



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

December 5, 2023

MR. JOHN R. GREENEWALD JR.
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CASTAIC, CA 91384

FOIPA Request No.: 1384795-000
Subject: Glossary of Marxist Words and
Phrases (Dated 1948)

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

The FBI has completed its search for records subject to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) that are responsive to your request. The enclosed 1125 pages of records were determined to be responsive to your subject and were previously processed and released. Please see the selected paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request as well as the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

In an effort to provide you with responsive records as expeditiously as possible, we are releasing documents from previous requests regarding your subject. We consider your request fulfilled. Since we relied on previous results, additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may request an additional search for records. Submit your request by mail to **Initial Processing Operations Unit; Record/Information Dissemination Section; Information Management Division; Federal Bureau of Investigation; 200 Constitution Drive; Winchester, VA 22602. You may also email your response to foipaquestions@fbi.gov.** Please include the FOIPA Request Number listed above in your correspondence.

Please be advised that additional records responsive to your subject exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you must advise us that you want the additional records processed. Please submit your response within thirty (30) days to **Initial Processing Operations Unit; Record/Information Dissemination Section; Information Management Division; Federal Bureau of Investigation; 200 Constitution Drive; Winchester, VA 22602. You may also email your response to foipaquestions@fbi.gov.** Please include the FOIPA Request Number listed above in your correspondence. **If we do not receive your decision within thirty (30) days of the date of this notification, your request will be closed.**

One or more of the enclosed records were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession.

If this release of the previously processed material does not satisfy your request, you may file a FOIPA request with NARA at the following address:

National Archives and Records Administration
Special Access and FOIA
8601 Adelphi Road, Room 5500
College Park, MD 20740-6001

Records potentially responsive to your request were transferred to the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), and they were not previously processed pursuant to the FOIA. You may file a request with NARA using the address above.

- One or more of the enclosed records were destroyed. Although we retained a version of the records previously processed pursuant to the FOIA, the original records are no longer in our possession. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) , Title 44, United States Code, Section 3301 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1228; Title 44, United States Code, Section 3310 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1229.10.
- Records potentially responsive to your request were destroyed. Since this material could not be reviewed, it is not known if it was responsive to your request. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) according to Title 44 United States Code Section 3301, Title 36 Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Chapter 12 Sub-chapter B Part 1228, and 36 CFR 1229.10.
- Documents or information referred to other Government agencies were not included in this release.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **“Part 1”** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **“Part 2”** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records about yourself or any third party individuals. **“Part 3”** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Additional information about the FOIPA can be found at www.fbi.gov/foia. Should you have questions regarding your request, please feel free to contact foipaquestions@fbi.gov. Please reference the FOIPA Request number listed above in all correspondence concerning your request.

Please be advised that if you are seeking a new search for records, you may wish to narrow the scope of your request based on material that you have already received, e.g., timeframe or locality. Additionally, be advised that “unusual circumstances” may apply. See 5 U.S.C. § 552 (a)(6)(B)(iii). These “unusual circumstances” will delay our ability to make a determination on your request within 20 days. See 5 U.S.C. § 552 (a)(6)(B). Additionally, the payment of pertinent fees may apply to your request. See 5 U.S.C. § 552 (a)(4)(A)(viii). The application of “unusual circumstances” is not a determination of how the FBI will respond to your substantive request.

If you are not satisfied with the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s determination in response to this request, you may administratively appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP’s FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP’s website: <https://www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of this response to your request. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by emailing the FBI’s FOIA Public Liaison at foipaquestions@fbi.gov. The subject heading should clearly state “Dispute Resolution Services.” Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified. You may also contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at ogis@nara.gov; telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769.

Sincerely,



Michael G. Seidel
Section Chief
Record/Information Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosures

FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.
- (ii) **Intelligence Records.** To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.
- (iii) **Requests for Confidential Informant Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of confidential informant records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F) [5 U.S.C. § 552 (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F)] and Privacy Act exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. § 552a (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records would reveal confidential informant identities and information, expose law enforcement techniques, and endanger the life or physical safety of individuals. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches and Standard Search Policy.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems, such as the Central Records System (CRS), or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. The CRS is an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. The standard search policy is a search for main entity records in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include a search for reference entity records, administrative records of previous FOIPA requests, or civil litigation files.
 - a. *Main Entity Records* – created for individuals or non-individuals who are the subjects or the focus of an investigation
 - b. *Reference Entity Records*- created for individuals or non-individuals who are associated with a case but are not known subjects or the focus of an investigation
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Foreseeable Harm Standard.** As amended in 2016, the Freedom of Information Act provides that a federal agency may withhold responsive records only if: (1) the agency reasonably foresees that disclosure would harm an interest protected by one of the nine exemptions that FOIA enumerates, or (2) disclosure is prohibited by law (5 United States Code, Section 552(a)(8)(A)(i)). The FBI considers this foreseeable harm standard in the processing of its requests.
- (iv) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552


- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

This document is made available through the declassification efforts
and research of John Greenewald, Jr., creator of:

The Black Vault



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document clearinghouse in the world. The research efforts here are
responsible for the declassification of hundreds of thousands of pages
released by the U.S. Government & Military.

Discover the Truth at: <http://www.theblackvault.com>

GLOSSARY OF MARXIST WORDS AND PHRASES

WFO-16-1

INTRODUCTION

This is Section I of a Glossary of Communist Words and Phrases prepared from a wide variety of Communist literature. The words selected are generally those which are used frequently by all Communists and relate to fundamental aspects of their theory and practice. The Glossary is arranged on an alphabetical basis and this particular Section extends through letter "D" of the alphabet.

It is well known that Communists do have, in a certain sense, a language of their own, a Marxist-Leninist terminology. They often attach meanings to words which differ from the meanings attached to the same words by non-Communists. For example, Communists apply a number of thoughts to the word "democracy" which the average American citizen would not recognize as being applicable to the word "democracy." In order, therefore, to grasp the full implications of their theory, and to accurately observe and interpret the tactics and strategy of Communists who are systematically engaged in efforts to deceive and influence the average American citizen, it is necessary to understand their language. To this end the Glossary has been directed.

The words and phrases in this Glossary are preceded by brief commentaries indicating the Communist meaning conveyed. The commentaries in turn are followed by statements of recognized Communist authorities, culled from many different Communist sources, on which the validity of the commentaries are predicated.

An attempt has been made to so arrange the material that it will not only serve as a reference and guide to the unique Communist terminology but also as a vehicle which unfolds the over-all program of the Communist Party from its fundamental principles and practices to its ultimate goal.

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ACTION

Communists make frequent references to the word "action." They mean by it that an idea is of no value unless it is applied. Therefore, it is the duty of every Communist to be constantly in action applying Communist ideas. They point out that a theory divorced from action is worthless; that Marxism is not just a theory but a dynamic course of action as well. Further, it must be revolutionary action containing both a negative and a positive side. On the one hand revolutionary action must destroy the present order of things. On the other hand it must build up, or construct a new order of things, leading to a complete victory for Marxism. Words per se are valueless. Actions, deeds, results are the things which are valuable.

"Our doctrine--said Engels, referring to himself and his famous friend--is not a dogma, but a guide to action."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 53.

"Who, besides archive rats, does not understand that the Party and its leaders must be tested first of all by their deeds and not only by their declarations?"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, page 401.

"'Revolutionary action' for the reform of the old order while leaving power in the hands of the ruling class, is one thing--it is the constitutional path. 'Revolutionary action' for the purpose of smashing the old order, of overthrowing the ruling class, is a different thing--that is the revolutionary path, that is the path to the complete victory of the revolution. The difference is fundamental."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 243.

AGENT-PROVOCATEUR

This phrase usually refers to a person who is hired to associate or work with an organization or group under the pretense that he accepts the principles, practices and objectives of that organization or group, and wishes to do all he can to advance them while actually he is opposed to such and seeks to cause the organization or group and the members to pursue an unsound pattern of procedure, or to commit illegal acts in order that the police can be informed and arrests made. Communists are inclined, particularly in recent years, to use this phrase rather often and loosely relating it to many different types of persons who do not fully agree with their Party principles and policies. Some Trotskyites and others who have left the Communist Party have been bitterly denounced as "agents-provocateurs."

"One of the most effective weapons in the hands of the enemy is the agent-provocateur, the stool-pigeon, the spy in the ranks of the working class, and especially in the ranks of the vanguard of the proletariat--the Communist Party.

