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**Program and
Principles of the
Revolutionary
Soviet
Communists
(Bolsheviks)**

Introduction

It is with an immense feeling of joy and Communist pride that we publish "The Program and Principles of the Revolutionary Soviet Communists (Bolsheviks)."

After many years of effective counter-revolutionary prevention (by the Soviet revisionist traitors) of any contact between the Marxist-Leninists within the Soviet Union and those Marxist-Leninist forces outside of the U.S.S.R., this forced isolation has at last been finally and decisively smashed.

Once again the authentic voice of Soviet Bolshevism resounds loud, vibrant and clear like that of the titans of Bolshevism, Lenin and Stalin.

One can almost touch the fear, the anger and frustration which the imperialists and the revisionists exhibit these days as a reaction to this historical breakthrough of the forces of the Revolution within the Soviet Union.

That fear, that anger and that frustration have a basis in reality and logic, and it is the awesome recognition on the part of the imperialist-revisionist cabal, that the heroic Russian proletariat that gave the world the greatest revolution—the October Revolution (1917)—is getting ready to erase all traces of history's most damaging counter-revolution, the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionists' treachery, which had its "official launching" at the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956).

If it were possible to imagine a greater fear in the cowardly hearts of the imperialists and the revisionists than the "horror" of the social and political reality of People's China, it is the fear of the revolutionary unity of the Chinese and the Soviet peoples, since that unity represents the historical prerequisite for the smashing of every reactionary force in the world today. So long as the Soviet revisionist traitors were able to prevent the voice of the authentic Soviet Marxist-Leninists from being heard, they and their imperialist partners could continue to feel, at least temporarily, secure.

Now that temporary "security" is gone. The continuators of Lenin and Stalin have once and for all completed the unification of the revolutionary forces, the Marxist-Leninist forces of the world, whose historical task is to deal the death blow to world imperialism and its handmaiden—modern revisionism.

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Section I. The Revisionist Leaders of the CPSU Operate Under A Facade of "Marxism"

The decisive moment in the evolution of the Communist movement is approaching. At this time, when each Communist Party must on its own make the historic decision to take either the revolutionary road of Marxism or the counter-revolutionary road of opportunism and revisionism, it is indispensable that the voice of their Soviet comrades be heard by all Marxist-Leninists of the world.

The opportunist policies contained in the decisions and declarations of the present Soviet leadership supposedly express the will of the masses of the Soviet people, but anyone who is at all familiar with the internal life of our country, anyone who has had even casual contact with the masses of our people and the rank-and-file members of our Party, cannot fail to understand that these decisions and declarations in no way express the convictions or the real aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people and the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the great majority of the Soviet people and the members of the Communist Party are absolutely and definitely opposed to them.

In their exposure of modern opportunism the Chinese and Albanian Communists have given proof of a most profound adherence to revolutionary principles as well as devotion and self-sacrifice. The documents of the Communist Party of China and those of the Albanian Party of Labour expose the path of class-collaboration and betrayals of the interests of the Socialist Revolution, upon which the leadership of the CPSU embarked after the death of Stalin.

In order that all the Marxist-Leninists of the world may become thoroughly acquainted

with the political position of the Soviet Marxist-Leninists, it is necessary for us to speak about those projections from our own concrete experience, thereby substantiating and concretizing what our Chinese and Albanian comrades have already stated. In the first place, we consider that our primary responsibility today is to reveal the causes which have brought about the existing contradiction between the leadership of the CPSU on the one hand and the masses of Soviet Communists and the Soviet people on the other.

Regardless of what disguise they use to cover up their reactionary line, the living reality of the social condition of Soviet life lays bare the reactionary policies of the opportunist leadership of the CPSU. This proves that the revisionist leadership has in fact usurped power and that they stand in opposition to the people.

We are well aware of the extreme difficulties that persons outside the Soviet Union encounter in grasping the complexities of the struggle which we, the Soviet people, are presently experiencing. But it is absolutely essential that this should be understood both from the practical as well as from the theoretical premise. What we are really struggling against is a phenomenon which represents in itself the "internal" danger which once again has emerged more threatening than ever to

the Communist movement, a phenomenon which will continue to menace us throughout the whole period of the transition from capitalism to Communism. Concrete knowledge of the line and tactics of the opportunists inside the Soviet Union will help in assessing even better the counter-revolutionary role being played by the Soviet revisionists in the international arena; will help to expose their hypocrisy concerning the revolutionary movements of the working class, the movements for national liberation, and their perversion of the concept of the struggle for peace.

We believe that it is simple enough to prove that the nub of the contradiction now existing in the Communist movement centers on the specific position taken around the question of the "cult of the personality." Each of the contending sectors (Marxist-Leninists and revisionists) consider their particular position to be the touchstone of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism. And that is quite logical, since this involves the question of the first historical experience with the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is obvious, then, that without clarifying this point the Communist movement will not be able to advance.

For a short period of time (right after the 20th Congress of the CPSU) the critics of the "cult of the personality" were able to deceive a considerable number of Communists due to the "sensational" character of their propaganda and seeming validity of their "denunciations." But even then the opportunists could not fool the most resolute and steeled proletarian fighters, for those comrades—in the first place the Communists of China and Al-

bania—pierced through the vile nature of the campaign of slanders launched by the leaders of the CPSU. Through the years intervening since the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956) a great deal of harm has been inflicted on the world Communist movement by the counter-revolutionary actions of the opportunist leadership of the CPSU. History has thoroughly exposed the anti-Marxist content of the opportunists' slogan of "struggle against the cult of the personality."

Note that the opportunists began by criticizing Stalin's "cult of the personality" and ended by criticizing Khrushchev's "cult of the personality." But the important question was not the fact of the criticism of Khrushchev whom the opportunists had praised and exalted as a "great Marxist" but the fact that they themselves were guilty of the same "crime" which they had charged against Stalin. This experience of the rise and fall of Khrushchev reveals the falsity and demagogy of the position of the opportunists, of their concept concerning the "cult of the personality" where in place of an objective explanation of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat they advance a subjective conception in which one man dominates a whole State. Only those who have lost all understanding of historical materialism could put forth such sophistry. Yet it is a fact that it was the gigantic personality of Stalin that lent a semblance of truth to the opportunist myth. In the final analysis, Khrushchev's history itself will discredit the opportunists. For it is clear that Khrushchev had no personal or individual merit whatsoever.

In the Soviet Union even

children are aware of this fact. It is no secret to anyone that the cult of Khrushchev was created (by dint of great effort) by his own henchmen. The social base of personal authority is manifested very clearly in this particular instance. For Marxists, the qualities of a leader are directly determined by the social environment of which he is but a part. And in this sense if we compare Stalin to Khrushchev there is indeed a lot that could be said.

But, insist the opportunists, it is a fact that for a long period Stalin was the most influential leader of the Soviet State and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and that hymns were sung to him. We have no intention whatsoever of denying these facts. How is it possible that people who call themselves Marxists could state that that was accidental, that that was in contradiction to the will of the Party and the people, and that the Party and the people fought for Socialism in opposition to Stalin and without him? Is it conceivable that a man who "had detached himself from all social groupings," who represented no social sector whatsoever, could merely by the force of his will and character, lead a [Communist] Party and a whole [Socialist] State by the nose for 30 years? The "theorists" of the "cult of the personality" who claim that it is possible for such an arbitrary and extraordinary event to occur without its generating any opposition whatsoever, themselves raise Stalin to the level of a superman, detach themselves from Marxism, and in fact become adherents of "the cult of the personality." According to these traitors to Marxism, the crystal-clear history of the class struggle which for 30 years guided the

Soviet people towards Socialism, loses all its great social significance and becomes a sort of Madrid palace mystery, full of dark intrigues, vile and disgusting, in which catastrophe breeds more catastrophe.

Such a picture as the opportunists present here could only be "created" in the mind of a petty bourgeois, for it is quite in character with the bourgeois intellectual who for centuries has strutted around displaying his individualism, and who consequently is always ready to explain the world in terms of his own subjective conceptions. But Marxists cannot accept petty bourgeois fables about the power of individual will, but instead explain social phenomena based on the class factors which give rise to such developments.

It should be stressed right here and now, that the need for such social analysis is openly accepted by the majority of Soviet Communists. Here, again, the impact of the Marxist training that Soviet Communists have undergone becomes quite evident. Immediately following the 20th Congress, at general meetings of the basic organizations of the CPSU, the masses of rank-and-file members of the Party demanded that the Central Committee make an objective, Marxist evaluation of Stalin's contributions. So insistent was this demand of the membership that the opportunist leadership of the CPSU was forced to resort to attacks and persecutions against many Party members and to disband quite a number of Party organizations which were noted for their militancy. Later on, in 1957, at Party meetings all those who were known to be critical of the decisions of the 20th Congress were forced to recant. But public

opinion, may even its very silence, was such a great threat because of its unequivocal expression of unity, that the opportunists had to resort to more forcible measures.

(2) Fitting their "humanism" against Stalin's "harshness," they released and "rehabilitated," without a single investigation, without a single juridical action, all those who had been imprisoned for opposing the Soviet State and gave them back their full rights as Soviet citizens. But as though that were not enough, a new general amnesty was proclaimed for the bandits who had repeatedly terrorized Soviet society in the past. All of this "humanitarian policy" was further dramatized by Khrushchev's staged meeting with one of those whitewashed criminals at which time all of those anti-Soviet elements were proclaimed to be "regenerated" and "honest." General indignation forced the official press to put a quick end to admiring descriptions of these "humanitarian acts." But so much filth had already muddied the waters that they remained turbid for some time. The social backwash and remnants of the old society contributed to and conditioned this development, for now after 40 years of having to conceal their reactionary opinions and feelings, the opportunity to openly display their hatred of the Socialist system and of the dictatorship of the proletariat was suddenly handed to them. The principal arena of struggle for these "old" bourgeois elements became the literary field. Logically enough, it was this same literary field that became the main base of operations from which the new putrid elements launched their counter-revolutionary attacks against Socialism.

The revisionists found it necessary to prop up their attacks against Stalin with pseudo-Marxist demagoguery. Any man who commits such errors as the opportunists ascribed to Stalin certainly could not be considered a Marxist-Leninist. Pressed by the need to "prove" Stalin's theories wrong, the opportunists and their ideologists have for over 10 years meticulously examined Stalin's works searching for theories, particular propositions, or specific projections which would show themselves to be in contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. They have searched and searched — but have found absolutely nothing.

For instance, they began by "criticizing" the chapter on philosophy in Stalin's short course "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)," and the best they could come out with was the claim that the number of specifics in dialectics which Stalin projected from No. 4 to No. 12 were not only difficult to apply but even hard to remember. Next they looked over with a critical eye Stalin's work on the "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." Finding nothing, they were forced to keep mum. They rejected Stalin's articles on the question of linguistics by simply "charging" that there were some exaggerations in them. This is how the opportunists have acted time after time with regard to all aspects of Stalin's theoretical contributions. But in the end the Lilliputians wound up at the feet of Gulliver.

