

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)

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\* LIGENTS 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. 454, 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

14647 Party positions were in their hands Kamenev presiding over Polburo & Sokolnikov over Commissariat of Finance.

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. ~~Moreover~~ opposition in Leningrad reflected THE SAME TYPE OF MACHINING 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 constructive task in order to display its full character & energy.--Left behind like Chekhovian figures daydreaming was the Rt 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-?) 16th party cong. June 1936 was fully hailed ~~leader~~; no opposition to conquer; THE STRUGGLE WAS NOT 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-f) 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 one 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 t hru hysteria & denunciation. 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 burocratic. TO STALIN THE SITUATION WAS MENACING.--trying to revive rev. dynamics attack status quo in 1913. 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 COMRADES" 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 his.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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II, pp. 06 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 fn)

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!)