

# STATEMENT ON 25th CONGRESS OF CPSU

The 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held under conditions of a markedly improved international position of the USSR, a sharp upturn of the Soviet economy, and a turn toward re-establishing the prestige of the CPSU. The report by General Secretary Brezhnev to the Congress should be studied not only by comrades, but by all progressives interested not only in world communism, but in the effects that the Congress is bound to have on left politics within the United States of North America.

The Congress was held under certain conditions nationally and internationally which should be examined in order to really understand the full meaning of the political line of the CPSU.

What, fundamentally, is the international setting for the Congress. First of all, the entire situation is today moulded by the international economic crisis. This crisis should be characterized as an especially acute cyclical crisis occurring during an intensified stage of the general crisis of world capitalism. The economic crisis is one of over-production. However, it is the first major crisis since the liquidation of direct colonialism and the economic protection which that system provided for the various national industrial capitalists. This crisis is especially acute because

commodities can no longer be dumped on protected markets. Today there is a world market and despite the operations of cartels, monopolies and international financial combines, this market cannot be manipulated except by working with the laws of value. This inevitably means that the USNA with its vastly superior productive capacity, will continue to consolidate the world market at the expense of especially Britain, France, Japan, Germany and Italy. In these countries the only method of fighting back is the revolutionization of the means of production, which requires USNA financial assistance, and the harsh intensification of the labor process, which cannot be accomplished without fascism. However, industrial, urban Europe, with its growing proletariat, its peoples tempered in the struggles of the 1940's is not likely to fall prey to a fascist offensive. The ruling class rather fears that the mass resistance to fascism will create the environment for social revolution. This is already the experience of the Italian political struggle characterized by the mass strikes and demonstrations against fascist violence.

While the birth of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of the general crisis of world capitalism, its intensified stage was achieved by the results of World War II and the emanci-

pation of China. With one third of the world withdrawn from the capitalist market and with a dramatic revolutionization of the means of production within the capitalist world, this general crisis entered its intensified stage.

This situation will inevitably mean the even more rapid shifting of basic industry into the neocolonies to take advantage of the cheap labor and close proximity of raw materials, not to mention the shifting of environmental destruction to the backward nations. The consequences of such a move however is the resurgence of a national liberation movement. This time with its new proletariat in leadership and its slogan — the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

It should also be noted that the trade between the neocolonies and the semicolonies and the USNA has fallen off due to the crisis. The USNA protectionist policy calls for the cutting off of imports of most raw materials when there is a glut of the market. This assures the shifting of the burden of the crisis to the backs of workers in the less developed countries. However, this policy has led to the resurgence of the national liberation movement and the leftward motion of the leadership of the semicolonies.

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The situation in China is also heavily effected by the economic crisis. In fact, the removal of Teng from the leadership is a direct result of the crisis. The grouping around Teng, following Krushchev's outlook that reliance upon the economic strength of the USNA was the most rapid way of industrializing the country, was left out on the limb by the consequences of the economic crisis in the USNA.

The Teng group necessarily made political concessions in order to assure USNA and Japanese assistance in the development of Chinese industrialization. This reckless policy has thrown China's foreign policy into the arms of the fascists at home and abroad. It is clear that such policy has led to the decisive defeat of China in its international ideological debate with the USSR. The political expression of this defeat has been a dramatic shift in especially Africa and Latin America toward reliance on the USSR instead of China.

The keystone of imperialist policy has been the reencirclement of the USSR by the USNA, Japan, China and the Federal Republic of Germany. The international crisis has made especially Japan and Germany take second looks at a Soviet Union that is the number one producer of oil and steel in the world. At the same time, the prospects of the development of such an alliance has compelled the USSR to go shopping for friends. This could only be accomplished by a left turn in the international policies of the Soviets.

It is clear that the relations between the Soviets and the USNA are undergoing a certain readjustment and erosion. Based on the crisis and the need to further militarize the economy, the cold warriors are again coming to the political forefront. This is 1976 not 1950, the idea of the cold war does not have the same implications as before. Before, the imperialists had considerable maneuvering room as the incessant wars have shown. Today, there is no small country to go to war against and the cold war could and probably would turn into a hot one very soon.

