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DEVIATIONS IN STALINIST PRACTICE
FROM MARXIST DOCTRINE

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Date completed: 26 February 1953

DEVIATIONS IN STALINIST PRACTICE FROM MARXIST DOCTRINE

Karl Marx and the Soviet Union

Within the Soviet bloc, Karl Marx is revered as the guiding spirit. The seventieth anniversary of his death, occurring this year, will be observed throughout the Soviet orbit. Under the banner of Marxism, a uniform philosophy of life is taught to the inhabitants of one-sixth of the surface of the earth and his sayings and slogans are quoted again and again. But nothing is more remote from his spirit, from what he really taught and strove for, than what is now preached in his name within the Soviet orbit. What wears there the mask of his ideals, is in truth the antithesis of Marx. It is the very embodiment of what he fought against all his life, and, were he now living, of what he would combat as ardently as he denounced oppression and exploitation in his day.

I. Instead of Marxism - Relapse into Utopianism

Karl Marx is considered the conqueror of utopianism. He taught that all socialism before him -- the socialism of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen, Blanc, Proudhon, Blanqui -- consisted in attempting to bring about a rationally conceived ideal, regardless of whether the preconditions for its fulfillment were given. This "utopian socialism" could never succeed. All attempts for its realization must necessarily degenerate into senseless violence and result in the reappearance of still another class society. According to Marx, socialism can be achieved only if previously "preformed in the womb" of the old society, that is, within a highly developed industrial, capitalistic economy. It was, therefore, the task of socialists or communists (he used the terms with the same meaning at different times) to speed up that process as soon as the productive forces of the economy had been sufficiently developed. But only then. "Even when society has discovered the natural laws of its development," he says, "it never can skip the phases, nor abolish them by decree."^{1/}

Russia was a most backward country, not ripe for a socialist revolution. Nobody knew that better than Lenin. By coup d'etat he overthrew the Provisional Government of the young Russian Republic, which a few months previous

had overthrown the half feudal regime of the Tsar. Lenin believed then that his "putsch" would give the signal for a proletarian revolution in the more industrialized countries. ^{2/} "If Germany won't follow us, we are lost," he said in 1918. The capture of two cities, by a resolute team of professional revolutionaries and the help of an aroused soldiery, was presented to the world as the historic proletarian revolution of Russia. The first legislative measures of the Bolshevik Government, as for instance the eight hour working day, unemployment insurance, renunciation of colonial privileges, were focused on international propaganda. When other countries did not follow the Bolshevik lead, (because, as in Russia, preconditions for revolution were not yet ripe) there remained only one alternative: to strive for "socialism in one country" and to choose the way of force. A centralized bureaucracy, reviving in many respects, the traditions of Tsarist Russia's despotic rule, was supposed to transform a country of primitive peasants into the society visualized by Marx as the culmination of a long industrial development. It was in truth a repudiation of Marx, who had discussed and rejected precisely that alternative. The classic personalities in the history of socialism, representing this trend were Francois Babeuf, ^{3/} who lived during the French Revolution (1760-1797), and Marx's contemporary, Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), who had both advocated enforcing socialism under temporary suspension of democratic rights. Marx sharply criticized Blanquism. He denied that rule by a clique, which had seized power by coup d'etat and "had arrogated to itself the role of leadership of the working class," ^{4/} could ever achieve socialism.

The Bolshevik Revolution was directed against the young Russian democracy, which afforded as much political liberty as any other country at the time "not against Tsarism, the aristocracy, or the White Guardist counterrevolution, but against the other socialist parties that had been more successful in the struggle for the souls of workers and peasants". ^{5/}

2/ Marx, too, expected as much as that of a Russian revolution.

3/ About him and his influence, see J. T. Talmon, The Rise of Totalitarian Democracy, Boston, 1952.

4/ Karl Marx, Civil War in France, 1876. Rosa Luxemburg had reproached Lenin for relapsing into Blanquism as far back as 1904 (Die Neue Zeit, 1903-04).

5/ Karl Kautsky, Social Democracy vs. Communism, New York, 1946, p. 65.

