists, was intended to receive. To this end, Soviet propaganda began to use national heroes in Russian history in their propaganda images. In Soviet propaganda, it was often emphasized that the Russian people came from a heroic nation. Even in propaganda posters, instead of Stalin, reference was made to the words of historic heroes. The cult leadership of Lenin and Stalin, built throughout the country, was pushed back into the Soviet nationalist propaganda activities. The Soviet Union opened its doors to Russian history. Russian leaders during the Russian monarchy were presented as national heroes by Soviet propaganda.

Nazi Germany surrendered to the Allies in 1945 (Keegan, 2016, p.546). After Germany's surrender, Stalin was declared a national hero in the country. The Soviet propaganda began to build Stalin cult leadership across the country (Çakı, 2018d, p.98). On the other hand, the nationalist rhetoric in World War II was abandoned and the Soviet Union tried to regroup under Stalin's leadership. Nationalist rebellions throughout the country were hardly suppressed. (Mcmahon, 2013, p.87; Gaddins, 2018, p.116). After the Second World War, the ideology of Communism in the Soviet Union was intended as the sole dominant ideology. The ideology of nationalism continued to be regarded as a great danger, just as it was before the Second World War.

3. Method

3. 1. The Aim of Study

The main purpose of this study is to reveal how and in what way the propaganda posters containing the discourses of nationalism in the Soviet Union were used. Thus, after the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany, it was tried to be revealed the radical change in the discourses of the Soviet propaganda.

3. 2. The Importance of Study

The study is important;

- to put forward nationalist discourses in Soviet propaganda,
- to demonstrate how the historical Russian leaders were reflected in Soviet propaganda,
- explain the phenomenon of nationalism in propaganda,
- be original in the field.

3. 3. The Universe and Sample of Study

All propaganda images used in the context of the discourse of nationalism by the Soviet Union in the Second World War constitute the universe of the study. However in the study, sample was used because of the difficulty of reaching all posters. In the scope of the study, eight propaganda posters among the propaganda posters which include the discourse of nationalism determined by the All World Wars site, were selected as the sample of the study, by using purposeful the sampling method. The other poster were not used in the study because they were similar in terms of subject and content.

3. 4. The Limitations of Study

In the study, the analysis of only eight propaganda posters and making generalizations in the light of the findings is the main limitation of the study. On the other hand, only the analysis of the propaganda posters determined within the scope of the study in the light of the concepts of semiotics of the US linguist Charles Sanders Peirce also constitutes another important limitation of the study.

3. 5. The Questions of Study

The study tried to find answers to the following questions;

Soviet propaganda posters used in World War II;

- How was the phenomenon of nationalism used?
- How were the leaders in Russian history reflected?
- How were the Soviet people mobilized against the German armies?

3. 6. The Method of Study

The semiotic analysis method in qualitative research methods in the study was used. The propaganda posters determined within the scope of the study were analyzed through the semiotics concepts of the US linguist Charles Sanders Peirce.

Semiotic analysis is a qualitative research method that emerged in the first half of the 20th century. Semiotics is a branch of science that examines the meaning between signs. Semiotics was first introduced by US Linguist Charles Sanders Peirce and Swiss Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure in the field of linguistics (Çakı, 2018c, p.82). The experts under influence of the Peirce and Saussure's studies provided it to influence in a wide area outside the science of linguistics.

Peirce, which makes significant contributions to semiotics together with Saussure, says that semiotics consists of sign, object, interpretant. For Peirce, the sign represents the meaning of the object. The interpretant perceives the object represented on the sign by his/her own experience. For example, the "car" letters are used as sign of a car. The sign becomes a common concept accepted by all. In contrast, the interpretant shapes a concept in the mind with his/her own experience for the concept of "car". In this respect, there may be differences in the object concept represented by the sign in the interpretant mind (Rifat, 2013, p.178-179). On the other hand, Peirce classifies the signs as three basic; icon, index, symbol. The icon refers to the direct representation of the sign. For example, images of a person represent his/her icon. The index is the representation of a sign over other signs. For example, a sign of smoke can be shown as an example of fire. The symbol is the use of an sign that does not have a meaning-related relationship to express the object (Fiske, 2017, p.132-133).