The position of the Soviets is different today. The destruction of WWII has been overcome and the military position of the Soviets is formidable. The new generation of Soviet missiles and bombers prompted then Secretary of Defense Schlesinger to report. "The Soviet Union...now deploys a strategic nuclear capability far beyond anything required by the theories of minimum deterrence. Her peripheral attack forces are such as to be able to take under attack every significant target in Western Europe. Her central strategic systems are sufficiently large in number so that she could strike at a substantial number of military targets in the United States and still withhold a very large force whose future use we would have to consider in responding." (*Annual Defense Department Report*, Feb. 5, 1975, Page II-2)

The imperialist catastrophe in southeast Asia brought about a general decline in US influence throughout the area. It is small wonder that Brezhnev could report with confidence, the international position of the Soviet Union has never been so solid.

In this international context, let us examine the report by Brezhnev and attempt to fathom out — wither the Soviet Union?

#### Soviet Socialism

It might be well to start out with some fundamental considerations of the historic role of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The role of the dictatorship is to do away with the previous conditions and guide society on its revolutionary path to communism. The landmarks along this path are the elimination of the distinction between mental and manual labor, the elimination of the distinction between town and country, and the elimination of the polarity represented by wealth and privileges. The elimination of these privileges is contained in the communist slogan "to each according to his need." The revolutionary creating of communist man, implies the abolishing of the division of labor (which is the basis for classes and privileges) and the subsequent liquidation of ideology. All the rhetoric from either side of the fence will not substitute for a concrete examination of how the social polarity, inherited from centuries of class oppression is being institutionalized or liquidated.

First of all, the distinction between town and country is hardly being done away with. Moscow today boasts of nearly 7 million people with a subsequent concentration of commerce and wealth.

Secondly, is the distinction between hand and mental labor being liquidated? Obviously it is not. As in no other country a worker has the opportunity to elevate himself from worker to technician or even into the privileged elite, but it is clear that the polarity between the intellectual, the technical and cultural intelligencia, on the one hand and the people on the other is growing and becoming an institution in Soviet life.

Communism is not possible without the elimination of the various distinctions that arise on the basis of the division of labor. The only measure we have on the correctness or incorrectness of state policy is how it effects this struggle for communism. It is on this basis that we have and are judging the policies of the CPSU.

Because of the importance of the position of the CPSU, the coming issues of the *People's Tribune* will carry articles dealing with the various sections of the Congress report in greater depth and details.

#### Relations with Socialist States

On the question of socialist states, it is interesting to note that Brezhnev includes Yugoslavia in the family of socialist nations but excludes China and Albania. We object to the exclusion of China and Albania for the same reasons that we reject the inclusion of Yugoslavia. In China and Albania the wages system has been overthrown, which is the basis for the move to communism. No matter what the ideological or state differences, so long as the capitalist mode of exploitation has been done away with, these states cannot help but objectively gravitate toward and assist one another. The objective character of these revolutions, including the USSR, is forging ahead. This or that grouping which attaches themselves to this objective process as its subjective expression, is an aspect of the class struggle. What is needed is principled Marxist criticism and not name calling.

We again take note, that the most divisive and corrupting influence in the world communist movement and especially amongst the socialist states is bourgeois nationalism, and there can be no other form of nationalism. The only exceptions to this is heroic Cuba and that valiant vanguard the Vietnamese Workers Party.

As regards the call for peaceful coexistence with China, this is but a clever way of reintroducing the thesis that China is not a socialist state. Peaceful coexistence is the Leninist relationship between states with different social systems. Despite the state differences and antagonism, they are not different social systems and the differences are going to have to be settled within the framework of the socialist camp.

There are many signs already that the crisis and the resultant development of the war danger is forcing both the USSR and China to reevaluate their respective positions. The unity of revolutionaries, the unity of Marxist-Leninists of China and the USSR is fundamental to the healing of the rift within the socialist camp. At the same time, the finding of common ground for the unity of the revisionists of China and the USSR, based on the respective national interests will create the most difficult situation for the world revolutionary movement.

It is very fashionable for every "Marxist" party or grouping to call for unity. There can be no unity on the basis of "China" or the "Soviet Union." The basis has to be principled. The first step toward such unity would be for the major Communist Parties to publish their individual proposals for a general line of the world communist movement. On such a basis the entire world movement could debate what is correct or incorrect and thereby liquidate this extremely harmful process of lining up the movement according to the national interests of either China or the USSR. Our Communist Labor Party, a small but principled party, calls upon the leading Parties to take such a step before it is too late.

