

## THE COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM OR THE TOTAL DOMINATION OF THE PARTY - STATE

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**ABSTRACT.** THIS ARTICLE IS A SHORT PRESENTATION OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PHENOMENON OF TOTALITARIANISM. THE AUTHOR CAPTURES SOME ELEMENTS AND MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME, SPECIFIC TO THE COMMUNIST SOCIETY. THE CONSECRATED DESCRIPTIONS, SUCH AS ARE THOSE OF THE INTERNATIONALLY RENOWNED THEORIST IN THE PROBLEMATIC OF TOTALITARIANISM, **HANNAH ARENDT**, ARE ALTERNATED WITH ASPECTS OF NOVELTY CONCEPTUAL AND CONTENT INSPIRED BY THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM. THE ANALYSIS IS FOCUSED ON THE STUDY OF COMMUNIST TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY DOMINATED BY A UNIQUE TOTAL POWER. THE PARTY - STATE EMBODIES THE MAIN POLITICAL INSTRUMENT BY WHICH IS REALIZED THE TOTAL DOMINATION OVER SOCIETY AND WHICH ENSURES THE MAINTENANCE OF THE TOTALITARIAN POWER.

THROUGH THE VIOLENT CHARACTER AND REPRESSIVE, THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME IS DIFFERENT FROM ALL THE UNDEMOCRATIC REGIMES, THE TOTALITARIANISM IDENTIFYING WITH THE ASSEMBLY OF THE COERCIVE METHODS WHICH ENSURE THE DOMINATION, REPRESSION AND CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT.

**KEY WORDS:** TOTALITARIANISM, COMMUNISM, DOMINATION, PARTY-STATE, MANIPULATION, DISINFORMATION.

### Introduction

*"No harm on which the totalitarianism pretends to cure, it is not as bad as the totalitarianism itself "*, says the writer *Albert Camus*, an outstanding representative of French existentialism, philosopher of the absurd and revolt. The one who first used the term of totalitarianism was *Benito Mussolini* giving the term a propagandistic imperative sense: *"Everything in state nothing outside of state, nothing against the state."* This slogan expresses synthetically the programmatic intention of totalitarian regimes to subordinate the entire society through the state, to transform it into an instrument of total domination. If any state implies a report of domination, in the case of the totalitarian state it seeks obsessively the establishment of the total domination over the whole society. The concept, recognized by the international scientific community, it is introduced, to the mid of the last century, by German thinker *Hannah Arendt*, through the appearance of her important work

entitled *"The Origins of Totalitarianism"*, to define anti-democratic regimes of the XX<sup>th</sup> century (Fascism, Nazism, Communism), in which any sector of the social life and political, cultural, legal and economic activities, does not escape of the total control of state.

**The totalitarianism** represents a form of dictatorial political regime based on terror and the support of the masses mobilized by the party ideology, envisaging radical social changes and which requires a full control of the state and the outlawing of the opposition. The totalitarian government is identified with the party-state power, the only political party which subordinates in an authoritarian and brutal way all aspects of political, social and personal life of its citizens. The state authority is not genuine and legitimate one, to be recognized, and the state activity is subjected to a party leader, who is the supreme authority. The totalitarianism is distinguished from dictatorship and authoritarianism by the imposing of replacing all social and political institutions and the violence is organized widely by the repressive bodies that operate unimpeded by the law, leaving the impression of a "legitimacy" assured by "the will of the people."

*Lewis Henry Morgan*, a prestigious anthropologist, distinguishes in an evolutionist manner, the major stages of the mankind progress from primitive communism, close to natural state, and culminating with "*civitas*", political organization based on territory and property. Being in this point, "the anthropological research undertaken by Morgan was easily picked up by his great admirers, *Marx* and *Engels*, who have speculated on the theme of "natural" communism, initiating a new social organization, *the communism*, in which, finally, disappear social classes and state, a reflex of its inexistence in the primitive communism." [1]

At the level of the communist totalitarian society it is constituted a total unique power. This dominates both the political space itself, and all other areas of the social life. With total domination is tried to eliminate any other source of power that could occur. It operates so, from the beginning, the exclusion, on ideological criteria, of a part of society members from political life. The access to the unique power allows fusion and osmosis of the power elements, between the party and state, and leads to the formation of *state-party* system, the party controlling by multiple mechanisms, the state activity.