Convocation of a Constitutional Assembly had been one of the Bolshevik demands. The Assembly convened in March 1918 and, when, contrary to Lenin's expectations it became evident that only a hopeless minority of the deputies were Bolshevik, he had the Assembly dispersed by bayonets. This very act was the signal for the Civil War which was started by the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries. But for that, the generals, who subsequently led the war, would never have found sufficient following.^{6/}

The Communist Party as it was subsequently re-named in 1918, established its rule over Russia by demagogic promises of immediate expropriation of land and a separate peace, and maintained it by using the Red Army and the Tcheka. After the first attempts at socialism had failed completely, (for which the rather half-hearted foreign intervention was blamed) Lenin partly reinstated a free market economy, (the New Economic Policy, the NEP). And when later, this policy jeopardized the central control of the Soviet Government, Stalin proceeded on what Marx had called the Jacobin way. He instituted forced industrialization and collectivization of agriculture. He enforced the policy of accumulating capital by lowering living standards of laborers and peasants to the very limit of endurance. Thus far, Communist rule continued true to its origin as a "Jacobin-Blanquist dictatorship" which, with mailed fist, attempted to put a utopian concept into practice.

II. Instead of Majority Rule - Bureaucratic Autocracy

When Marx speaks of dictatorship of the proletariat, he means dictatorship of a majority. He regarded the Workers' Councils of the Paris Commune of 1871, as a new form of representative democracy. In his pamphlet, State and Revolution, which was published before the October Revolution, Lenin, with Marx as authority, recommended that the Soviets, ('Councils of Workers and Peasant Deputies'), formed during the Revolution of 1905 and the February Revolution of 1917, be representatives of the revolutionary classes, excluding the old ruling classes. Yet Lenin did not abide by his slogan "All power to the Soviets", when other socialist parties had a majority in many of the Soviets.

^{6/} David Shub, Lenin. A Biography. Garden City, 1948

The election procedure was rigged in such a way that only candidates of the Communist Party and "partyless" candidates, approved by the Party, could be elected. The Soviets were divested of all executive power and served merely as transmission belts for the Communist Party. Hence, one can justly say that the name "Soviet Union" is a misnomer. When, in World War II, the Red Army established the so-called "Peoples' Democracies", the part played by the Soviets in Russia was assigned to fraudulent coalition governments, dominated by the local Communists. The Russian Communist Party in time lost its character of a party in the democratic sense, and was developed as a hierarchical power apparatus. By way of its "cells", it directs all state institutions, mass organizations, trade unions, the allegedly self-governing union republics, autonomous republics and oblasts. In all essential matters, the local units, established by the Soviet Constitution, are controlled by the centralized single party.

But things did not stop there. After the Soviets had become a front for Party domination, the Communist Party itself was transformed into a mere instrument for domination by a single leader and a few associates. Lenin's slogan, "democratic centralism", which purports that there should be influence from the lower ranks upward and from the upper ranks downward, has come to mean no more than "All power to the Central Committee". The "Fuehrer principle" reigns supreme. Whatever possibility for free discussion may have existed within the higher echelons has vanished completely. Formation of factions within the Party is branded as a crime - "factionalism". The Secret Police actually dominate the Party; its rank and file have lost all autonomy and initiative. There is only one kind of equality left: all Party members are subject to the arbitrary will of the leader, precisely as in the days of Ivan the Terrible when the most exalted boyar and the lowliest serf were equal before the will of the Tsar. The most recent Party Statute, adopted in November, 1952, fully reflects the rule of hierarchy

7/ Article 126 of the Constitution of 1936 declares, "The Communist Party is the guiding nucleus of all organizations of the working people, both public and state."

discipline and the end of autonomous control.^{8/}

To Marx, dictatorship of the proletariat never meant dictatorship of a minority party, let alone of an uncontrolled "Leader".