"The activities of these human rats can be listed as follows: 1. Agents-provocateurs are planted in the Party either by the police department, Department of Justice, 'patriotic' organizations, or counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, with the aim of disrupting the work of the Party organizations. The methods they use are: (a) Creating sentiment against the leadership of the Party; (b) Systematic destructive criticism against the line of the Party; (c) Provocative proposals for certain actions, which, if adopted, would lessen the confidence of the masses in the ability of the Communist Party...; (d) The spreading of rumors about individual leaders of the Party, concerning their political integrity or personal life; (e) Creating an atmosphere of spy mania in the Party organization by skillfully spreading rumors about certain individuals being spies; (f) Accepting important assignments at strategic points and certain activity and then sabotaging the carrying out of the assignment..."

Peters, J., The Communist Party:
A Manual On Organization, pages
119-120.

AGITATE: ACTIVATE: ACTIVIZE

These words as used by Communists all have a similar meaning, centering around their concept of agitation. They believe that the masses of people, (non-Communists); are naturally apathetic and indifferent to many urgent social issues; therefore, it is necessary to arouse, stir up, and encourage the people to consider these issues from the Communist point of view, and in particular, to win them over to supporting Communist Party programs. They must be activated and prodded into action. These words may also apply to Communists who are considered to be dilatory in promulgating Communist Party programs. In the main, however, they relate to the non-Communist masses.

Communists explain that agitation and propaganda should supplement or support each other. The line dividing agitation from propaganda is not always clear, but to the Communists it definitely exists. Agitation has propaganda effects and propaganda has "agitational aspects," but they differ in that agitation confines itself to getting across to the masses one, single, clear-cut idea, slogan or course of action, whereas propaganda seeks to get across a number of ideas, slogans and courses of action as part of one large pattern. It is much broader in its scope than agitation. Further, agitation is concerned with what should be done now in the immediate future and how it can be done, whereas the effects of propaganda are usually remote and general. Agitation is often worded in a more simple fashion than is propaganda. This is necessary, for in order to agitate, activate and activize the masses of people who vary greatly in social background, the language must be so phrased that all will understand it. Simple, forceful language can often be most moving and conducive to creating militant action.

"...a propagandist, dealing with, say, the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalistic nature of crises, the reasons why crises are inevitable in modern society, must describe how present society must inevitably become transformed into socialist society, etc. In a word, he must present 'many ideas,' so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole only by a (comparatively) few persons. An agitator, however, speaking on the same subject will take as an illustration a fact that is most widely known and outstanding among his audience--say, the death from

starvation of the family of an unemployed worker, the growing impoverishment, etc.--and utilizing this fact, which is known to all and sundry, will direct all his efforts to presenting a single idea to the 'masses,' i.e., the idea of the senseless contradiction between the increase of wealth and increase of poverty; he will strive to rouse discontent and indignation among the masses against this crying injustice, and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the propagandist. Consequently, the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the printed word; the agitator operates with the living word."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume II, pages 85-86. See
also: Marxist Glossary, by
L. Harry Gould, pages 11 and
77.

AGNOSTICISM

By "agnosticism" Communists refer to the doctrine which conveys the idea that ultimate reality cannot be known; that the existence of God, His attributes as well as the origin, purpose and destiny of the universe and all life upon it is in essence unknowable. Hence, in the ultimate sense learning cannot get past ignorance. Agnosticism tends toward the notion that absolute truth (if such exists), is beyond mans' capacity. Therefore all his knowledge is necessarily relative and uncertain--a view which has given much support to secularism. Secularism in turn facilitates the development of Communism, whose adherents, however, strongly criticizes the agnostic doctrine.

Communists consider agnosticism to be materialism. This they approve. But they regard it as being inconsistent and improperly developed materialism. This they disapprove. Communists claim that a sufficient amount of reality can be known with certainty to establish the validity of the materialistic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the absolute truth of Communism.

"What, indeed, is agnosticism, but, to use an expressive Lancashire term, 'shamfaced' materialism? The agnostic's conception of nature is materialistic throughout."

Engels, Frederick, in Karl Marx
Selected Works, Vol. 1,
page 99.

ARMED FORCES (of non-Communist nations to be disrupted)

Communists believe that warfare is inevitable between Communists and non-Communist nations, therefore, they recommend that the armies, navies, and air corps of Soviet Russia, plus all Communist dominated satellite countries, be fully developed and kept large and powerful while at the very same time every effort should be made, legal or illegal to weaken, demoralize, and render ineffective, the armed forces of all non-Communist nations.

The first part of the program, the building of powerful Communist armed forces, is to be carried out by collective labor and the dividing of large portions of natural resources to this end. The second part of the program, disrupting the armed forces of non-Communist nations, is to be carried out by infiltrating the armies, navies, and air corps, spreading pacifist doctrines, though the Communists themselves are strongly opposed to pacifism. Further, discipline will be undermined, officers discredited, impossible salary, hours on duty and related working conditions demands will be continually made ostensibly, on the behalf of the soldier. Huge mass movements will be organized demanding wholesale disarmament which is to result in eliminating the armed forces altogether as a defensive organ of a nation.

"...not a single great revolution has ever refrained from 'disorganizing' the army and cannot now refrain from doing so; because the army is the most rigid instrument for supporting the old regime..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 114.

"The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbors no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace with the imperialists. The proletariat knows that the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union is inevitable; that in the process of a proletarian world revolution, wars between proletarian and bourgeois States, wars for the emancipation of the world from capitalism, will necessarily and inevitably arise. Therefore, the primary duty of

the proletariat, as the fighter for Socialism, is to make all the necessary political, economic, and military preparations for these wars, to strengthen its Red Army---that mighty weapon of the proletariat---and to train the masses of the toilers in the art of war."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
war and the Tasks of the Commu-
nists-Resolution of the Sixth
World Congress of the Communist
International, pages 30-31.

"Revolutionary work in the army must be linked up with the general revolutionary movement of the masses of the proletariat and poor peasantry."

Ibid., page 44.

"Wherever circumstances permit, the Communists must try to organize the masses of the soldiers in volunteer armies under the slogan of soldiers' councils, and mobilize them for the fight against the officers and the bourgeoisie. Where the social composition of certain units do not permit of this being done, the Communists must demand the immediate disarming and dissolution of such military units."

Ibid., page 44.

"Everyone will agree that an army which does not train itself to wield all arms, all means and methods of warfare that the enemy possesses or may possess is behaving in an unwise or even in a criminal manner. This applies to politics to a greater degree than it does to war."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 139.

ARMED FORCES (destruction of non-Communist forces)

In speaking and writing of the "armed forces" of non-Communist nations, Communists assert with ardent conviction that it is not only necessary to weaken and demoralize such "armed forces" but it is also essential to completely destroy or smash all "armed forces" of non-Communist nations, following the revolution, replacing them with new "armed forces"---Communist forces.

"The first commandment of every victorious revolution, as Marx and Engels repeatedly emphasized, was: Smash the old army, dissolve it and replace it by a new one. In rising to power, the new social class never could, and cannot now, attain power or consolidate it except by absolutely disintegrating the old army...and by gradually building up in the midst of stern civil war a new army, a new discipline, a new military organization of the new class."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 174a

ARMED FORCES (Red Russian Army to be supported by Communists all over the world)

Communists of all nations consider the "Red Army" of Russia to be "their" army, the only one to which they owe any loyalty. This "Red Army" is described as being the army of the international proletariat and, therefore, no worker in any country should ever fight against the "Red Army." For example, if war should be declared between Russia and a non-Communist nation, all workers would be asked not to fight against "their" international proletariat army and all Communists in this nation would be expected to fiercely oppose and sabotage the government and armed forces of the country in which they live in order to assist the "Red Army" of Russia. The "Red Army" is looked upon not as an enemy army, but as a friendly army coming to liberate Communists and the like from the slavery of Capitalism. Hence, full support must be given it at all times, and everything possible must be done to damage the armed forces of the non-Communist countries in which Communists live. Communists are not expected to defend non-Communist nations, but they are expected to defend orthodox Communist nations without exception.

"The Red Army is not an 'enemy' army, but the army of the international proletariat. In the event of a war against the Soviet Union, the workers in capitalist countries must not allow themselves to be scared from supporting the Red Army and from expressing this support by fighting against their own bourgeoisie, by the charges of treason that the bourgeoisie may hurl against them. Although the proletariat in imperialist countries is not bound by the duty of 'national defense,' in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, however, national defense is an unflinching revolutionary duty."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, page 29.

