

Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is a relatively modern concept, coined by Mussolini in a speech on 22nd June 1925, meaning absolute loyalty from the people to the state, and that everything within works for the good of the State, but it grew to entail much more than the original intention.

^{1 2} Totalitarianism at its root, is an evolution of authoritarian style leadership; but it has a fluid doctrine, which changes as the Leader or The Party's political position changes.

Totalitarian governments are bureaucratic, centralised and dictatorial, with an omnipotent leader, a singular party which has a complete control over the economy communication, and military whilst also being discriminatory, oppressive and violent with the support of a state ran secret Police.³ From 1924-53 Stalin was at the helm of a totalitarian government, that was characterised by extreme violence towards political 'dissident', and oppression of political freedom, political opposition, free speech, and other basic western human rights. Nazi Germany, under Hitler from 1933-45, was also a totalitarian state; it was also characterised as bureaucratic, centralised, and dictatorial. Nazi Germany also was renowned for its extreme, and industrialised violence towards 'Untermensch' or sub-humans.

Totalitarianism is and was considered a political phenomenon, new to the 20th Century.

Totalitarianism develops from one-party systems, 'transforming classes into masses supplanting the party system... [and] shifting the centre of power from army to police'.⁴

Totalitarian Governments seek to pervade into and control every crevice of their people's lives, and it is generally agreed amongst political scientists, and historians that there are five key tenants of totalitarianism which allow them to do this. The five key tenants of Totalitarianism are; an official state ideology, a single mass party, a monopoly of communication and information, a state planned economy, and a 'terroristic' system of control mainly supported by a secret police.^{5 6} Totalitarian governments have an official state ideology, that requires total adherence from the people, and that ideology is considered the 'perfect final state for mankind'.⁷ This perfect state requires the people as a whole to work together towards a supposed 'Utopian' Society, in which the ideological dream of the regime is realised. In order for this official state ideology to be imposed upon a nation, there is a need for a party to impose this ideology, for instance; the Communist Party imposed Communism upon Russia, and the Nazi Party imposed Nazism and/or Fascism, and/ or national socialism upon Germany. The imposition of a national ideology is not possible without a single mass party. This single mass party is only made possible after the outlawing of political freedom and opposition seen with the Nazi Party consistently outlawing opposition parties in the 1930s, and within the USSR with the anti-factionalism

¹ M. Tornike, *The Evolution of Totalitarianism: From Stalin to Putin*, (Available at: <https://www.alexandria.unisg.ch/252351/1/The%20Evolution%20of%20Totalitarianism.pdf> , 2013)

² L Schapiro, *Totalitarianism*, (Macmillan, London, 1972) pg. 13

³ M. Tornike, *The Evolution of Totalitarianism: From Stalin to Putin*

⁴ H. Ardent, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1951) pg460

⁵ P. Bernholz, 'Totalitarianism' found in Rowley C.K., Schneider F. (eds) *The Encyclopaedia of Public Choice*, (Springer, Boston, 2004) pg. 565

⁶ C.J Friedrich, 'The Nature of Totalitarianism' found in C.J Friedrich (ed) *Totalitarianism: Proceeding of a Conference held at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences March 1953*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1954) pg. 53

