

Summaries

Vesa Oittinen: Stalin seen with Hegelian Spectacles. »Dialectics of Stalinism« in Brecht, Lukács, Bukharin

The emergence of Stalinism in the 1930s was a problem for Western intellectuals of the Left for at least two reasons: First, they lacked the conceptual tools to analyse Stalinism as a phenomenon that Marxist theory had not prepared them for. Second, the critique of Stalinist practices in the USSR became problematic after the Nazi takeover in Germany, as it could be interpreted as weakening the positions of the main counterforce of Fascism. Intellectuals such as Brecht, Lukács and even Bukharin tried to deal with this complex situation by turning to the dialectical philosophy of history of Hegel. This strategy did not lead to unambiguous results.

Detlef Kannapin: Why did André Breton misunderstand Alexander Fadeev? Socialist Realism as a Program for Social Development

Kannapin's essay deals with the inability of bourgeois consciousness to understand how socialist conceptions of social development might work. He pleads for a new approach to the notion of social development and for a practice of socialist realism not as an aesthetic doctrine but as a more widely encompassing program. Its criteria for analysis should only be found in the practices of the socialist society itself. Taking bourgeois democracy as a standard would mean giving in to those who already neglect the possibility of any kind of socialism. In the context of Stalinism, Kannapin proposes taking socialist realism as an expression in favor of supporting culture, education and knowledge against all adversities – and this, of course, under the prospect of building of socialism.

Frigga Haug: Stefan Heym's Novel Stalinallee

Heym's »The Architects« deals with Stalinism during the early German Democratic Republic. It pictures the building process of a grand boulevard, recognizable as the well-known Stalinallee in Berlin. The novel depicts various characters who become involved in the process of creating Stalinism, even when it is against their intention. Haug demonstrates the advantages of a fictional narrative for tracing the ambiguities of the time, socialist expectations, opportunism and betrayal, processes that are attributable to many people. Heym writes from the standpoint of a possible socialism in which alternatives become visible – not least with Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party.

Arnold Pistiak: Eisler's Mayakovski-Songs

In the fifth volume of Hanns Eisler's Songs and Cantatas we find music written to verses of Wladimir Mayakovski. These became well-known through their interpretation by Ernst Busch. But it is less known that these songs are related to Mayakovski's satirical play, *The Bathhouse*, as well as to Eisler's harsh attacks on »bureaucratic socialism« (Trotzky). The article discusses these relationships.

Lennart Samuelson: Interpretations of Stalinism: Historiographical Patterns before and after the »Archival Revolution« of the 1990s

Samuelson presents a long-range overview of the always contradictory approaches to Stalin and Stalinism, beginning in the 1930s with Barbusse's hagiographic approaches and Souvarine's critically prophetic interpretations. He briefly discusses some outstanding work of the 1960s to 1980s, focussing on the complex results of the »Archival Revolution« in post-Soviet Russia in the 1990s. Since then, scholars have read and interpreted tens of thousands of until then publicly unknown documents. These have substantially deepened our understanding of the mechanisms of rule and terror, but also of the social structures, economic development, the relations between central decision making and regional politics. Last but not least, these documents give us insights

on the daily life of the oppressed as well as of those who came out as winners of the system or who lived their lives removed from politics. The »Archival Revolution« has not yet ended. Much research remains to be done.

Markku Kangaspuro: Stalinism as Sociopolitical Choice

This article focuses on the Karelian Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic in the North-West of the Russian Federation in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and early 1930s. This allows Kangaspuro to discuss the relationship between the central government in Moscow and the regional authorities in Petrosavodsk; Moscow's ethnic policies; and the destiny of the autonomous status and the economic potential of Karelia under Stalin's industrialization programme. Kangaspuro draws attention to Karelia's forest industries which were almost completely subordinated to Moscow and finally made part of the widespread GULag system. Kangaspuro holds that Karelia's example also shows that in the early 1920s there were chances for alternatives. These included traditions of sustainable agriculture and forest management.

Werner Röhr: The 1931 Liquidation of the Marx-Engels-Institute in Moscow

The closing of the Marx-Engels-Institute (MEI) in Moscow 1931 is shown as a decisive step taken by Stalin to monopolize his interpretation of the work and legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This is true of their work as the theoretical and ideological fundament of Soviet socialism and therefore also of Stalin's personal rule. The attacks on the MEI started as early as 1927. Its director, David Rjasanov was seen by Stalin as a »special enemy« due to his non-dogmatic approach to socialist theories. Röhr analyzes the closing of the MEI as part of Stalin's fight against the Menshevik Bureau in 1931 and also as part of a long list of exemplary trials. The article also highlights the role of various German and other foreign contributors to MEI, including Karl Schmückle, Anne Bernfeld-Schmückle, Frieda Düwell and Georg Lukács, among others.

Jörg Baberowski: Violence in Stalinism: »... what could not be driven by ideas.« – An Interview by Detlef Kannapin

With his book, *Verbrannte Erde. Stalins Herrschaft der Gewalt* (Scorched Earth. Stalin's Rule of Violence) Baberowski opened vivid new debates regarding power, violence, and terror in Stalinism as well as the role of Stalin's personality in these policies. As a result of thorough archival work and considering older arguments regarding the role of ideas in the rule of power Baberowski holds that Stalinism is a term that should be restricted to the system created by Stalin and which he himself practiced in his lifetime. The fact that the CPSU was able to stop the terror after Stalin's death shows that this terror was not a systemic one. Baberowski also discusses his plans to research the development of the USSR after Stalin's death as well as Chruschchev's famous speech at the 20th Party Congress 1956.

Ursula Apitzsch and Peter Kammerer: Intellectuals, Transformism, Subalternity: Communication between Antonio Gramsci, Tatjana Schucht and Piero Sraffa 1931–1935

The article discusses the correspondence between Antonio Gramsci and Tatjana Schucht during the prison years 1931–1935 in Turi and Formia. It is an abbreviated part of the introduction to the volume »Antonio Gramsci, *Gefängnisbriefe*, vol. 3« (in print). First, it deals with the dramatic political dimension of Gramsci's indirect communication with Piero Sraffa on the question of Italian intellectuals and their importance for the integral state, explained and exemplified in the analysis of the role of Benedetto Croce. Gramsci uses Croce's interpretation of Farinata and Cavalcante from Dante's *Divine Comedy* to explain his own historical positioning. The second part of the paper summarizes Gramsci's discussion of the use of psychoanalysis and pedagogic principles in the life of his Russian wife Julca (Giulia). It reveals Gramsci's critical view of the »subaltern« role of intellectuals in the post-revolutionary society and a new concept of the term »subalternity« in contrast to earlier notions in the Prison Notebooks.