"The third foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is our Red Army and our Red Navy. Lenin told us more than once that the respite we have gained from the capitalist states may be a short one. More than once Lenin pointed out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. The events connected with Curzon's ultimatum and the crisis in Germany once again confirmed the fact that Lenin, as always, was right. Let us vow then, comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy."

Stalin, Joseph, Lenin,
page 18.

ARMED FORCES (revolutionary work at the fighting front)

Communists in considering their relationship to the phrase "armed forces" believe it is necessary to keep up demoralizing propaganda within the armed forces not only in time of peace, but also in time of war. They believe in carrying their sabotaging activities even up to the fighting front in an endeavor to totally disrupt the armed forces and turn what they term an "imperialist" war into a civil war for the purpose of establishing Communism.

"An extremely important point in the matter of transforming imperialist war into civil war is revolutionary work at the front. In this, the Communists must not confine themselves merely to propaganda, but must issue definite slogans of action corresponding to the concrete situation.

"(a) In connection with the economic demands and complaints of the soldiers, collective refusal, or sabotage of service, and certain forms of soldiers' and sailors' strikes should be applied.

"(b) The most important slogan of action at the front is the slogan of fraternization. The purpose of fraternization is to unite the worker and peasant soldiers in the opposite lines of trenches against their officers. Experience in the last world war has shown that mass fraternization inevitably leads to class differentiation in the armies and to armed conflicts between soldiers and officers. The Communists in the army must organize fraternization and give it a clear, political color, particularly in regard to the question of peace and the organization of the revolutionary forces in the army."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the Sixth World Congress
of the Communist International, pp. 24-25

ARMED FORCES (Bolsheviks as an example)

Communists never tire of pointing out that the Bolsheviks of Russia are model Communists and all other Communists throughout the world should profit by the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution and pattern their course of action after the successful Bolsheviks (highest type of Communists) of Russia. Communist literature frequently carries material portraying revolutionary techniques employed by the Bolsheviks during the Revolution in Russia.

"The Bolsheviks also developed extensive activities in the army and navy. They explained to the soldiers and sailors who was to blame for the unparalleled horrors of the war and the sufferings of the people; they explained that there was only one way out for the people from the imperialist shambles, and that was revolution. The Bolsheviks formed nuclei in the army and navy, at the front and in the rear, and distributed leaflets calling for a fight against the war."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), edited by the Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), page 171.

"On October 21 the Bolsheviks sent commissars of the Revolutionary Military Committee to all revolutionary army units. Throughout the remaining days before the uprising energetic preparations for action were made in the army units and in the mills and factories. Precise instructions were also issued to the warships Aurora and Zarya Svobody."

Ibid., page 207.

"The Petrograd workers in those days showed what a splendid schooling they had received under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party. The revolutionary units of the army, prepared for the uprising by the work of the Bolsheviks, carried out fighting orders with precision and fought side by side with the Red Guard. The navy did not lag behind the army. Kronstadt was a stronghold of the Bolshevik Party, and had long since refused to recognize the authority of the Provisional Government. The cruiser Aurora trained its guns on the Winter Palace, and on October 25 their thunder ushered in a new era, the era of the Great Socialist Revolution."

Ibid., page 208.

ARRANGEMENT OF SOCIETY (capitalist, socialist, communist)

Three ways of arranging or organizing society which Communists continually refer to in their literature are: (1) capitalist society, (2) socialist society, and (3) communist society. Communists describe capitalist society by saying it is made up of two classes, the capitalist and the workers. The first class owns the property (means of production) and the second class are propertyless but do own their labor capacity which they sell to the capitalists in exchange for wages. Communists describe socialist society by saying it is a social order wherein all property (means of production) will be owned by the public, by the people. Production will be planned, organized and controlled. Communists describe communist society by saying it will be classless and all wealth will be held in common.

The more detailed aspects of these three social orders will be given later, however, the above supplemented by the following quoted statements, may serve as a summary introduction to the Communist view on this subject.

Capitalist Society

"Capitalist society is a society divided into two main classes: the capitalists, or bourgeoisie; and the working class, or proletariat. The former own the land, the factories and the machines, and all the means by which wealth is produced (the means of production), and are therefore the ruling class, though they do no productive work themselves. The latter though they do all the real productive work of society, own neither the means of production nor the wealth they create; and, therefore, are forced to sell to the capitalists their ability to work and produce. Numerically, the capitalists are an insignificant minority, while the workers constitute the vast majority of the people."

The Aims of the Communist Party,
pamphlet published by the Communist
Party, 16 King Street, London,
England, June, 1946, pages 14-15.

Socialist Society

"The first and fundamental contrast between Socialist and capitalist society is that under Socialism all the means of production and exchange---the land, factories, machines and banks---are publicly owned. Thus the exploitation of one class by another is ended. Instead of one small class being able to live on the labour of the majority of the people, everybody is obliged to undertake some form of productive or administrative work on behalf of society as a whole.

"Under Socialism, production, is organised to meet the needs of the people and not to provide profit for a single class. It will, therefore be possible to plan production; and so to increase enormously the amount produced. Since at first there will not be enough to meet the needs of everybody, as there will be under Communism, people have still to be encouraged to work well by being paid according to the amount and quality of the work they do. Thus, though exploitation will be ended for ever, there will still be inequality as between one person and another."

The Aims of the Communist Party,
pamphlet published by The Communist
Party, 16 King Street, London,
England, June, 1946, pages 17-18.

Communist Society

"In the first place Communist society will be a classless society, in which all the means of producing wealth are owned in common. Instead of being divided into workers and employers, rich and poor, society will be an association of free people, all making their special contributions to the well-being of society, which in return will supply them with what they need in order to live full and happy lives. Such a society can be summed up in the slogan: 'From each according

"to his ability, to each according to his needs."

The Aims of the Communist
Party, pamphlet published
by The Communist Party,
16 King Street, London,
England, June, 1946, page 6.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Communists argue that all the secrets of atomic energy should be made available to the world, more particularly to Russia. They oppose all plans for atomic energy control which do not serve this end. They also point out that atomic energy in the possession of a Communist nation would be very much safer from the standpoint of peace than it is in the possession of capitalist nations. To them this is so because capitalist nations would use atomic energy as a military weapon to destroy the world whereas Communist nations would use it only for peace and order. They see some hope in the situation, however, in that atomic energy will increase "a hundredfold" the contradictions of Capitalism, thereby hastening its doom.

"But of course, the danger of atomic energy under capitalism is infinitely greater than any of these previous considerations, for the fact is that we are now face to face with the danger of capitalism physically destroying the entire world through the use of atomic energy as a military weapon."

Sparks, Nemmy, What is Socialism?,
page 25.

"The clamor in our press demanding that the United States must exercise 'the moral leadership of the world' is just so much imperialist propaganda aimed to justify our Government's active expansionist program. And the Baruch plan, to the effect that the United Nations, which the U.S.A. dominates, must be transformed virtually into a world government in order to control the atomic bomb, is at bottom a demand that the rulership of the world be placed in American hands."

Foster, William Z., Problems of Organized Labor Today,
page 13.

"Clearly such a terrific world-wide force can be fully useable only on a world-wide scale--that is, under socialism. The United States' proposal in the Acheson-Lillienthal report for an 'International Atomic Development Authority' to own and operate all fissionable materials and atomic plants in the world is really a recognition of this fact, while at the same time it expresses the fantastic hope of imprisoning this super-socialized form of production within the clutches of the Wall Street imperialists who dominate our government and hope to dominate the world.

"Since atomic energy increases a hundredfold the basic contradiction of capitalism that Engels characterized in the classic phrase, 'The mode of production is in revolt against the mode of exchange;' since it obviously holds within itself the possibility of vitiating the system of private enterprise that is based on restricted ownership and restricted use, we should not be surprised to see that American capitalism is attempting to suppress not only its utilization in industry, but even any further study of its utilization."

Sparks, Nemmy, What is Socialism?, page 24.

AUTHORITY

By "authority" Communists mean power exercised over people based on force. Communists, while defiant of the authority used by non-Communist governments which they claim is divorced from the people, proclaim very loudly their support of Communist authority ("the new authority") which they claim is welded to the people. Hence, they do not feel obligated to obey non-Communist authority, but do feel obligated to obey Communist authority.