⁷ L. Schapiro, *Totalitarianism* pg. 18

policy at the 10th Communist Party Congress in 1921.⁸ A key feature of these single mass parties, around which a totalitarian state is created, is that they operate under a strict power hierarchy, where the members and/or person at the top promote the ideology, and dictate the direction of the state, party and political thought in the nation. State control over communication and information, is a key feature of a totalitarian state. Through this monopoly the state is able to present a positive image of itself, creating a strong cult of personality, whilst also distorting news in a very Orwellian way. Through this, a Totalitarian state is able to control, and indoctrinate their citizens through various different mediums, such as newspapers, the school system, and state broadcasts. This monopoly of information and communication extends from birth to death, with whole generations living their entire lives under these states. Totalitarian states are able to push through huge levels of propaganda, and censor vast amounts of information through their monopoly of communication and information channels, they are able to fabricate stories for the regime, and remove references to anything that they deem unsatisfactory. George Orwell, a staunch opponent to Totalitarianism, was able to accurately capture totalitarian approaches to information in his dystopian novel 'Nineteen Eighty-Four', when Winston reports on the fictional Comrade Ogilvy to replace an article that had been deemed extremely unsatisfactory, and that had made references to non-existence person.⁹ Totalitarian systems at their very core require total control, and a state planned, and 'governmentally controlled' economy is the ultimate level of control for any state.¹⁰ Totalitarian economic models are collectivist, and work off the same idea that their societies are not self-determined, and that the economy must work to break down pre-regime inequality, and replace it with a new hierarchical order where the party, and government officials dominate in order to keep the new regime functioning.¹¹ Totalitarian systems frame their control of the economy as a means of cleaning 'up the debris of the past', presenting the regime in this way also shows them to be the saviours of the nation's economy.¹² The final key tenant of totalitarianism is a 'terroristic' system of control, that is often implemented by secret police. These systems of terror have been described as "the most universal characteristic of totalitarianism" and whilst other ideologies have used terror to enforce their beliefs, it is the scale, the brutality, effectiveness, and the methods of the terror that distinguish totalitarian terror from other practiced forms.¹³ This system of terror is used to enforce the previous tenants but is also arbitrarily used against 'enemies' of the regimes, and different sections of the population. Extreme acts of violence also take place within these systems of terror, with the violence often taking place on an industrial scale, these periods of terror, are often vital for the fulfilment of the ideology, and for the continued existence of the regime.¹⁴ Violent purges, and concentration camps are hallmarks of totalitarian systems of terror, used to utterly destroy not just political opponents, but vast swathes of harmless people all in the name of

⁸ V.I Lenin, *Preliminary Draft Resolution Of The Tenth Congress Of The R.C.P. On Party Unity*, (Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/10thcong/ch04.htm>, 1921)

⁹ G. Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, (Penguin Books, London, 1948) pg51

¹⁰ C.J Friedrich, 'The Nature of Totalitarianism' pg.51

¹¹ M.J Bonn, *The Economics of the Totalitarian States*, (American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1940) Pg78

¹² Ibid pg79

¹³ R.C Tucker, *The Dictator and Totalitarianism*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1965) pg. 561

¹⁴ C.J Friedrich, 'The Nature of Totalitarianism' pg.53

the advancement of the nation.¹⁵ Totalitarian systems of terror were also used to promote mobility, and instability, which was crucial to the longevity of the leader's power.¹⁶

Stalin and Hitler, and their respective regime are two clear examples of Totalitarianism. Whilst the ideology behind the regime was different, they still had similarities in their methodology. Both regimes had an official ideology that they sought to impose upon the nation, Stalin officially imposed 'Marxist-Leninism', whilst Hitler and the Nazi Party imposed a strand of fascism, 'National Socialism'. Marxist-Leninism was a steppingstone on the way to a purely Communist system and was the wedding together of Marxist theory that the proletariat should be guided in their revolution, and Leninist practice that the guiding force should lead the transition towards a dictatorship of the proletariat. The 'National Socialism' that Hitler preached, and imposed upon Germany was a community focused combination of nationalism, and conservative socialism.¹⁷ The imposition of these two ideologies was made possible by the single mass parties that existed within the system. In Germany, Hitler's totalitarianism was supported by the Nazi Party, and was enabled by their outlawing of opposition parties via the 'Law Against Founding New Parties', and the parliamentary process after their activation of Article 48, the Enabling Act.^{18 19} In Russia, the single party system was present due to Lenin eliminating the other parties after the October revolution with the support of the Cheka who put down several rebellions, such as the Naval rebellion at Kronstadt.²⁰ Furthermore, factionalism was outlawed in the USSR, it was outlawed at the '10th Party Congress for Party Unity' and reinforced by Stalin within the Politburo. Stalin also prevented any kind of factionalism, or political opposition by eliminating his opponents; a key example of this would be Stalin's role in the death of Kirov in 1934.²¹ Stalin's detached role in this murder allowed the removal of his greatest rival to power within the party; a rival who opposed the upcoming purge, collectivisation, Stalin's wish to execute oppositionist Mikhail Riutin, and who had supposedly beaten him at the 1934 Party Congress Election for the role of General Secretary.²² Both Nazi Germany, and Soviet Russia had a monopoly over communications and information, and used these to disperse information that was deemed relevant to the population, but also to build up cults of personality. The majority of this dispersion happened through newspapers such as the Communist Party ran 'Pravda', and the Hitler owned and Nazi operated 'Völkischer Beobachter'.²³ The aim of soviet propoganda was to: keep the people complacent, but also to direct attention towards a common enemy; to demoralise opponents, and to build support.²⁴ Soviet propoganda worked to idealised the perfect 'Russian', whilst also making propoganda relatable to everybody; the idea of this was to create unity within the population, and dispel myths that life was better on the other side, furthermore this was

