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POLITICAL COMMITTEE

POLITICAL EVALUATION OF THE NEW SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY PROGRAM

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The 50,000 word new Soviet Communist Party Program published on July 29, 1961 by Pravda is worth analyzing in detail, because such an analysis may help promote the cause of the free world, especially among the new nations. The Program is full of contradictions, lies, distortions false prophesies and represents, above all, a terrific menace against Western civilization. But to write a detailed analysis which would scientifically set forth the stupid absurdities of utopian prophesies concerning the fantastic future well-being of Soviet man, would require writing a book or at least a thick pamphlet.

The Party Program consists of an Introduction explaining the high significance of the document, and of two main Chapters. Part One entitled "The Transition From Capitalism to Communism is the Road of Human Progress" is virtually a blueprint for the Communist take-over of free countries, while Part Two enumerates the "Tasks of the Communist Party to the Soviet Union in Building a Communist Society" bearing the subtitle: "Communism - The Bright Future of all Mankind".

Part One follows exactly the order of thought and the political line of the Communist Manifestos of November, 1957 and December 1960. Its guiding idea is that "the world capitalist system as a whole is doomed to collapse being ripe for the socialist revolution of the proletariat", and that communism belongs to the future. The blueprint for subversion prescribes violence if the revolution cannot be carried out "peacefully" for example, in the parliamentary way. It also gives instructions for alliance with leftwing social democracy for subversion and exploitation of the national liberation movements, and it stresses that "wars of liberation" are justified.

However, there are also some new elements embodied in this blueprint. Apparently the Program attaches great importance to prevent people, mainly in far located countries, from giving credibility to the "Western assertions" that the Soviets are violating the right of self-determination of nations. Therefore the Program puts special emphasis on the "fact" that already the October Revolution proclaimed and put into effect the right of nations to self-determination. The document solemnly declares that "the foreign policy of the Socialist countries is based on the principle of peace, the equality and self-determination of nations." At the same time it ridicules the West for calling itself "the free world" and for denouncing the Socialist regimes as "dictatorships". It says that not the Communist regimes but the capitalist governments represent real dictatorships. They are imposing upon the electorate their own candidates belonging to different bourgeois Parties which represent only different factions of the same ruling circles. The Program gives an extensive explanation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" saying that while this dictatorship represents the overwhelming majority of the people and is directed only against the oppressors and the exploiters of the masses, the Western "democratic" regimes represent a dictatorship of a very small minority "which aims at depriving the people of the opportunity to express their will and elect genuine champions of their interests." The Program

stresses that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" does not mean violence "but the creation, the building of a new happy classless society, and the defense of its gains against the enemies of socialism."

A new element in the Program is, moreover, the extensive explanation of the causes of the West's "anti-communism". It says that anti-communism is the product of the deep crisis experienced by the bourgeois ideology. Thus, anti-communism is the imperialist reaction to the rapidly growing influence of communism. It represents "attempts to denigrate communism and its noble idea and to defend capitalism". "Anti-communism is the chief ideological and political weapon of imperialism consisting mainly in slandering the Socialist system and distorting the policy and objectives of the Communist Parties and Marxist-Leninist theory."

Since the Program denounces the remnants of the old bourgeois nationalism in the Socialist countries it deemed it necessary to explain the differences between the nationalism of the oppressor and oppressed nations. This distinction also is a new element in a Communist Party document, which says that "the nationalism of an oppressed nation contains a general democratic element directed against oppression, and the Communists support it because they consider it historically justified at a given stage." They support it because "former colonial and still dependent nations are objectively interested in accomplishing the basic tasks of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution." Thus, these nations are confronted with the problem, which road of development to follow, whether the capitalist or the non-capitalist.

The document warns the new nations that "national liberation revolution does not end with the winning of political independence. Independence will be fictitious unless the revolution brings about radical changes in the social and economic spheres." Also, it warns these new nations that the imperialists under the guise of "aid" are trying to retain their old positions by luring the national bourgeoisie to their side and by splitting the ranks of the national liberation movement with anti-Communist slogans. According to the document any new nation which does not rid itself economically from the former colonial power remains in a "semi-colonial" status.