#### The Developing Countries

The entire progressive world congratulates the USSR on especially their progressive role in southern Africa. We were happy to register a sharp differentiation between the policies of the Soviets in the Congo and Angola. No one can deny that the Krushchev grouping sacrificed the heroic Congolese for political agreements with the USNA. At that time Krushchev's doctrine that world peace depended upon agreement with the USNA, his treacherous "Peace above all" policy was the cover for history's greatest revolutionary betrayal. This policy earned the Soviets the contempt of all revolutionaries. In Angola however, a different line was followed. Departing from Krushchev's conception of Detente, Brezhnev has followed a course that Detente was strictly interstate relations and was a form of the class struggle. Very well. Now, why the shift in emphasis? One thing for certain, that if the Soviets had not followed a more revolutionary path in southern Africa every African state would have placed them in the same treacherous bag as they have placed the Teng grouping in China. During the days of the destruction of the Congolese revolution, there was little but Guinea and Ghana in a position to struggle. Today the African revolution has reached gigantic proportions and is in an international position to deal with those who betray them.

There was no gibberish in this report about the Third World. This was a necessary ideological concession to the realities of the growing struggle against neocolonialism. The report however does not clarify the situation with the developing countries. While moving away from the Krushchev formula of "the liquidation of colonialism," Brezhnev reformulates the statement as, "...Countries that have liberated themselves from colonial dependence..."

The argument that we had with the Krushchev group will present again. 1) Every exploitative system in history has had an imperialism that corresponds to its exploitative form. Roman imperialism, feudal imperialism, mercantile imperialism all were specifics that corresponded to the salient aspects of the system of exploitation.

2) The replacement of feudal imperialism by mercantile imperialism did not end imperialism, it only changed its form to conform with shifting of the economy of the imperialist country from agriculture to manufacturing and finally to industry. Such mercantile imperialism be it under manufacturing or industrial production demanded a protected source of raw materials and a protected market; hence the continuation of the system of direct colonies.

Lenin's *Imperialism* outlined how the financier became the dominating aspect of financial capitalism, and for many years was forced to operate within the confines of the direct colony. The financier that operated within the multinational imperialist state could not help but break out of these confines in order to operate on a world wide basis. This was the inevitable result of the gigantic growth of money. There was too much money at the disposal of the financial capitalist to be invested in separated spheres of influence. The consolidation of an internationalized financial bourgeoisie was inevitable. The direct colony was a fetter on the development of transnational capital, hence it had to go. Only the form of imperialism changed. The neocolony corresponds to transnational capital.

3) Lenin was correct in his projection that politics is a concentrated expression of economics. Therefore political changes are bound to be a reflection of ongoing economic changes.

It is hardly Marxism to indicate a political change without pointing out the economic base of that change. It is simply untrue to state that either the neocolony or the semicolony have liberated themselves from dependence.

As regards the semicolony, those nations where the national bourgeoisie has seized political control, it is absolutely correct to defend and assist them in their struggle against the economics of imperialism. However, the development of the state sector of the economy will not give them socialism as Krushchev indicated with his theory of the non-capitalist path of development; an anti-dialectical concept that laid the basis for the wide spread acceptance of the third world concepts.

It is true that Lenin spoke of the non-capitalist path of development. He was referring to the development of areas with precapitalist formations within the Tsarist empire. Once the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in the more advanced countries, Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia etc., the precapitalist border regions were guided into socialism, skipping the capitalist stage.

To transform this specific of history into a theory that a colony in the modern world, which is within the orbit of capitalism, can adopt a non-capitalist path is absurd. This is especially absurd when it is projected that the non-capitalist path is also non-socialist and the colony is not protected by a very large and powerful socialist state at its border.

Although Brezhnev does not explicitly use this Krushchev formula, he states that there are developing nations that follow the capitalist path, indicating that there are developing nations that do not follow the capitalist path.

Twist and turn as they may, objective reality demands acceptance of Stalin's position that the colonies cannot be free without the overthrow of all capital — foreign and domestic. This is a thesis proven by 70 years of struggle.

#### The Question of Peace

Any sane person will support the call to work for the termination of the arms race and for the reduction of the arms stockpile. We will not and have not shirked from the responsibility of putting political pressure on the leaders of the USNA in the cause of peace. Up to this point we are not in disagreement with the report. However to ascribe the war danger or the armaments race to some mean people is to vulgarize Marxism. Of course there is a section of the capitalist class that grossly wants war and we should struggle against them. However, this little clique of warmongers are neither the source of, nor the main danger of a new war. On the one hand there is an objective impulse toward war under capitalism since armaments are the safest and most profitable investment for big capital. The major capitalists cannot help but create the political conditions to develop the arms industry. The objective drive towards the arms race and war is rooted in commodity production—that is, the need for the capitalist to sell. This is an objective law of capitalism and an appeal to the sensibility of the capitalist is whistling in the dark. The projection that the imperialists would use money saved from the arms race to raise the standard of living of the workers is so far removed from Marxism as not to deserve comment. If we have a ruling class who will not invest in the most profitable sector of the economy and will instead use that money to raise the standard of living of the masses, who needs socialism: Any observer knows that the welfare state, war and the destruction of weaker peoples are only flip sides of the same coin.