"Authority in the usual sense of the word is the power exercised over the masses by a group of armed men distinct from the nation. The new authority, which is now in process of being born, is also a real authority, because we, too, need groups of armed men necessary to preserve order, necessary to crush out ruthlessly all attempts at a counter-revolution, all attempts at keeping in power a...bourgeois government. But our newly-born authority isn't authority in the proper sense of the word, because those groups of armed men...are the masses themselves, the whole nation, not simply groups allowed to rule above the nation, not groups distinct from the nation, privileged individuals practically immovable."

Lenin, V. I., The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, page 154.

BOLSHEVISM

This word is used by Communists to describe the origin, nature, development and accomplishments of what is referred to as the "great Party of Lenin-Stalin." Also, when so used, this word has international importance in that it furnishes a "mode of tactics" which is to be emulated by other Communist Parties throughout the world.

"Bolshevism has helped in a practical way to develop the proletarian revolution in Europe and America more powerfully than any party in any other country has ever succeeded in doing ... Bolshevism has indicated the right road of escape from the horrors of war and imperialism, ... Bolshevism can serve as a model of tactics for all."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, p. 183.

John Reed noted American Communist who died in Russia in explaining the development of Bolshevism wrote:

"The Bolsheviks proposed immediate proletarian insurrection, and seizure of the reins of Government, in order to hasten the coming of Socialism by forcibly taking over industry, land, natural resources and financial institutions."

Reed, John, Ten Days That Shook The World, page xv.

BOLSHEVIK (as applied to the individual and to the party)

This word is derived from the Russian word "bolshinstvo" meaning majority. During the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party held in London in 1903 a change was effected through the majority group under the leadership of Lenin which resulted, among other things, in the Party being called the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks). This was changed again in 1917 to the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). In 1924 it was once more changed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the name it now bears.

As a result of this background the word "Bolshevik" came to contain a very special meaning. In addition to describing a certain type of Party it also described a certain type of Communist, namely, the highest type of Communist, the model, the heroic or ideal type. When the phrase "Bolshevisation of the Communist Party" is used it means the specific Party referred to is an outstanding one; it is one which has manifested the excellent qualities of leadership, efficiency, courage and the "mastery of all arms of the revolutionary struggle established by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)." When it is said that John Doe is a good Bolshevik it is a mark of high praise and distinction for it means that John Doe has also manifested the same outstanding qualities which, in the above sentence, was related to Party development. The Communist, then, who is a Bolshevik is considered to be of a definitely superior type. He is the cream of the cream, the elite in the sumptuous areas of world revolution; a tried and true exponent of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The word has been expanded into such phrases as: "Bolshevik honor," "Bolshevik justice," "Bolshevik morality," "Bolshevik culture," "Bolshevik courage," "Bolshevik discipline." Much to the irritation of the Communists they are challenged in their claim to the exclusive right to use this word by the Trotskyites and some other splinter groups who assert they use the word in its true sense when they refer to themselves as "Bolshevik-Leninists" or "Leninist-Bolsheviks." In the light of history, however, the regular, orthodox Communists seem to have the more valid claim to this dubious honor for at the meeting held in 1903 Lenin, in formulating Party rules, recommended that Party membership be severely restricted to include only the consistently active revolutionaries. This recommendation was in accord with his doctrine that an effective revolutionary party must have a small, very selective membership, comprised of highly disciplined and trained professional revolutionaries insolubly linked to each other by the deepest revolutionary convictions and discipline. The more moderate thinkers at this meeting, headed by Martov, disagreed with Lenin and

said: "Anyone working under the supervision of the Party is a member of the Party." This, of course, would include liberals, some laborers, loose thinking members of the intelligentsia and all other supporters, irrespective of other considerations. Lenin would not retreat from his position and insisted that membership be restricted to persons "participating in the organization of the Party." A vote was taken on the issue and Lenin's recommendation was approved only by a few votes, and from that time on, as indicated above, his extreme group represented the majority (Bolsheviks) and the defeated moderate group represented the minority (Mensheviks).

Earl Browder, though now expelled from the Communist Party of the United States of America, has, however, given a good description of what is meant by the "Bolshevization of the Party." Browder writes:

"It means to master all the lessons taught us by that first Communist Party, the most successful one, created and led to victory by Lenin, and now successfully building Socialism under the leadership of Stalin. It means to become a Party of the masses; to be a Party with its strongest roots among the decisive workers in the basic industries; it means to be a Party whose stronghold is in the shops, mines and factories, and especially in the biggest and most important ones; it means to be a Party that leads and organizes the struggles of all the oppressed peoples, brings them into firm alliance with the working class; it means to be a Party that answers every question of the struggle; that can solve every problem; it means to be a Party that never shrinks from difficulties, that never turns aside to find the easiest way; that learns how to overcome all deviations in its own ranks---fight on two fronts---it means to become a Party that knows how to take difficulties and dangers and transform them into advantages and victories."

Browder, Earl, Report to the
Eighth Convention of the
Communist Party, U. S. A.,
pages 78-79.

"The Bolshevization of the party, therefore, like all slogans of the Communist International, means not a mechanical formula, but a struggle. In this case it is a struggle against false ideology in the party. The Bolshevization of the Party, for us, means the struggle for the conquest of the party for the ideology of Marxism and Leninism."

The Workers Monthly, November,
1924, page 35.

BOISHEVIK SELF-CRITICISM

In theory this means that all mistakes or errors committed by individual Communists, units of the Party or the entire Party itself must be analyzed and acted upon by the Party as a whole. This form of self-criticism seeks to establish a "correct attitude toward mistakes" for the purpose of drawing lessons from and benefiting by them. It is a cold, objective, relentless, realistic, and constant examination of shortcomings and failures so as to correct and avoid the same in the future. As a corollary of this idea of "bolshevik-self-criticism" any fear, dislike, or unwillingness to criticize because of kindness or friendship is strongly condemned as sloppy bourgeois sentimentalism and weakness. Following the Revolution in Russia, this form of criticism was used among other methods, to weed out and eliminate from the Party all undesirable members. Lenin established three fundamental factors which are regarded as being absolutely essential to this type of criticism. They are:

1. What is wrong?
2. Why is it wrong?
3. How to correct it?

"The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses."

Lenin, V. I., quoted in
Marxist Glossary by L.
Harry Gould, page 33.

"Self-criticism is the most important means for developing Communist consciousness and thereby strengthening discipline and democratic centralism. Self-criticism helps to discover all the mistakes, deviations, shortcomings, which separate us from the masses, and to correct them. It helps us to discover and expose the harmful policies or practices of organizations and individuals who work against the interest of the masses. Self-criticism helps us to improve the work of the

Party organizations; to exterminate bureaucracy; to expose the agents of the enemy in our ranks.

"Without self-criticism there can be no Communist Party. But this criticism must never depart from the line of the Party, from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We should make it very clear that there are two kinds of criticism: one which, on the basis of the line of the Party, on the basis of revolutionary theory and practice, analyzes mistakes and shortcomings, and offers concrete proposals for improvement in the work of the organization or individual member. This is Bolshevik self-criticism--constructive criticism. ... The other is the kind of criticism which is based on distortion of the line of the Party or does not offer any proposal to improve the work, or to correct mistakes. This is destructive criticism..."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization, pages 30,32,33.

It is pointed out that this second type of criticism must not be tolerated, in effect, criticism of the interpretation and application of Marxist-Leninist principles as made by authoritative Communist leaders is not permissible.

"Marx said that the proletarian revolution differs, by the way, from other revolutions in the fact that it criticizes itself and that in criticizing itself it becomes consolidated. ... Our progress proceeds in the form of struggle... Struggle between the old and the new, between the moribund and that which is being born--such is the basis of our development. ... And just because we go forward, we must make one of our foremost tasks an honest and revolutionary self-criticism. Without this there is no progress."

Stalin, Joseph, Report to The Fifteenth Congress of The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, pages 65-66.

See also: The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization by J. Peters, pages 31-32.

This statement by Stalin becomes rather grimly humorous on considering the purges of 1936-1938 which he conducted within the Party relative to men who criticized, not Marxism-Leninism, but Stalin's Administration. The men who commenced to apply "bolshhevik-self-criticism" without some delicate discriminations were denounced as "counter-revolutionary plotters and scoundrels." When criticism was directed toward the Stalin Administration its meaning changed at once, it was no longer constructive, on the contrary, it was destructive and treasonable. The purging course of action pursued by Stalin is considered to be a "symptom of strength."