Among the "oddities of the totalitarian commitment", the famous writer *Hannah Arendt*, a German political theorist, recognized in the issue of totalitarianism, states from the four resorts of totalitarianism, and the domination, as social and political determinant factor. The author locates a project of domination with which the power tends to assimilate with the society up to the identification of the political leader with the people. "Thus, the dominance takes the classical form of total domination. (...) The Dictator domination gets total one, as says Arendt, when nobody longer opposes. Arendt demonstrates the diabolic ability of the totalitarian regime by permanent reinventing enemies, creating culprits and exterminating them." [2]

The concentration of the legislative, the executive and the judicial power in the hands of the same power apparatus, controlled by a totalitarian leader, enables total control of state and, thereby, the domination of the entire society. The existence at the level of communist states of some distinct institutions representing the three powers, is just an element of facade. Whatever the concrete forms in which it arises, it constitutes and remains in power, the party - state remains the main instrument by which one can achieve the total domination over society and which can ensure the maintenance of totalitarian

power. The totalitarian regimes have pursued the destruction of civil society, its integration into the single party system, the absolute dominance over any form of social organization and any activity. The way in which the totalitarian regimes impose their domination over social communication, is one of the characteristics of these regimes that distinguishes them from any other type of regime. The manipulating of information, the use of lies for political purposes, the disinformation, as well the censorship, are political means of the totalitarian communist state. What is new about the totalitarianism is a tendency to impose the total domination of political power on the entire process of social communication, to control any information which circulates in society and any channel by which it is transmitted, using a language called suggestively the "wooden language".

"The total control over communication is considered one of the main ways the total supervisory of the society and each individual. The social communication has three forms: interpersonal communication, institutional communication and mass communication." [3]

In the case of totalitarian regimes, the whole system of organizations and institutions, officially accepted, is subordinated to the party - state and have to support totalitarian power and to mobilize the members of society to achieve its objectives, eliminating any tendency of absconding or opposition. The permanent control over *mass media* from the unique party is absolutely. Publishers, printing houses, television, radio, cinema etc. are the state property in the communist countries and they are strictly controlled by the state, through its officials at various levels. Those who work in this field are selected, based on political criteria, integrated, most of them in the unique party organizations. Some of them are part of the *nomenclature*, with all arising therefrom benefits. Creators, who are not accepted by the regime, who do not want or can not comply with the imposed conditions, to become collaborators, the supporters of the regime, are taken out of the social circuit and values. The domination of the totalitarian power over social communication makes it take, more and more, the form of a continuous obsessive monologue, of the power. The dialogue between the rulers and the ruled doesn't exist, there is not desirable, nor acceptable. The totalitarian regimes use widely the disinformation in order to establish and maintain the dominance over the entire society. As it declares, these regimes give to propaganda a particular importance, being allocated significant human and material resources. It is not about, however, a simple propaganda, but a disinformation.

*Disinformation* or "*black propaganda*" is a set of ideological procedures brought into play intentionally to achieve the manipulation of persons, groups and the whole society, in order to divert their political and social behaviors, to dominate their thinking and control them effectively in everything they do.

For *Roger-Gérard Schwartzberg*, Minister of research in *Lionel Jospin* government, an ardent critic of political power, the state is also a show, the dominating action being a symbolic one: "As the show, politics has its machinists, to set the decors and make up the tricks. These technicians belong to a branch in full development, the industry to persuade, not to say political show business. The propaganda seems linked to authoritarianism and totalitarianism, in brief, a non-competitive political system." [4]

By extension, the society is a scene on which individuals and social groups play different roles, either standard or specialized, politics being an activity of an elite who exercises its domination by force or means of influence and propaganda meant to cultivate the attachment and voluntary conformation to power decisions. The manipulation, the dissimulation of intentions and sources, as well the fact that proposes, more than to

convince, the disorganization and reshaping the thinking of individuals, differentiates the disinformation from the simple propaganda.

The lie and mystification occupy a central place in the disinformation practiced effectively by totalitarian regimes in relation to the dominated.

Analyzing "the system lie" used by the communist regimes, *Piotr Wierzbicki* believes that there are three main types of lies to which resort these types of totalitarianism:

- ✓ lies in the sphere of concepts, arguments, modalities to approach the opponent;
- ✓ lies in the sphere of information;
- ✓ lies in the area of reality creation.