The revisionists make the claim that the most important of Stalin's theses, upon which he based himself in all his actions — namely, the thesis that the class struggle is sharpening

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and taking more complicated forms under Socialism—has been disapproved. But let us for the moment set theory aside, Messrs. opportunists, and answer this question: How do you characterize the struggle which has burst forth in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death, one in which you yourselves are such active participants? Isn't this a concrete, specific form of the class struggle? Isn't the very sharpness of that struggle the best proof of Stalin's correctness? In answering these questions the opportunists have no choice but to agree with us or else make themselves the laughing stock of all Marxists.

Thus, if the advocates of the "cult of the personality" wish to assume a more or less serious attitude on that question and thus convince others of the correctness of their views, they must first explain the amazing circumstance as to how Stalin, who according to them had gone so far off course and committed such great errors in practice, nevertheless could still remain a sound Marxist in the realm of theory. For us such a contradiction is impossible, because we know that Stalin's actions have a logical explanation and justification. And if in the course of those actions any errors had been committed, then in a historical sense it would have been impossible for Stalin to have become aware of those errors or to have been able to correct them.

But the question still remains: Why have the revisionists adopted a position whose falsity is so glaring and obvious to everyone? Those who insist on a social analysis of the "cult of the personality" are taken to task by the revisionists who accuse them of trying to ascribe the "cult of

the personality" to the very nature of the Socialist State. But why all this rigmarole? Why couldn't any given aspect of Stalin's policies be explained on the basis of the concrete historical period in which Stalin functioned, and not on the basis of general and abstract concepts of Socialism? There is no doubt that the revisionists need the "cult of personality" gimmick to further their own selfish interests and to use it as a smokescreen behind which they can conceal their own vile deeds.

This conviction is reinforced by the fact that since Stalin's death more than a decade has passed during which time the revisionist leadership of the CPSU has tried to "prove" their own merits, not so much by what they themselves have accomplished, but by "criticizing" social gains within the Soviet Union that in fact have long ceased to exist.

In this connection Khrushchev's downfall explains many things. Everyone knows that that puny charlatan and buffoon only projected the political programs and economic measures that his clique handed down to him. Now the revisionists try to tell us that he, Khrushchev, alone is responsible for the failures of the "great decade." Thus, by placing the entire blame on Khrushchev, the leaders of the revisionist clique of the CPSU are using him as the sacrificial lamb to quiet down public opinion, as well as to conceal the sorry record which represents the balance sheet of the "collective" efforts of the Soviet revisionists. But instinctively sensing that this "explanation" cannot stand up well but on the contrary it will lead to quite dangerous consequences, the re-

visionists are now making great efforts to play down Khrushchev's downfall.

When one hears about comparisons being made between Stalin and Khrushchev, one cannot help recalling Marx when he said that history repeats itself twice, the first time in the form of tragedy, the second time

in the form of comedy. The history of Khrushchev is nothing more or less than a parody of the revisionist campaign of "denunciation" of Stalin's "cult of the personality": it reveals Khrushchev, the individual, as a mere buffoon and degenerate, and Stalin, the individual, as a leader and a great revolutionary thinker.

Section II: Stalin and Proletarian Democracy

If we were to sum up all the accusations which the opportunists have levelled against Stalin, they would all boil down to one main point—the so-called violation of proletarian democracy.

According to the opportunists, Stalin usurped State power and Party leadership and liquidated the best and most valuable cadres in the Party and State.

In their attacks against Stalin, the opportunists tried to pit "Lenin against Stalin," in the belief that that would be the best argument in their favor. And we agree that the comparison does in fact help, but with this difference—it helps to expose the revisionists themselves. "Incompatibility," "brutality," "dictatorial errors"—where does all this vocabulary come from? Are we quoting Pravda editorials these last few years which have been devoted to "the struggle against the cult of the personality?" No, these were common terms used by the opportunists to attack Lenin during the period of the Russian Revolution. Isn't the present leadership of the CPSU aware that the very same attacks they are now levelling against Stalin were also levelled against Lenin in an earlier period? Then what is it that has changed? According to the modern revisionists, Lenin apparently "agreed" with the concept

"One must not oppose evil with violence." In order to discredit Stalin's revolutionary tactics, a matter which has become of vital importance to them, the opportunists are forced to conveniently forget past history and to portray Lenin in an "exalted" role that suits their opportunist concepts perfectly. "We are Jacobins on the side of the proletariat"—those words of Lenin certainly must be well known by all those who now seek to present Lenin in the garb of Jesus Christ.

But is there a difference between the character of Lenin's actions and that of Stalin? Yes. In setting up a parallel between these two revolutionary leaders, the opportunists (in line with their bourgeois conception) attribute everything to the personal qualities of these two men. But it is clear that the actions of Lenin and Stalin as leaders of the Party and the State occurred in two different periods in the development of our Revolution, periods totally different from one another. The death of Lenin coincided approximately with the end of the offensive period of the European Revolution, so that the role of leader of the first proletarian State weighed upon Stalin's shoulders at the moment of its total isolation in the world arena. In conditions



Is there any need to translate what this old Soviet Red Guard was shouting in 1917? You can bet your boots it wasn't "peaceful coexistence"!

(3) where the assets of a broad base for the building of Socialism were lacking. Further, the break at the weakest link in the capitalist chain also represented a weakness in the Revolution itself. . . . a poorly developed country can easily lead the way, its adversary being rotten," wrote Lenin, "its bourgeoisie disorganized, but in order to advance, it must be a million times more vigilant, it must exercise a million times more care and patience. In Western Europe this development will differ in that there it is extremely difficult for it to begin but much easier for it to advance. . . . In a backward country where the revolution, due in large measure to the retardation of the country, will have broken out briefly and, of course, in relation to limited issues, naturally that revolution is inevitably destined to experience the most difficult and painful moments, and to have the most unsatisfactory immediate prospects." (Speech on the Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Power.) Therefore it is

(2) not at all surprising if in this critical situation the measures taken by the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin had an extreme and unusual character. The economic battlefront was almost more hazardous and in every way more complex than the problems of the civil war. *u*

In fact, the German Revolution did not contribute to the victory of the proletariat. On the contrary, it aided the victory of the bourgeoisie, and this put an end to hopes for the long-awaited direct revolutionary support from Europe. The NEP helped to rescue the country from hunger, but it could not solve the financial question posed by the need to build heavy machine industry, without which Socialism could not be achieved. Socialism had to be built based essentially upon internal effort. The material base of Socialist construction had to be agriculture. But the country's transition to that course was hindered by many difficulties, political as well as organizational. *yes*

Moreover, after the victory of

the Revolution, after its clear affirmation, agriculture was disorganized, uncontrolled, its resources distributed along the lines of private petty economy. On that foundation speculation flourished, infecting a sector of the proletariat with the selfish interests of the owner of private property—such was the danger that petty bourgeois spontaneity presented to the whole country. This was the real danger.

Only an organization of steel, only the greatest political clarity and the strict centralization and discipline of labor could save the Socialist Revolution under those critical conditions. Could all that be achieved by "democratic" means?

Exactly the same situation emerged on the plane of ideological struggle. We call attention to the fact that the possibility of the success of the proletarian revolution in Russia was assured when at a given moment the petty bourgeoisie, after having asserted the position of the middle bourgeoisie as useless for carrying out vital immediate tasks, tottered to the side of the proletarian, thoroughly aware of its own political impotence. Precisely "tottered" — that is Lenin's term. But like a feeble man who becomes strong in a moment of danger, and once the danger is past begins to boast about how he helped to achieve the victory, the petty bourgeoisie at the moment of the overthrow of tsarism and the big bourgeoisie immediately became both strong and reactionary. At the same time, because of its cowardice it understood the victory of Socialism only in terms of idyllic support of Russia by insurrectionary Europe. When hope of "world" revolution was lost, at the moment when it be-

came evident that Socialism would have to be built by the efforts of the Soviet people themselves, the last revolutionary spirit of the petty bourgeois ideologists died out without leaving a trace, and their links with the Bolsheviks were broken. Then significant and acute suspicions emerged. Walling cries were heard clamoring for the preservation of at least one sector from revolutionary conquest to serve as a base for capitulation to European imperialism. Accusations of "extremism" were leveled against the Bolsheviks—in short, that marked the beginning of the usual absurdities which are always and everywhere used by the petty bourgeoisie to camouflage its cowardice.

There is no question but that the best weapon for the petty bourgeoisie at that time was the demand for "democracy," the "right to speak to the masses." And we advise the opportunists of today to recall that it was not Stalin but Lenin who wrote at that time:

Lenin
When the Mensheviks set up a clamor about the 'Bonapartism' of the Bolsheviks (the apparatus, they say, relies on the troops against the will of 'democracy') they copy exactly the tactics of the bourgeoisie. . . . The bourgeoisie quite correctly bears in mind the fact that the genuine forces of the working class now consist of the mighty vanguard of that class "the Russian Communist Party which has by its deeds earned the role, the title, the authority of 'vanguard' of the only revolutionary class, not overnight, but in the course of 25 years), plus the elements which have been most weakened by becoming declass-

ed, and which are most prone to give way to Menshevik and anarchist vacillations . . . under the slogan of 'more faith in the strength of the working class' the influence of the Mensheviks and anarchists is being increased. Kronstadt in the spring of 1921 proved and demonstrated this in a most striking manner. . . . Our slogan: Down with the shouters! Down with the unconscious accomplices of the White Guard . . . take up businesslike practical work that will help to explain the peculiar features of the present situation and its tasks! We need not phrases but deeds!" New Times, Old Mistakes in New Guise)

Using this kind of cover to conceal their opportunist activities, the petty bourgeois ideologists attempted also to subvert internal Party democracy. We recall the innumerable discussions imposed on the Party by the Mensheviks and S.R.'s (Socialist Revolutionaries) at the most decisive moment in the Revolution, and the consequent waste of energy and precious time. Not Stalin but Lenin was the promoter of the famous decision of the 10th Party Congress which condemned all factions in the Party. And in a formal sense this was without doubt a violation of democracy.

(6) The situation which arose at the 15th Party Congress is particularly important in understanding how and why such great power was concentrated in the hands of Stalin. Reading the minutes of that Congress, one is amazed at the developments which took place there. The members of the opposition raised a clamor and demanded that a "democratic" attitude be adopted on their account, they

demanding a simple exchange of opinions, and all through the minutes of that Congress we find written the words "Down with the members of the opposition. Long live Stalin!" And the result in the end was not the defeat of proletarian democracy, but its affirmation. The Congress defended the revolution against the phrasemongering petty bourgeoisie. And the defender of that revolutionary cause was Stalin who for the first time raised the question of the building of Socialism in one country firmly and with absolute clarity, who formulated the historic resolution concerning the placing of agriculture on the rails of Socialist construction by overall collectivization, who led the industrialization of our country.