"Self-criticism is a symptom of the strength and not of the weakness of our Party. Only a strong party, a party rooted in life, a party that is marching forward to victory, can indulge in so ruthless a criticism of its own shortcomings, as it has and always will indulge in before the whole people. A party that conceals the truth from the people, a party that fears light and criticism, is not a party, but a clique of frauds, doomed to failure. Messieurs the bourgeoisie judge us according to their own standards. They fear the light of day, and zealously conceal the truth from the people; they mask their deficiencies by a parade of ostensible well being. And so they think that we Communists, too, must conceal the truth from the people. They fear the light, for to permit any serious self-criticism, any free criticism of their own shortcomings would be enough to shatter the whole edifice of the capitalist order to its foundations."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 172.

"This means that the Bolsheviks are in duty bound not to gloss over their mistakes, not to dodge the question of their mistakes, as often happens with us, but

honestly and openly to admit their mistakes, honestly and openly to indicate the way of correcting these mistakes, honestly and openly to correct them."

Stalin, Joseph, Mastering
Bolshevism, pages 50-51.

BOURGEOISIE

This word which was originally used by the French related to the business class; to the capitalistic group. According to Communist theorists, the important members of the "bourgeoisie" were from the newly formed middle class, with the ruling nobility or upper class and the ruled, working or lower class forming a distinct level of its own. Later the ruling nobility surrendered to the increasing economic power of the capitalists of the middle class and were either absorbed or dwindled away, leaving two main, conflicting classes in society, the capitalists and the workers.* This transition is partly depicted in the lines of G. B. Shaw: "Civilized society is now one huge bourgeoisie; no nobleman dares now shock his green-grocer."

Today the Communists include in the term "bourgeoisie" not only finance capitalists but also high ranking officers of the armed forces, important government officials, the wealthy class in general and the "petty bourgeoisie." This latter modification of the main term is described as being made up of little capitalists, small businessman, lower ranking government officials and officers of the armed services, the professional people and the better trained and paid skilled laborers, sometimes referred to as the "labor aristocracy." All these make up the hated "bourgeoisie", the class enemy of the Communists which must be destroyed. This term, particularly in the United States, is not used so frequently today. A variety of other terms regarded as being more timely, have been substituted for it and convey a similar meaning. Some of these terms substituted for "bourgeoisie" are: "Reactionary," "Economic Bourbon," "Tory," "Fascist," "Defeatist," "War-Monger," "Appeaser," "Exploiter," "Labor Hater," "Capitalist," "Expansionist," "Imperialist."

The "bourgeoisie" obviously is an extremely important factor in Communist theory and practice. It is a favorite "whipping post", the scapegoat of the Communists, without which their concept of the class struggle would collapse along with various other Communist doctrines. Hence, it is quite necessary to understand the full implications of the term "bourgeoisie" if Communism itself is to be understood.

"The bourgeoisie has played a most revolutionary role in history.

*In current Communist literature when the word "bourgeoisie" is used alone without any qualifying adjective (e.g. "petty") the Communists usually have in mind the finance capitalists, monopolists, imperialists or in other words the very wealthy persons who allegedly own and control the economic life of a nation.

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors', and has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom--Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

"The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

"The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Fredrick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 11.

"The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together."

Ibid., pages 13,14.

"The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

"But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons--the modern working class--the proletarians.

"In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed--a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital."

Ibid., page 15.

"The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie."

Ibid., page 17.

"But at the same time, the bourgeoisie sees practically only one side of Bolshevism, viz., insurrection, violence, terror; it therefore strives to prepare itself especially for resistance and opposition in this field. It is possible that in single cases, in individual countries, and for more or less brief periods, it will succeed in this. We must reckon with such a possibility, and there will be absolutely nothing terrible for us if it does succeed. Communism 'springs up' from positively all sides of social life. Its shoots are to be seen literally everywhere; the 'contagion' (to use the favourite metaphor of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois police, the one that 'pleases' them most) has very thoroughly permeated its organism and completely impregnated it. If one of the outlets is 'stopped up' with special care, the 'contagion' will find another, sometimes a very unexpected one. Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit acts of stupidity, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavour to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.) hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands more of yesterday's and tomorrow's Bolsheviks. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history

have acted. Communists should know that at all events the future belongs to them; therefore, we can, and must combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober estimation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 144.

"After the proletarian revolution in Russia and the international victories of this revolution, which the bourgeoisie and the philistines did not expect, the whole world has changed and everywhere the bourgeoisie has also changed. It is terrified by 'Bolshevism,' it is enraged against it almost to madness, and precisely for that reason it, on the one hand, is accelerating the progress of events and on the other, it is concentrating attention on the suppression of Bolshevism by force, and by that it is weakening its position in a number of other fields. The Communists in all advanced countries should take both these circumstances into consideration in their tactics."

Ibid., page 143.

"The bourgeoisie behaves like an arrogant brigand who has lost his head; it commits blunder after blunder, thus making the position more acute and hastening its own doom."

Ibid., page 192.

"And the role played by the German liberal bourgeoisie towards the people in 1848, that treacherous role will be taken over in the approaching revolution by the democratic petty bourgeoisie, who now take the same stand in the opposition, as that taken by the liberal bourgeoisie before 1848."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, page 357.

"The bourgeoisie begins with a proletariat which is itself a relic of the proletariat of feudal times. In the course of its historical development, the bourgeoisie necessarily develops its antagonistic character, which at first is more or less disguised, existing only in a latent state. As the bourgeoisie develops, there develops in its bosom a new proletariat, a modern proletariat; there develops a struggle between the proletarian class and the bourgeois class, a struggle which, before being felt, perceived, appreciated, understood, avowed and proclaimed aloud by the two sides, expresses itself, to start with, merely in partial and momentary conflicts, in subversive acts."

Marx, Karl, The Poverty of Philosophy, page 104.

"What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick, Communist Manifesto, page 21.

"... whoever conceives the transition to socialism without the suppression of the bourgeoisie is not a Socialist."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, page 355.

BOURGEOISIE (petty)

As previously indicated, Communists distinguish "bourgeoisie" from "petty bourgeoisie" by saying that the former are the big businessmen and the latter are the small businessmen. Also included in the "petty bourgeoisie" are professional people, minor merchants, technicians, and the higher paid skilled workers. Communists have maintained they do not constitute a class by themselves, being a part of the over-all bourgeoisie class. They are set apart from the proletarians by the fact that they do not depend on wages for a living, for as a general rule they are self-employed. The phrase "petty bourgeoisie" means literally, "little capitalists." If they conduct small businesses (e.g. shopkeepers, etc.), they will employ few laborers. Communists point out that this group, in their loyalties, swing back and forth in an uncertain, weak manner between the capitalists and the laborers, first supporting one then the other. Because of this, Communists consider them to be poor material as revolutionaries though they believe the "petty bourgeoisie" may be won over to some degree and used or exploited for propaganda purposes and the like. As such, they are thought to be more usable during economic crises.

"It is necessary and possible also to win over to the side of the workers broad sections of the lower petty bourgeoisie and intellectual workers in the cities and to neutralize other sections of the petty bourgeoisie (municipal and state employees, lower officials, teachers, intellectuals, students, petty bourgeois invalids, artisans, small shop-keepers), who have been brought into action as a result of the tremendous pressure of the crisis. This can be done only if the Party will come out resolutely in defense of their interests, by organizing and leading teachers' strikes, students' demonstrations, resistance to reduction of salaries of city and state employees, resistance to robbery through inflation, and bank crashes, etc."

Peters, J., The Communist Party:
A Manual On Organization, p. 17.

"This upper strata of workers or 'workers' aristocracy,' which is wholly petty bourgeois with regard to their manner of living and the size of their earnings, as

well as with regard to their entire world viewpoint, constitutes one of the main props of the Second International, and at present the main peace-time social prop for the bourgeoisie. For the truest agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement are the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, who are the true apostles of reformism and chauvinism."

Lenin, V. I., Imperialism,
page 7-8.

"...the petty bourgeois, continually tossed back and forth between capital and labour, political economy and Communism."

Marx, Karl, The Poverty of
Philosophy, page 168.

"If the Party intensifies its activity among the petty-bourgeois masses without at the same time and above all strengthening its basis in the big factories and among the most important sections of the American working class... then the danger arises that the Party, having only weak contacts with the decisive section of American workers, will be driven away from its proletarian base, and instead of leading the petty-bourgeois masses will succumb to the influence of petty-bourgeois sentiments, illusions, and petty-bourgeois methods of work."