III. Instead of the Withering State - the Totalitarian State

Marx wanted society to replace the state.^{9/} The existing bureaucracy, the standing army, the courts, the state police—all had to disappear, since they all had a vested interest in the old regime and were likely to sabotage the new. The necessary government functions should be performed in the interest of society by freely elected officials, replaceable at any time at the will of the constituency. The standing army should be supplanted by a militia requiring short time service, and an organization near and friendly to the people should replace the State Police.^{10/} "The administration should be centered at the lowest level, nearest to the masses, and should leave to the central government only those matters which by their nature are common to the working people of the whole republic." Marx advocated decentralized self-government and visualized the eventual disappearance of the state as an instrument of coercion.

The Soviet Union went the other direction. It created the most perfect tyranny that human history had ever known, the totalitarian state, surpassing by far similar fascist formations.^{11/} Never had man been so subjugated to the state, involving every aspect of his life. Never had there been a state which so oppressed all spontaneous associations and loyalties of men, which not only

8/ See Philip E. Mosely, The 19th Party Congress, in Foreign Affairs, December 1952. The Control Committee of the Party, which up to 1934 exerted exclusive control over the membership, lost its influence to the Secret Police.

9/ "Liberty consists in transformation of the state from an organ that dominates society into an organ subordinated to society." (Letter of Marx to a member of the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party, 1875). Engels called the democratic republic "the specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat". (Die Neue Zeit. v. 21, 1891)

10/ Karl Marx, Civil War in France, 1876.

11/ ". . . the most vigorous and the mightiest power of all state powers that have hitherto existed." Stalin's Address to the 18th Party Congress in 1939.

required passive obedience, as did the old type despotisms, but also demanded unceasing active identification with the government.

The soul of this reign-of-terror is the Secret Police. It was highly developed in Tsarist Russia, and survived up to the February Revolution. Under changing names, it rules supreme, standing above the law, above the courts, above the army, above the Party, responsible only to the topmost leader. Its power has increased with the years, and it now performs even economic tasks: administering forced labor camps and industrial projects, such as the atom power plants and the White Sea Canal.

Lenin was afraid of the rise of a new bureaucracy, but was unable to prevent it. The rule, that the income of a civil servant should not be higher than that of a worker, has become obsolete. A new class society has sprung up with a privileged aristocracy comprised of the officials of the secret police, the single Party, the government offices and the economic state enterprises. The old insignia and the elevated position of army officers have been restored. In the labor field the fight against "equalitarianism", the leveling of wages, led to establishment of wage schedules with high differentials between grades. The abolition of free education in higher educational institutions in 1940, favored the formation of a new elite class which replaces the ruling classes of the past.

This, of course, is never admitted. It is maintained, rather, that the first step toward the new social order, socialism, and the classless society, have already been achieved. No longer are class enemies at home blamed for all evils; instead, it is now the intrigues of foreign capitalists. The glaring contradiction to Marxian doctrine is blamed on capitalist encirclement. Stalin pretends to act according to dialectic materialism when stepping up state power to the utmost and suppressing all forces of autonomous society, in order to make the state wither away. There can hardly be a better example

12/ "The highest development of state power is preparation for the withering away of state power - this is the Marxist formula. Is this contradictory? Yes, it is 'contradictory'. But this contradiction is vital and fully reflects Marxist dialectics." Stalin's Address to the 18th Party Congress, 1939 . . . Engels had expected "that a new generation of free and equal producers might be in a position to dispose of the entire 'state rubbish'." (Preface to Marx's Civil War in France). Nobody could possibly contend that Soviet producers are on that way.

of the misuse of dialectics.

IV. Instead of the Right of the Worker to the Full Yield of His Labor -
Exploitation by State Slave-drivers

Marx called upon the workers of the world to fight for the full yield of their labor. The struggle for freedom of association, for better wages and hours, for factory inspection, for workers' factory committees and social insurance was to Marx at once a means of political education for the laborers, to prepare them for socialism. According to Marx, nobody could free the workers but themselves. He gave them an ideal to fight for and engendered their confidence in ultimate success. He stressed the importance of spontaneous initiative on the part of the workers; for this reason he welcomed the founding of consumers' co-operatives by the Rochdale pioneers in 1844, as a ray of light in a period of darkness.^{13/}

The subjugation of Soviet workers by the state apparatus was a long, tragic process. On the memorable 7th November 1917, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Peasant Deputies, having overpowered the Kerensky Government, proclaimed that "control of the industry by the workers had been assured". In the first years of the new regime, the aspirations of the international labor movement were embodied in a series of progressive labor laws, which were included in the Codes of Labor of 1918 and 1922. The Code of 30 December 1922, enacted during the New Economic Policy period, has remained on the statute book to the present day, despite the fact that many of its provisions have been superseded or become inoperative.^{14/} During the period of the Five-Year Plans beginning in 1928, the enslavement of labor and its subjection to the state bureaucracy was initiated.