The Party and the people placed their confidence in Stalin. Is that same confidence possible in relation to the present leadership of the CPSU? Everyone who calls himself a Marxist understands that we regard democracy, like all social phenomena, in a historical and concrete manner. In its preliminary stage, proletarian democracy (especially in such a backward country as Russia) is expressed in the greatest possible centralization of power. The proletariat established that centralization of power in the face of mortal danger, in conditions of the most violent class struggle, for the same purpose that discipline is utilized on the military front. We ask — why shouldn't confidence be placed in a leader who holds in his hands the fate of the revolutionary army? It is clear that behind the mask of opportunist phrases concerning "democracy" is hidden petty bourgeois individualism and even the attempt to guarantee



Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, great theoretician and leader of the October Revolution as well as leader of the world working class

the possibility of desertion. He who wants to fight can do nothing without the leader. And since Stalin is not alive today, we will fight in the ranks led by Mao Tse-tung, and Enver Hoxha.

Now let us examine this question from the premise of the organization of labor. It is clear that at that level of economic development in Russia, the redistribution of labor was not only impossible without weakening the country, but that Russia's economic development was in itself at an extremely low level. The unhindered operation of State power, as one of the functions of social activity, assumed a special importance. And that was not a denial of democracy at all. The popular masses had consciously placed State power in the hands of representatives whom they themselves had elected, representatives who in the course of struggle had thoroughly proved their Marxist

mettle and their devotion to the cause of the people.

7 Lenin said we would have to pay for our ignorance in different ways. In this regard he projected the necessity of utilizing the old bourgeois specialists in the interests of the working class. But the payment for our ignorance had to take new, more complex forms, it seems. This can readily be observed if these things are considered concretely. Thus the Budyenyist of yesterday who became secretary of the Regional Committee of the Party cannot by himself decide on the general plan for solving political and economic problems. He said: "Give me the decree and I'll put it to work even if I have to use a gun to enforce it." The real power was legally concentrated in the hands of those who possessed the knowledge, the revolutionary experience and the authority. Was that correct from the standpoint

of abstract, Socialist ideals? Let us suppose it had been incorrect. But on this subject what guidelines from life could those who really wanted to put Socialism into practice have had? And precisely this type of circumstance (not only the hiring of the old bourgeois specialists) was the "payment" to the old order because of our general ignorance, the recoil from total Socialist equality, inevitable in the conditions of our cultural backwardness. The opportunists like to throw words around to depict opponents as being incapable of sound judgment. But what about the opportunists themselves, who cannot understand the logic of genuine social evolution? Besides, they want to be more holy than the Pope, more democratic than the popular masses themselves, who long before they became "democrats in office" had already decided the question as to whether it was necessary to have leaders for the war and whether those leaders should be obeyed.

The pseudo-Marxists are always ready to accept centralism in theory, but these traitors can never accept it in practice. To build Socialism with the human resources which we actually possessed, taking into account also the specific ideological level of society — that was what Illyich (Lenin) taught. The Bolsheviks, led by Stalin, simply concretized his teachings.

Of course it is not at all a question of the "crystalline purity" and the "saintliness" of the opportunists. After maintaining a posture of servility before the dictatorship of the proletariat for 10 years, all of a sudden they have found it possible to discuss its "merits and weaknesses," and they have discovered one of those "weak" points in the his-

tory of the Socialist society that was built. However, it makes no difference to us. In fact, all of us are made up of weak points, for we are but an expression of life itself. As for yourselves, you can feel very virtuous indeed, having emerged from the political tomb; old spinsters that you are, you can neither commit sins nor bear fruit.

The enemies of Marxism no doubt have difficulty in understanding that the so-called cult of the personality began at the very moment when Lenin's body was entombed in the mausoleum and Stalin took the oath over his grave. That is our point of departure. Messieurs the revisionists. How dare you violate that "cult" and that oath? Are you not the least worthy to pass judgment on Lenin? Yet you do pass such judgments every day and every hour. And this is precisely the crux of the matter. We pass judgment on Lenin and Stalin, but not in a hypocritical manner. We declare openly and without equivocation that the proletariat has its leaders, in whom reside the greatest hope of our class and of humanity in general, and our great love for our leaders in fact affirms that we have chosen the very best.

The oath sworn to Lenin marks the end of the offensive period of the Revolution. But the complexity of social contradictions does not eclipse the logic of revolutionary development. On the contrary, that logic is revealed to the masses in a direct and living manner. Leaders should be able to comprehend and explain that logic. One should be able to connect being confident in what has been achieved with confidence in the leader. We have pointed to the carrying through of the Revolution as a proof of greatness, and that is correct. That is also how

we judge the men who made Revolution. But consecration of the past inevitably leads to consecration of the present. Stalin understood this perfectly well and he always spoke of it in a precise manner: "Stalin is the banner."

Stalin's power, based upon the Party and people, rested solely on their acceptance of his qualities as a great thinker and great revolutionary, on their general confidence in him, for he continued to be the resolute continuator and disciple of Lenin even under the attacks of the rights and the "lefts," and of all the opportunists. To speak today of the "cult of the personality" of Stalin, whether it be called violation of democracy or ignorance of the will of the Party and people is to commit the gravest offense against the most sacred sentiments and aspirations of our people, an offense which could only be perpetrated by those who did not accompany us in our first advance toward Socialism, or by enemies of the Soviet State who could never forget the harsh blows dealt to them by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

And here we come to the question of Stalin's purges. Messieurs the opportunists, in attempting to hide the social roots of those purges, try to present Stalin as a person who, fearing opposition, arrested and executed everyone he thought to be a "man of independent spirit." There is no doubt but that such concepts could have only one source and could be of concern to only one group—the circle closest to Stalin. The opportunist clique claims to have first-hand knowledge of these purges due to the fact that they were Stalin's contemporaries. But this is

quite an absurd way to explain the purges against rank-and-file members of the Party with whom Stalin had no personal acquaintance. The revisionists also "admitted" that Stalin was not "cruel" or "inhuman," but they only took this conciliatory attitude in order to evade the necessity of dealing with the social base of those purges.

It is quite easy to understand a physical reaction resulting from a physical attack. But this question becomes much more complex in the class struggle, in which a particular political act may not have any direct result until many years later. To build industry in the Soviet Union wasn't it necessary to exert the greatest efforts and undergo the most incredible hardships? Wasn't Stalin right when he said: "That is what we must do or we will be crushed"? We think that the best answer to that question was given in the patriotic war by our armed forces, who carried in their hands the weapons forged by the Stalinist policy of industrialization. And it was precisely the policy of industrialization that the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s attempted to sabotage. They screamed that agriculture was being sacrificed to industry, but in actuality they wanted the Russian peasantry to submit to fascist enslavement. Stalin attacked the main body of petty bourgeois ideologists who hypocritically attempted to hide from the Bolsheviks. This was the meaning and significance of the "famous Moscow trials." Stalin in fact rid the Soviet Union of the "Fifth Column."

To better understand how much time and effort Stalin devoted to the problem of the evolution of fascism, we point out

✓ the fact that fascism as a social phenomenon was the direct reaction of the European bourgeoisie to the October Revolution.

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partist danger, and the Bonapartists—I had in mind Toukhatchev, among others—before everything else will settle accounts with their allies, their would-be inspirers, in accordance with the Napoleonic style." And besides, why didn't the opportunists make these facts known in rehabilitating Toukhatchev?

Even in the foreign press, anti-fascists wrote with concern and surprise about how during his trips to Berlin and other European capitals, Toukhatchev disparaged the strength of our Soviet Army and praised the fascist Wehrmacht to the skies, actions that were incomprehensible in a man who was a leader of the Soviet State—Major General of the Red Army. Why is it that the opportunists, who constantly brag about their "love of justice" conveniently forget that the Moscow trials were mainly directed against Trotsky who was living in a foreign country, whereas it was the execution of Toukhatchevski and his accomplices which ultimately annihilated the spirit of the "Judas of the Russian Revolution."

It is clear that the purges carried out up to 1934 by the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Stalinist dictatorship, were directed against the petty bourgeois opportunists who fought not only against the collectivization of agriculture, but against the policy of industrialization—in short, against the building of Socialism in our country. Could these elements even possibly act according to Lenin's teachings? Here is what Lenin says:

" . . . Let the Martovs, the Chernovs, the non-party philistines like them, beat their breasts and exclaim: 'I thank Thee, Lord, that I am not as one of

✓ It is impossible to listen to the opportunist leadership of the CPSU attempting to exonerate the traitorous Mensheviks and their ilk and trying to hide their direct ties with the German fascists. The opportunists take good care not to mention the name of Trotsky, for he had already shown himself to be one of the future Russian fuhrers. But persistent yelled talk designed to vindicate Bukharin began to circulate in Khrushchev's time. The importance that the opportunists attached to these rehabilitations is seen in another very clear example. Next they rehabilitated Toukhatchevsky, the real political fake, the very one Trotsky and Bukharin called a man of "Napoleonic mold." They say that Toukhatchevsky's documents, falsified by the German information services, were given to Benes, who gave them to Stalin. But why don't they show that Toukhatchevsky was judged not on the basis of espionage documents, but for his participation in the Trotskyite-Bukharinite conspiracy in which a group of individuals, high up in the Soviet military, with Toukhatchevsky at its head, was assigned as a special task force to take over Stalin's government by armed force. At the last Moscow trial this was discussed in detail not by representatives of the German information services but by Bukharin himself. This is what he stated, verbatim—"While it involved a military coup, by the very same logic a group of military conspirators had been given an exceptionally great responsibility . . . from this there arose a certain Bona-

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"these"; that I have never recognized, nor do I recognize, terror. These simpletons do not recognize terror' because they chose for themselves the role of servile accomplices of the Whiteguard in fooling the workers and peasants. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks 'do not recognize terror' because under the flag of 'socialism' they are fulfilling their function of placing the masses at the mercy of the Whiteguard terror. This was proved by the Kerensky regime and the Kornilov putsch in Russia, by the Kolchak regime in Siberia, by Menshevism in Georgia. It was proved by the heroes of the Second International and of the 'Two-and-a-Half' International in Finland, Hungary, Austria, Germany, Italy, England, etc. Let the flunkey accomplices of Whiteguard terror praise themselves for repudiating all terror. We shall speak the bitter but undoubted truth: in countries that are experiencing an unprecedented crisis, the collapse of old ties, and the intensification of the class struggle after the imperialist war of 1914-18—and such are all the countries of the world—terror cannot be dispensed with notwithstanding the hypocrites and phrasemongers. Either the Whiteguard, bourgeois terror of the American, British (Ireland), Italian (the fascists), German, Hungarian and other types, or Red proletarian terror. There is no middle course, no 'third' course, nor can there be." (Lenin, The Tax in Kind, pp. 52-53)

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But in Lenin's time, say the opportunists, there were few purges. That is true. In Lenin's time the struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution in Russia had not yet reached its final

phase. The decisive battle against the petty-bourgeois ideologists on the question of collectivization had yet to unfold. It was precisely in that struggle that they were decisively defeated by the Bolsheviks led by Stalin. And that was because the Russian peasantry proved itself to be more revolutionary than those ideologists could ever conceive.

Today this is once again a vital question and deserves special attention. Ever since the question of collectivization was first raised, the masses of Soviet-Russian peasants, who have experienced three Revolutions and who have learned through concrete experience to put their faith in the Bolsheviks, have been aware that the peasantry tends to divide into two strata.