The studies done in the field of semiotics in Turkey in general seems to be on the advertising analysis. For example; Gülada and Çakı (2018) analyzed commercial ads used in the consumption society dimension in study of "The Jil Socks Advertisement Example in Baudrillard's Consumer Society". Gülada (2018) examined public spot ads in terms of fear appeal in study of "The Use of The Fear Appeal Concept In Public Service Advertising Regarding Traffic Accidents".

The aim of the study is not to analyze Peirce's semiotics concepts. The main aim of the study is to examine the propaganda posters used in the discourse of nationalism in the Soviet Union during World War II through Peirce's semiotics concepts. In this respect, the concepts of Peirce's semiotics is not explained in detail.

4. Analysis

In this part of the study, the posters "Freedom", "Russian Leaders", "Great War", "Sword", "Honor", "Victory", "Offensive", "Warrior" were analyzed using semiotic analysis.

4. 1. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Freedom"

Propaganda poster shows Soviet soldiers carrying the Soviet Union flag. The presentation codes of the poster show that the soldiers attacked in an unknown direction. On the poster, there were Russian soldiers led by Kuzma Minin. Within the visual codes, both groups were projected to attack in the same direction. There is "There will be no force which can enslave us. (Minin, 17th century). Let courageous image of our great ancestors inspire you. (Stalin)" written code in the poster.

Picture 1. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Freedom"



Source: All World Wars, 2018

The poster shows Kuzma Minin's resistance to the invasion of Russia by the Poles in the early 17th century. Minin was accepted by Russian people as a national hero for his successes against the Poles. In the context of the visual indicator, Minin is represented directly in the poster via visual. In the context of the indicative indicator, the depiction of Minin with Soviet soldiers on the poster gives the propaganda message that Minin's victories will be won against German soldiers by Soviet troops. As a symbol, the Soviet Union flag is used to represent the Soviet people. Minin was brought to the fore with both words and visuals in the poster, citing Minin's words regarding that Russian people would not become slavery. Stalin's words "our great ancestors" in the poster show that Minin, the national hero of the Russians, became a national symbol for Russians as well. In this way Soviet propaganda, in particular Minin, asked Russian nationalists to take action against the German armies by recalling past Russian victories.

4. 2. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Russian Leaders"

Propaganda posters show the visuals of six different leaders from Russian history. In addition to the large visuals of the leaders, there are images of Russian soldiers during their period. Just below the poster, the Red Army soldiers attacked in one direction. The flags of the Soviet Union fluctuated on both sides of the poster. There is "Let's be inspired in this war by our courageous ancestors - Alexander Nevsky, Dimitry Donskoi, Kuzma Minin, Dmitry Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov, Michael Kutuzov" written code in the poster.

Picture 2. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Russian Leaders"



Source: All World Wars, 2018

In the poster, the struggle of Soviet soldiers against German armies is reflected by referring to the past Russian national heroes. In the context of the visual indicator, the poster shows the visuals of the Russian national heroes directly. In the context of the indicative indicator, the propaganda message that Soviet soldiers who draw inspiration the national heroes of the past fight against German armies is given in the poster. As a symbol, the Soviet Union flag represents the Soviet people. It is seen that the poster refers to the Russian national heroes directly with the code written "our bold ancestors". In the presentation codes, the Soviet soldiers' struggle against the Germans under the visions of the national heroes provides for the construction of the message that the Russian people struggle to protect their nations as in the past. Thus, giving the message that the Russian people came from a heroic nation, the Soviet propaganda wanted the same heroism to be realised against the German soldiers today.

4. 3. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Great War"

Propaganda poster shows Soviet soldiers who attacked with tanks. In the visual codes, the people portrayed as heroic in Russian history were reflected behind the Soviet soldiers in the poster. There is "As grandchildren of Suvorov and children of Chapaev, we put up a great fight!" written code in the poster.