The first category aims to prevent, neutralize and invalidate criticisms from the opponents or neutral observers and involves "*three major operations based on false*" [5] : the cancellation of language, the cancellation of logic, the cancellation of reality. From the second category belong the contrivances, deformations, passing over in silence, ways of operate in false with half-truths. They distract from the facts considered as unfavorable. The power decides what population must know and what must not know. The purpose of the third category of lies is: "*to create in an unrestrictive manner the inexistent entities, and vice versa, to consider the existing entities as imaginary.*" [6]

*"The permanent lie becomes, just like the betrayal, the only harmless form of existence."* [7]

The false reports, the secretization, which operated at the system level, of institutionalized communication, have seriously affected the functioning of society in communism and continue in the present to affect the functioning of organizations and institutions, so-called democratic. The man who is subjected is the one which the totalitarian regimes want. The submission is also achieved through a kind of addiction favored and induced by power in relation to the media, which are of the propagandistic type. This submission should be desired, one voluntary. The communist regimes have put into practice a comprehensive system, so-called of reeducation, modeling and remodeling of personality in accordance with the interests and the human model on which they wanted at the level of the whole society. It is considered that by the ideological indoctrination it is offered to the individuals a sufficient basis for "the conscious discipline", for voluntary submission. The members of society had to consider the power, which acting in the name of this ideology, as legitimate and to obey absolutely. The induced confidence in this vast educational project does not make the power to lose sight of the strict supervision of each segment of social life and every individual even in the most intimate aspects of his life. Any contrary attitude involves threats and subsequently the recourse to repressive methods and terror. All these are considered educational and reeducation methods. The modeling of personality of "*the new man*", which the communist regimes pursue it frantically, should be seen in the context of the total domination over the individual. This is possible only by the existence of this total domination, in its programmed manifestation, support, and also, result. The continue reeducation of the members of the socialist society, held for decades, involving a vast bureaucracy and important resources, was based on some principles, goals, objectives and specific methods. All this involved the total vacuum of conscience freedom, the brainwashing, forgetting a "dangerous" past and the ideological indoctrination. The resocialization on political criteria, imposed by the communist regime, presupposes, first, a desocialising and removing any sources of influence which could prevent this political resocialization. By the destruction of the old society and the

imposition of new forms of social behavior, the communist regimes establish a new social context that puts its mark on personality. The ideological indoctrination means to perceive the world through the prism of a dogmatic framework of the official doctrine and to acquire oneself the images about world imposed by power. The ideological education wants to interiorize, at the individual level, these rigid frames and the vision of the social context on which the power considers useful to the instauration and maintaining of total domination.

By *ideologization*, the power wants to insert itself in each individual, to contaminate, to control, to dominate ultimately from its own interior. Having lost, in this way, individuality, the individual of the communist society becomes a perfect subject. When it is considered that he is a subject apparently voluntarily, it becomes much easier to manipulate and predictable. It is the way by which it is realized the acceptance of the political and state power, what we call the modern totalitarian voluntary servitude. The received ideological education is an exercise of submission, of depersonalization. This is done for the benefit of the communist state power through education, political education and propaganda and it is oriented, done and controlled by the government through an entire institutionalized apparatus. The school must contribute to the assimilation of ideology bases, the formation of ideological thinking, to form a view of the world in accordance with the ideological vision in state.

*The education* in and through collective aims at the deletion of the differences between individuals, it is accompanied by the integration of each in groups controlled by the power. Equalized, brought to the same condition, the members of society are, in their majority, engaged in "educational" collective labor. It is used most frequently the political slogan: "No work without bread, no bread without work" outlining and obligation of the work for the benefit of the communist state but a leveling of the precarious condition of the individual in society. The direct work remains the principal means by which the individual is used to benefit of the communist regime. It is a well-organized exploitation, forced and disguised. The patriotic enthusiasm and revolutionary impetus create the propitious framework of the accumulation of material values which it is considered to belong to everybody, but, in fact and in law, do not belong to anybody else. The relations between the members of a group should be mandatory socialist type relations, based on a new morality and ethics of group. The group has a primordial educational role in the formation, by politico-ideological education, civic considered, of "*the new man*", provided that it belongs to a group of working people. The work has a social character and it is the best method to eliminate the individualism and to impose the collectivism as an organized form and under control, which causes the accumulation of goods. The socialism and communism are against the exploitation but, in fact, at the level of the society set up a perfected and disguised form of a systematic exploitation that induces the idea of labor for the community or the people, equally false. The communist ideology is declared an ideology of the working class. Accepting is accepted the ideology and power that acts on its behalf and is legitimized by it. The socialist society is a society of working people therefore, the access to the social and political life should be given only to those who work, the communist propaganda imposes in an imperative and dull manner.