The Program attacks vehemently the bourgeois concept of a "welfare state" and ridicules the imperialist's endeavor of propagating the "illusion" that a capitalist state could oppose monopolies and achieve social harmony and universal well-being. This passage is also mainly aimed to instruct the new nations about the "tricks" of the imperialists.

Although the Manifestos of 1957 and 1960 also spoke of the new nations as the "Peace zone", the new Party Program is putting even more emphasis on the "peace role" of these nations, evidently under the impact of the stiffer Western position on Berlin. It says that "the countries and peoples that are now free from colonial oppression are to play a very prominent part in the prevention of a new world war, the focal problem today." "...The time has come when peoples of these countries...overcoming the vacillation of the national bourgeoisie, can put their resources at the service of universal security and become a new bulwark of peace." This is an overt allusion that these peoples may put their resources at the service of the "Socialist camp", since the capitalist imperialists are those who want war

in order to prevent the progress of mankind toward communism, which is inseparable from peace. Communism represents peace and Peace represents communism. The United States is said to be the center of world reactionary forces and the main hindrance of mankind's progress, but this is not new, the Manifesto of 1960 contains similar assertions.

The Program is re-defining the term of "national democracy" used for the first time in the Communist Manifesto of November, 1960. It says that "the political basis of a national democracy is a bloc of all the progressive, patriotic forces fighting to win complete national independence and broad democracy, and to consummate the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution." This "advice" means that the bourgeois elements of a national liberation movement should ally themselves with the Communist and constitute a coalition, thus to follow the pattern of "national democracy" introduced by the Soviets in Eastern Europe. National democracy in Soviet term means a coalition with the Communists who would then gradually overtake the whole country.

The Party Program is stressing time and again that the Soviet Union is not only the model but the main defender of the "World Socialist System". The Program declares that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regards as its international duty...to take vigorous action, and drawing on the might of the World Socialist System (which is the powerful network of the Communist Parties in the non-Communist countries plus the so called socialist countries) to forestall or firmly repel imperialist interference in the affairs of the people of any country risen to revolt and thereby prevent imperialist export of counter-revolution. This passage implies that the Soviet Union as the central military power of the "World Socialist System" would defend newly installed Communist regimes anywhere on the globe.

Here the document again turns itself to the new nations advising them that "it will be easier to prevent the export of counter-revolution if the working people, defending the national sovereignty of their country, would work to bring about the abolition of foreign military bases on their territory and to make their country dissociate itself from aggressive military blocs."

Speaking of peace and war and of the horrors of a nuclear conflict, the document warns peoples to concentrate their efforts on preventing such a war, but the student of the document is inclined to read between these lines the genuine fears of the Soviet leaders of a nuclear conflict. Since the Soviet Union is the "Motherland of Communism", the men in the Kremlin know well that the future of communism would be extremely precarious if the military and economic power of the "Motherland" would suffer irremediable losses. It may be mainly for that reason and not only because of the good prospects of "peaceful" Communist expansion, that Khrushchev does not want to risk a war for Berlin. However, this does not mean that he would not push things to the brink of war in the hope to wring concessions from the West. Precisely here lies the possibility of his miscalculation which may lead to a nuclear holocaust.

The Soviet policy of "peaceful coexistence" is one of the factors which may help create such dangerous situations. The Party Program firmly assumes that

the West must be aware of the "fact" that the power of the so called socialist countries coupled with the political force of the newly emerged nations have "substantially altered the balance of forces in favor of peace" (that is communism). Thanks to the pressure of this altered balance of power "socialism has offered mankind the only reasonable expedient of maintaining relations between states at a time when the world is divided into two systems - this is the principle of peaceful coexistence...which became an objective necessity for the development of human society.... The imperialists know that international disputes arising from the class struggle must be settled peacefully otherwise capitalism would quickly be swept away and buried in a nuclear war." Under these circumstances, the document concludes, "peaceful coexistence affords more favorable opportunities for the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and facilitates the struggle of peoples of the colonial and dependent countries for their liberation."

The Program stresses that communism can count on "a section of the bourgeoisie which supports the principle of peaceful coexistence realizing that a thermonuclear war would annihilate at one stroke the ruling classes of the capitalist society."

