

THE PROSPECTS FOR PLURALISTIC COMMUNISM by Richard Lewenthal

(from Marxism in the Mod. World, ed. by Milroad Drachkovitch, Stanford. U. Press, 1965)

contrast bet. the dramatic breakup of the C-ist 'monolith' & the continued importance, & in part vitality of the pieces"

raises ques. whether U-ism will "become as ambiguous as the term 'socialism'."

I. The Inevitability of Divergence

since uniqueness of unity of state power ideology changed from single power of authority "This uniqueness was ended the foundations of world wide C-ist unity undermined by 2 events" (1) Rise of Mao's China (2) Xhr's "secret speech" on de Stalinization.

Begin (ff 2nd follows, not leads, 1953 E. Ger. revolut

"revolutions from above" in Stalin's day with its last... proclaiming "one more major structural change--the transformation of coll. farm property into all-national prop., ending distinction bet. coll. peasants & state workers."

22nd RCP, 1961 Program "no longer described state by use of state power as an agent of social transformation. Correspondingly, the Sov. state was by a "dict. of the prol." exercised by the vanguard, the CP, but as a "state of the whole people" led by the party."

THE DYNAMICS OF UNINTERRUPTED REV."

True, Mao's China too had been engaged in "peaceful co-existence" BUT

"Students of C-ist Ch. seem to think that it was the shock at the flood of domestic opp. which thus experiments brought to 1957, even more than the shock of the Hungarian rev., that caused Mao to turn, from 6/57 onward, to a policy of deliberately keeping up a climate of internal tension & irreconcilable ideological struggle."

LOOKED BACK." 2nd session of CPC, spring '58 brought 'great leap forward.'" -- "people's communes" as next step in "uninterrupted" & "mass initiative"

"It is particularly significant that EVEN after the catastro. ic eco. results of... they refused to change the general climate of their internal dev."..... It is indeed

remarkable that the same insistence on extreme egalitarianism & uninterrupted rev. which in '58 was justified by the promise of RAPID transition to FULL c--ism has NOW come to be based on the

OPPOSITE argument, i.e., that the danger of a new privileged class attempting a 'cap. restoration' will persist during the entire long transition per. of '5-10 GENERATIONS' or 'one or several CENTURIES' & can only be held at bay if the regime continues the most vigilant class struggle throughout that time."

Handwritten notes: "As outlined case of Mao's... if it was... change... value... concept"

Handwritten notes: "this about... is about... not..."

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Handwritten notes: "same thesis... Stalin's '37... (cow Franceups)"