

Summing up the history of the communist movement — from Marx to 1999



1999 Declaration of the International Communist Seminar

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a spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice, and they will make the 21st century the century of national and social liberation, the century of the triumph of socialism.

91. May the idea and the cause of the great October Revolution live through the centuries to come! Workers and exploited and oppressed peoples, fight on!★

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Workers of the world, unite!

Communism is the future of humanity!

Onward towards victory!

that strengthens confidence in the noblest ideals of humanity and eliminates all forms of opportunism, liberalism and dogmatism.

85. Relations between parties must be founded on the principles of proletarian internationalism, friendship, equality, non-interference and mutually beneficial cooperation.

86. Each party applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism to present reality according to the specific conditions of its country and in the interests of the international working-class. Simultaneously, each party must maintain the unity of the communist movement, which is essentially internationalist.

87. Confronted with the offensive set off by reaction, the communist parties that are loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, that organise the working class and other toiling masses and that develop a principled struggle against revisionism and reformism, feel the necessity to act together in view of their international unity.

88. In this perspective, we can and must go forward in various fields: exchange of experiences and analyses, coordination and common action, dialogue and discussion on our ideological identity and on the strategy of anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle. At the same time, we must build without delay the international workers' front against capitalism and the international anti-imperialist movement.

VII. The 21st century will be the century of socialism

89. To the labouring masses of the world, imperialism has nothing to offer but exploitation, oppression, obscurantism, fascism, war and the destruction of the life foundations of the human race.

90. The communists firmly intend to remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to organise the popular masses in view of the bloody battles the people will have to face, to demonstrate determination and

Introduction

This declaration is from the 1999 International Communist Seminar, an important annual seminar of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. The 1999 Declaration is a concise and coherent summation of the communist movement's victories and defeats in the 20th century. Freedom Road Socialist Organization is one of many revolutionary parties and organizations from around the world that have united with this statement. It is important to understand the experience and draw the correct lessons about the heroic socialist revolutions of the 20th century. The 1999 Declaration is an important contribution to that effort.★

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Cover image: A Red Army soldier raises the red flag over the German Reichstag as Berlin is in shambles, May 1945. The Soviet Union's Red Army was mainly responsible for defeating the Nazis in World War II.

1. Today, communists all over the world are summing up the first century of socialist revolution, in order to prepare for greater struggles to come and to achieve ever greater victories. They will exert every effort for the 21st century to become the century of victory on a world scale.

2. The bourgeoisie struggled for three centuries in order to triumph over the forces of feudalism. The socialist revolution aims to put an end to the long reign of the exploiting classes and to eliminate all forms of exploitation of man by man. The final victory of socialism all over the world will take a whole historical epoch.

3. The twentieth century has witnessed great feats of socialist revolution and construction, but also treason and counter-revolution within communist ranks. The twentieth century has been one of dress rehearsal, during which the proletariat accumulated great positive experiences as well as negative and tragic ones. As long as the communist parties remained loyal to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, the world socialist revolution followed an ascending course. As soon as the revisionists imposed themselves on a great number of communist parties, the revolution began its downfall.

I. A glorious experience

4. A hundred and fifty years ago, Marx and Engels published the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." The fundamental principles laid down by this great programmatic document remain valid for the proletariat of all countries.

5. Marx and Engels drew the lessons from the Paris Commune, the first revolution to take the path of socialist revolution, the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The different forms of power of the working class essentially correspond to the measures taken by the Paris Commune, and later by the Soviets, so as to allow the workers to become the effective rulers of society.

tries, taking along with it all progressive forces and struggling against the dictates that the monopolies impose on the economic and social life, against the repressive forces of the bourgeois State that serves the monopolies, against military acts of intervention aimed at other countries and against the preparation of large-scale wars of aggression. It has launched general strikes and numerous other mass movements against the prevailing capitalist regime.

VI. For the unity of Marxist-Leninists

81. The struggle against imperialism and for socialism will be confronted with huge difficulties in achieving lasting victories if the communist movement is divided in the ideological and organizational fields. Only the communists, united on an international level in the great party of the proletariat, can form the locomotive that will guide the train of humanity towards people's democracy, socialism and communism.

82. The reconstruction of the international communist movement, leaving behind its present state of crisis and retreat, reestablishing its unity on the grounds of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is the most urgent international task of the different Communist parties. In order to carry it out, Communists must be at the head of workers' and other popular struggles against capitalism and imperialism.