Accumulation of capital was to be achieved by extreme restriction of consumption and ^{by} exploitation of labor. Bad investments, and the ever-growing administrative machine, absorbed an increasing portion of what to

^{13/} Marx, Inaugural Address. To Lenin "co-operatives are miserable palliative measures of petty bourgeois character." Soviet co-operatives were deprived of all autonomy and transformed into government retail stores.

^{14/} e.g., Article 36 and 37 on the free movement of workers and the ban on deducting fines from wages.

Marxists is the 'surplus value' of production. Labor lost practically all influence on the determination of wage schedules, which are fixed by a central authority. All Soviet labor law is predicated on the fiction that any conflict between the workers and the manager-state has ceased to exist, since the workers themselves have become owners of all means of production. This, indeed, is an absurd abuse of Marxian concepts, for the important point is not theoretical ownership, but the right to control operation of the means of production. As everywhere else, so also in the Soviet Union, management, qua management, strives for efficiency through greater productivity at lower costs, while labor, qua labor, strives for higher wages, better hours and working conditions. Denial of this conflict belies reality. The fiction is used as a pretext to deprive labor of protection by the state and trade unions; while, in fact, a ^{15/} bureaucracy, on appointment of which labor has no influence whatsoever, directs everything according to the interests of management.

The piece-work system, which Marx designated as the form of wage most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production, ^{16/} was introduced throughout the Soviet Union despite strong trade union opposition in the 1920's, when the unions still enjoyed some right of criticism. ^{17/} Later, multiple wages with double or triple the normal pay for extra units of production, were introduced. Practically no minimum wage is guaranteed. After 1931 "equalitarianism", the

^{15/} The proportion of management personnel is greater in the Soviet Union than in the United States.

^{16/} "Piece-wages (are) . . . the most profitable source of reductions in wages and capitalist cheating . . . Given the piece-wage, it is naturally the personal interest of the worker to strain his labor power as intensely as possible. This enables the capitalist to raise more easily the normal amount of intensity of labor. It is now the personal interest of the laborer to lengthen the working day, since by it his daily or weekly wages rise . . . It follows that the piece-wage is the form of wage most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production." Capital, (Kerr ed.) Vol. I, p. 605.

"It is impossible to maintain that Soviet workers work for themselves, and insist at the same time on the piece-wage system." Manya Gordon, Workers Before and After Lenin, New York, 1941.

^{17/} The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, 1933, states: "The basic form of labor in the USSR is piece-work wage, which provides control over expenditure of labor and stimulates the labor of the piece-worker . . ."

leveling of wages, was denounced as "petty bourgeois nonsense"^{18/}, and the differentials between wage categories was increased far beyond that in western countries.^{19/}

The piece-work system is intensified by the so-called Stakhanov movement. In 1935, an "ordinary coal miner", Stakhanov, was reported to have produced 104 tons of coal in one shift, fourteen times above the norm. The floodlight of propaganda was at once turned upon him. In every industry, "Stakhanovs" were set to work under most favorable conditions, and performed miracles of production. They served everywhere as pace-setters for upgrading piece-work scales. The workers at first vehemently resisted this violation of proletarian solidarity. But they were cruelly subdued. Andrei Zhadnov declared, "the Party will not shrink from any measures to sweep away all resistance to the victorious path of the Stakhanov movement"^{20/}. In the satellite countries, counterparts of Stakhanov appeared with characteristic national names, e. g., Pstrowski, in Poland; Hennecke, in East Germany.