However, it is strikingly amazing that the authors of the document are so underestimating the intelligence of the readers of the Program that they dare to declare in the same breath that "peaceful coexistence implies the solution of international disputes by negotiation on the basis of equality, mutual understanding and trust between countries; it implies consideration of mutual interests, non-interference in the internal affairs and recognition of the right of every people to solve all the problems of their country by themselves." This is no more hypocrisy! It is rather a kind of self-conceit emboldened by their relatively easy successes. They believe that they can treat the major part of mankind as stupid and gullible masses.

The Program firmly assumes that it can make people to believe that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union has nothing to do with the ideological offensive of the Soviet Communist Party, directed against capitalist countries that relations between socialist and capitalist countries can even be improved while the Communist Parties of the Communist bloc are sharpening their "peaceful subversion" called ideological struggle against the capitalist states. This is pure nonsense and it is really astonishing that Western propaganda does not exploit duly this nonsense proclaimed already by the Manifestos of 1957 and 1960.

After all this, one is inclined to assume that the fact that the Party Program expressly brands Yugoslavia for "revisionism", is partly due to Moscow's endeavor to demonstrate that there are cases when the relations between states are even excellent while in ideological matters there are sharp differences between them. Thus, the denunciation of Yugoslavia is not due only to the Soviet eagerness to satisfy the Red Chinese because of their sharp differences with the Yugoslav's, as many commentators meant it.

Finally it is to be noted that Part One of the Program when defining the notion of the "socialist countries", briefly mentions the way in which the "peoples republics" were brought about. It says that "the defeat of Fascism in World War II,

in which the Soviet Union played a decisive part, created favorable conditions for the overthrow of capitalist and landlord rule by the peoples of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, China, Korea, Vietnam, Outer Mongolia." On another place it says that these countries "adopted the path of Socialist construction". The document conspicuously refrains from asserting that these peoples had chosen Communist regimes.

Part Two of the Party Program deals with communism, Communist life, fabulous future well-being of the members of Communist society and miraculous achievements in production and technology. It defines the notion of communism saying that it means "a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society." Under communism all people will enjoy equal conditions of work and distribution, and will actively participate in the management of public affairs. All production units and self-governing associations will be harmoniously interlinked by a commonly planned economy and "uniform rhythm of social labor". Under communism "the nations will draw closer and closer together in all spheres on the basis of a complete identity of economic, political and spiritual interests of fraternal friendship and cooperation."

Communism fulfills the tasks of Communist construction step by step in accordance with the increasing preparation and maturing of the material and spiritual prerequisites, since it would be wrong to jump over necessary stages. This is the only passage of the documents where it alludes to the failure of the Red Chinese to build communism in the necessary successive stages, however without naming Red China.

In creating the material and technical basis of communism, the Soviet Union will surpass already in the current decade "the strongest and richest capitalist country, the United States" in per capita production and standard of living and in two decades the Soviet Union will become the paradise of mankind. The Soviet worker will have the shortest and best paid working day on earth, with only six hours of work, general automatization, no physical work, free lunches in factories, free transportation, free housing, modern apartment for each family, free utilities, free trips to resorts, free health clinics and medicines, free theaters and other leisure means, unbelievable abundance in consumer goods, even in automobiles. In one word the document gives a fantastic picture of a future utopian well-being of the Soviet citizen. Almost everything will be free except freedom.

However, it is strikingly amusing to read in this very same chapter that at the end of the next two decades "all regions of the country will have reliable telephone and radio-communications". This sentence illustrates the backwardness of the Soviet Union in certain respects despite all her technical achievements.

According to the Program the Soviet Union will continue to devote "unflagging attention to the growth of the heavy industry (a significant reversal of Khrushchev's former stand) the main task of which is to meet the need of the country's defense in full." Moreover the complete electrification of the country will be carried out within the next two decades.

The document predicts in details the achievements in all industries and in the agriculture. The estimates and predictions seem, however, to be extremely exaggerated and they should be scientifically analyzed and refuted by competent Western experts. The prediction that in the current decade the Soviet industrial output may exceed by 150 percent the contemporary level of U.S. industrial output and that within twenty years the Soviet industrial output will exceed it "not less than 500 percent", is simply ridiculous.