An Open Letter to All Members
of the Communist Party, adopted
by the Central Committee of the
Communist Party, 1933, page 16.

BOURGEOISIE (democratic and monarchist)

Communists recognize no essential difference between the bourgeoisie under a monarchy and the bourgeoisie under a democracy. Both are regarded as being part of a parasitic and decaying Capitalism and one, therefore, should not be favored over another. Communists look upon them as enemies to be obliterated.

"The fact that imperialism is parasitic or decaying capitalism is manifested first of all in the tendency to decay, characteristic of every monopoly under the system of private ownership of the means of production. The difference between the democratic republican and the reactionary monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive (which by no means precludes an extraordinarily rapid development of capitalism in individual branches of industry, in individual countries, and in individual periods)."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 749.

BOURGEOISIE (suppression of)

Following their victorious revolution, Communists plan to forcibly suppress the bourgeoisie in its entirety. The bourgeoisie will be deprived of all their accustomed freedom and rights.

"The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the suppression of the bourgeoisie, the smashing of the bourgeois state machine..."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 57.

BOURGEOIS

This word was originally used to describe a person of the middle class, particularly a merchant, shopkeeper, or the like. When used as an adjective by Communists, the word describes anything or anyone whom Communists would ridicule, discredit, or hold in contempt. For a person to be "bourgeois" is to be odious and repellent; it is to be the very opposite of what a Communist regards as constituting value. In heaping ridicule on people, Communists frequently use such phrases as "bourgeois virtue," "bourgeois mentality," "bourgeois chauvinism," "bourgeois sentimentality," and the like. Bourgeois papers are condemned for opposing Communism and are at the same time declared to be aiding the spread of Communism by this very opposition.

"Millions of copies of bourgeois papers, shouting in all keys against the Bolsheviks, helped to induce the masses to appraise Bolshevism; and, apart from the newspapers, the whole of public life was permeated with discussions about Bolshevism precisely because of the 'zeal' of the bourgeoisie. At present, the millionaires of all countries are behaving, on an international scale, in such a manner as to deserve our heartiest thanks. They are hunting down Bolshevism with the same zeal as did Kerensky and Co.; they are 'overdoing' it and helping us quite as much as did Kerensky. When the French bourgeoisie makes Bolshevism the central point of the election campaign, abusing the comparatively moderate or vacillating Socialists for being Bolsheviks; when the American bourgeoisie, having completely lost its head, seizes thousands and thousands of people on suspicion of Bolshevism and creates an atmosphere of panic, spreading broadcast alarming stories about Bolshevik plots; when the British bourgeoisie--the most 'solid' in the world--in spite of all its wisdom and experience, commits acts of incredible stupidity, founds the most richly endowed 'societies to combat Bolshevism', creates a special literature on Bolshevism, and engages for the struggle against it an extra number

of scientists, agitators, and priests---we must bow and thank Messieurs the capitalists. They are working for us. They are helping us to get the masses interested in the question of the nature and significance of Bolshevism. And they cannot act otherwise; for they have already failed to stifle Bolshevism by 'silence.'**

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, pages 143-144.

- * In behalf of clearness in the use of the words "bourgeois" and "bourgeoisie" it may be said that "bourgeois" relates to a person and "bourgeoisie" to a class. The "bourgeois" is a property owning person who is a member of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist class. In modern times these words refer mainly to the wealthy capitalists, big business men and the capitalist class which they comprise rather than to the middle class which is made up of the petty bourgeois.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The break away from feudalism, the gradual revolution of the commercial groups which led to the dissolution of feudalism and the creation of the middle class and the establishment of systematic capitalism, is regarded by Communists as constituting the "bourgeois-democratic revolution." It gave rise to different democratic impulses and practices. Insofar as it was a break with feudalism, it fitted in well with the Communist theory and is regarded as a good thing. However, as this "bourgeois-democratic revolution" stopped half way and did not go on to establish Communism, it was in this respect a very bad thing. It ultimately substituted one form of exploitation for another. The masses of people were oppressed under feudalism and became even more oppressed under capitalism which followed in the wake of the "bourgeois-democratic revolution." This revolution was a step in the right direction but it was too short, faltering, and mis-directed. Therefore, the Communists advocate the Communist revolution which will complete what the "bourgeois-democratic revolution" began. It will be a continuous revolution uprooting entirely the old society while at the same time firmly embedding the roots of the new one -- the Communist Society.

"The bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a country more or less developed, should under such circumstances approximate to the proletarian revolution, that the one should grow into the other."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 35.

"The bourgeois revolution limits itself to substituting one group of exploiters for another in the seat of power, and therefore has no need to destroy the old state machine; whereas the proletarian revolution removes all groups of exploiters from power, and places in power the leader of all the toilers and exploited, the class of proletarians, and therefore it cannot avoid destroying the old state machine and replacing it by a new one."

Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, pages 16-17 and The October Revolution, page 99.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

By this phrase Communists mean a false democracy based on the bourgeois, that is, the business man, the property owner, the wealthy. They regard this type of democracy as being a democracy for the rich and powerful only and not for the poor and weak. Under this form of democracy, they charge that the great masses of people enjoy little or no democratic privileges and are regularly exploited by a small ruling minority. It is maintained that because the masses of people in a "bourgeois democracy" participate in elections and political life of a nation this does not change the fundamental premise, which is, every capitalistic or bourgeois democracy is a democracy for the rich only. It is described as being a fraud and a "juridical fiction." As such, it is in substance a veiled or disguised dictatorship of wealth. The United States has been referred to as an example of "bourgeois democracy." Communists declare themselves to be implacable enemies of "bourgeois democracy" and intend to destroy it.

"Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material and economic inequality of classes. By leaving inviolable, defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois democracy, as far as the exploited classes and especially the proletariat is concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties, which in practice are systematically curtailed, into a juridical fiction and, consequently, into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses."

Program of the Communist International, page 38.

"The old bourgeois apparatus, the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc., which are the more varied, the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed--all this disappears under the Soviet organization."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 134.

Lenin, in discussing this subject claimed that all bourgeois democracies

"...remains, and cannot but remain under capitalism, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a trap and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor."

Lenin, V. I., The Proletarian Revolution and renegade Kautsky, page 2.

"All socialists, in explaining the class character of bourgeois civilisation, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarianism, have expressed the thought which Marx and Engels spoke out with the greatest scientific exactness when they said that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing else but a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, of the mass of toilers by a handful of capitalists."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in The Spanish Revolution, July 1936-May 1937, page 2.

"...all talk about democracy in general, whatever kind of ~~state~~ you serve it under, is the greatest deceit, the greatest treachery to socialism."

Ibid., page 2.

"... 'pure' democracy... 'perfect' democracy, and the like, is but a bourgeois screen to conceal the indubitable fact that equality between exploited and exploiters is impossible. The theory of 'pure' democracy

is the theory of the upper stratum of the working class, which has been broken in and is being fed by the imperialist robbers... Under capitalism the exploited masses do not, nor can they, really participate in the administration of the country, if for no other reason than that, even under the most democratic regime, governments, under the conditions of capitalism, are not set up by the people, but by the Rothschilds, and Stinneses, the Rockefellers and Morgans... Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is proletarian democracy, the democracy of the exploited majority, based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 54.

"...bourgeois democracy in the U.S.A. is formal and limited, and fundamentally 'democracy for the rich'..."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 25.

"It is an axiom for revolutionary Marxists that formal democracy, bourgeois democracy, is not proletarian democracy---which can only be realized in a socialist society, as today in the Soviet Union."

Dennis, Gene, The Socialist Party Convention, May 1937, page 408.

"The so-called Democratic republic of the United States is a capitalist democracy which is a masked, camouflaged form of the dictatorship of the capitalist class."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party In Action, page 15.

"...The apparatus of violence and oppression of the bourgeois democracy (police, troops, machine guns, gas bombs, jails, courts, etc.) is used by the government more frequently and more openly to crush the masses and defend the exploiters. More often than before, the government is throwing aside some of the 'democratic' camouflage, which is masking the existing capitalist dictatorship, showing itself more openly as the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class. Capitalist government and rule are becoming fascisized, that is, from a masked dictatorship of the capitalist class bourgeois democracy is developing into an open and naked dictatorship."

Ibid., page 17.

BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

Communists interpret "bourgeois nationalism" to mean the building up of a strong capitalistic nation which threatens the well being of other nations; one which places its own development and welfare above that of other nations. Having erected this "straw man" they proceed to threaten it with their undying opposition.