It is a fact that the Russian Kulaks never achieved any significant degree of strength (and this is the reason why the present-day crop of opportunists seize hold of this fact to deny the possibility of the existence of a Kulak class in our country today), nevertheless the incompatibility of those bourgeois embryos with the Soviet power demonstrated clearly to the masses of the peasantry that indeed there were some among them who would more than welcome the development of agriculture based on private property.

That is precisely why collectivization, which was so vitally needed, developed even faster than was anticipated under the most favorable conditions, and this despite the fact that certain Soviet functionaries deliberately slowed down the pace of collectivization. Party directives and government decrees on collectivization were openly disre-

garded and in many cases actually sabotaged. The end result was that the overwhelming majority of the Russian peasantry joined the Kolkhozes and refused to pay the slightest heed to the Menshevik and S.R. counter-revolutionary slogan of "collectivization through insurrection." Thus the peasantry embraced the Revolution wholeheartedly. But the "educated" petty-bourgeois ideologists could not do the same, for they were the living embodiment not only of the extreme individualism which is a feature of the peasantry as a social class, but of the weaknesses which existed within the proletariat as well. Thus the liquidation of the petty-bourgeois ideologists was carried out in the interest of both the proletariat and peasantry.

"Well," the opportunists will say, "since we are striving to vindicate Bukharin, and erect a monument to Toukhatchev, we are not going to do a lot of criticizing of Stalin and the purges he carried out up to 1937. But how do you explain the purges committed in 1937? There is nothing in Lenin that justifies those purges." But the opportunists have no reason for cackling at all, since their efforts to use Lenin against Stalin has constantly boomeranged. And this time, too, it will be Lenin that will destroy them.

To understand the class content of the political and legal prosecutions of 1937 it is only necessary to pose the question: What class was the target of those purges? The proletarian class? No. Just certain persons close to the proletariat who occupied high positions, since the workers themselves were not involved in any attempted crimes against the Soviet state. How could they have been the

target? As a matter of fact, the purges in a large measure demonstrated the class character of their origin. This explains why many persons who had been high functionaries during the Czarist regime "chose" during that period to work in factories, and that is precisely what saved them. Then was it perchance the peasantry that suffered the brunt of the political and legal purges of 1937? No, that was not the case either, and if there still are some segments of the peasantry which retain painful memories, those memories are connected with 1929 when they were exposed as Kulaks. Is it true that the purges generally did not exhibit any class direction nor express any class content? It is precisely this type of thinking which the opportunist ideologists are trying to sell. That is why they are attempting to portray Stalin as a schizophrenic—as an "explanation" for the purges. But this only proves how mentally deficient the opportunists themselves are.

The purges of 1937 were, socially speaking, directed in a very specific manner. They were aimed at the existing bureaucratic apparatus, against the remnants of the exploiting classes and one sector of the intelligentsia. It is absolutely clear now why these sectors have been attacking the "cult of the personality" with such ferocity, and also why our workers show such an "amazing" attachment (to use a phrase of the opportunists) to the memory of Stalin. Messrs. the opportunists with their megalomania berate us and speak of "our slavish nature," saying that our people need to be ruled by tsars. But, as we see it, the whole question is quite simple. All that this proves is that it is just an ex-

pression of the class instinct of the proletarian masses. Once before the fisherman [the masses of the workers] hoped that the "old bureaucrats" would be liquidated, and today, once again, they are awaiting the elimination of the new bureaucrats. As everyone knows, Stalin did a splendid job of getting rid of the old bureaucrats. That is why the masses of the people feel that Stalin belongs to them, that he represents the will of the people.

But the question is raised: Were the purges really necessary? Basing themselves on the internal situation in our country, the opportunists gave a negative answer. In this way they conveniently closed their eyes to the fact—useless to them—that in the West fascism was growing like a menacing dark cloud, and that the fascists had openly declared that they were planning to attack the Soviet Union. The opportunists, who remember all the humiliations which Stalin had forced them to undergo, have lapses of memory when it comes to history, and they conveniently "forgot" the fact that in 1936-1937 the war danger was particularly great. On the very threshold of war in which the Imperialists attempted to pit Hitler Germany against the Soviet Union—was it or was it not necessary to purge the fear of all vacillating and dangerous elements? The answer has been given by the Vlasovs in Russia, by the Benders in the Ukraine, by the avengers of the Crimea who were not executed in 1937.

Should we believe the opportunists when they affirm that in 1937 people who did not exist were shot? The opportunists were particularly aggrieved and concerned for what they termed the liquidation of the "cream" of

the Party and State apparatus. In order to make crystal-clear the demagogic content of this accusation, let us turn to Lenin:

John "Why do we do these absurd things? The reason is clear: firstly, because ours is a backward country; secondly, education in our country is at the lowest level; and thirdly, because we are receiving no assistance. Not a single civilized state is helping us. On the contrary, they are all working against us. Fourthly, owing to our state apparatus. We took over the old state apparatus, and this was unfortunate for us. Very often the state apparatus works against us. In 1917, after we captured power, the situation was that the apparatus sabotaged us. This frightened us very much and we pleaded with the state officials: 'Please come back.' They all came back, but this was unfortunate for us." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. X, p. 330).

The main difficulty resided in the fact that the problem was not limited solely to the struggle against the backwardness of the practices of the old State apparatus. Soon enough the reactionary vestiges began to give off its foul smell in the form of a "new bureaucracy" which sprang up in the new environment. Thus, bureaucracy has become an obstacle to the Revolution, a most dangerous enemy of the Revolution.

The number of bureaucrats of the capitalist type in our country is not limited solely to the species directly related to the old classes, to the old State apparatus. Conditions were such that even Communists who did not possess the necessary revolutionary stamina to sustain them through such a complex situation were drawn into the re-

actionary vortex of the bureaucratic paractices. Therefore, the Leninist method of dealing with the bureaucrats demanded that it be applied even more firmly and forcefully to the Communists who had degenerated. This is our answer to the question: Was Stalin right in proceeding with the cleansing of the bureaucratic apparatus during the period of his leadership, and especially during that period where the threat of war was imminent?

Opposition to Stalin's policies could only be expressed by offering partial "criticism" to those policies, could only relate to the "correctness or incorrectness" of particular decisions. Nevertheless, the main purpose and aim of the opportunists was and remains the rejection of Stalin's policies in toto and in principle. They have rehabilitated all those who more than once were made to feel the hand of Stalin. The counter-revolutionary bands who participated in the punitive expedition of 1905, the degenerates who stole money from the people, the German police agents, all these decadent and lumpen elements are called "martyrs" by the modern opportunists today. All, literally and figuratively, have received the accolade of the "great Marxist Khrushchev," and as in the past they enthusiastically give the modern opportunists the credit for their "liberation." It is not all surprising that access to the archives of the Ministry of the Interior was forbidden without the personal authorization of Khrushchev. Obviously, that "great champion of justice" feared to make public those documents which he claimed were forged. His successors pursue the same aim and mission and seek to put forward even more

monstrous accusations against Stalin than the ones invented by Khrushchev, but they have not succeeded.

Were there, in fact, any innocent victims in the course of the purges? We think there could have been and there were such victims. But where did the fault lie? In the first place, the responsibility falls mainly on the shoulders of the bureaucracy itself. It could be categorically stated that events in 1937 were determined by the fact that the State apparatus of that period was extremely bureaucratic and thus the struggle against bureaucracy and against petty bourgeois tendencies themselves were inevitable carried out in a bureaucratic manner. Messrs. the intellectuals denounced, slandered, took their revenge, gave false testimony . . . often against those who were honest and faithful. And today it is these same vermin who feign to mourn over "trampled humanism."

Stalin's political honesty and correct attitude in connection with those excesses can be seen by the fact that his own Commissar of Internal Affairs, Yejev, was executed during the purges. It should be understood that Stalin only had that bureaucratic apparatus to function with and that he could not exceed the limits of its procedures and practices.

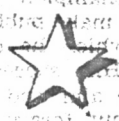
But who would dare to accuse the dictatorship of the proletariat of persecutions? Forty centuries of human history have shown how the oppressors have murdered, pillaged, tortured and brutalized the oppressed. For forty centuries the oppressors tried to stamp out every spark of consciousness of the oppressed and deprive them of all rights. And when the oppressed finally

secured power under the most difficult conditions of a general blockade, with no preparation, without experience, with not even the most elementary material resources, under threat of devastation by war—when they are forced to build their own society under such conditions, the demand is made that they accomplish that task without a single error with "kid gloves" to be sure. Such a demand could have only one source—the oppressors, the bourgeoisie who after their unexpected defeat have become the champions of humanitarianism and pure morality. If errors have been made by Soviet power, you are the least to be depended upon to help correct them. Men are the revisionists. Our sons are ready at any moment to sacrifice their lives for the Soviet power, and we assure you that the moment that they grasp the full significance of your treacherous actions, you will certainly have your hands full.

If one were to give a general definition of Stalinism, then one would say that it represents the nature of the mission of the proletariat, that it is the totality of the methods used by the dictatorship of the proletariat to build the foundations of Socialism in the conditions in existence in a country of small peasants. Finding itself in fact on an economic terrain which is hostile to it, in conditions which daily breed capitalism in an ever-widening scope, the proletariat can only put its dictatorship into motion by utilizing any and every means at its disposal and by tremendous sacrifices. The struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in Russia has had a particularly violent character, and has been accompanied by certain inevit-

able errors. There is no doubt but that these painful experiences will greatly aid and facilitate the tasks of the working class in other countries under similar conditions. These experiences will also serve to prevent the development of the situation which now exists in the Soviet Union. It is a fact that the growth of bureaucratism has gradually formed a bureaucratic sector which divides the revolutionary center from the people and prevents them from functioning in complete harmony. While setting up and consolidating the State apparatus and thus carrying out a vital historical task, one which has guaranteed our economic successes in the course of building the foundations of Socialism, Stalin had to do two things at the same time—use the bureaucratic apparatus and fight against it simultaneously. This explains the reason why it was impossible for him to defeat the bureaucracy decisively. Stalin perceived how bureaucratism continued to grow even while he mercilessly hit at it and the new forms which it engendered. In his efforts to achieve revolutionary purity, at no time did he put blind faith in those around him (and, as we have shown, for this he had ample reason).

(Only Molotov proved that he was Stalin's worthy companion-in-arms). Stalin's personality is indeed historical and sacred. Stalin appears in history as a model for revolutionaries, as a mentor for the wavering, as a terror for the class enemy.