83. For forty years, due to the rise of revisionism, the international communist movement has been divided into different tendencies. It is natural that different opinions exist concerning the contributions of different leaders of the international communist movement. These differences of opinion can be debated scientifically to overcome prejudices and subjectivity and reach scientific conclusions.

84. When parties have different ideological opinions concerning various questions, they can gradually surmount them in a process of common practical struggle against the international bourgeoisie,

6. Struggling against social-democratic treason, the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin defended Marxism and developed the strategy and tactics of the socialist revolution, leading the October uprising and wrenching the workers from the barbarism of imperialist wars and interventions. Lenin formulated the general line for building socialism. The October Revolution created a new situation in the world: bourgeois order had to coexist with its opposite, socialist order: the existence of a large socialist country reminded all exploited and oppressed people that the unjust order of capitalism and imperialism could be overthrown. Basically, capitalism's area of exploitation of both the work force and mineral resources was reduced.

7. Neither the international bourgeoisie nor the opportunists in the Bolshevik Party believed that socialism could last in one backward country alone. It was the Soviet working class and labouring masses, led by the Party with Stalin at its head, who put Lenin's political principles into practice and built a great socialist power, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

8. The struggle for industrialisation, which mobilised millions of young workers, transformed a backward and feudal country into an industrial power able to stand up to world imperialism. Middle Ages agriculture was transformed, becoming mechanised and collective. Thanks to the cultural revolution, the former country of illiterate moujiks became a country of scientists, engineers and technicians.

9. The Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Stalin, built the Red Army in a high spirit of initiative and heroism and forged close links between the army and the popular masses. Practically on its own, the Red Army defeated Hitler's armies.

10. The Soviet Union's victorious anti-fascist war stimulated the development of the communist movement on a world-wide scale, especially in Europe and Asia. The victory of the Soviet Union over German imperialism gave new impulse to the revolutionary anti-

75. To rid humanity of this criminal system, we must build as widely based an international anti-imperialist front as possible, led by Communist and Workers' Parties, based on the working class and the toiling masses and striving for peace in the clear context of achieving socialism worldwide.

76. The international anti-imperialist front is made up of different forces.

77. There are the socialist countries that, faced with particularly difficult international conditions, lead very complex struggles to maintain their independence and the essential elements of socialism.

78. There are the exploited and oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who struggle against the economic, political, military and cultural domination of imperialism, for a national and scientific development in the interest of the popular masses. They struggle courageously for national liberation and aim for socialism. Their vanguard is composed of Marxist-Leninist parties who address the central question of revolution through protracted people's war, thus constituting examples in the current transition period from defeat to a new period of great revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat.

79. There are the suffering toiling masses of the former Soviet Union that are struggling to reestablish the Soviet Union and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The communists of the former Soviet Union have declared that never the bourgeoisie, this last exploiting class of history, and also the most cruel one, will be able to finally vanquish the socialist revolution. In the former Soviet Union, behind the counter-revolution, the tide of the revolution is already rising! The potential of the revolution knows no limit.

80. There is the working class of the capitalist, imperialist countries

colonial and anti-imperialist movement that shook imperialist domination in Asia and Africa. In several countries, people's democracy and socialism triumphed.

11. In the wake of World War II, the focus of the world proletarian revolution shifted to Asia, where the most heroic wars of liberation were waged and won under the leadership of the communist parties of China, Korea and Vietnam.

12. By developing the theory and practice of protracted people's war in the course of the anti-imperialist and democratic revolution in an immense Third World country, the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong made a contribution of international importance. He proceeded to transform the democratic revolution into socialist revolution, undertook socialist construction, put forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate the gains of socialism.

13. At the time of Stalin's death, the socialist camp and the forces of anti-imperialist revolution enjoyed unprecedented power and prestige. They were on the offensive, the oppressed all over the world could look to the future with optimism.

II. The rise of revisionism and the struggle against it

14. The advent of Khrushchov at the head of the CPSU was a historical turning point. Khrushchov's group set off his work of destruction by denigrating the revolutionary struggles carried out by the Communists led by Stalin in order to implement the principles and orientations bequeathed by Lenin.

15. It took revisionism, initiated by Khrushchov's group, more than 35 years to completely destroy the work accomplished by Lenin, Stalin and three generations of Bolsheviks!

16. Today, it is clear why Stalin has been subjected to bitter slan-

over the Chinese province of Taiwan.