Since this part of the Program is obviously aimed to impress the newly emerged nations in order to induce them to choose the "socialist system" which would bring to them all-out happiness within a relatively short period and with the help of the socialist countries, the document devotes for example long space to explain the significance and advantages of the kolkhoz system. It declares that the kolkhoz system is an integral part of the socialist society; "it is a way charted by Lenin for the gradual transition of the peasantry to communism"... "The kolkhoz blends the personal interests of the peasants with the common, national interests in the result of production." Thanks to the kolkhoz system the Program expects that already in the first decade the Soviet Union will outstrip the United States in output of the key agricultural products per head of population. The kolkhoz farms will become highly mechanized and through them the kolkhoz economically powerful, with services of catering establishments, bakeries, laundries, kindergartens and nurseries; and cultural and medical institutions. Thus, "the elimination of socio-economic and cultural distinctions between town and country and differences in their living conditions will be one of the greatest gains of Communist construction."

The document foresees that the national income of the Soviet Union in the next ten years will increase nearly 150 percent and about 400 percent in twenty years. The real income per head of the population will increase more than 250 percent in twenty years. In the course of the coming ten years the real incomes of the factory and office workers will on the average be almost doubled and in twenty years it will be increased by approximately 200 to 250 percent. The real incomes of the collective farmers will grow more rapidly: it will be more than 150 percent in ten years and will increase more than fourfold in twenty years.

After reaching this stage, the final stage of building communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be replaced by the "Socialist Democracy", a regime of self-government. After the exploiting classes had been abolished and their resistance ceased to exist, the dictatorship of the proletariat has fulfilled its "historic mission" and has ceased to be indispensable from the point of view of internal security and development. Therefore, "the Party considers it essential to perfect the forms of popular representation and promote the democratic principles of the Soviet electoral system." There will be "guarantees for the widest and fullest discussion of the qualities of the candidates at meetings and in the press to insure the election of the worthiest and most authoritative men."

In order to "democratize" the governing bodies and to bring fresh, young forces into them, the Program recommends that at least one third of the total number of deputies to a Soviet be elected anew - always by secret ballot - and nobody be elected for more than three consecutive terms. But in cases when personal gifts of the deputies make it necessary, his re-election may be allowed,

but his election should be valid only if he wins the three quarters of the votes. In great lines the same principles and procedure should be observed with slight modifications in the election of the other self-governing bodies, even in the Party structure in order to enable millions of working people to learn to govern the state and administer the Party. "The principle of electivity and accountability to representative bodies and to the electorate will be gradually extended to all the leading officials of government bodies."

On the basis of both these primitively phrased vague guarantees for self-government and the fantastic future happiness of the Soviet citizens, the document proudly declares that "the working class of the Soviet Union will be the only class in history that would not aim to perpetuate its power."

However, despite all these rosy prospects the document warns that a world war may bring some complications in the realization of these dreams since the Party maintains that as long as imperialism survives the threat of aggressive wars will remain. Therefore, in order to bring about the dreams, the Soviet Union, as the "motherland of Socialism" must continuously strengthen her armed forces, although there would not be need to maintain an army as soon as the imperialist camp would disappear or accept general and complete disarmament. Here the document speaks lengthily about the imperative necessity that the officer corps master the Marxist-Leninist theory and that the Party has to increase tirelessly its role and influence in the army.

The Party Program devotes a score of paragraphs to the important role of the Communist mass organizations (Trade Unions, The Young Communist League, The Young Pioneers and the Cooperatives) in the public life of the Communist state, and in the endeavor to unmask and repel any enemy of the socialist order. Their organizations have to play a great part in promoting the public order, particularly through the people's volunteer squads and comradesly courts. Thus, the police state character of the country will be preserved!

Justice in the Soviet Union is based "on truly democratic lines: election and accountability of the judges and people's assessors, the right to recall them before expiration of their term." However, the "transition to communism would already permit the replacement of judicial punishments by measures of education because this transition means the fullest extension of personal freedom and the rights of Soviet citizens." This sentence is in itself the clearest evidence that there is no freedom and respect of human rights in the Soviet Union!