*The manipulation* constitutes a variant of persuasion that involves a clandestine character. The manipulation involves an unfair manner to abuse the trust of the individuals, refusing them to carefully examine the situation and take an independent decision, knowingly. Not as a last resort, the source of power resides in *fear*. In most of the time, the

manipulation is achieved by inducing a feeling of fear in front of a danger which may be nonexistent. The fear appears as a solution of power, that potentiates the availability of individuals or social groups to obey to a court political ruling, to representatives in the state power. It is the most accessible way through which the domination of the state is realized over citizens who have consented to ceding of their party of sovereignty in exchange for a assumed voluntary servitude but which is, actually, a forced one. The task of the power is not to make it disappear the inequalities, dissymmetry in society and political life nor to guarantee the eradication of the possible dangers that threatened the social individuals, but to create a framework in which the situation is controllable and the life of the group members to be supportable within certain limits.

The political power is defined by its effects, says *Georges Balandier*.

It protects a society from its own imperfections and excesses, it fights against the entropy, of the disturbing factors and the danger and disorder situations, protecting the society of any internal or external threats. People have always lived under the specter of terror.

*Georges Burdeau* emphasized that "*the societies are fearful*" and their representations about power are less redoubtable than the ones about such fears, imaginary or effectual. The political power, the same as the magic, represents a solution to "master" the uncontrollable. The human society today is not perfectly homogeneous, and the relationships between the individuals and groups that compose it are marked, not infrequently, of disputes and crises that must be overcome: "In a society without tensions and conflicts, the political power (either that it has or not the institutionalized form of the state) would have no reason to exist. If the social reports could be established on the basis of perfect reciprocity, the social equilibrium would impose automatically, and the power would be destined to perish. But there is nothing like it. A perfectly homogeneous society, in which the mutual relations between individuals and groups would eliminate any opposition and any rupture, it is impossible." [8]

The features that characterize a non-democratic regime are lack of the guarantee of the respect for the citizen rights, learning functions by those who hold the political power by force and not by electoral procedures, the exercise of power in an arbitrary manner and its loss by force, too. They are undemocratic regimes: the authoritarian regimes, the totalitarian regimes, the sultanian regimes and post-totalitarian regimes. "The nondemocratic authoritarian regimes are systems with limited political pluralism, in which the political class does not give account of the deeds committed, that are not based on a clearly articulated ideology, but they are characterized by specific mentality, where there are no basic political mobilization and at large scale, except for some moments in their development and in which a leader or sometimes small group exercises the power within limits poorly defined formally, but in fact rather predictable." [9]

### **Conclusion**

The totalitarianism involves a hypertrophy of state, that invades the civil society and brutally dominates it, a state that can not function normally and requires a change of the political regime. The totalitarianism, the majority of analysts are of the opinion, can not be reformed in the sense of its democratization, maintaining its essence. In this context, it is significant that the totalitarian regimes have tried to realize a total control over society, especially from the desire to know and to neutralize any form of opposition, which could imperil the achievement of their interests. "The total control" strategy did not work out, its

effect, respectively the increasing resistance of civil society, being a permanent opponent, who opposed to the system and eroded the totalitarianism foundations, having fully contributed to its removal. A pertinent analysis of the totalitarian phenomenon can not fail to take into account the reversibility of the totalitarian regime after an democratic interlude of post-communism type. The democracies do not represent, in all cases, the stable political regimes and irreplaceable. The transition to democracy can know, from case to case, from country to country, and residual aspects of the totalitarian regime, a type of democratic regime characteristic to the periphery of the democrat and liberal world system in which the freedom is the currency of exchange for justice. The totalitarianism is contemporary and remains, further, a phenomenon and an alternative of political regime, which must be disclosed in all aspects and stopped, through a common volition, to be repeated.

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