V. The forces of world socialist revolution

70. Against the bourgeois catchphrase of "democracy and freedom on a world level", the communists openly declare to the world: only the struggle against imperialism, with the end in view of building socialism and communism is the way of liberation for mankind, the path towards the equality, fraternity and happiness of all the labouring masses of the earth. The October Revolution was the first to choose this road and the Chinese Revolution adapted it to the realities of countries dominated by imperialism.

71. Confronted with the international dictatorship of the dominant bourgeoisie and its multinationals, only the international working class, united against its common enemy, united by the same socialist ideal, is able to guide the workers towards national and social liberation. Only the international working class can put forward and develop a programme capable of ending the exploitation, oppression, terror and barbarism that imperialism enforces on the peoples of the world.

72. The 20th century has been marked by the struggle against imperialist wars, by the struggle of the working class against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and by the struggle of the oppressed peoples against imperialist domination. These three struggles have given birth to the socialist revolutions.

73. As, at the end of our century, the contradictions of the imperialist world are much deeper and sharper than in 1900, these three revolutionary struggles will develop in the future with unsurpassed scope and intensity.

74. Imperialism has become a far more criminal, barbaric, inhuman and destructive system than in 1914 or 1939, when it set off the two World Wars. The destructive impact of its arms has been multiplied a thousand-fold, and so has its disregard for the lives of

der and calumny by the enemies of socialism. Stalin remained loyal to Leninism. Under his leadership the Soviet people accomplished miracles. After Stalin's death, the revisionists and mainly Krushchov and Gorbachov rejected Leninist principles and went from failure to failure.

17. History proved that the fight against the ideas and the revolutionary practice of Stalin was a fight against communism.

18. The 20th, 21st and 22nd congresses of the CPSU were marked by the revision of Marxism-Leninism, setting off ideological and political degeneration and bureaucratism at the head of the State and Party.

19. Krushchov directly took many reactionary ideas from the renegade Tito. Krushchov's theories about the "State of the whole people" and the "Party of the whole people" led to the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ceasing of class struggle against the bourgeois forces and influences. The theory of "the cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace" inflicted blows on the anti-imperialist struggle. The theory of "peaceful and parliamentary paths towards socialism" strengthened the social-democratic currents in several communist parties.

20. Brezhnev put an end to some of the extreme forms of Krushchov's revisionism but he never questioned the revisionist programmes of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses. Brezhnev put an end to the policy of open capitulation to american imperialism and he supported on the international stage different forces, which were fighting that imperialism. Under Brezhnev, a new petty bourgeoisie has arisen from the bureaucracy and the intelligentsia and was the largest social basis of revisionism. It encouraged the development of a 'shadow' capitalist sector and stimulated a process of degeneration in the socialist enterprises.

21. Gorbachov's revisionism ultimately took outright anticom-

as 1991, NATO military interventions began in Yugoslavia to dismember that country. The present criminal and barbaric bombings against the defence forces, the infrastructure, the factories and the cities of Yugoslavia, show that NATO is stepping into the shoes of the fascist coalition led by Hitler's Germany.

The expansion of NATO on three continents could be at the origins of a Third World War.

The expansion of NATO in Eastern Europe, the acquisition of military bases in Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Albania are in direct preparation for a war with Russia for the control of resources round the Caspian Sea.

The alliance between Turkey and Israel paves the way for new NATO wars for the control of Middle Eastern oil.

The links between NATO and certain Asian republics bordering on China prepare for NATO aggression against that country.

The recent NATO manoeuvres in Kenya are in readiness for military interventions against the anti-imperialist countries of Africa. The United States are the true instigators of the war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of the Congo launched by Rwandan, Ugandan and Burundi troops. UNITA, created by the CIA and still supported by American lobbies, has made an alliance with Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi and has launched a great offensive against patriotic forces in Angola.

68. The creation of a European army under German leadership is used to uphold European imperialism's plans of domination over Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Caucasus region and Africa.

69. In Asia, the United States is also preparing for war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and China by adopting a new "security treaty" with Japan, maintaining 40,000 soldiers and 1000 nuclear weapons in South Korea and keeping their control

minist forms. The forces he led, supported by the international bourgeoisie, completed the counter-revolutionary process in the Soviet Union and led to the open restoration of capitalism in its crudest forms. Gorbachov and Yeltsin have been the executors of a triumph for the forces of imperialism and reaction of international importance.