The document displays one of its greatest hypocrisies when it asserts that the nationalities in the Soviet Union had joined voluntarily the Union and that they are treated on an equal footing with the Russians. They can educate their children in their language, ruling out all restrictions or compulsions in the use of this or that language, "although the voluntary study of Russian to the native language is of positive significance." The document notes, however, with regret that "the effacement of the national distinctions, especially of language distinctions is a considerably longer process than the effacement of the class distinctions."

In connection with this theme the document strikingly reveals that "even after the Socialist System has triumphed, there persist in the minds and behavior of people survivals of capitalism, which hamper the progress of society." Therefore "the Party considers that the paramount task in the ideological field is to eliminate completely the survivals of bourgeois views and morals in order to insure the all-round harmonious development of the individual." This statement is a clear evidence of the fact that even after 43 years the Soviet authorities are compelled to take measures against those nationalities which joined "voluntarily" the greatest police state of modern times, the Soviet Union.

The document also devotes long space to the elimination of survivals of Capitalism in general. It says, that "the Party considers it an integral part of education to combat manifestations of bourgeois ideology and morality and the remnants of private owner psychology, superstitions and prejudices." It is of primary importance "to educate people in the spirit of a scientific materialist world conception, to overcome religious prejudices and to explain patiently and without insulting the sentiments of the believers the untenability of religious beliefs." This can be done by making use of the achievements of modern science, which steadily solves the mysteries of the universe and extends man's power over nature, leaving no room "for religious inventions about supernatural forces". This is also the best evidence that the Soviet people could not be duly indoctrined despite the 43 year old tyrannical regime.

Since education plays a primary role in the ideological campaign, the Party Program explains extensively the necessity and methods of education and established rules for literature and arts as well. Literature must be a source of happiness and inspiration to millions of people, it must express their will, their sentiments and ideas, and must enrich them ideologically and educate them morally. "The high road of literature and art lies through faithful and artistic depiction of Socialist reality, inspired and vivid portrayal of all that is genuinely Communist and exposure of all that hinders the progress of society."

The final paragraphs of the document are devoted to the new rules for elections in the Party bodies and to the principles of the morality of its members. It is underscored that the cult of the individual and the violations of collectivism in the leadership are incompatible with the Leninist principles of Party life. The cult of the individual belittles the role of the Party. One of the most important principle of morality is to develop criticism and self-criticism, because "it is a tried method of rectifying errors and short-comings."

One quarter of the members of the Party Central Committee and of its Presidium shall be renewed at all regular elections (no indication at what intervals). Presidium members shall, as a rule, be elected for not more than three successive terms. Particular Party workers may, by virtue of their generally recognized authority and high abilities, be successively elected for longer periods, but in that case he needs three quarters of the votes casted by secret ballot. There are further election rules for lower bodies with some slight modifications.

Finally the Program promises that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to strengthen the unity of the international Communist movement and to coordinate its actions with the efforts of all contingents of the world

Communist movement in the joint struggle against a new World War, for the interests of the working people, for peace democracy and Socialism. This is another evidence that Communist Parties in the free world are Moscow's agencies.

The authors of the document are convinced that by experiencing the immense achievements of the Soviet people "new and new hundreds of millions of people on earth" will say: "we want communism." This will happen not through war, or by export of revolution, but by the example of a more perfect organization of society, by the rapid progress in developing the productive forces and by the creation of all conditions of the happiness and well-being of man.

#### CONCLUSIONS

(1) The new Party Program reiterates the declaration of war made by the Communist Manifestos of 1957 and 1960 against Capitalism and foremost against the capitalist central power, the United States, a war to be fought with political, economic and military means short of thermo-nuclear weapons if possible.

(2) Khrushchev, the presumed author of the Program seems to be fully aware that a nuclear conflict may decisively shatter the Soviet Union's military and economic potential which is the power basis of the "World Socialist System". Also, he is certainly aware of the Soviet people's extreme reluctance to go to war especially after the fantastic prospects in the improvement of their life depicted by the Party Program.

