

STALIN & THE THEORY OF TOTALITARIANISM by Adam Ulam

p.160 "Had a more efficient Party machinery been at Lenin's disposal the penalties would have been much more drastic." (WHAT NONSENSE! 1st there wasn't a more "efficient" machinery not because there wasn't enough power and "efficiency experts" but because the CLASS BASE was different. 2ndly where Stalin rewrites his. this guy Ulam rereads it) *SR*

p.161 Stalin represented himself as the "common man" against the authoritarian leaders; he represented himself as return to normalcy (and Bukharin, Rykov & Tomski really believed in the policy of concessions & cautious industrialization); "a decisive social struggle could be *****waged before the Party had been firmly united in his hands... The pose reflected Stalin's understanding of the dynamics of the Party. The party was officered by young & rather unsophisticated people who were ALREADY ACQUIRING THE HABITS & MENTALITY OF A BUREAU... IT IS AMONG THE BENT-INTEL* LIGENTSIA OF THE BOL. PARTY THAT STALINISM FOUND ITS 1ST pol. base. S. & LT pol. temperaments both totalitarian. One sees problems in their intellectual guise & prepares to attack them thru oratory & intellectual arguments. The other sees pol. problems AS BEING GROUNDED IN HABITS & ORG. Theory & intell. conviction are necessary but they come AFTER the main battle has been fought & won; S. was more militarily minded. LT counterposed his "world-rev." to Stalin's "soc. in one country" as an intellectual argument designed to give a sense of direction to the Communist regime. Stalin reinterpreted it as a CONCRETE POL. PROGRAM & AS SUCH IT APPEARED VISIONARY & RIDICULOUS.

*****15th Party Conf. -- Stalin asked what does ~~the~~ LT want (pp. 434, 456) & answers that the young & weakened state rise its existence in a foolhardy war upon all exist powers. LT & Z&K found themselves not only outmaneuvered org'ly but in an IDEOLOGICAL & POL. MORASS FROM WHICH THEY COULD NOT EXTRICATE THEMSELVES. LT's attempt to answer that you can build but not "complete" socialism while cap. survived may have sounded subtle to old debaters but to ASSEMBLED PARTY FUNCTIONARIES it sounded as if Lenin, after proclaiming all power to the soviets, were immediately denounced as counter-rev & defeatist because the soviets were not at the time controlled *****by the Bolsheviks! Stalin answered (XVth Conf, p. 721) that were Engels alive he would have undoubtedly exclaim "May the devil take the old formulas; long live the victorious rev. in the USSR." St. was never again to be as blunt in his appraisal of the role of theory as in the moment of his triumph over the despised theoreticians & intellectuals of the party.

p.164--14th Party congress modestly refusing to indulge in personalities Stalin revealed his willingness to step down as Sec. General when Party leaders wanted to transform Secretariat into a pol. organ; he was indignant at Z-K's attempt to demolish Bukharin "We will not give you his blood"--the blood of the leading theorist of the party. OPP. WAS TIED UP IN ITS OWN CONTRADICTIONS & CONFUSIONS. To replace Stalin's dictatorship Kamenev could only propose dic. of comm--Polburo (p. 397) all commanding state Party positions were in their hands Kamenev presiding over Polbureau & Sokolnikov over Commissariat of Finance. (3)

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p.164--The opposition was caught in a dilemma of its own making
If "the interests of the prol." i.e, the Party were
superior to de mo racy, ~~then the Party were~~ Moreover
opposition in Leningrad reflected THE SAME TYPE OF MACHINE
POLITICS which Stalin was employing more successfully on a larger
scale.

p166--LOMSKY HAD THE ORG. BACKING OF THE T.U.

Defeat of Rt Opp later could not have taken place
without feeling of DYNAMISM & MISSION AROUND AMONG
RANK & FILE OF CP. "It showed once again how a totalitarian
movement needs a concrete & visible enemy as well as construct
ive task in order to display its full character & energy.--Left
behind like Chekavian figures daydreaming was the Pt at 16th
party congress. The official myth (great successes, but counter-
rev. around corner somewhere) does not completely erase reality
(in Sholokhov's Prodnatia tselina): the overzealous & brutal
Party functionary whose eyes are "opened" by Stalin's "Dizzy
with Success", the frankly lying agitator, & the anguish of the
mass of the peasants are portrayed with full realism.

****THE AIMS & METHODS OF THE STRUGGLE DO NOT STOP AT IND. &
COLL. WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE CREATION OF A NEW TYPE OF
SOVIET PERSONALITY. (Khrushchev-ft) 16th party cong June 1926
was fully hailed leader; no oppositions to conquer; THE
STRUGGLE WAS NOW FOR THE TOTALITARIAN TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY.