22. Mao Zedong, Enver Hoxha and other eminent communist leaders, such as Kim Il Sung, Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh, brought their contribution to the struggle against revisionism. Their anti-revisionist struggle prepared the ground for a renewal of the communist movement on genuinely revolutionary foundations. Divergent opinions exist in the international communist movement about their respective contributions.

23. The open restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union proves that revisionism effectively is the most dangerous enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Life has proved that revisionism introduces the bourgeoisie into the communist movement and brings the latter under the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

24. Ideological struggle against revisionism is a complex and arduous task. Revisionism, which has destroyed so many parties, will not wither away spontaneously. If revisionist ideas and theses are not criticised and analysed in depth, they will continue to survive and the liquidationist current will strike again, felling new victims.

25. All the opportunist currents active in the working-class movement, the social-democrats, most revisionists and the trotskyites upheld the counter-revolutionary process in the Soviet Union, going so far as to approve the extreme-right coup d'état of Yeltsin and the CIA in August 1991. This is an irrefutable fact, that unmasks once and for all these agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

III. Our cardinal principles

criminal system is condemned to disappear. The counter-revolution is precipitating the entire human race into a period of instability and uncertainty; it has united the four corners of the earth in a common front by a thousand links; it has undermined the very foundations of the system it should be stabilising; it has created the preconditions for a deeper and more radical revolutionary change.

65. The militarisation of international relations, the arms race and the sharp contradictions among and between the imperialist powers produce and reproduce violence and war, increase instability and the risk of generalised military conflicts. The danger of a third World War can only be averted by a general offensive of the workers and the oppressed peoples against capitalism and imperialism.

66. Imperialism actively prepares for war against all the countries that try to escape its domination, amongst others China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Iraq, Lybia, Iran, Yugoslavia and Byelorussia. But also against Russia, in case real communists should come to power again.

67. NATO is an aggressive pact created in 1949 with the aim of provoking a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. The defence efforts of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, the development of the World Peace Movement and the war of resistance waged by the Korean people supported by Chinese volunteers and by soviet help, caused this plan to fail. NATO then resorted to political and psychological warfare, which led to counter-revolutionary riots in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, prelude to the "peaceful" counter-revolution of 1989.

As soon as capitalism had been completely restored in the Soviet Union, NATO launched into wars of aggression, demonstrating its permanently aggressive character, not only against socialist countries, but also against all countries maintaining their independence in face of imperialism. The war of aggression against Iraq, camouflaged under the UN flag, was in fact the first NATO war. As early

26. The victories of the international working-class and socialism in the era of Lenin, Stalin and Mao as well as the revisionist theories corroborate seven essential theses of Marxism-Leninism.

I

27. Under capitalism, the State is an instrument of bourgeois domination against the workers. The socialist revolution must completely destroy this tool of bourgeois oppression and replace it with a new, proletarian State.

28. The bourgeois states apply a form of democracy in accord with their class nature. Liberals talk about democracy in the abstract to mask the class character of bourgeois democracy, but Marxists always insist upon the following question: "Democracy for which class?". If there is democracy for the exploiters, there can be no real democracy for the exploited.

29. Under the capitalist regime, the democratic republic and general elections are instruments of the dictatorship of capital. Their aim is to give a democratic appearance to a system that is fundamentally built on the all-pervasive power of big capital, the dominant bourgeoisie and its forces of repression.

30. The parliament is not the real center of bourgeois power. The real power is in the hands of those who own the banks and the large companies. The parliament gives a democratic appearance to decisions which are taken in discreet bourgeois circles. In any serious crisis, the parliament is put aside by exceptional regimes. The communists can participate to the elections and enter bourgeois parliaments in order to prepare the masses to their revolutionary tasks.

II

31. As soon as liberal capitalism transformed itself into monopoly capitalism, it entered the stage of imperialism. The bourgeois

60. In Russia, the new dominant bourgeoisie, with its criminal, mafia-like characteristics, has brought the country down to a state of dependence on US and European capital. Capitalism has beset the peoples of the former Soviet Union with mind-boggling catastrophes, misery, unemployment, ethnic conflicts, civil wars. The newly created republics are mostly dominated by US and German finance capital and ruled by the comprador bourgeoisie.

61. No sooner had the Soviet Union disappeared than imperialism started a neo-colonial offensive against the Third World, emasculating national states, dictating their economic policies, preying on productive forces and openly intervening in their internal affairs.