General definition
Stalinism

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Section III. The Domination of the Bureaucracy

Stalin's death untied the hands of the bureaucracy. A minority had followed Stalin's line, kept faith with the Socialist State and wholeheartedly served it, considering that to be their sole duty. A large sector, which had been pursuing its own selfish ends for some time, saw after Stalin's death the possibility of being "liberated" from proletarian control in general and from centralized leadership which dealt constant blows against selfish elements in the bureaucracy. This element readily grasped at the opportunity offered by Stalin's death to further pursue its deviation through more "liberal" forms of popular power and away from the revolutionary road of Socialism. But could the bureaucracy openly proclaim its domination without carrying out an immediate coup in our country? Certainly not. To entrench themselves within the organs of State power, the bureaucracy had to claim that it was following the correct path, in other words, not only that it was true to revolutionary ideals, but that it was even more devoted to Soviet power than Stalin himself. The opportunists had to present their "liberation" from "Stalinist domination" as the "liberation" of all the Soviet people from that "domination." Of course it was not a simple trick to carry out such a maneuver—first, because from the very beginning the working class of the Soviet Union refuted all the inventions of the opportunists and adopted a thoroughly antagonistic attitude towards them, and second, because one sector of the Party and State leadership (Molotov, Malenkov, etc.), faithful to the dictatorship of the proletariat, resisted the bureaucracy.

Since the bureaucracy represented the embodiment of the centralization of power, it had to attribute its own glaring weaknesses to Stalin and thus

divert from itself the criticism of the Soviet workers. For if Stalin "erred," then it was necessary to firmly renounce the methods of the "cult of the personality"—such had to be their logic. But bureaucrats never try to change their own habits and proverbial stupidity. That is precisely why, at the same time that they "annihilate" the "cult of the personality" in theory, in practice they treat with exceptional irritation and scorn any practical measure for democratization and the limitation of their power. Obviously the methods of the "cult of the personality" are not Stalin's methods at all but those of the bureaucracy itself, which in Stalin's time poisoned Soviet life, and after Stalin's death stifle and persecute all that is living, active, and truly Soviet.

In fact, the "cult of the personality," if we speak of this phrase, is a simple repetition (probably the highest repetition) of the cult of the bureaucracy, in which each representative is a "personality" in his bureau. The opportunists make of the "cult of the personality" the pretext for bureaucracy, when it is nothing but the result of bureaucracy. It is precisely the bureaucrats who are trampling under foot the love the people bear for Stalin by transforming it into a ritual—a mechanical thing—for that facilitates their demand for a similar attitude to be taken by the people towards themselves. While praising Stalin to the skies in public, the bureaucrats hiss and grind their teeth among themselves. They

hate Stalin because he was the main support of the Socialist State, marrow and bone of the people, while they are nothing but the excretion of the State. It is not at all surprising then that the bureaucrats are forced to present their intentions in regard to Stalin under "humanitarian" and "democratic" forms. Under the guise of "criticizing" Stalin, the bureaucrats spew forth their hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which they served in the past only because Stalin forced them to.

H } Can the usurpation of power by the bureaucracy and the struggle against it be considered a manifestation of the class struggle? The opportunists in general deny the existence of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, but it is obvious that for them to speak of class struggle would be dangerous, when they are playing a counter-revolutionary role. It simply would not fit their game. This question merits a careful and thorough analysis.

The bureaucratic class policy of the Soviet bureaucracy is clearly seen in the fact that their first step was the official elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course that was done under the pretext that the dictatorship of the proletariat "was no longer necessary" in the Soviet Union. The opportunists counterpose the concepts of "the State of the whole people" and "the party of the whole people" to the Marxist-Leninist concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party of the proletariat. Therefore, when they speak of "the State of the whole people" and "the party of the whole people" they only assert that that "State" and that "party" are led by "leaders," namely bureaucrats, who repre-

sent not the working class but themselves alone.

Let us consider the question of the Soviet bureaucrats in regard to elections. Can a real election take place in our country today? An election involving all the people, an election not just from the top (the bourgeois way), but down below (the democratic way)? The bureaucrats dominate every aspect of the social and political life of the entire country. The people cannot get rid of them even though they want to. But the bureaucracy can get rid of any functionary of the Party or government apparatus if he is honest or devoted to the people's interests. Look at the trappings of our bureaucrats—their cars and their villas. When attention is drawn to these things, they set up scornful clamorings about the "vulgarization of Marxism," "deviation from principle," "material interests" and "Stalinism." Today the bureaucrats have been transferred from servants of the Soviet State power to the masters of the present State apparatus.

The opportunist leadership of the CPSU and the whole Soviet bureaucracy have projected a "program" for the "building of Communism" in the Soviet Union. The reason why the Soviet bureaucrats projected such a "goal" could be easily seen in the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat has already been eliminated under the "promise" of the future "building of Communism." It suffices to examine these projections closely to understand what this "program" and this "building" means not in words but in facts and deeds. Reading the opportunist "program" one is not at all surprised to find that it is completely devoid of sense and full of demagoguery. It speaks of the construc-

tion of "gardens," "nurseries," "parks," and "public swimming baths," it speaks of the "restoration of democracy," but it contains not one word of analysis of reality, which is the only point of departure such concrete projections could have. Nor does it contain any reference whatsoever to the fundamental question of the road we must take. We can understand the opportunists' rage at the mere mention of the need for such a declaration.

The bureaucracy has made demagoguery the main vehicle of their well-being and comfort. The people instinctively sense the real state of affairs, and they understand that bureaucrats acquire special prerogatives and privileges without waiting for the advent of Communism.

The opportunists boast about the "glittering achievements" of the U.S.S.R. about the "conquest of space," about the "development of atomic energy," etc. Are all these achievements the result of their "leadership"? Aren't those accomplishments the result of the seeds sown by Stalin? Aren't those successes the result of our progress in the past? To claim accomplishments is easy. The reason the opportunists could speak about "their successes" is precisely because of the absence of any failures in the past.

When our daily life is observed closely, can anyone doubt the total degeneration of the bureaucracy and the complete elimination of all forms of Socialist life and Socialist consciousness? The complete lack of enthusiasm among the masses, the total indifference in regard to work, the fact which Socialist life has become, the domination of selfish interests, the wiping out

of all that is living, real, clean—that is the balance-sheet of the domination of the bureaucracy. One must have lost all conscience, reason and imagination, every memory of the Revolution and Bolshevism, and finally, be completely bought off to see all this and deny that fact.

What "service to the people," and what "link to the masses" can the bureaucrats speak of when more than once they have shot striking workers? All the efforts of the opportunists are designed to ensnare the Soviet people, to corrupt our youth, to falsify revolutionary history by deliberately ignoring and even suppressing the fact that its essence consists in the affirmation of Bolshevism which represents the most complex and advanced culture of the proletarian revolution. The opportunists revise Bolshevism, they brand all its manifestations with the mark of "dogmatism" and "Talmudism," thus avenging themselves on Bolshevism because once they prostrated themselves before it, in the past, and because of the stark fear of it that they still feel today. The mask of traditional Bolshevik greatness must be torn off from this clique by the exposure of their pseudo-Marxist phraseology and demagogic promises. And then we will see before us nothing else but the sullen petty-bourgeois, egotistical, insatiable and cowardly. The Soviet bureaucrats are not a real bourgeoisie. Specific Socialist conditions have prevented this. They are a ridiculous caricature of the bourgeoisie, they are nothing but a petty bourgeoisie attuned to the ideology of the bourgeoisie and acting in its interests. That is why they try with all their might to emulate the mode of life of "the West." Hiding their

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servility behind grandiloquent phrases which gush forth in a constant torrent, and railing and ranting against the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint which they characterize as "dogmatism" and "gross orthodoxy," the Soviet bureaucrats have become thoroughly corrupt and have bit by bit surrendered themselves to the degenerate atmosphere of the bourgeois, whom they love so well that they ape their manners, their clothes, and use their "works of art" as household decorations. And the phrase "use their works of art as household decorations" is not meant as a figure of speech at all. The bureaucrats are prevented from going beyond the limits of Soviet respectability in public but in their private gatherings they give free rein to their real sentiments. There, they shed all links to Soviet principles. In their private conversations the bureaucrats surround their tortured souls with the filth spewed out by the dregs of the bourgeois world and enjoy watching films which due to their corrupt nature have been actually banned in bourgeois Europe. It is precisely these conditions that serve as a social and political background for the emergence of open traitors to the motherland of the ilk of Penkovski.

Dogmatism
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Did dogmatism exist in Stalin's time? Yes, it did. We answer this way without the slightest hesitation. Dogmatism was the inevitable and logical result of the effort to lift the masses to a higher level of political consciousness, a level of political consciousness which would permit them to assimilate Marxist theory. We assimilate in a dogmatic manner and yet are fully armed the instant that we assimilate Marxism. Objectivity and creativity only come with

the mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory. This is what happens in the domain of dialectical thought. Such is the process that all individuals pass through in order to reach a rational understanding of society. Thus the initial dogmatist tendency must be surmounted, but not by the elimination of Marxism-Leninism as the revisionists do in order to replace it with bourgeois "freedom of opinion." Of course the bourgeois are "free" in their thoughts, precisely because they are devoid of both principle and reason.

But we cannot state that the revisionists are unacquainted with Marxism. The tragedy-comedy of their position lies in the fact that the only way they can maintain their existence is by repeating Marxist phrases. They are kept alive by reading the very book that contains their own death sentence. Is it at all surprising that the revisionists strive to distort what they read in that book, in order to lessen the impact of that sentence? Making a cynical display of their unbounded ignorance, they attempt to shackle Marxism hand and foot in order to blunt the "sharp edges," and thus adapt it to their counter-revolutionary aims. In our opinion the revisionists are enemies of the working class and, more than that, a most dangerous enemy, because they wear the uniform of the "Revolution." Hence in the heat of the class battles they can be mistaken for friends, causing the masses to put their trust in them and to receive a stab in the back as payment for that trust.





Joseph V. Stalin, Lenin's most devoted disciple and continuator. Led the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Section IV. The Soviet Opportunists in the World Arena

I. Internally, inside the Soviet Union, opportunism has led to the abandonment of the Socialist road and to disruption of Socialist society, externally, in the world area its consequences are even more serious and dangerous. In conditions in which particular national detachments of Communists are in different stages of development, many not yet having gone beyond the stage of the Stalin period or even reached it, the fraudulent criticisms of Stalin's genius made by the revisionists have done tremendous harm to the Communist movement. These "criticisms" have armed all the wavering petty-bourgeois

elements who, in different ways are fleeing from revolutionary discipline, from reliance on Party unity and mobility, without which a Communist cannot be a Communist. The counter-revolutionary actions of the opportunist leadership of the CPSU have opened the way to boundless demagoguery and betrayal in the ranks of the Communist Parties, to bartering everything that is most noble and sacred in Communism—its truth and its ideological purity. Nowadays by simply making accusations of "Stalinism," any charlatan, hypocrite or bankrupt egoist is able to escape the responsibility of submitting to rev-

olutionary leadership and control. "Criticism" of Stalin's "cult of the personality" has become the greatest political fraud within the Communist movements of the world. Its purpose and aim is to leave its special detachment "without authority."

In dealing with modern revisionism in the world arena we must examine its influence not only on the internal organization of the Communist movement but also on the international policy of the Marxist-Leninists. We stated previously that the "theory" of the opportunists has no weight, since it distorts reality. But for their desertion of revolutionary ideals, for their abandonment of revolutionary actions in the international arena they have found a "solid" rationale--and that is, the so-called struggle for peace.