Soviet real wages lie below those even of the backward countries outside the iron curtain.^{21/} They are even lower than during Tsarist times.^{22/} The living standard of the later NEP period has not since been attained.

Labor books (records of employment) were introduced in 1938 as a measure to prevent labor turn-over. They contain current records of the workers' employment, reasons for change of positions, and penalties and rewards. They must be submitted to the management, where they are retained until the worker leaves his post.^{23/}

Trade unions were gradually brought under complete control of the Party apparatus, by means of Party cells within every unit. In 1937 and 1938, most

^{18/} J. V. Stalin, Problems of Leninism, 10th ed., p. 583.

^{19/} For dates, see Schwarz, S., Labor in the USSR, pp. 146-152, 201-204.

^{20/} Pravda, November 13, 1935.

^{21/} See Schwarz, S., pp. 252-257.

^{22/} See Manya Gordon, Workers Before and After Lenin.

^{23/} Labor books were first introduced in France by Napoleon III, in 1851. Other countries followed. In 1890, they were abolished in France, as well as in most other countries, under pressure of the trade unions. Hitler resurrected them in Germany in 1935. Recently they were introduced in Poland.

of the old leadership which had fought against piece-work, labor books, and the Stakhanov system were purged. The old trade union leader, Mikhael Tomskii, was deposed, and afterward committed suicide. The composition of trade union committees in factories and other establishments was changed seventy to eighty per cent, the Central Committee ninety-six per cent (Statement of Shvernik at the 18th Party Congress in 1939). The enslavement of labor was accomplished during the years preceding World War II. A series of stringent laws were enacted which still form the basis of present-day (1953) labor legislation. They provide for freezing jobs, compulsory transfer of workers to other jobs of locations, introduction of internal passports, increased power for factory managers, large scale conscription of youth into the State Labor Reserves, and prosecution by criminal courts of minor breaches in "labor discipline".^{24/} They were emergency measures, but were, in large measure, carried over into peace-time conditions. Large scale recruitment of workers and conscription of youth into State Labor Reserves continue. Young people are not permitted to leave their jobs; they can be transferred to other jobs and places without regard to personal preference. Trainees wear uniforms and must observe military discipline and courtesy.^{25/} Leaving school without permission and other minor violations of discipline are prosecuted by the criminal courts. (Decree of December 28, 1940)

Job freezing and compulsory transfer of specialists has been retained, as well as internal passports. Workers are financially liable for damage caused by them and theft of state property is punished by death.

Free education, as guaranteed by Article 121 of the Stalin Constitution, was not reinstated. Pupils in the higher grades of secondary schools and at

^{24/} Among the violations prosecuted in criminal courts are absence from work without good cause and tardiness involving a loss of twenty minutes or more of working time, if it occurs three times in the course of a week or four times within two consecutive months. The penalty is corrective labor on the job for a term up to six months, with a reduction in pay up to twenty-five per cent. The penalty for absenteeism in defense industries can be imprisonment up to eight years. (Decree of December 1941, which is still in force.) Judges may be penalized for not sentencing violators of factory discipline. (Decree of June 26, 1940)

^{25/} When addressed by a superior, the trainee must stand at attention. (Decree of 15 March 1947, Section 7)

university level must pay a tuition fee, not easily afforded by ordinary workers. Those able to pay tuition are exempt from labor draft.

The trade unions have retained but a nominal right of joint consultation in fixing the total wage amount for the entire country, the so-called national wage bill, and in breaking it down for particular industries, and between various sections or plants.

The trade unions no longer act as pressure groups on the middle or lower levels of labor. Collective agreements disappeared after 1933. Their outward form was revived in 1947, but any bargaining over the dictated wages is excluded. Trade unions are merely intermediary administrative organs, whose purpose is to interpret management policy to the rank and file of labor, to press for higher norms, and to encourage the required "voluntary" services. The old term of trade unions now connotes an agent of a slave-driver management.