62. In the capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie is taking back, one after another, all the concessions it had been forced to make after the anti-fascist war, confronted with the rising socialist revolution. Racism, nationalism, chauvinism and fascism are propagated to destroy the anticapitalist forces. Spying on the workers through ever more sophisticated means of surveillance is generalised. The suppression of popular movements has become ever more violent.

63. The economic contradictions between the United States, Japan and Europe have become more acute, as they scramble for raw materials, investments and markets.

64. The general crisis of imperialism deepens. In the capitalist countries, exploitation of the workers dramatically worsens. In certain regions, unemployment affects up to 30% of the workers. Social gains are progressively dismantled. In the Third World countries, foreign debt, privatisations and the dismantling of the State institutions make the survival of billions of people precarious. In Russia, industrial production has plunged by 55%. Since the beginning of the Yeltsin regime, the country has suffered an annual excess mortality of between 500,000 and 700,000 people, compared with the eighties. From now on, capitalism in crisis makes life impossible for the great majority of mankind. This barbaric and

state has become more and more an appendix of the monopolies. The hideous character of the oppression of the working masses is reinforced.

32. Imperialism is the negation of democracy, it means reaction on all fronts. Fascisation and fascism are expressions of the inevitable degeneration of bourgeois democracy in the imperialist era. At the present moment, the imperialist countries still have some of the outward forms of bourgeois democracy, while at the same time precipitating the regime towards fascism, generalised surveillance of the population and terrorist violence against population revolts. After the barbaric war against Iraq, they undertook activities of subversion, interference and aggression to dismember Yugoslavia and launched into a war of massive destruction against that country. The ex-socialist countries like Russia and Albania demonstrate perfectly the parasitic character of the present-day bourgeoisie and the decay of its whole economic and political system: production has fallen by more than 50% and the elections only mask the domination of the mafia and other criminal organisations over these countries.

33. In the field of foreign policy, imperialism leads to wars of conquest against the less developed countries and to world wars between imperialist powers. World War I initiated the historical era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

34. By sharpening all contradictions of capitalism, imperialism demonstrates the necessity of socialist revolution. Under imperialism, the gigantic productive forces can only be maintained within the obsolete bounds of private property by means of oppression, terror and war. Today, new technological revolutions make human work phenomenally productive. However, as production is carried out with the single aim of maximising the profits of the owners of the means of production, the vast majority of humanity becomes "superfluous" and is plunged into unbearable physical and intellectual destitution. Imperialism denies a large part of humanity the most elementary human right, the right to life. Only the socialist

54. The different imperialist powers all defend the capitalism of multinationals.

55. They have transformed the United Nations into an agency that executes their will, carrying out their political dictatorship over other nations. If Russia and China oppose their dictates in the Security Council, the imperialist powers trample on the latter's decisions.

56. They sweep aside national sovereignty and independence, openly interfere with the internal affairs of other countries, arrogantly invoke the pretexts of "democracy, freedom, self-determination of the peoples, peace, multi-partyism, free elections and human rights".

57. The imperialist powers that have committed and continue to commit the worst crimes against humanity, wish to create a permanent international tribunal as an instrument of terror against all leaders who defend national independence and socialism and even those who temporarily oppose their decisions.

58. To impose their international economic dictatorship, the multinationals must prevent or destroy the international solidarity of the working class and the anti-imperialist unity of the oppressed peoples. They spread and use racism, reactionary nationalism, separatism, religious fanaticism, irrationalism and mysticism, ethnicism and fascism to divide, fragment and stultify the popular forces, so as to plunge them into barbaric killings and destroy all capacity of resistance to imperialism and capitalism.

59. As soon as socialism was completely destroyed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, all global contradictions suddenly and dramatically worsened.

48. Proletarian internationalism is a fundamental element that distinguishes the communist parties from all others. In the national struggles of the workers, the communists set forth and promote their interests independent of nationality and shared by the proletariat of the whole world.

49. Marx stated: "The emancipation of the proletariat cannot but be an international fact; attempting to make it a purely national fact is rendering it impossible". The revolution may be national in its form, the proletariat can overthrow the bourgeoisie in one country. But in its content, the revolution is always international, forming part of the world movement for the emancipation of the working class.

50. Lenin and Stalin always considered the building and defense of socialism in the Soviet Union as an integral part of the historical struggle for the triumph of the workers' cause all over the world.