¹⁵ R.C Tucker, *The Dictator and Totalitarianism*, pg. 561-562

¹⁶ Ibid pg. 562

¹⁷ K.D. Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, structure and consequence of National Socialism*, (Penguin University Books, London, 1973) pg. 184

¹⁸ A. Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, (Penguin Books, London, 1990) Pg270

¹⁹ W. Benz, *A Concise History of the Third Reich*, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2006) pg34

²⁰ G. Ponton, *The Soviet Era*, (Blackwell, Oxford, 1994) Pg26-27

²¹ R. Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990) pg38-39

²² M. Leno, *Did Stalin kill Kirov and Does it matter?* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2002) Pg355

²³ W. Schwarzwallner, *The Unknown Hitler: His Private life Fortune*, (National Press Books, Washington D.C, 1988) pg88

²⁴ H. D Lasswell, *The Strategy of Soviet Propaganda*, (The Academy of Political Science, New York, 1951) pg. 71

support by the advent of 'Soviet Realism' which gave creative guidelines for artists, and writers in order to promote the USSR, and Soviet ideals.²⁵ These mediums of propaganda praised the role of Stalin in the advancement of the USSR, and elevated him to a God-like status within the quasi-religious Marxist-Leninist USSR. Nazi propaganda, which was ran by Goebbels, firstly worked to maintain the moral of Germany, the army, and officials, as it was the foundation that the strength of the nation was built on, and a collapse of moral would see the war effort disintegrate.²⁶ Under the Nazi Party, Hitler and Goebbels' propaganda was considered an 'arm of warfare', publishing information that could change Allies' approaches to the war.²⁷ Nazi propaganda aimed to be easy to digest, believing that the 'best form of propaganda was not "propaganda", but slanted news which appeared to be straight', this 'slanting' was done to newspapers, radio broadcasts, and by arranging news footage in a favourable way.²⁸ Goebbels and Hitler were masters of the art of propaganda, and were careful in the timing of their propaganda, always capitalising off the public energy to ensure optimal results. Goebbels showed this careful timing in a deeply anti-semitic, hate laden speech in 1938 at Old City Hall that led to the manifestation of Kristallnacht.²⁹ The state planned economy under Hitler, sought to break down the pre-Nazi hierarchy and build the party up as the dominate force.³⁰ It has been widely accepted that Hitler followed Keynesian economic principals before Keynes; the economy was characterised by high, and quick growth, the undertaking deficit financing, large scale public investment and spending; and wage, price, private investment, banks, and foreign trade control whilst focusing on economic recovery after the ruinous treaty of Versailles.³¹ The Stalinist state-controlled economy started with 'The Great Turn' which was a reversal from Lenin's NEP which sought to 'build socialism through capitalist practices' to the more socialist policy of the 'Five Year Plan for Industrialisation, and Socialist Construction'.³² The Five-year plan, industrialised Russia, and also allowed Russia to join the major Western powers as gross industrial production, and total employment doubled.³³ Both Nazi Germany, and Stalin's Soviet Russia are famed for their brutality, and their 'terroristic' systems of control. The brutality of Hitler's totalitarian Germany is one of the most infamous examples in world history. The Regime's draconian treatment of political opponents, and the 'Untermensch' was enforced by the Gestapo. Reichkristallnacht, 9-10th November 1938, saw the arrest and deportation to concentration camps of 20,000 – 30,000 Jews, their business, synagogues, and belongings were destroyed; this destruction was carried out by the Gestapo, upon Hitler's order.³⁴ Hitler used the Gestapo and his 'terroristic' system of control to remove political opponents, in 1934, the power of the SA and Rohm were curtailed in the 'Rohm Purge' finally bringing