Picture 3. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Great War"

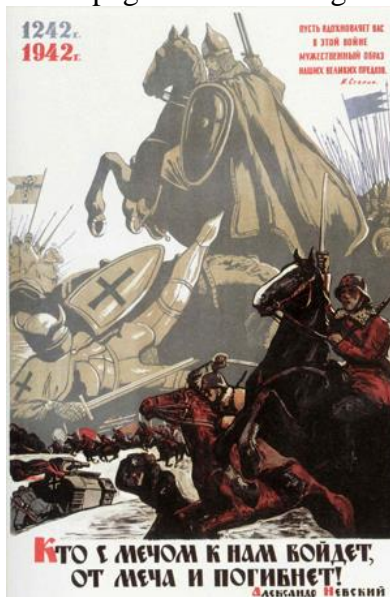


Source:All World Wars, 2018

In the poster, the Soviet soldiers' war against the Germans was reflected by referring to the Russian national heroes. In the poster, the visuals of Russian national heroes were used as visual indicators. It was shown that the Soviet soldiers inspired by Russian national heroes were more willing to fight against German soldiers as a indicative indicator. The stars in the helmets of the Soviet soldiers were used as symbols in the poster. The stars show that the troops belong to the Soviet Union. It is emphasized that the Soviet troops came from the generations of Russian national heroes such as Suvorov and Chapaev, through the written codes found on the poster, and that they should fight for their countries today as they did in the past. This poster also includes the visual of Suvorov, who became a national hero in the October 1917 Revolution. Thus, the heroine in the ideology of Communism, together with the Russian national heroes, was tried to build the perception that fighting for the Soviet Union was to fight for the homeland.

4. 4. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Sword"

The Propaganda poster shows the Soviet horsemen who attacked to German tanks in 1942. Just above the Soviet horsemen, it is showed that Russian horsemen fought against the Crusaders 1242. There is "Whoever comes to us with the sword, will die by the sword" written code in the poster.

Picture 4. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Sword"

Source:All World Wars, 2018

It is seen in the poster that a reference was made to the battle of "Battle on the Ice" between Germany and Russia in 1242. As a result of the war, the Russian soldiers severely defeated the Germans. It is seen in the poster that Alexander Nevsky, one of the important figures of Russian nationalism, was highlighted. In the context of the visual indicator, the image of Nevsky is shown directly. . In the context of the indicative indicator, the message that Nevsky defeated the German soldiers in 1242 together with his men, was used together with the message that the Soviet soldiers would defeat the Germans again in 1942. The stars on the helmets of the Soviet soldiers were used as symbols in the poster. The written codes in the poster are based on Nevsky's words. The visual and written code of the poster gives the message that Soviet soldiers will re-victory against the Germans after eight centuries.

4. 5. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Honor"

The propaganda poster depicts the Soviet soldiers attacking in one direction. The visual codes in the poster show that the cavalry of Dmitri Donskoy attacked in a direction on the Soviet soldiers. There is "Better honorable death, than shameful life (Dm. Donskoi)" written code in the poster.

Picture 5. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Honor"

Source:All World Wars, 2018

In the poster, the struggle of the Russian national hero Dmitri Donskoy against the Mongols in the 14th century is discussed. Donskoy's image is given as visual indicator. In the indicative indicator dimension, the fight of the Soviet soldiers against the Germans, along with the struggle of Donskoy against the Mongols, gives the message that the Soviet soldiers fight against the forces that want to occupy their homeland today as it was in history. Propaganda poster directly referenced Donskoy's words, so that Soviet soldiers were required to defend their country as Russian national heroes. Donskoy's words and the message that death would be more honorable than living in captivity against the Germans was given to the masses. Thus, Soviet troops were asked to fight against the Germans with more enthusiasm.

4. 6. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Victory"

The propaganda poster shows that a Russian knight holds one of the combat helmets used by German soldiers during Nazi Germany. The visual codes in the poster depict a horse and a damaged German tank just to the right of the knight. There is "I see war glory of the past in the feats of my grandkids!" written code in the poster.

Picture 6. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Victory"



Source: All World Wars, 2018

In the propaganda poster, the victories of Soviet troops against German soldiers are reported with reference to the past. The poster shows a Russian knight as a visual indicator. The knight is in ruins next to a German tank. In visual and written codes, the knight gives the message that the Soviet armies are similar to the past Russian victories. In the context of the indicative indicator, the knight's keeping a German military helmet in his hand gives the message that the ancestors of the Russian people were satisfied with them. Thus, the perception that the victories in Russian history were regained with Soviet soldiers in World War II is constructed. In the poster, the German tank and helmet are used as a symbol of the German armies. In the poster, it is suggested that the Soviet people will win a definite victory against the German armies by giving the message that the Soviet soldiers fought the way of their ancestors.

4. 7. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Offensive"

Propaganda poster shows that the Soviet soldiers attacked in one direction as in the other posters examined within the scope of the study. Just above the Soviet troops are the Russian soldiers attacked by Aleksandr Suvorov. It is depicted that both groups attack the same place within the presentation codes in the poster. There is "Beat, cut up, drive out and capture! (Suvorov)" written code in the poster.