He is no longer bold pragmatist who could exclaim "To the devil
with the old formula. THE MORE THE REALITY OF EVERYDAY
LIFE IN THE SU DEPARTS FROM MARXISM THE MORE IMPORTANT IS IT
TO SHOW EVERY DEPARTURE TO BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT &
LETTER OF M*L... THE REGIME ESCHEWS EASY PRAGMATISM AS A SUBSTITUTE
FOR IDEOLOGY. EVERY DEPARTURE FROM MARXISM HAS TO BE DONE IN
THE NAME OF MARXISM & NOT AS A STEP JUSTIFIED BY EXPEDIENCE (PHIL-ff)
the people will endure a great deal in name of ideology but balk
at purposeless suffering. Occasionally while building a
STRATIFIED CASTE SOCIETY the regime will initiate a discussion of
the final stage of Communism... Trials staged to SERVE FINAL
REVISION OF PARTY HIS. Otherwise the old Bolshevik could
have been liquidated quietly, the fate that befell Rudzutak & Kossior
THE NEW CONSTITUTION HAD NO FURTHER USE FOR GHOSTS OF THE PAST...
Departing opposition could perform the last service---straighten
out party his. & provide suitable expiation for sufferings &
shortcomings of 1st 5 yr plans.

Highly industrialized society--privileged class of directors
technicians, & shock wks. Same phenomenon then spread to state
& military bur.---1939 congress Zhdanov's report (18th congress
shows utter demoralization of party thru hysteria & denun-
ciation. PURGE HAD TO BE ARRESTED LEST IT DESTROY SOVIET STATE---
Now (after WWII) party card simply badge of success & privilege
NO PARTY CONGRESS BET. 1939-1952. CC atrophied. Polburo identical
in composition with very top of state hierarchy. Purely bu'dic.
TO STALIN THE SITUATION WAS MENACING.--trying to revive rev.
dynamics & attack status quo in 1917. 19th Party congress
feeling bur. consolidation had gone far enough & Sov society
must be given reorientation.--STALIN'S ECO. PROBLEMS OF CO.
"WHAT TO DO WITH THESE CONRADES" HOW TO EDUCATE THEM--

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Review by Fainsod--

of VII. Wks. 4, ed., VIII, p.14002 tactics of SD--"WHOEVER WANTS
TO APPROACH SOCIALISM BY ANY OTHER PATH THAN THAT OF
POLITICAL DEMOC. WILL INEVITABLY ARRIVE AT ABSURD &
REACTIONAR CONCLUSIONS BOTH ECO.&POL." (vv.LT's per.rev)

D.178: I wish Prof. Urad had been more explicit in identifying
content of Stalinists ideology, IN TRACING ITS CHANGES
& CONTINUITIES IN RELATING ITS VARIOUS FACTS &
SHIFTING EMPHASES TO THE SOC. & ECO. TRANSFORMATION OF THE ERA

-----Stalinist ideology is many things--
it is hia.rewritten; it is sov patriotism
it is sov patriotism; it is a defense
of status society; it is a promise of world
victory....

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11/3/56 In Vol. I pp analysed from as an indiv. transaction as well as process of reprod. The CHANGE OF FORM substance experienced by capital in sphere of circulation WERE ASSUMED. It was assumed cap sells at value & finds... We have now to study process of circulation of indiv. capitals in their capacity as component parts of aggregate social cap.

retrogression of AS in analysis of reprod. (I, p. 547 ftn)

p. 571 also refers to Vol. I (from MSS VIII, 1878 on Acc & Reprod)

IN CHANGE & CONTINUITY (IN RUS & SOV THOUGHT)

Gershen Kron has the gall to state that victory of Russian Marxists over Populists wasn't very much "It took the magnificent Dev. of the '90s to OPEN THE SKULLS OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA to the comprehension of a process that had been going on for almost 4 decades... What matter here is that the Populists were confounded neither by Mx's economics in the strict sense of word nor by his materialistic conception of his, but by hard pressure of irrefutable ev. facts. That people who were willing to look at those facts a little earlier than their adversaries preferred to appeal to different aspects of Mxian theory... should not disguise what actually occurred. Mr. S's paper aptly points up the importance of published statistics in the conversion process... To have convinced fellow humans on the basis of more than 3 decades of accumulated experience that barking at moon did not alter her course was hardly an impressive achievement.

This idiot speaks of "guilty innocents" bez viny vinovate "guilty without guilt" as Russian saying goes Mx provided "welcome relief." (What bosh!)