²⁵ D. Brandenberger, *Propaganda State in Crisis: Soviet Ideology, Indoctrination, and Terror under Stalin 1927-1941*, (Yale University Press, New Haven, 2012) pg. 71- 74

²⁶ L. W. Doob, *Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1950) Pg. 421-424

²⁷ Ibid pg. 426-427

²⁸ Ibid pg. 426-427

²⁹ J. Roberts, *Joseph Goebbels: Nazi Propaganda Minister*, (The Rosen Publishing Group, New York, 2000) Pg54

³⁰ M.J. Bonn, *The Economics of the Totalitarian States*, pg78

³¹ R.J. Overy, *The Nazi Economic Recovery 1932-38* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996) pg. 1-2, 34-35

³² L. Siegelbaum, *Building Stalinism 1929 -1941* found in G.L Freeze (ed) *Russia A History*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009) pg. 344

³³ Ibid pg. 346

³⁴ R. Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society Enforcing Racial Policy 133-1945*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990) Pg113

an end to Hitler's main political opponent, via an extrajudicial purge.^{35 36} Much of the brutality that happened under Hitler's orders occurred within concentration camps; it has been estimated that 1.5 million to 2.5 million people (excluding Jewish victims) were killed at the death camps, and that 5.6 to 5.9 million Jews were killed within the industrial killing machine that was the Holocaust, in total Nazi repressions and mass killings were responsible for around 7.1 million deaths.³⁷ Kristallnacht fascinated Stalin, and it was a direct inspiration of his own State sponsored Terrors, however, Hitler used his terror system to fulfil an ideology, whilst Stalin used terror to maintain his position, and to enforce the official state ideology.³⁸ Stalin's state induced terror rested almost entirely on his and Molotov's shoulders, with them personally checking and signing 383 purge lists between them and added details whenever they felt that it was required.³⁹ Stalin and his regime were responsible for, directly, around 1 million death, and indirectly 2 million deaths through repression.⁴⁰ Much of this terror was directed by Stalin, and carried out by the NKVD, and the leaders, Yagoda, Yezhov, and Beria, of the NKVD oversaw the execution of the terror personally. Ironically, both Yagoda, and Yezhov, and their supporters were victims, in 1938 and 1940 respectively, of the purges that they helped create.⁴¹ Yezhov purged around 20,000 of Yagoda's men in 1937, and by 1939 Beria had had 150 of Yezhov's supporters shot, and his entire leadership group purged.^{42 43} Furthermore, members of the Politburo were routinely purged to maintain Stalin's position with powerful members of the Politburo, Bukharin, Kamenev, Yenukidze all met their demise after being found guilty in the Moscow Show Trials arranged by Yezhov; ironically Yezhov was also found guilty in another show trial in 1940.⁴⁴ Their deaths lined up with Stalin's belief that 'political bureau members should be replaced by new ones' once they have reached the end of their political life, as determined by Stalin himself.^{45 46 47} The brutality of Stalin's regime was revealed by Khrushchev in 1956 claiming that 98 people of 139 members and candidates of the central committee elected at the 17th Party Congress were purged by 1938.⁴⁸

³⁵ A. Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, pg. 667

³⁶ I. Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth' Image and Reality in the Third Reich*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987) Pg85

³⁷ S. Wheatcroft, *The Scale and Nature of German and Soviet Repressions and Mass Killings*, (Routledge, London, 1996) pg. 1327

³⁸ S.S Montefiore, *Stalin The Court of the Red Tsar*, (W&N Books, London, 2003) Pg. 134

³⁹ Slezkine, Y, *The House of Government: A Sage of the Russian Government*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017) pg 755

⁴⁰ R. Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society Enforcing Racial Policy 1933-1945*

⁴¹ R. Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* Pg. 179-181

⁴² R. Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* Pg. 179-181

⁴³ Ibid pg. 432

⁴⁴ N. Ezhov, *Nikolai Ezhov's Concluding Statement at Trial February 3 1940*, (Available at: <https://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furrgr/research/ezhovlastwords.html> 1940) (Cassinelli, 1960)