The Damocles sword of banishment to a forced labor camp by mere administrative order hangs over all workers. The ruthless exploitation, horrible conditions, and exorbitant mortality in those camps were brought to light by the United Nations investigation of 1952, which also revealed the exorbitant population in these camps. Administered by the Secret Police, these camps form a considerable portion of the Soviet labor force - far in excess of penal labor anywhere else. They are an essential part of Soviet economy, and follow the Soviet flag into the so-called people's democracies.

Sporadic, even imposing, technical achievements, purchased at the price of so much human suffering, can be classed only on the same plane as the slave-built pyramids of ancient Egypt.^{26/}

The Soviet worker is an unequal and powerless partner in labor relationships. He is confronted with the single employer-state which controls all political and economic power. Freedom of association and the right to strike, freedom of movement and freedom to choose his profession -- all are denied him. Conditions of labor are unilaterally dictated. His trade unions are management organs, his living standards at a beggarly level. He lives under a barrack-room discipline in constant fear of jail and forced labor camps.

^{26/} On slave economies, see Marx, Capital (German Volksausgabe, p. 453). "State slavery does not become communism, just because the slave drivers call themselves Communists" (Karl Kautsky)

All this grows worse and worse, and there is no hope of betterment. That is the fate of the toiler in the land where "socialism has been victorious".

V. Instead of Voluntary Peasant Co-operatives - a New Serfdom

Together with the industrial laborers, so also were the peasants subjugated to the bureaucracy. The Bolsheviks had been able to win over many peasants temporarily at the time of the October Revolution. This was achieved by outbidding the other socialist parties in demanding immediate seizure of the land, instead of by orderly transfer. During the NEP period, the independent farmers were able to defend themselves against exploitation by cutting their deliveries of food. But at the time of the Five-Year Plans, their power was broken. Forced collectivization, administered with inconceivable cruelty and at a cost of millions of lives, was finally inflicted on the Russian peasant.

Marx had not passed over the Russian agrarian question. The Russian socialist, Vera Zasulich, questioned him in February 1881, as to whether he thought it possible for the then existing village communities, the so-called mir, to be transformed into socialist co-operatives, as demanded by the program of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party.^{27/} Marx answered her question in the introduction to the Russian translation of his "Communist Manifesto". He stated that this was possible only if a social revolution would take place simultaneously in the industrialized countries.^{28/} Both Marx, and later Engels, had nothing but voluntary agrarian co-operatives in mind, they visualized autonomous spontaneous associations, not state farms controlled by centrally appointed managers. The devastating criticism leveled by Marx against the village communes of Tsarist Russia applies, word for word, to the Stalin kolkhoses.

The conditions resulting from forced collectivization are practically tantamount to the old Russian serfdom, which was abolished in 1861. Once more the peasant is tied to the soil, again he must perform services for the overlordship, again he lives in ceaseless fear of severe punishment, again he retains only a minimum portion of time for tending his own small plot of

27/ Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels Archiv, Moskau, Vol. I, pp. 263-286 (Russian)

28/ Published 1882.

ground. The recent Nineteenth Party Congress visualized full nationalization of the rural co-operatives. This double-dealing with the peasants was repeated in the misnamed Peoples' Democracies. In order to win over the peasants, the old landed estates were first parceled out in tiny farms, which could yield scarcely enough for survival. Later on, the peasants were put under pressure to join the collectives.

VI. Instead of International Solidarity of Workers - Expansive Great-Russian Imperialism

The Workers' International is a creation of Marx. According to him, aggressive policies of national states should be checked and world peace guaranteed; at the same time, the influence and interests of labor should be promoted in all countries.

The International, the Comintern, founded by Lenin, aimed at bringing about world revolution, since it was considered the necessary condition for survival of the Russian Revolution. More and more, the Comintern ceased to be an association of equal partners and fell under the centralized direction of Moscow. Its chief objective was to weaken the International of the Socialist Parties and their political and economic organizations, and to wrest from them the leadership of the working masses. The Comintern considered Socialist Parties everywhere its main foe, rather than the capitalists, and did not shrink from allying itself with labor's worst enemies. Thus, it made possible the election of von Hindenburg in 1925 as president of Germany, paving the way for Hitler. Although the Communist International never succeeded in winning over the bulk of Social-Democratic labor, it has weakened the labor movement in many countries.