IV. The current offensive of imperialism and reaction

51. On the eve of the third millennium, we are confronted with the imperialist desire to enforce its barbaric and inhuman "new world order" on all peoples.

52. Monopoly capital is sinking more and more deeply into economic crisis, increasing the exploitation of workers and the plundering of world resources to restore and increase profits. On the one hand, it penetrates everywhere thanks to communications technology, binding the most important Third World countries to the world market economically and destroying local bourgeoisies in aid of the high compradore bourgeoisie. On the other hand, it is becoming concentrated to a greater and greater extent, doing away with jobs to increase performance.

53. The monopolies impose their economic dictatorship through the instruments they have created for themselves, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade

revolution makes it possible to put the unlimited productive capacities of human work at the service of the harmonious development of the entire human race. Only socialist revolution can allow the workers to avoid the barbarism of imperialist wars.

III

35. The great Revolution of October 1917 confirmed the truth of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution, the only path leading to the victory of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalist. All reformist paths, advocating gradual reform as a means of achieving the liberation of the proletariat, lead in the end to the strengthening of bourgeois domination and social inequality and the perfecting of the means of exploitation.

36. The bourgeoisie has always used the most ferocious violence each time the toiling masses wanted to overthrow their unjust and cruel reign. Revolution implies revolutionary violence, the midwife of the new society. Without violent revolution, it is impossible for the proletariat state to replace the bourgeois state.

37. Lenin stressed the fact that revolutionaries must be ready to make the most important sacrifices, to go through the test of civil war, lest they go over to menshevik positions of reconciliation with the terrorist bourgeoisie.

IV

38. The socialist state may assume various forms, but, as for its class nature, it will be the revolutionary power of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

39. Under socialism, the transition to communism and class struggle do not come to a halt, but change their forms of expression. The remnants and influences of capitalism will remain during a relatively long period. Even after the construction of the foundations of socialism and the abolition of capitalist property, there will be an

objective, material basis for the sharpening of former conflicts and the appearance of new ones. The underestimation of these contradictions can transform them into antagonisms, undermining the socialist structure, strengthening the counter-revolutionary elements and allowing the return to capitalism.

40. Following directly on Marx, Lenin said that the dictatorship of the proletariat had to be maintained in the Soviet Union as long as there existed bourgeois and petit-bourgeois forces, bureaucracy, bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideological currents; as long as international capitalism could find support, and the differences between manual and intellectual work, between country and town remained.

41. The proletariat needs the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat to reduce its class enemies to silence. The revolution therefore is accomplished only when the communists have realised their final objective: the classless society, where the menace of capitalism, coming from the inside as well as the outside, has disappeared, when the State progressively withers away, when the construction of communism takes place.

V

42. Experience has convincingly demonstrated that the economic base for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the collective ownership of the means of production and the planned production of goods directly in the service of society. The production of consumer goods aims to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the workers. The experience of the counter-revolution in the ex-socialist countries has confirmed that the market economy, where production is characterised by anarchy, is the economic base for the restoration of capitalism and the re-establishment of bourgeois dictatorship.

43. The objective of capitalist production is to increase the surplus value wrested from the workers by the capitalists, maximum

profit for each individual capitalist. The aim of socialist production is the realisation of the well-being of the working masses as well as the development and blooming of all members of society in the framework of the objective possibilities of the given period.

44. Thanks to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist planned economy, the Soviet Union was able to solve many fundamental problems that no capitalist country will ever be able to solve. The Soviet Union was able to bring about the equality and fraternal cooperation of more than 100 nationalities, full employment, free schooling and medical care, access to science and culture, practically free housing, social services and public transportation. No capitalist country has ever been able to guarantee its population the security offered by the Soviet Union under socialism.

VI

45. The Soviet Union's experience demonstrates the essential role of the revolutionary party of the proletariat as the leading core of the revolution and the construction of the new socialist society.

46. The Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin was a revolutionary party in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin's theory concerning the Bolshevik-type party, vanguard, organised and disciplined detachment of the working class and the toiling masses, remains valid today.

47. To work out its political line, the Party analyzes class struggles at the national and international levels from the point of view of the working-class and in the light of Marxism-Leninism. It maintains its revolutionary spirit by putting into practice the principles of democratic centralism, control and verification of tasks accomplished, criticism and self-criticism and struggle against opportunism. Its strength resides in its confidence in Marxism-Leninism, its strong bonds with the labouring masses and its long-lasting struggle for their interests.