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result of dekulakization, collectivization, and the Great Purge was neither progress nor rapid industrialization but famine, chaotic conditions in the production of food, and depopulation. The consequences have been a perpetual crisis in agriculture, an interruption of population growth, and the failure to develop and colonize the Siberian hinterland. Moreover, as the Smolensk Archive spells out in detail, Stalin's methods of rule succeeded in destroying whatever measure of competence and technical know-how the country had acquired after the October Revolution. And all this together was indeed an incredibly "high price," not just in suffering, exacted for the opening of careers in the party and government bureaucracies to sections of the population which often were not merely "politically illiterate." 24 The truth is that the price of totalitarian rule was so high that in neither Germany nor Russia has it yet been paid in full.

III

I MENTIONED before the detotalitarianization process which followed upon Stalin's death. In 1958, I was not yet sure that the "thaw" was more than so far in this subtle justification of Stalin as Isaac Deutscher in his biography, but many still insist that "Stalin's ruthless actions were . . . a way to the creation of a new equilibrium of forces" (Armstrong, op cit., p. 64) and designed to offer "a brutal but consistent solution of some of the basic contradictions inherent in the Leninist myth" (Richard Lowenthal in his very valuable World Communism. The Disintegration of a Secular Faith, New York, 1964, p. 42). There are but few exceptions from this Marxist hangover, such as Richard C. Tucker (op. cit., p. XXVII), who says unequivocally that the Soviet "system would have been better off and far more equipped to meet the coming test of total war had there been no Great Purge, which was, in effect, a great wrecking operation in Soviet society." Mr. Tucker believes that this refutes my "image" of totalitarianism, which, I think, is a misunderstanding. Instability is indeed a functional requisite of total domination, which is based on an ideological fiction and presupposes that a movement, as distinguished from a party, has seized power. The hallmark of this system is that substantial power, the material strength and well-being of the country, is constantly sacrificed to the power of organization, just as all factual truths are sacrificed to the demands of ideological consistency. It is obvious that in a contest between material strength and organizational power, or between fact and fiction, the latter may come to grief, and this happened in Russia as well as Germany during the Second World War. But this is no reason to underestimate the power of totalitarian movements. It was the terror of permanent instability that helped to organize the satellite system, and it is the present stability of Soviet Russia, its detotalitarianization, which, on one side, has greatly contributed to her present material strength, but which, on the other, has caused her to lose control of her satellites. 24

24 See the interesting details (Fainsod, op. cit., pp. 345-355) about the 1929 campaign to eliminate "reactionary professors" against the protests of party and Komsomol members as well as the student body, who saw "no reason to replace the excellent non-Party" professors; whereupon of course a new commission promptly reported "the large number of class-alien elements among the student body." That it was one of the main purposes of the Great Purge to open the careers to the younger generation has always been known.