"We Communists are the irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism of every variety."

Dimitroff, George, The
United Front Against War
And Fascism, p. 77.

BOURGEOISIFICATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

The use of this phrase has been attributed to William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. It starts with the premise that the great masses of people, the laborers, must become radical as a group (collective radicalization --- or "politicalization") if a revolution is to be successful. However, according to this idea, the Communist revolution has been hindered and considerably delayed in some well developed capitalist nations where the standard of living is good. This good standard of living has deceived the workers; it has drugged them into meek submission to capitalistic economy. The workers have been unknowingly bribed into industrial peace and cooperation with capitalists by being given high wages. This is particularly true of the skilled laborers---the "labor aristocracy." These contented workers then turn a deaf ear to Communist truths; they ignore their duty as workers to overthrow capitalism. They have become "bourgeoisified" and are therefore potential "counter-revolutionary" material for capitalist economy as opposed to Communist economy. This entire process constitutes the "bourgeoisification of the working class." Communists advocate combatting this undesirable situation with vigorous propaganda buttressed by vigorous action. This action is to take the form of (1) demonstrations which are to deliberately lead to an open fight with the police, (2) provocative picketing, (3) ceaseless strikes, (4) and any other form of action which will arouse the laborers, causing intense hatred between the employee and employer classes.

William Z. Foster speaking of the period from 1923 to 1929 said:

"There was widespread in this period what Marx called the 'bourgeoisification' of the labor aristocracy. The unskilled masses, if not materially much better off, were also considerably bourgeoisified ideologically from the current intense rationalization propaganda. It was a time of the most extensive capitalist prosperity illusions ever known among the toiling masses."

Foster, William Z., American Trade Unionism, p. 90.

BROWDERISM

This term is used by Communists to denote what they conceive to be a very serious attempt on the part of Earl Browder, for years the head of the Communist Party in the United States, to revise, change, or modify the principles of Marxism-Leninism in the direction of the "right", that is, toward Capitalism. Consequently, Earl Browder was, in 1945, removed from the head of the Communist movement in this country and his place was taken by William Z. Foster, who is presently the National Chairman of the Party. The name of the Party was changed from the "Communist Political Association", adopted by Earl Browder, to the "Communist Party of the United States of America."

Jacques Duclos, French Communist, brought the issue to a head by a sharply worded article charging that Browder's policy liquidated the "independent political party of the working class in the United States", as a result of having "severed dangerously from the victorious Marxism-Leninism doctrine." Duclos pointed out that Browder's revisionism stood out clearly when he promulgated the idea of a "long term class peace in the United States, of the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle...and of the establishment of harmony between labor and capital."

Earl Browder was, and still is, bitterly denounced by Communists for having dissolved the Party in favor of an Association, for rejecting Marxist economic doctrines, the class struggle, revolutionary initiative, militancy, Lenin's theory of imperialism, and the over-all Marxist-Leninist interpretation of Socialism. This revisionism, which in Browder's case was allegedly in the direction of capitalism, constitutes the present day meaning of "Browderism."

"Browderism, a variety of revisionism, preached class harmony and renounced the class struggle. Browderism developed a utopian postwar perspective of the monopolies offering voluntary wage increases. Instead of mobilizing the workers for struggle, it subordinated the working class to the interests of monopoly capitalism."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared by
National Education Department,
Communist Party of the United
States of America, p. 12.

"That Comrade Browder was attempting to have our party discard basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and to adopt a bourgeois-liberal program is incontestable. In his Bridgeport speech eighteen months ago, he gave a clear indication of this when he said; 'Old formulas and old prejudices are going to be of no use whatever to us as guides to find our way in the new world.' What are the 'old formulas and old prejudices' that Browder warns us are useless? These are none other than our Marxist-Leninist analysis of the class struggle, of imperialism, of socialism. All these Browder himself had already abandoned, and he was trying to get our party to do likewise."

Foster, William Z. (Speaker),
The Worker, Volume X, No. 27,
July 8, 1945, page 8, column 2.

"...Comrade Browder is compounding his previous errors and embarking on an even more dangerous course - a peculiar kind of non-Marxian 'isolationism' and American exceptionalism."

Dennis, Eugene, "Some Aspects
of Our Policies and Tasks",
Marxism-Leninism vs Revisionism,
page 48.

"That the practical effects of Comrade Browder's revisionist ideas are to facilitate the policies of American imperialism is beyond question."

Foster, William Z., "On The
Question of Revisionism,"
Marxism-Leninism vs Revisionism,
page 39.

"Comrade Browder's revisionist ideas violate the most fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. They are more akin to the bourgeois notions of Eric Johnston than to the scientific principles of Marx and Lenin."

Ibid., page 41.

"This system of ideas (Browderism) comprised, in the main, the following elements:

1. Rejection of the Marxist theory of the class struggle and its replacement by the concept of a harmony of interests between the working class and the capitalist class; abandonment of the class struggle in favor of a policy of class collaboration and class peace.
2. Rejection of Lenin's analysis of imperialism as the final stage in the development of capitalism, as moribund capitalism, and advocacy of the theory of the ending of the epoch of imperialism; of the development of monopoly capitalism as a progressive force in society.
3. Rejection of the Marxist analysis of the laws of development of capitalist economy, in particular the inevitability of unemployment and crisis under capitalism and the advocacy of the bourgeois political economy of the Keynesian school.
4. Rejection of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state leading to the idealization of bourgeois democracy and falsification of the real relation of the trusts and monopolies to the development of fascism.
5. Rejection of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the national and colonial question as reflected in the abandonment of the principle of the right of self-determination for the Negro people; and in the advocacy of a theory of colonial liberation through arrangements between imperialist powers.
6. Rejection of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the role of the working class as the most decisive and the leading force in modern society, subordinating it to the 'liberal' bourgeoisie which is declared to be the most decisive force in modern society.
7. Rejection of the goal of Socialism as the ultimate aim of the working class and the substitution for it of a liberal bourgeois utopia.

- "8. Rejection of the Marxist-Leninist philosophical standpoint of dialectical materialism and the adoption in its place of a voluntarist, pragmatic standpoint; abandonment of the struggle on the theoretical front against hostile and alien ideological influences coupled with a gross distortion of the relationship between theory and practice.
9. Dissolution of the Communist Party representing a complete abandonment of all Marxist-Leninist teachings on the necessity for, the nature and role of, the vanguard party of the working class, the Communist Party; violation of the principles of democratic centralism and the establishment of bureaucracy as a system of work in the vanguard party of the working class."

Weiss, Max, "Foreword" to Marxism - Leninism vs. Revisionism by William Z. Foster, Jaques Duclos, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson, page 4-5.

"The struggle against and repudiation of Browder's revision of Marxism-Leninism constitutes a historic stage in the development of the Communist Party of the United States."

Ibid., page 3.

BUREAUCRACY

Communists describe a "bureaucracy" as being a unit of the administrative apparatus of a capitalist State relating to the judiciary, armed forces, and all other institutions of the government. To Communists such a "bureaucracy" is usually corrupt, not subject to popular control and is used on the behalf of the exploiters against the exploited masses. These capitalistic bureaucracies keep expanding in order to provide employment for the favored few and to satisfy the selfish desires of the administrators who are fond of building their own little bureaucratic empires within the government service. They exist at great expense to the taxpayer to whom they render but little value. Communists, in condemning bureaucracy, look upon it as being basically a capitalistic class idea and practice (the existence of their own bureaucrats are ignored). The charge of bureaucracy is not only hurled at non-Communist government administrators but at non-Communist labor leaders and reformists as well.

"The developed bourgeoisie needs a bureaucratic apparatus, primarily a military apparatus, then a juridical apparatus, etc...I hate it heartily. Not the individual bureaucrat, he may be a capable rascal. But I hate the system. It paralyzes and corrupts from above and below."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in
Marxist Glossary by L. Harry
Gould, pages 16-17.

Joseph Stalin, reflecting Lenin's attitude toward bureaucrats demanded:

"...the exposure and expulsion from the administrative apparatus of incorrigible bureaucrats and red-tapists."

Ibid., page 17.

"Bureaucratic tendencies are manifest also among many 'well meaning' officials and leaders in the Labor Movement who approach working-class problems only from an administrative

standpoint; or, technical experts who deprive the toilers of opportunity of political, technical and cultural development; in short, by those who deny the capacity of the masses for struggle, initiative, organization and the creation of the new social order of Socialism."

Ibid., page 16.