(3) Therefore, when taking a stiff decision to conclude a peace treaty with East-Germany by the end of the year, Khrushchev is seemingly basing its strategy on his firm conviction that the Western public opinion could not withstand the Soviet psychological and political pressure and it will ultimately force the Western governments to make rather concessions than to plunge mankind in a nuclear catastrophe. The Party Program expressly reckons with the defeatism of a large segment of the Western bourgeoisie.

(4) This official order of thought of the Soviet leadership corroborates the assumption that in case of a Western stiffness over Berlin, Khrushchev may go to the brink of war owing to his belief that he may not risk a nuclear holocaust through this tactic. It seems extremely important for the Soviet dictator to triumph over Berlin in order to make his leadership even more respected within the Communist Bloc and abroad especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Moreover a Western retreat over Berlin would demonstrate the growing political force of communism, and particularly Khrushchev's personal ability to level with the "imperialists".

(5) The Party Program is not only a blueprint for global Communist subversion, but an important piece of propaganda since it forcefully attempts to refute by untrue assertions all Western arguments and evidence against the terroristic and tyrannical character of the Communist regimes and against the global danger of the Communist promoted "social revolutions" and "liberation wars".

(6) Part Two of the Program which gives a fantastic picture of the hitherto unmatched well-being and happiness of the members of Communist society,

a well-being to be attained within a relatively short period, is apparently aimed primarily at impressing the newly emerged nations who are on the crossroad to choose the form of their regime. These nations do not know that the Soviets have been compelled to recently introduce the death penalty for crimes of slowing down industrial production and that Khrushchev had to attack vehemently several of his colleagues at the January Central Committee meeting over the deplorable state of Soviet agriculture.

(7) Thus, unfortunately these new nations and masses of low standard of living elsewhere on the globe, may give credence to these fantastic Communist promises as well as to the Program's assertion that in case of a world-wide Communist victory, there would be everlasting peace and thus no country would need to maintain armies anymore.

(8) These peoples may give credence to all these utopian predictions simply on the ground of the factual "miraculous" technical achievements of the Soviet Union, believing in the assertions of the Communist propaganda that the Communist system is capable to bring about similar incredible miracles even in the spheres of social and economic life of mankind within a relatively short period.

(9) The unceasing assertions of Communist propaganda that the final victory of communism is an unavoidable historical development, coupled with the diminishing Western influence in the undeveloped nations and with the regrettable inability of the Western Powers to conceive a unified Western political strategy against the global Communist strategy inside and outside the United Nations, certainly are such factors which may induce nations (threatened directly or indirectly by Communist aggression) to revise their foreign policy originally based on the assumption that the West will be able to counter Communist expansion.

(10) The fact that communism was able to build up its image in the eyes of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America as the greatest defender of peace, freedom and self-determination is primarily due to the irremediable failure of Western policy and propaganda to ceaselessly expose both the Soviet aggressions in Eastern Europe and the institutional violations of the basic human rights by the Communist regime. The Western propaganda has also failed to relentlessly and continuously repeat the undeniable facts that the nation-wide Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was carried by the indoctrinated students, workers and soldiers who were regarded by Moscow as the most reliable elements of the Hungarian people.

(11) Thus, it is mainly due to this Western failure that the authors of the new Party Program are so confident to be able to convince peoples that it is the Soviet Union and not the West who fights for the genuine freedom and happiness of mankind.

(12) Finally the new Party Program which faithfully mirrors Khrushchev's philosophy based on the recent changes in the world and on the obsolescence of the Party Program of 1917 written by Lenin, is apparently aimed at heightening the prestige and stature of Khrushchev within the "World Socialist System" still before the 22nd Party Congress which opens on October 17, 1961. Although Khrushchev was not yet placed officially on the same pedestal as Lenin, one should not forget that

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after the fiasco of the Paris Summit Meeting, Defense Minister Marshal Malinovsky already called Khrushchev as "Our Teacher", in his speech of May 30, 1960. No Soviet leader was called "Teacher" except Lenin and Stalin. Therefore it may be expected that the 22nd Soviet Communist Party Congress will equate the personality of Khrushchev with the historical greatness of Lenin.

Washington, August 6, 1961