When an abstract choice between war and peace is projected, every normal person will choose peace without any hesitation. Trading on this natural and very strong feeling, the opportunists attempt to present a picture in which they appear to be for peace without question or condition, while their adversaries appear to advocate a policy in which, under the perspective of general annihilation, they will insist on "building Communism on a atomic ruins." etc. Khrushchev once brazenly declared "Peace at all costs." And the modern revisionists echo the peace fraud and say: "We are threatened by atomic war, above everything let us guarantee the existence of humanity. Everything else is secondary." Thus the impression is created that the maintenance of peace and the elimination of war in the relations between peoples is essentially a question independent of

the class struggle, and that it can be resolved divorced from social problems in general. The decision of the UN on the settlement of conflicts between States by "peaceful means," the "prohibition of atomic arms," "general and total disarmament"--that is the "plan" for the "establishment of eternal peace in the world." is in fact the plan adopted and defended by the modern revisionists. One must have fallen from the moon to adopt such a "plan," which is tantamount to asking the imperialists to agree with "reasonable proposals." One might just as well ask the imperialists to liquidate their overseas bases and colonial armies, which unquestionably would bring about the immediate loss of all their influence in the world and guarantee the triumph of a series of national liberation and proletarian revolutions. Or one might ask--why don't the imperialists consent to being disarmed, which would immediately lead to the end of their class domination and their wealth? One could not have learned Marxism and come up with such stupid questions. We are also told that the imperialists are not only fighting against the proletariat but are impelled to fight against each other for their bestial aims. That is true. But this fact also cannot be dealt with in a subjective manner. In a personal sense, some capitalists might not be insatiable, they might not want to expand their riches. But the guarantee of ever greater profits is a necessary condition of their existence. If everything depended solely on the personal qualities of capitalists, we think we would make them understand reason (as the revisionists seek to). But the personal qualities of indi-

victual capitalists have nothing to do with imperialist policies. On the contrary, those qualities are themselves determined by internal factors. War is not the result of anyone's personal will, but an economic necessity under capitalism. The internal contradictions of the capitalist system compel the capitalist States to hurl themselves upon one another, the crisis of overproduction necessitates an outlet for the productive forces of capitalist society, and those forces, being unplanned, take the form of production of arms. War is the inevitable outcome of social relations in the capitalist world. To speak of the establishment of peace on the basis of a general agreement with the capitalists is the same as saying that the capitalist system can be eradicated by an agreement with its representatives. The complete idiocy of such a plan is clearly evident. That is precisely the reason why, in defending their conception of peace, the modern revisionists try by every means to create among the peoples the impression that indeed successes have been achieved in the "struggle" for disarmament. That is why they have openly betrayed the interests of the peoples by signing the so-called agreement on the prohibition of atomic tests in three spheres. On the basis of that "agreement," the Soviet Union has been deprived of the possibility of continuing with atomic tests in general, while the U.S.A. has reserved that possibility, the prohibition not extending to underground experiments, which the U.S.A. can and is conducting. Indeed, no enemy could be more dangerous than the modern revisionists.

Only the opportunists fail to

understand that to project peace as the fundamental and principal task of the international Communist movement means total surrender to the class enemy. It means utter capitulation, since the imperialists thus acquire the possibility of utilizing the threat of war to attain their objectives in all specific political and international questions. According to the revisionists, in order to "save humanity" we must be ready to make unlimited concessions to the class enemy. The logical outcome of such a so-called humanitarian road could only be that the totality of mankind must bow down and become slaves under the imperialist yoke.

"It is a lie," say the opportunists, "we do not intend to retreat that far." Then how far do you intend to retreat, messieurs? In other words you mean you cannot agree that the struggle for peace has a limit for all those who refuse to buy peace at the price of slavery. So it is not at all a question that the "leadership" of the CPSU is on the side of peace while the Marxist-Leninists of China and Albania are on the side of war. The truth is that the modern revisionists and the Marxist-Leninists have two fundamentally different conceptions of the importance and significance of the struggle for peace in the program and practice of Marxist-Leninists.

We declare: Yes, war is terrible and a consistent struggle must be waged to eradicate it completely from the life of humanity. But one can struggle against war and be consistent in this struggle in different ways. War can be seen as a "thing-in-itself," in isolation, which is how the bourgeois pacifists fight against war," and this in

H } fact is also the conception of the modern revisionists. It is obvious that the "struggle for peace" represents in itself a bourgeois-democratic current which attempts to liquidate one of the greatest evils of the capitalist system—war—without in any way attacking the essence of that system. As can be seen, the resulting concrete attitude of this petty bourgeois "movement for peace" is a glaring inconsistency. To really fight against war in a rational manner, it is necessary to fight against the source and basis of the war in the present world. That source and basis is imperialism. In other words, Marxist-Leninists cannot project the question of war and peace isolated from the class struggle. The question of war and peace is but one aspect of the general struggle for Socialism. "We do not deny that," say the opportunists. Then how can you project the struggle for the result (the "struggle for peace") as the general line of the Communist movement in place of the struggle against the source of war (the struggle for Socialism)?

The logic of the opportunists is characterized by an unenviable simplicity: "The Socialist countries occupy the leading position in the Communist movement; their most important revolutionary task, according to Lenin, was to strengthen their economy; therefore, the economic development of the Socialist countries must be the principal objective to which all the interests of world Communism must be subordinated." Now it becomes quite clear why "peace at any price" has become the main pillar of the policy of the modern revisionists. Now it is not at all difficult to expose the basis of all that opportunistic logic.

The Socialist countries consider the world Communist movement as one indivisible whole. "The working class of the U.S.S.R.," said Stalin at the 17th Congress of the CP (B) of the Soviet Union — "is part of the world proletariat, its vanguard; and our republic is the cherished child of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that had our working class not been supported by the working classes in the capitalist countries, it would not have been able to retain power; it would not have secured the conditions for Socialist construction—and, hence, would not have achieved the successes that it has achieved. . . . But this imposes a very serious duty upon us. This means that we must prove by our work that we deserve the honorable title of shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. It imposes upon us the duty of working better and fighting better for the final victory of Socialism in our country, for the victory of Socialism in all countries." (Report to the 17th Congress of the CPSU (B) on the Work of the Central Committee, pp. 129-130) There can be no doubt that this obligation also applies to the Socialist camp as a whole. Only by orienting itself in all its actions and plans on the foundation of the development of the world Communist movement, only by taking into account its general interests can the Socialist countries fulfill their true historic mission and carry out a correct revolutionary policy. However, from their very first steps the Soviet revisionists have insisted on their hegemony over the whole international Communist movement. And they use their possession of atomic arms as another argument in support of their leading position.

We repeat. The aims of the proletariat cannot be sought for in the context of the "struggle for peace" further from the moment that the "struggle for peace" was projected by the Soviet revisionists as the fundamental line of the world Communist movement. It came into direct collision with the class struggle itself. When the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries place the "struggle for peace" as their main and principal task, they lose their revolutionary class character, merge with the "peace advocates" current in their country and become bourgeois-democratic in nature. The application of such a policy means that for it to be consistent, all actions even remotely firm and revolutionary must be abandoned in order not to be in conflict internally with the other "peace advocates"—with the representatives of the petty, middle and big bourgeoisie whose interests are diametrically opposed to revolutionary overthrow. In fact, whenever the bourgeoisie senses the possibility of such an overthrow, does it not begin to seek an outlet in war, in the days of the emergence of the period of war, in military victories which permit it to fatten the working class thanks to its plundered booty, and in the worst cases, in aggressive military intervention? We are not simply discussing our own subjective thoughts in this regard, but the history of tsarist Russia. No lectures or declarations on "peace" can halt the development of such events. According to the opportunists, in order not to "push" the bourgeoisie towards war, the workers must renounce their revolutionary struggles and, in fact, revolution itself. If the opportunists "struggle for peace" is not re-

jected, but if, on the contrary it is projected as the general line of the Communist movement, then the path which has been chosen is the path of the counter-revolution.

Successful revolutionary and anti-colonialist uprisings always result in foreign intervention, intervention by the bourgeoisie of the world. The history of Soviet Russia in the past, the fate of South Vietnam and the Congo today constitute ample proof of this fact. In the popular reaction to foreign intervention, revolution is transformed into a peoples' war against a foreign power or powers. "We support just wars and reject wars of plunder," say the modern revisionists, trying to pose as Marxist-Leninists. But in that case, then, what general line on the "struggle for peace" do they project for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries? For those parties the only general line that should be projected is class struggle against the capitalists internally including armed struggle, and revolutionary struggle against foreign intervention, especially aimed against their own country.

"The workers of the capitalist countries need peace also," affirm the modern revisionists. They emit hysterical shrieks concerning "atomic death" and, filled with animal fear, lose every vestige of human dignity. But who is it that fears such threats? Is it those who are today dying of hunger and disease by the millions in the capitalist and dependent countries? Only the cynicism characteristic of opportunists could lead anyone to preach to those dying of hunger that their foremost duty lies in the "struggle for peace" and not in revolution. Is it the intent of the opportunists to tel-



This old Soviet cartoon dated back in 1917 exposes the criminal role played by the Kосygin and Brezhnev of Lenin's time within the Soviet Union.

ify the partisans of South Vietnam and the insurgents of the Congo or their women and children with threats of the "day of judgment"? For the partisans of South Vietnam and the insurgents of the Congo the hour of judgment arrived a long time ago and it is evident in the deep anger of their people. Do they expect their tortures to be eliminated immediately by a world-wide clash between the forces of capitalism and Socialism? They see no difference whatsoever between death by napalm bombs or death by atomic bombs. Of course it is a fact that not all the oppressed peoples are yet convinced that it is better to die standing than to live on their knees. However, all of them are moving forward in that direction, that is the direction of

their evolution. The consequences and dangers of atomic war should not alter in any way the general line of the Communist movement in regards to the Socialist Revolution.

The fate of the Socialist camp and that of world peace are indissolubly linked to the evolution of the international revolutionary movement. A real contradiction has emerged today among the Communist Parties of the Socialist and the capitalist countries precisely because since having usurped power in the Soviet Union, the modern revisionists have not been at all concerned with the revolutionary perspectives of the Socialist countries. As a matter of fact, they look on their own existence purely from the petty-bourgeois point of view. It is for this same reason also that the opportunists seek to transform the world Communist movement from the foundation and source of the revolutionary strength of the Socialist countries into the docile appendage of the Soviet revisionists in the "struggle for peace." In exactly the same way that the opportunists have attempted to profit from their historically determined positions inside the Soviet Union to entrench themselves to the detriment of their people, they are trying to establish an analogous relationship in the world arena by subordinating the interests of the Communist Parties and of the masses of workers in the capitalist countries to their own selfish interests.