We need to state our position on the politics of peace — in contradistinction to the position of Brezhnev.

Our Party upholds the concept that modern war is the attempt to achieve political goals by violent means. This simply means that when political aims are unachievable by peaceful means, either these aims must be set aside or they must be achieved through violence. This position is an historic truth. The question is: Are the goals of the USSR and the USNA the same? Of course they are not. Further, the Soviet Union does not and cannot have political goals that can be transformed into violence except in the suppression of the counterrevolution within the Socialist camp. Both Hungary and Czechoslovakia were such instances.

This is hardly the situation of world imperialism. The objective position of the USSR is such as to constantly frustrate the aims of USNA imperialism since the aims of the two states are contradictory. This is obvious since the fundamental aim of world imperialism is to recapture the Soviet Union. While we fight for peace, it is clear to us that the world communist movement must prepare for the eventuality that the imperialist states will resort to violence.

Further, as far as the USNA is concerned cold war or detente does not represent a change in goals. The Korean War was carried on under the conditions of the cold war while the war against Vietnam was carried out under conditions of detente. At best these policies simply represent the special needs of the different capitalists, on the one hand, the productive capitalists, on the other hand, the financial capitalists.

Our point is a simple one. We cannot win the fight for peace if we fight only on the subjective level, that is, by appeals to reason or even by hard political struggles to frustrate the war makers. Our Party proposes that the communist movement frankly state that the number one goal of the revolution is Peace. Every proletarian revolution from the Paris Commune onward had such a goal. Certainly this is true for the Soviet and Chinese revolutions. Above all, while the communist is not terrified by the threat of war we absolutely reject the contention that we should not fear war since half the human race would survive. With two billion people dead and the bulk of the productive forces destroyed, to speak of socialism is to display a most profound ignorance of the laws of socialism, let alone communist morality.

In the final analysis the only path to peace is the revolutionary disarming of the warmakers. It is a position missing throughout the report.

#### Ideological Struggle

Since the 24th Congress of the CPSU, the entire country and especially Party and Army cadre have been undergoing some very intensive ideological education. An examination shows that this ideological campaign was begun in order to counter the "creeping counter-revolution" after the Warsaw and Prague events.

The first point of this ideological campaign was to explain the concrete changes that have and are taking place in society and life in the USSR. Now that the dust of the Krushchev era is beginning to settle, it's important that we struggle to understand the Soviet Union as it really is rather than trying to make life fit into the abstract conception of the ideologues.

The first thing that we have to recongize is that the revisionism of Marxism that has been and is being carried out by the Brezhnev grouping is the result of concrete facts of Soviet life. This revisionism is not at all the result of the phrase mongering about Brezhnev being the handmaiden of imperialism etc. In fact, the projections of the leading circles within the CPSU are hard put to explain the continuation of social polarity. The Soviet Union is a powerful socialist state, a dictatorship of the proletariat that is not moving society forward to communism. Of course, the report states that the country has reached new frontiers in the building of the material and technical basis of communism. That has been reported by every General Secretary at every congress since the 19th Congress. The point is that while all revolutionaries hail and support the struggle for this technical and material basis, the demand of the times is for the class struggle to be intensified.

The general tone of the report in this respect is a call for all social strata, especially the workers, to struggle hard to build and develop the Soviet Union. In this respect it should be noted that the pay scales of the working class have increased 20% with no increase in the price of living. This is a very admirable achievement and should be popularized amongst the workers of

the capitalist countries. However, the even more rapidly rising living standards of the elite would suggest that the call for the workers to work harder and more efficiently to build the Soviet motherland, is at least in part motivated by the firm knowledge that a bigger pie means bigger shares for themselves.

It is important for us to return to the basics in order to be consistent. Marxism holds that ideology is the result of the division of labor. This division of labor is responsible for the basic polarity within class society. Marxism concludes that under communism, because the division of labor is done away with, there can be no ideology. However it is clear that the leading ideologues of the Soviets are sniffing at the tail of the French liquidationists when they declare that there is a permanence of ideology, that it is an essential element of all societies. Of course these ideologues also declare that the division of labor intensifies and deepens under communism. Is it not a fundamental Marxist principle that the division of labor leads to classes, class interests and class domination and hence to ideology?