Communism

The Communist International identifies the interests of the Soviet Union as "the Socialist Fatherland" with the interests of workers everywhere, and makes the Communist Parties in individual countries mere agents of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This office has more and more followed the lines of old Tsarist imperialism, employing the Communist doctrine of world revolution

29/ In particular, in Italy before the seizure of power by Mussolini.

somewhat as Imperial Russia at times used the concept of Panslavism.^{30/} But while Tsarist imperialism had limited objectives, Soviet imperialism makes the disgruntled and discontented the world over serve its purposes. During its early years, Soviet Russia announced its termination of the expansive colonial policy of Imperial Russia, and solemnly renounced all privileges and concessions acquired by the Tsars. But it was not long before the old policy, sometimes cleverly camouflaged,^{31/} was readopted.

Domestic conditions within the Soviet Union make an aggressive foreign policy highly desirable. The inefficiency and waste of its uncontrolled bureaucratic economy necessitate the addition of ever new resources, and of ever new countries to be drained of their produce and exploited for the benefit of the Soviet Union.^{32/} The expansive foreign policy determines the character of Soviet economy; its stress on armament instead of consumer goods forces the whole outside world to rearm for self-defense.

The domestic policy of the Soviet Union toward its national minorities abandoned the original position of Marx and the Russian Revolution, which fought sternly for the rights of the oppressed peoples of Russia. On the surface, Soviet Russia still adheres to the semantics of national autonomy, granting minor concessions as to language, emblems, and traditional customs. Yet, there is no real constitutional guarantee for the autonomy of the republics, oblasts, and raions of what is called the Soviet Federation.^{33/} During

^{30/} For use of the Panslavistic idea made by the Soviet Union during World War II, see Hans Kohn, Panslavism, Its History and Ideology, Notre Dame (Ind.)

^{31/} Russian historians are bidden to refrain from denouncing the rapacious character of pre-Bolshevik expansion, but to emphasize its role as promoter of civilization, a point of view never applied to British or French colonization. The condemnation by Marx and Engels of Tsarist foreign policies was censored out of the Soviet Marx editions. A number of passages in articles and letters on Russia's policy was published by Paul W. Blackstock and Bert F. Hoselitz: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: The Russian Menace to Europe, New York, 1952.

^{32/} See Peter Meyer, "The Driving Force Behind Soviet Imperialism" in Commentary, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 209-217. The article characterizes Soviet expansion versus capitalist expansion.

^{33/} Oblasts and raions are administrative local subdivisions.

the last war, five autonomous republics and oblasts were abolished by mere decree, the people deported to undisclosed destinations, the languages eradicated, the cities resettled and renamed. ^{34/} Since the central government is incessantly interfering with the union republics, the secret police and the Party are centralized. The Great-Russian nationality ("Great-Russian" in contradistinction to "Little-Russian", or Ukrainian and "White-Russian") was declared as ranking first among equals of Russian races. The Great-Russian language is obligatory and national alphabets of non-Slavic minorities are replaced by Russian-based scripts, even when Latin-based scripts were already in existence. ^{35/} Russian patriotism is preached, Russian superiority praised in every field. The former respect for foreign achievements is decried as cosmopolitanism. How far this is from Marx, the real cosmopolite!

VII. Instead of Scientific Thinking - Rigid Dogmatism

Marx was a free spirit, a critical, original thinker, a demolisher of traditional theories. He refused to substitute authority for reasoning, and denounced the influence of class interest on theoretical thinking. He occupies an important place in the history of economics and sociology. No one - including his opponents - can overlook the significance of the economic and social factor in human history. His respect for facts, his passionate search for truth, are beyond doubt.

It is a tragic absurdity that his writings have become the object of dogmatic interpretation in Soviet Russia, as though the sacred text of a revelation. Marx, who had said of himself, "Me, I am not a Marxist", would have hated nothing more than a sectarian petrification of his ideas.

Yet, Soviet theorists have completely abandoned the methods and spirit of Marx. They would not openly dissent from his basic opinions; they are only permitted to interpret them. The power of the State supports the official interpretation, and any deviation from the latest approved version is

^{34/} Including Marxstadt in the former Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans. See Hans Kohn, above.