It is not difficult to understand that in order to put into practice the international general line of the Communist Parties, it is necessary to rely on the whole of the world working class, indeed on the whole of the masses of workers and toilers in

the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the advanced capitalist countries it is necessary to rely solely on the most impoverished sectors of the working class and peasantry. But we note that in practice there has recently been an opportunistic abandonment of this fundamental and basic class principle by the Communist Parties of the biggest capitalist countries. The European Communists, for example, have tried to rationalize this abandonment by saying that the safeguarding of Marxist principles has resulted in a marked decrease in their ranks. Isn't that very argument an attempt to justify opportunist betrayal? Is such a situation really a symptom of Communist weakness? On the eve of the October Revolution there was a moment when the number of Bolsheviks diminished considerably. Can it be said that Lenin made any compromises or concessions in order to augment the number of Bolshevik Party members? No, never! Did that prevent the Bolsheviks from seizing power at the decisive moment, or the whole of Russia from becoming Bolshevikized so to speak in the space of a few days?

Not at all. For dozens of years without a single let-up the Communist Parties of Asia and Latin America have fought to overcome superhuman obstacles and have made tremendous sacrifices in order to carry out the most basic Marxist propaganda tasks. Are the European Communists going to sell out Marxism-Leninism today for a mess of pottage and petty bourgeois "glory"? Will the Communists renounce the unity of all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism? No, that will not happen. But it is necessary to achieve that unity not

alienated from Marxism-Leninism, not by uniting with the petty bourgeoisie, but by hard work and patience, on the basis of real facts, by proving the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of class relations and of Marxist-Leninist policies. Of course this method of organizing the masses is much more complex, difficult and time-consuming than trading on their prejudices and momentary tendencies. But history cannot be deceived; it will follow its course based upon the force of strict necessity. That is why Lenin said that the only correct policy is the policy based on principle.

Facts show that today embryos of the future real Communist Parties are being formed within the European Parties. Although now they are only groups, there is no doubt that they will grow and detach themselves from the opportunist majority to place themselves at the head of the revolutionary movement in their own country. Their future success is guaranteed by the fact that today the proletariat in the biggest capitalist countries is rapidly becoming revolutionized. But in many cases the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are still represented by the opportunists. One can hardly keep from laughing when listening to the modern revisionists' boasts about their "success in increasing the number of Party members." If they rounded out their program with the thesis that the first Communist was Jesus Christ, then at least they might have a real possibility of recruiting the Pope! The fact that the French and Italian Parties, competing for influence and for the augmentation of their memberships, have long ago passed the limits permitted by Marxism-Leninism, shows clear-

ly their attitude towards the bourgeois intelligentsia. We will be accused of dogmatism. If that is because we remember the lessons of revolutionary history, then we are quite ready to admit that we are dogmatists. We also recall the struggle of the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party on the question of who should be a Party member. The question then was: Should the Party be an organization of professional proletarian revolutionaries, or a tavern for intellectual babblers for whom adherence to or resignation from a party, in their spiritually tormented life history, is only a moment which fills up the intervals between their fancy for some fashionable philosophical theory and a sentimental intrigue.

Only in Parties like the French and Italian Parties, in which the petty-bourgeois tendency to compromise has decisively extinguished real revolutionary aspirations, could the absurd illusion of "peaceful" transition from capitalism to Socialism be born. And if, by some chance, State power were to pass into the hands of such a party, which in its class composition and nature constitutes a heterogeneous mixture, such a situation would not at all mean the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a party would advance toward disintegration, chaos and destruction under the sharp blows of the counter-revolutionaries. And the workers who would have followed the opportunists would pay for such a "victory" with countless victims: To be sure this is a variant of "victory"—it is the road of the open collaboration with the capitalists. But in the Communist movement the opportunists have

not yet been stripped of the "Marxist-Leninist" clothing which conceals their bourgeois skin, thus they try to put over "peaceful" transition as a true advance toward Socialism.

Defending their concept of "peaceful" transition the opportunists invoke Lenin who in June 1917 had spoken of the possibility of such a transition of power into the hands of the proletariat. But the possibility remained only a possibility. It is significant that history has never yet recorded a single instance in which actual conditions for "peaceful" transition could be found. Indeed, referring to the rapidity of the initial seizure of power by the proletariat, the modern revisionists even attempt, to a certain extent, to adapt the October Revolution itself to their "theory" of "peaceful" transition. That is nothing but a fairy tale. In the first place, the overthrow of October 1917 was so to speak a bloodless overthrow not because of any orientation towards a peaceful solution of the class conflict not because of the use of "peaceful" means, but because the proletarian forces outside of Petrograd were much bigger than the forces of the bourgeoisie, because the whole of the Baltic fleet was on the side of the Bolsheviks and all the artillery of the Petro Pavlov fortress which had passed over to the side of the proletariat was trained on the Winter Palace. Besides, in October 1917 the power of the proletariat had hardly been proclaimed, whereas the real battle between exploited and exploiters lasted four consecutive years on the civil war front. It is that bloody epic precisely that the opportunists propose to view as a "peaceful" transition of power into the hands of the proletariat.

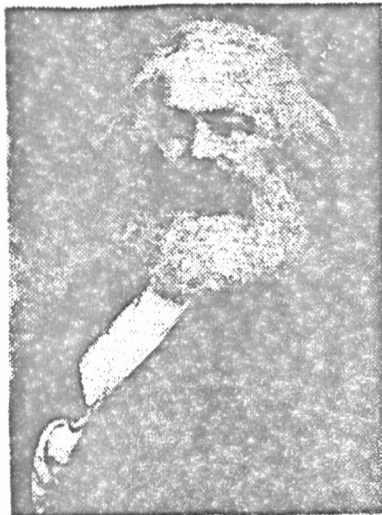
The opportunists refer to the "peaceful" transition of power from the hands of the bourgeoisie into the hands of the proletariat in the Eastern European countries after the [second world] war. But the opportunists intentionally ignore the fact that that transition was the result of the Soviet Union's victory in that war, and the result of the fact that the bourgeoisie of those countries were disarmed.

Today we can clearly gauge how the "struggle for peace" is actually in conflict with the revolutionary liberation struggle when the opportunists make the "struggle for peace" their main aim. The fate of Lumumba proves this better than anything else could. Instead of supporting the revolutionary struggle of the Congolese people and helping them to overcome petty-bourgeois liberal illusions, the "leaders" of the CPSU pushed the Congo by every means possible towards "the solution of problems through the UN," the so-called peaceful road, promising Lumumba success through reliance on that [American imperialist - dominated] organization. That revisionist treachery demoralized Lumumba's partisans and helped the imperialists to establish in the Congo the external control of the UN, and to kidnap and murder Lumumba with the aid of mercenaries. That is how the "struggle for peace" is revealed as the general line of the opportunists. The proof lies in the fact that Khrushchev's hands are smeared with the blood of Lumumba.

Another clear example of how the imperialists rely on the "struggle for peace" in their attacks against the revolutionary liberation movement is the pres-

ent situation in Vietnam. Today the American imperialists are attempting to attribute to North Vietnam the victories won by the partisans of South Vietnam and under threat of war between the two camps are trying hard to force the South Vietnamese people to renounce their fight for liberation. Meanwhile the imperialists are placing their hopes on the brittle strength of the modern revisionists, counting on them to apply pressure on the revolutionaries. Naturally such a situation, including the bombing provocations against North Vietnam, could not have been possible if the Soviet "leaders" had followed even a slightly resolute policy, if they had had the least degree of world prestige. They spit in one's face and then say it is Heaven-sent dew, Russian brand. It is only thus that the "declarations" made by the opportunists on paper, where they take refuge in "ultimatums" and "counter-measures," can be understood. Those "declarations" only serve to strengthen still further the imperialist bandits' desire to violate the frontiers of the Socialist camp.

During the development of social contradictions the imperialists always advance towards war while the workers always move towards revolution. The danger of revolution increases even more the efforts which the imperialists make in order to escape, by means of war, from the historical impasse into which they have been forced. Does this mean that the workers must renounce revolution? The modern revisionists' answer is—"yes," while the answer of the Marxist-Leninists is—"no." It is impossible to detach oneself from the development of objective contradictions which reflect the evolution of human history. The



Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—greatest thinkers of mankind

development and extension of the revolutionary movement, while accentuating the subjective designs of the imperialists for war, at the same time raises the objective possibility of the unleashing of that war. To fail to understand the dialectics of this process today means to renounce Communism, to renounce revolution.

In attempting to impose the "struggle for peace" as the general line of the world Communist movement, the opportunists strive to create the impression that "peace" can be secured by entering into unstable and deceptive agreements with the imperialists to the detriment of real peace and the development of the revolutionary movement. By disarming the masses and the Communist Parties, by weakening the military potential of the Socialist countries, the modern revisionists are not only contributing to the threat of worldwide thermonuclear war, but are themselves in fact driving to-

wards that war.

Is there indeed a means of putting an end to the atomic blackmail of the imperialists, to their monstrous teetering on the brink of thermonuclear war, is there a means of snatching the atomic weapons out of their hands? Yes, there is. What is it? Discussions, petitions, demonstrations, etc.? No, none of these can convince the imperialists. There is only one way to make them give up their atomic blackmail — confrontation. The opportunists try to create panic concerning "the danger of thermonuclear war," but they ignore a very simple fact: if the imperialists were really able to start a general war, they would have done it long ago. They would have started it yesterday, they would start it today, this minute, because for a long time now their situation has demanded that they use all their forces, means and possibilities. Finding themselves on top of the volcano of revolution they feel this earth

burning under their feet. Would they hesitate for a single moment to wipe millions of people from the face of the earth when they have tortured and murdered many more than that by their class and national oppression? What holds them back is the realization that they themselves will be eliminated forever. The imperialists are under no circumstances capable of being out-dance by imaginary considerations, a trifle for which they might be admired at the moment of their exit. And they would never go beyond that limit unless the opportunists were acting to disarm the revolutionary army of the world proletariat and to sap the military strength of the Socialist camp. By their weakness and flabbiness the modern revisionists are themselves inflaming the arrogance of the imperialists; the opportunists brandish their rockets with great abandon, but when the conflict takes on importance as a matter involving principles, they beat a retreat, covering themselves and their allies with shame.

We hold that the important question is not that the imperialists must respect the Soviet Union, but that they must respect the rights of all the peoples of the world. And the Soviet working class supports us as one man. If the Soviet Union has been dishonored in any country or for any reason, it is not the Soviet workers who are responsible but the Soviet revisionists. The Soviet working class has proved its revolutionary devotion by its 50 years of struggle. Cowardice prevents the

modern revisionists from seeing the real meaning of atomic blackmail. The opportunists are exploiting that blackmail for their own selfish ends.— That is most clearly seen in their break with China. Under the guise of preparing for "atomic defense" the Soviet revisionists are showing a film depicting "the horrors of atomic attack" all over the Soviet Union. They are trying to sow an atomic psychosis in the Socialist countries in an attempt to intimidate the masses. They are trying to create a situation in which those who want to openly struggle against them would be labeled "supporters of atomic war" and thus prevent those forces from being heard. The opportunists actually take a very active part in the policy of atomic blackmail by supporting it in every way possible.