⁴⁵ S. Fitzpatrick, *On Stalin's Team The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2015) pg. 114-143

⁴⁶ N. Khrushchev, *Secret Speech: On the Cult of Personality and its consequences, Delivered at 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, (Available at: <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/115995.pdf?v=3c22b71b65bcbbe9fdfadead9419c995> , 1956)

⁴⁷ O. Figes, *The Whisperers Private Life in Stalin's Russia*, (Penguin Books, London, 2007) Pg. 237

⁴⁸ N. Khrushchev, *Secret Speech: On the Cult of Personality and its consequences, Delivered at 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

'The Foundation of Leninism' and 'Mein Kampf' both feature the worldly and political views of Stalin and Hitler, showing the grasp that they had of their own ideologies, and its methods. Stalin within the 'The Foundation of Leninism' affirmed his commitment to Leninism, and what it stood for. He wanted to take what Lenin had built and build upon it. Stalin used Lenin's work for the basis of 'The Foundations of Leninism', claiming that it wasn't surprising that Lenin became the leader of Marxist theory, and the international leader of the proletariat. Furthermore, Stalin claimed that the Party, was 'the party of Leninism', showing his commitment to Leninism.^{49 50} Hitler on the other hand, makes a commitment to Socialism within 'Mein Kampf' espousing socialist beliefs. Hitler believed that the 'first duty laid upon the state is to guarantee the economic well-being of the individual citizens' and that this only happened for the bourgeoisie.⁵¹ However, Hitler also supported nationalism, hence the term 'National Socialism', this influence on his ideological standing came from a commitment to an ethnically homogenous nation believing that 'it is almost inconceivable how such a mistake could be made to think that a Nigger or Chinaman will become a German' believing that this could lead to the process a bastardisation of Germany.⁵² Within 'The Foundation of Leninism' Stalin, reaffirmed his commitment to The Party. Stalin claimed that the 'opportunist theory of "independence" and "neutrality" was 'wholly incompatible' with Leninism, meaning that Leninism only allows the one mass party.⁵³ Stalin writes about the principal of the 'minority submitting to the majority' meaning that the party must submit to the people, and must work for them, as the Party is inseparable from the working class.⁵⁴ The consistent naming of The Party, as 'our' party, and the consistent use of the 'us' also suggests to readers /audience that it is indeed the party of the masses. Hitler considered the Nazi Party, the party of the disillusioned, the working class, and the German, and he believed that 'one single protagonist' should step up on behalf of all the people.⁵⁵ Hitler believed that Germany had lost its prestige, and power after the Treaty of Versailles, and that the centrist parties of the Weimar Republic had done nothing to address this, and that the Marxists were an obstacle, therefore; once success had been achieved via the electorate a majority mass in Parliament could restore a 'united front within the nation', a single mass party doing this.⁵⁶ However, ultimately Hitler saw the goal of the National Socialist Movement as 'supreme political power', and that its power must be utilised in a 'dictatorial way'.⁵⁷ Hitler believed that the most successful way to utilise the monopoly over communication and information is via school programs, and to teach children about their duty to their nation; and to give the intelligent children extra teaching to improve the quality of science, maths, etc for Germany. Hitler also saw the best way to disseminate information to the masses was via the media and purchased a paper for the working class to bring the working class into the Nazi fold.⁵⁸ Stalin saw the best way to utilise the Soviet monopoly on communication and information was to continue the

⁴⁹ J. Stalin, *The Foundation of Leninism – Introduction*, (Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1924/foundations-leninism/index.html>)1953

⁵⁰ J. Stalin, *The Foundation of Leninism – VIII The Party*

⁵¹ A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (Jaico, Mumbai, 1926) pg. 352