Picture 7. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Offensive"



Source: All World Wars, 2018

Propaganda poster states that Soviet troops attacked German soldiers. On the other hand, the visual codes in the poster show that the Soviet soldiers are not led by Stalin but by the Russian national hero Suvorov. The visual representation of the poster includes the visual of Suvorov directly. At the same time, the written code in the poster refers to Suvorov's words. Thus, Suvorov's message was sent to Soviet soldiers through both visual and written codes. Soviet flag is used as symbol in poster. In the presentation codes of the poster, Soviet soldiers were asked to fight against German soldiers in the light of the teachings of the Russian national hero Suvorov. The fact that Soviet propaganda tried to mobilize the masses directly through the discourse of nationalism showed no reference to Stalin's image or words. Thus, the poster emphasizes that the Soviet soldiers came from a heroic nation and the same heroism must now be shown against the Germans.

4. 8. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Warrior"

Propaganda poster states that a Soviet tanker looked in one direction with binoculars. Behind the Soviet soldier in the visual codes is a silhouette of a Russian knight. There is "Our land is known for its great warriors" written code in the poster.

Picture 8. The Propaganda Poster Regarding "Warrior"



Source:All World Wars, 2018

The poster shows that Russian past success are referred in the struggle against German armies of Soviet troops. In the poster, it is seen that the Soviet military and Russian knight visuals were directly used as a visual indicator. It is seen that the Soviet soldier and the Russian knight are used as the visual codes in the poster. On the other hand, while the Soviet soldier is depicted in light tones, the Russian knight is presented only as a shadow. In the context of the indicative indicator, the message that the Soviet troops continue the past successes of the Russian people, fighting against German soldiers in World War II is presented. The Soviet military uniform is used as an symbol representing the Soviet army. Soviet propaganda emphasizes that the Soviet soldiers have a hero national past. Thus, it was emphasized that the Soviet soldiers have to fight heroically against the Germans like their ancestors.

Result

In the propaganda posters examined within the scope of the study, it was observed that the Soviet Union made the discourse of nationalism by referring to historical periods and personalities. It was suggested that the Soviet people would win similar victories against Nazi Germany by recalling Soviet past victories of Russia. In this process, the rhetoric of the soldiers and statesmen in the history of Russia took place as a written code on the propaganda posters. Propaganda messages in the poster are presented in general on indicative indicators. Indeed, in posters, a scene of war in Russian history was shown along with the war scene of Soviet soldiers against German soldiers. Thus it was planned to connect with the masses on both visuals. Propaganda posters indicate that the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany resembles other invasions of Russia by different countries in the past. In this respect, it was tried to give the message that the war was not the war of Nazism and Communism ideologies, and that the war was the defense of the homeland against the invaders.

Propaganda posters didn't give any information regarding the ideology of Communism. Only some posters referred to Stalin's words. On the other hand, any image of Stalin was not included in the posters. Thus, Soviet propaganda sought to shape itself only through nationalist discourses, isolating itself from the ideology of Communism. The visual codes in the posters are represented with the Soviet Union flag and the star symbols in the helmets of the soldiers. In the presentation codes in the posters, the Soviet soldiers are constantly reflected in an attack.

Soviet soldiers were generally conveyed through metaphors of "heroism". Nationalist discourses on posters are combined with the concepts of national love and patriotism. In this respect, the Russian peoples in the defense of the country in the past were reflected in the visual and written codes directly. The indicative indications in the posters intended to establish the belief that the Russian people would win again as in the past.

The most leading detail in the propaganda posters examined in the construction of nationalism was the people who were used as opinion leaders in the posters. The posters directly used the important names of Russian nationalism and intended to move the Soviet soldiers in line with their discourse. Indeed, in the propaganda posters, the Soviet soldiers were inculcated to fight with the wishes of historical heroes, not Stalin. So Soviet propaganda tried to take the support of the Russian nationalists who were adverse to Stalin against the German soldiers.

In the study, it was tried to analyze the discourse of nationalism used in the Soviet propaganda in the Second World War. The study is unique in the field in terms of the subject. In spite of this, that future studies examine the use of nationalism discourse in propaganda via present samples will make important contributions to the field.

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