^{35/} "The Russian language (ranks as) the first world language of international significance . . . Nobody can regard himself as educated in the full and true sense of the word if he does not understand Russian . . ." David Zaslavsky in Literaturnaya Gazeta, January 1, 1950.

punishable by loss of reputation, position, or even life. Partiinost (partisan-ship) is defined as the duty of always being aware of all political consequences of any theoretical statement and of subordinating theory to politics. This responsibility falls on every scholar. Abject fear stifles creative thinking; scholars are humiliated and forced into the role of charlatans.^{36/} An infallible leader who is "always right" and extolled as "genius", is supreme authority on all conceivable subjects of human knowledge, be it economics, biology, history, linguistics, or philosophy.

Dialectics is employed as justification for reducing all standards of truth and ethics to relativity and for vindication of the incessant shifts in policy. The public is expected to believe the most absurd statements; appeals to the emotions are substituted for clear thinking. Suggestibility is enhanced by unscrupulous use of all mass communication media. Free discussion of essential controversies is suppressed. Airtight censorship prevents all possibility of independent judgment. The allegedly free working class is denied the first premise of self-government: access to the facts.

Publication of a definitive edition of the writings of Karl Marx, which was commenced soon after the Revolution, was stopped at the start. After publication of the first five volumes, the editor, D. Ryazanov, was dismissed in 1931. The publication ceased in 1935 and covers only the period prior to 1848. Afterwards, only "selected works" were published. Volumes of the complete edition were withdrawn from circulation. The voice from beyond is feared.^{37/}

VIII. Instead of Human Rights - Terror and Fraud

The ideals of the French Revolution - Liberty, Equality, Fraternity - were

^{36/} "No Marxian treatise of the Russian Revolution, the Russian State and Russian Society was ever written and published under Bolshevism." Fritz Sternberg, Capitalism and Socialism on Trial, Toronto, 1952.

^{37/} See Max Rubel, "Ist Karl Marx in Russland verfehmt?" (Is Karl Marx Ostracized from Russia?) in Die Zukunft, Vienna, 1950, pp. 330 ff. and M. Rubel, "Le sort de l'oeuvre de Marx et Engels en U.R.S.S." (The Fate of the Works of Marx and Engels in USSR), in La Revue Socialiste, Paris, April 1952.

near to the heart of Marx. His sense of true humanitarianism inspired his struggle against oppression and exploitation; it impelled him to decry the crippling of human personality through factory work and the division of labor; and it prompted his demand for using technical progress to aid the individual in the pursuit of happiness.

In place of these ideals we find complete indifference to human suffering in Soviet Russia; ruthless victimization of human lives and unconscionable lowering of living conditions; persecution of those potentially dangerous to the regime regardless of the validity of their guilt; wholesale uprooting and genocide of ethnic and social groups. Fear is the base on which this state is founded.

The pledge of human rights in the Stalin Constitution is worthless, since it includes no provision for implementation. There is no equivalent to habeas corpus, no independent courts with safeguards for the accused - only a recrudescence of mediaeval practises of torture. There is no public opinion; no possibility for criticism.

Soviet rule is rule by lie, by fraudulent manipulation of semantics. Words used for their suggestive effect, are wholly divested of their true meaning. The Soviet rulers speak of democracy, autonomy, federation, where there is merely centralized absolutism; of a Constitution, although it can be over-ridden by simple decree; of rule of the Soviets, although the Soviets are but empty shells; of consumers' co-operatives, although this denotes mere government retail shops; of trade unions, although this designates agents for management; of peace, while they threaten the whole world with aggression; of socialism, while extorting the last ounce of energy from forced labor slaves; and they celebrate Karl Marx in order to use him as sign-board for a bureaucratic autocracy, insatiable in its greed for power.

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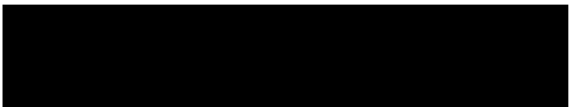
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