This is the crux of the problem. How to get around the facts of Soviet life. This is how revisionism arises. We have been held back for a long time because we were only able to deal

## Kissinger

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the US imperialists, has only one aim, the continued brutal rape of the African people. In Rhodesia, Kissinger's call for "peace" has meant the drafting of 50 thousand "black and white" civilians into the army for a search-and-destroy campaign against African guerrillas along the 700 mile border with Mozambique. They will also cross neighboring countries in pursuit of guerrillas.

The national liberation movements have arisen against this continued imperialist domination and intervention. Despite fascist repression, Zimbabweans have formed the United Zimbabwe African People's Army. In Namibia, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) is conducting guerrilla war. In Ghana, demonstrations against Kissinger resulted in his forced cancellation of a planned "visit" to that country. The imperialists' calls for peace and majority governments is nothing but a treacherous attempt to weaken and disarm the peoples' movements.

Instead of meddling in the internal affairs of African nation, the US must **keep their hands off Africa** and let the African peoples determine their own destinies. The US imperialists aren't "helping" anybody but themselves when they propose the establishment of a \$1 billion International Resources Bank for "Third World Countries." The purpose of such a bank is to encourage imperialist investment and control of the colonial nations.

But decades of slavery will no longer be tolerated. Vietnam has proven that the strivings of the people for national liberation and socialism are invincible. The African peoples' burning desire for freedom will lead them to the eventual expulsion of the imperialists.

Workers and progressives in the US must rally in support of the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial masses. The policy of the imperialists can only lead to war and fascism. If workers don't oppose US intervention in Africa now, it may be too late to protest being sent to war in support of further US bloodshed and robbery.

with the general. Now we have to deal with the specific. The first point is that when something changes it has to be explained one way or the other. If it's explained on the basis of Marxism, well and good. If it uses the verbiage and forms of Marxism in order to attack Marxism, we call it revisionism. This is why we point out that the revisionism in the USSR is an attempt to explain the concrete conditions of that society.

Every stage of the development of society brought about both Marxism and revisionism. For example the granting, in Germany, of the ballot to the people brought about a definite form of revisionism. The development of imperialism and the subsequent bribery of a section of the working class brought about another form of revisionism. Revisionism is an attempt to explain concrete changes in an anti-Marxist way.

One can easily see that if we accept polarity (division of labor) as a permanent feature of society even under communism, then that explains the existence of a working class, no matter how well off they are, and the existence of a social elite. The idea of the state of the whole people very well explains why I go to work each morning and everyday in the week you can drive a different sports car (including your Cadillac) to a different dacha.

However, since the position of the elite is based on the social structure of socialism, this revisionism arises out of the specifics of Soviet socialism and Soviet socialism must be defended. Despite the contradictory concept of the state of the whole people, that state is forced to use quite a bit of violence against members of especially the cultural intelligentsia who, in one way or another attack that social formation. Consequently, it appears as if the elite is defending socialism, but their aim is to defend themselves.

Finally, it's quite convenient to substitute the ideological battle for the class struggle. The class struggle would attack the division of labor and the subsequent polarity, while the ideological battle remains in the realm of ideas. However, the overwhelming part of the population in the USSR receives some sort of Marxist education and they are thinking, self-sacrificing peoples. They recognize how much of the world's peoples respect them and look to them for leadership. We don't want the Soviets to go backward. We want them to go forward. It's only through the revolutionary attack against the existing division of labor and all that flows from and rests upon it that the "muck of ages" can be gotten rid of and communist man be developed.

By and large, the report to the 25th Congress indicated a certain shift to left on the part of the leadership of the Soviet. We should have learned our lesson well by this time and be prepared for a dramatic return to militancy on the part of the CPUSA. It again is a question of Moscow sneezes and the CP catches pneumonia. This is the main reason for this analysis. Inevitably we will find ourselves in struggles and campaigns alongside of a rejuvenated CP. If we haven't mastered our line, we are bound to become pulled in their direction because of their greater strength and connections. Above all, this leftward motion on the part of the CPSU demands that we all acquire a self-sufficiency in Marxism-Leninism. Without this there is no hope of our Party continuing to find its way in an increasingly complex national and international situation. Under such conditions we would lose our independence and inevitably fall under the hegemony of a state whose primary interest is other than the motion of the international proletariat.