The capitalist serpent cannot undertake a battle to the death with Socialism because it is being ripped apart by its own internal contradictions. It is attempting to strengthen itself by means of all sorts of pacts and alliances in every corner of the world, but it is all in vain. In its blind rage this serpent is devouring everything within its reach—small nations, peaceful women and children, as in South Vietnam and the Congo. We have no intentions of preaching about exalted human virtues, but one must have lost all sense of honor to fail to oppose this monster, to fail to step on its throat and tear out its terrible sting—atomic arms.



dition — namely, by the proletariat's capacity to attract to itself the democratic masses of the peasantry in order to detach them from the bourgeoisie and to organize them in revolutionary struggle. The most important aspect of this problem today is the attitude of the Socialist countries towards the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the same time we should not impose on them our Communist propaganda, just as Lenin never imposed it on the masses of the peasantry in Russia. The peoples who are liberating themselves must be convinced by their own experience of the necessity for Socialist development. That is not to say that Communists can forget the class principle and base themselves on momentary expediences

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are on the road of liberation, are in contradiction with the largest capitalist States, and have themselves become the arena of sharpest struggle between the popular democratic and bourgeois tendencies. The Marxist-Leninists should have no illusions whatsoever in regards to this question. In those countries, as was the case earlier in Russia, it is easy to begin the revolution but more difficult to carry it through. Knowledge of this fact will also help us to appreciate more correctly the perspectives of the revolutionary movement in the biggest capitalist countries. We do not need to deal here with the task which must be carried out in the citadels of capitalism. The more the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America rid themselves of political and economic dependence on the imperialist powers, and especially as the American, European and Australian imperialists

feel the earth shaking under their feet, the more the imperialist countries will be overcome by internal contradictions, and the more will the development of the revolutionary movement within the big capitalist countries be advanced. It can now be said that the end of the economic power which the capitalist countries have known since the second world war is in sight. The tremendous wave of strikes which are rumbling in the capitalist countries are but harbingers of the revolutionary storms that lie ahead. The Marxist-Leninists of Europe, America and Australia must get ready to place themselves at the head of the revolutionary upsurge, and to that end must purge their ranks of the opportunists and take whatever organizational form is required. It is precisely such Parties as the Communist Party of Australia led by Comrade Hill which will lead the workers of the capitalist countries in the revolutionary battles which lie ahead. Right now the proletariat of the big capitalist powers have more difficulties in moving into struggle than do the popular masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but when those working classes stand erect, the final hour of capitalist domination will have struck. That is precisely why the Marxist-Leninists of the capitalist countries should look courageously to the future, fully understanding their great historic mission. For as difficult as it may be today for them to develop and to follow a consistent revolutionary policy, and as powerful as the opportunists who surround them on all sides may appear to be, to that degree is the significance and glory of the task which devolves upon them greater than ever before, and so also will be the importance of

their victory.

Turning now to the perspectives of the world revolutionary movement, we can state that they are greater than ever before. We live in an epoch in which, as Molotov said, all roads lead to Communism. More or less rapidly, all currents of the revolutionary movement are merging into one tremendous torrent. No matter how difficult the ordeals may be through which the Marxist-Leninists must pass, and despite the internal contradictions and crises which will be encountered, the direction and outcome of the struggle cannot be changed one iota. Contradictions need not be feared, without them there can be no development. Crises need not be feared: their positives and negatives are the two fists of history by the aid of which our road ahead will be hewed out.

Does this mean that we do not have to learn how to make our actions rational and aimed directly towards our goal, or how our revolutionary energies can be expanded in a rational manner so as to be consistent in our solution of problems of principle? It is precisely now, when we must prepare ourselves for the final conflict with capitalism, that the revolutionary forces must become as hard as a fist and subordinate their subjective interests to a single goal and a single will. Our Chinese and Albanian comrades are often reproached these days for "not understanding the role of the Soviet Union." But it was Mao Tse-tung precisely who, at meetings held in Moscow, specifically proposed to emphasize the leading position of the land of the Soviets in the world Communist movement. The Marxist-Leninists are doing everything possible in this respect but there

is a limit to everything. From the moment that the authority and the material and ideological influence of the Soviet State was transformed absolutely and totally into a weapon for the affirmation of revisionism in the Communist movement, the disengagement of all true revolutionaries from the present leadership of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics became inevitable, a harsh necessity. There was a time when the Russian Revolution, at the cost of innumerable losses, alone held the field of battle for the proletarians of all countries and when, at the beginning of the 20th century, it held high the banner of great revolutionary battles. Today the international Communist movement must come to the aid of the Russian Revolution and help the Soviet State. All that is required is the frank excommunication of the revisionist leaders of the CPSU from the ranks of Communism, the unqualified demand for their removal from leadership. Such a demand would be proof of the tremendous force and development of the world Communist movement. It would be welcomed by the workers of the Soviet Union as an act of revolutionary solidarity, because the Soviet people have always looked upon the Soviet Union as the first citadel of the Communist International.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the isolation of the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from the ranks of the Communist Parties would also render them completely powerless inside the Soviet Union. In fact, the revisionist clique of the U.S.S.R. remains on its feet only because, although our people are completely aware of the egoistical and rotten nature of the So-



"There is such a party!" V. I. Lenin's interjection
at the First Congress of Workers' and Soldiers'
Deputies, June 1917

Drawing by E. Kibrik

viet bureaucrats. they have not yet understood the question from a class point of view, they do not yet understand the need to pursue the struggle without mercy to the end. To infuse this consciousness in them it is necessary to place the revisionists in a catastrophic situation, for in a country like the U.S.S.R. they could not remain in power for even one hour by force of arms. But do the objective conditions necessary for the overthrow of the revisionists in fact exist in the U.S.S.R.? The Marxist-Leninists in other countries do not know intimately the

feelings and life of the Soviet workers and by judging the state of public opinion on the basis of press reports alone, could overestimate the strength of the revisionists (for example, the significance of the petty-bourgeois nonsense which fills our literature). The Marxist-Leninists of other countries must understand that all that represents is just scum floating on the surface. No matter how often it rises, it can nevertheless decide nothing. The fate of the U.S.S.R. rests in the hands of the Soviet workers and peasants, in the hands of the millions of rank and file Communists, and they

will pledge their word. It is necessary to keep in mind that the "criticism" made of Stalin by the revisionists was a bull's eye shot and has won temporary victory for the revisionists, for it aimed directly at the pure conceptions and at the honesty of our people, at the very qualities which in the past had carried them to such heights of revolutionary heroism and through such great ordeals. Even in present conditions the working class of the Soviet Union is not shaken and has not fallen into the trap of revisionist provocation. Its hatred for the revisionists has no bounds and only the lack of a concrete program of action leave it unarmed for the moment. The Soviet peasantry also is becoming more and more resolutely opposed to the revisionists. Stimulated at first by the palaver of Khrushchev, it quickly came to realize that the revisionists are a great danger in actual fact. The agricultural crisis in the U.S.S.R. cannot be resolved by half-measures. Actually what is entailed here is the boycotting of an entire class, and only the truly revolutionary and democratic policy followed by the dictatorship of the proletariat can open up perspectives for the future of the Soviet peasantry.

There can be no doubt that this will not happen by itself. To overthrow the bureaucratic order in the U.S.S.R. the revolutionaries must be organized, it is necessary to establish a base from which popular indignation can be mobilized in order to develop mass struggle. And this is our task alone. Ahead of us lies the tested road—the reconstitution of the Party of the proletariat. As a matter of fact, today the CPSU is an organization in form only, a screen to give the domination of the bureauc-

racy a "democratic" veneer. It is clear that the new, real proletarian Party will be the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) brought to life again. All those who are ready to fight against the bureaucracy, all those who cherish the great revolutionary victories of our people and the cause of world revolution, must firmly enter upon that road. The hour has struck. The various cells of the CP of the Soviet Union (B) which have been separated until now will be fused into a single purified force which will sweep away the bureaucrats—that is the road which the Soviet Marxist-Leninists must traverse. The activities of the cells of the CP of the Soviet Union (B), their slogans and their publications must be transformed into the struggle of living partisans. We must scorch the earth under the feet of the revisionists. Is it necessary to state that the struggle will give birth to heroes? Because of their petty-bourgeois cynicism and mistrust of the people, the revisionists can only take one road—that which is dominated by the principle of material interest. As for our people, their heroism and Communist devotion are limitless. Stifled in the oppressive atmosphere of bureaucratic decomposition, some of our people are giving up the struggle. But if they are shown the road ahead they will perform miracles.

Though the cells of the CP of the Soviet Union (B) contained few members and seemed very weak when they first appeared, nevertheless their organizers have rendered full account of themselves in the historic scope of the new task. It goes without saying that their persecution will awaken all the people and will bring about confrontation be-

tween the masses and the bureaucrats. It is the bureaucracy which is in no position to face that.

The end of the Soviet revisionists is not far off. The complete lack of any active support on the part of the Marxist-Leninists externally will make possible their overthrow by the healthy and loyal forces of the people even within the prevailing environment of the present Soviet State. The more so because some Communists who were mistaken and who gave evidence of a certain weakness when the revisionists began to attack Stalin, now understand their error. Just as in the past the Girondins of the left became conscious of their impotence in the face of reaction the day after Robespierre's assassination, in the same way one sector of the leadership of the CPSU understands the depth of its decadence from seeing the results of the criticism of the "cult of the personality" on a world scale, and the resistance with which the Soviet workers greeted that campaign. We can place a great part of our hope on our Soviet military cadres who were educated by Stalin and who understand better than anyone else the mortal danger which now hovers over the Soviet Union because of the treachery of the revisionists. Every person whose heart responds to the call of the Revolution, everyone who has not renounced Communism in his innermost heart, understands that up till the time that the revisionists were decisively unmasked, collaboration with them constituted an error, but now collaboration with them constitutes complicity in their crimes against the people. To overthrow the revisionists and, after forming a revolutionary government, to place the bureaucrats between that gov-

ernment and the people as between a hammer and anvil—that is the task which lies before the Soviet Marxist-Leninists. This is by no means a question of the total liquidation of the bureaucrats. Not at all. It is necessary to pitilessly crush only those who will openly fight against the victory of proletarian democracy. It is necessary that the working class of the Soviet Union, after taking power into its hands, compel the bureaucracy to restore, by working, all that it has stolen from the people, to transform into labor the knowledge and training that the people's sacrifices obtained for them. It is necessary that the over-all political and economic leadership respond to the will of the people, and conform to its convictions and demands. There can be no doubt that that policy will be revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist, internationalist, so that the workers of the whole world can say: "That is our policy."

Long live our sacred red banner, the banner of the Socialist Revolution, the banner of Marx-Engels, Lenin-Stalin!

Though the revisionists have tried to throw it into the mire, it is unquelled. Although they have tried to drag it down to their level, there are forces in the world who hold it high, as it had to be glory and honor to them. The hour is approaching when this banner will once again wave over the homeland of Socialism.

Long live the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Let our friends and our enemies throughout the whole world listen: In Russia, Bolshevism is emerging from the ashes like a phoenix. We, the Bolshe-

viks, understand very well how complex are the tasks which open before us, but in spite of victims or tortures we will succeed and we will honor those tasks.

Lenin's thought is on our side,
Stalin's will is on our side,
Our people's great heart is
on our side,
We are invincible.

END

MARXIST-LENINIST

Vanguard

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