

ON THE ISSUE OF PEOPLE'S STATE AND PEOPLE'S PARTY IN THE SOVIET UNION

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU, basing on the assumption that socialism had triumphed completely and finally in the Soviet Union, came to the conclusion that the conditions which necessitated the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union had disappeared and its domestic purposes fulfilled. It proceeded to announce that the working class of the Soviet Union had "*transformed the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people*".

At the outset, it is to be categorically stated that the entire outlook governing this decision, the language used for describing the new concept and the non-class and un-Marxian analysis of the Soviet society in the present international background that forms the content of the new concept have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat as conceived by

Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin is a phenomenon visualised for the entire historical period of transition from capitalism to socialism, since this period after the capture of power by the proletariat to that of complete abolition of the bourgeoisie is a "period of an unprecedented violent class struggle in unprecedented acute form". As Lenin puts it, "classes remain and will remain in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat and when classes disappear the dictatorship will become unnecessary".

Every student of Marxism-Leninism is fully aware of the fact how the founders of this science contemptuously rejected the terminology of a 'people's state', and pointed out that every state is a class state and there is not, nor can there be, a non-class state. And yet the Soviet leaders have chosen the term 'people's state'.

Similarly the Soviet leaders say that they have 'transformed' the proletarian state into a 'state of the whole people'. Marxist-Leninist science speaks of the proletarian state 'withering away' in the course of the fulfilment of its class tasks and the building of socialism and communism but does not talk of 'transformation' by decrees from the rostrums of Party Congresses.

When does the proletarian state begin to wither away? "When *all* have learned to administer and actually do independently administer social production, independently keep accounts and exercise control over the idlers, the gentlefolk, the swindlers and such like 'guardians of capitalist traditions', the escape from this popular accounting and control will inevitably become so incredibly difficult, such a rare exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment, that the *necessity* of observing the simple, fundamental rules of human intercourse will very soon become a habit", "then the door will be wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state."

Can the leaders of the CPSU dare say that the above stage of development has been reached in Soviet society? At any rate the reports we read and the developments we understand regarding the state of affairs in the Soviet

Union cannot convince us that such a degree of development has already taken place, it is far from that.

The hollowness of the propounders of this new thesis is exposed when they themselves again say that the present, so-called, state of the people "is being retained because the tasks which society can solve only with the aid of the state are not yet consummated". It reduces itself to simple jugglery with phrases to plead for the retention of the state to fulfil certain social tasks and in the same breath argue that those 'tasks' are non-class tasks!

The revisionists maintain that the dictatorship of the proletariat is dissolved since "its domestic (internal) purposes were fulfilled", and the state of the whole people is called upon to discharge its external task, the task of defending against capitalist and imperialist aggression. It is not correct even to maintain that the tasks of the dictatorship for internal purposes have completely been fulfilled. May we ask the question, what are these external tasks except the class tasks of the proletariat to fight the international bourgeoisie for the defence and completion of the world proletarian revolution? How can a state of the whole people, which is neither fish nor fowl, cope with strictly proletarian international tasks? It is impermissible that the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat and its tasks are mechanically divided into what is known as national and international, erecting a Chinese wall between the two, reducing it into purely national confines, while depriving it of its revolutionary definition that it "is a *detachment* of the world army of socialism". To do so would be to depart from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To conclude, to indulge in the talk of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people or in other words the abolition of the proletarian state, would be a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and treachery to the working class. Until and unless the "whole society will have become a single office and single factory, with equality of labour and equality of pay", until the difference between mental and manual labour disappears, until the difference of conditions of work for

the workers in factories and peasants in farms cease and until the worldwide victory of the proletarian revolution is assured, no question can arise of abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Closely connected with the non-class revisionist concept of a people's state is the concept of characterising the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the "party of the whole people". It is needless to reiterate that the Communist Party as the revolutionary political organisation of the proletariat is indispensable for the victory of the socialist revolution and for the entire historical stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat has to carry on the struggle against all the overthrown capitalist class enemies, to remould the whole of society, to eliminate the last remnants of capitalism, to build the class-less socialist society and to fulfil the tasks of building full-scale communism. These tasks can neither be discharged without the leadership of the Communist Party, nor is it permissible to dissolve the class party into an amorphous so-called non-class "party of the whole people". But the leadership of the CPSU has discarded this Marxist-Leninist concept, just as it discarded the concept of proletarian dictatorship.