⁵² Ibid pg. 353

⁵³ J. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism – VIII The Party*

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pg. 300

⁵⁶ Ibid pg. 304

⁵⁷ Ibid pg.534

⁵⁸ A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pg. 527

indoctrination of the population through schools, and the media. However, the main aim of utilising this was to educate, and indoctrinate the proletariat.⁵⁹ This started with economic construction. Stalin supported Leninist idea such as the nationalising industry and regulating internal trade.⁶⁰ Furthermore Stalin expressed the view that industry must be linked with the peasant markets to build the foundations for a socialist economy.⁶¹ Hitler, followed the idea that the economy was to work for the benefit for the whole national community, and that people worked hard because of the freedoms afforded to them, not via coercion.⁶² Whilst Hitler did believe in a state managed economy, and was called a Keynesian before Keynes, the Nazi Party had primarily racial underpinnings, and only upon coming into power did it start to focus on economics.⁶³ In context, 'The Foundations of Leninism' lectures were given only months after Lenin's death, and to criticise the economic policy, would have been to criticise the father of the revolution. The NEP developed by Lenin in 1921, became the cornerstone of his economic policy, and to criticise this so soon after Lenin's death would have been political suicide for Stalin. Hitler is very clear about his deep rooted, visceral hatred of the Jews within 'Mein Kampf'. Hitler speaks of the racial superiority over the Aryan race other races and gives the view that races should keep to their own kind to maintain racial purity or risk the collapse of civilisations.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Hitler also established the 'Stormtroopers' to be the Nazi's militaristic order, to protect him, and the party on marches, and to defeat Communist in their strongholds across Germany.⁶⁵ Whilst Stalin is famed for his purges, they were something that were kept relatively secret, and the horror that the audience of the 20th Party Congress expressed in 1956 after the details of the purges were exposed by Khrushchev supports this. Purges never formed a part of the Leninist ideology, and were inspired by Kristallnacht. For Stalin to mention violence, and a terroristic system of control beyond the power of Lenin's Cheka would once again have been political suicide for Stalin, especially at a time when Lenin's successor hadn't successfully emerged yet, and at a time when Lenin had recently expressed his doubts regarding Stalin's potential premiership.

To conclude, both Stalin and Hitler, and their respective regimes were totalitarian. Whilst in their own words, and theories they were far off totalitarian they choose to omit certain beliefs that they held. Whilst Hitler does clearly demonstrate his deep visceral hatred of Jews, he omits his beliefs of imposing draconian policies against them within 'Mein Kampf', and Stalin completely neglects to mention his Machiavellian tendencies. Hitler and Stalin were both very intelligent men, and the omission of certain beliefs in their works is by no means a coincidence, they clearly mentioned beliefs that had some traction in society in order to further themselves. Both of these pieces of work had the desired affect: 'Foundation of Leninism' was a series of lectures in 1924 proclaiming Stalin's support of Lenin and his ideology, and within 5 years Stalin had manage to fully consolidate his control over the USSR. Mein Kampf made Hitler a millionaire by 1933, earning 1.2 Million Reichsmarks, enough money to fund The Nazi party, and its propaganda efforts, helping to

⁵⁹ J. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism – V The Peasant Question*

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ J. Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism – VII Strategy and Tactics*

⁶² A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pg. 536-7

⁶³ R.J. Overy, *The Nazi Economic Recovery 1932-38* pg. 1-2, 34-35

⁶⁴ A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Pg257/261

⁶⁵ Ibid pg490

ensure electoral victory in 1933.⁶⁶ Whilst words concealed the totalitarian attitudes of the two dictators their actions clearly did not; the leaders and their regimes clearly passed the test, holding each of the 5 criteria to qualify. Both clearly imposed an official state ideology, both clearly led mass single parties, both clearly held a monopoly over communication and information, both had a state planned and controlled economy, and both clearly ran terroristic systems of control. Whilst in some categories Stalin was more of a totalitarian than Hitler and vice versa, there is irrefutable evidence to support the claims that both were clear totalitarian leaders. Whilst their archetypes were slightly different, with Hitler being the father of the revolution, and Stalin the architect of a modernised Russia, both were able to firmly hold and dictate their nation however they pleased, showing the fluid doctrine associated with totalitarianism, and whilst Hitler did this with more assistance from his cabinet than Stalin did from his politburo, both exercised unbelievable amounts of control in comparison to their predecessors.

⁶⁶ BBC News, *Hitler dodged taxes, expert finds*, (Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4105683.stm> 2004)

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