"Reformism generally is heavily impregnated with the alien bourgeois spirit and practice of bureaucracy."

Ibid., page 16.

CADRE (in general)

This word literally means "a frame or framework." A cadre is a member of a basic, permanent group of trained Communist workers of some branch of labor. He is a member of an established staff of Communist workers in the service of the Party, the government, or the trade union. Cadres are tried and trusted men on whom the Communist Party can reliably depend to carry out the policy and programs of the Party. The cadres form "a living framework" which gives vitality and cohesiveness to the entire structure. This living framework of cadres must be constantly renewed by the addition of new and able men. It must be constantly strengthened by new and vigorous life. This renewal will be effective in proportion to the effectiveness with which the Communist Party plays its "vanguard role" in the social order. From the newly formed forces of cadres will come in a regular stream highly trained and disciplined men who will assume the leadership and responsibility for Party progress. From these cadres will emerge Communist Party functionaries, officials and agitators. Around these leaders the entire membership of the Party is developed, even to the point of being influenced by the types these leaders represent.

"A fundamental, permanent body of trained workers of this or that branch of labor; fixed staff of workers in the apparatus of the government, the Party, or the trade union."

Soviet Political Dictionary
as translated from Russian.

"The Party cadres constitute the commanding staff of the Party; and since our Party is in power, they also constitute the commanding staff of the leading organs of state."

Stalin, Joseph, From
Socialism to Communism
in the Soviet Union,
page 43.

"It must be realized that under our present conditions 'cadres decide everything.' If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport and the army--our country will be invincible...Cadres receive their real steeling in actual work, outside school, in fighting difficulties, in overcoming difficulties. Remember, comrades, that only those cadres are any good who do not fear difficulties, who do not hide from difficulties, but who, on the contrary, go out to meet difficulties, in order to overcome them and eliminate them."

Stalin, Joseph, "Address To the Graduates From the Red Army Academy," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 962-963.

"One of the main conditions for developing the initiative of the units is the systematic development of forces, cadres, leadership."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization, page 108.

"The task of Party propaganda, the task of the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, is to help our cadres in all branches of work to become versed in the Marxist-Leninist science of the laws of social development."

Stalin, Joseph, From Socialism to Communism In the Soviet Union, page 47.

"For it is only on this path, only by open and honest self-criticism, that Bolshevik cadres really can be educated, that real Bolshevik leaders can be educated."

Stalin, Joseph, Mastering Bolshevism, page 38.

CADRES (selection of)

In view of the great importance which Communists attach to the concept of cadres it is only natural that they should similarly stress the great care which should be exercised in the selection of these cadres. Stalin gave some thought to this question and outlined specific steps in the selection of cadres which are endorsed by American Communists.

"The correct selection of cadres does not mean just gathering around one a lot of assistants and subs, setting up an office and issuing order after order. ...

"The proper selection of cadres means:

"First, valuing cadres as the gold reserve of the Party and the state, treasuring them, respecting them.

"Second, knowing cadres, carefully studying their individual merits, and shortcomings, knowing in what post the capacities of a given worker are most likely to develop.

"Third, carefully fostering cadres, helping every promising worker to advance, not grudging time on patiently 'bothering' with such workers and accelerating their development.

"Fourth, boldly promoting new and young cadres in time, so as not to allow them to stagnate in their old posts and grow stale.

"Fifth, allocating workers to posts in such a way that each feels he is in the right place, that each may contribute to our common cause the maximum his personal capacities enable him to contribute, and that the general trend of the work of allocating cadres may fully answer to the demands of the political line

"for the carrying out of which this allocation of cadres is designed.

"Particularly important in this respect is the bold and timely promotion of new and young cadres."

Stalin, Joseph, From
Socialism to Communism in
the Soviet Union, pages 43-
44.

CADRES (and the political line)

As the cadres are considered to be the workers of the Party, the tried and trusted men of action, it follows that they have a direct bearing on the important "political Party line." After this political line has been formulated it is up to the cadres to carry it out; to apply this line in a very practical fashion. It is the cadres who must relate this "political line" to the everyday tasks and objectives which must at the same time fit in with the over-all strategy and final goal.

"After a correct political line has been worked out and tested in practice, the Party cadres become the decisive force in the work of guiding the Party and the state. A correct political line is, of course, the primary and most important thing. But that in itself is not enough. A correct political line is not needed as a declaration, but as something to be carried into effect. But in order to carry a correct political line into effect, we must have cadres, people who understand the political line of the Party, who accept it as their own line, who are prepared to carry it into effect, who are able to put it into practice and are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it. Failing this, a correct political line runs the risk of being purely nominal."

Stalin, Joseph, From
Socialism to Communism
In The Soviet Union,
page 43.

CAPITAL

To the Communist "capital" is a social relationship through which the means of production and every other type of commodity become the instruments of exploitation in the control of the bourgeoisie. These instruments are directed specifically against the working class. This capital of a bourgeoisie social order, carrying with it the proper social relation, includes all wealth such as factories, land, merchandise, money, in fact all private property which belongs to the urban capitalists and rural landowners. As a result of this private capital the laborers, in order to prevent themselves from dying of hunger have to hire themselves out as "wage-slaves" to the capitalists.

"Capital is dead labor that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labor, and lives the more the more labor it sucks."

Marx, Karl, as quoted in
Marxist Glossary by L.
Harry Gould, page 17.

"Capital is a special, historically-defined social production relation."

Lenin, V. I., *Ibid.*,
page 17.

"The circulation of commodities is the starting point of capital. The production of commodities, their circulation, and that more developed form of their circulation called commerce, these form the historical groundwork from which it rises. The modern history of capital dates from the creation in the sixteenth century of a world-embracing commerce and a world-embracing market."

Marx, Karl, Capital, page
163.

"A cotton-spinning machine is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain conditions does it become capital. Torn away from these conditions, it is as little capital as gold by itself is money, or as sugar is the price of sugar."

"Capital is not a thing, but a definite social relation. Things, means of production and all other kinds of commodities in the hands of the bourgeoisie in themselves are not capital. Only a definite social system makes these things into means of exploitation, converts them into carriers of that social relation which we call capital."

Marx, Karl, as quoted in
Marxist Glossary by L.
Harry Gould, pages 17, 18.

Capital is also defined elsewhere by Communist authorities as
being in

"...bourgeoisie society all wealth--factories, plants, land, merchandise, money -- represents private property belonging to the capitalists and landowners."

Soviet Political Dictionary,
as translated from the
Russian.

CAPITAL (finance)

To Communists "finance capital" is the rise of banks to a state of decisive prominence within the capitalistic system, resulting in the control of industry by banks and the merger of banking and industrial capital.

"The banks control industry, and combine with and hasten the growth of monopolies. The result is finance capital. Finance capital is the fusion of industrial and banking capital."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, Prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 15.

"Thus, the full intensity and the truly world-wide extent of the contradictions of capitalism became most glaringly revealed in the epoch of imperialism (finance capitalism), which, from the historical standpoint is a new form of capitalism, a new system of relationships between the various parts of world capitalist economy and a change in the relationship between the principal classes of capitalist society.

"The new historical period set in as a result of the operation of the principal dynamic laws of capitalist society. It grew out of the development of industrial capitalism, and is the historical continuation of the latter. It sharpened the manifestations of all the fundamental tendencies and dynamic laws of capitalist development, of all its fundamental contradictions and antagonisms. The law of the concentration and centralisation of capital led to the formation of powerful combines (cartels, syndicates, trusts), to new forms of gigantic combinations of enterprises, linked up into one system by the banks."

"Program of the Communist
International," as con-
tained in Handbook of
Marxism, pages 967-968.

CAPITAL (centralization of)

This means to Communists the merging and expansion of capitalistic strength by uniting a number of different businesses into one large business or enterprise. An example of this would be the creation of stock companies and the like. It may be voluntary or involuntary, as the result of "cut-throat competition" where the stronger rival absorbs the weaker one.

Lenin explains the concentration of capital as being the expansion of capital through the

"transformation of a part of surplus value into capital, not for satisfying the personal needs or whims of the capitalists, but for new production."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
in Marxist Glossary, by
L. Harry Gould, page 18.

CAPITALISM (in general)

To all Communists Capitalism is an economic system based on the private ownership of property, the private control of the means of production and the private accumulation and use of profits. As such Communists consider Capitalism to be a form of exploitation of man by man. It is in fact to them the last system of this type arising through the social evolution of man. A brief summary interpretation of Capitalism as Communists view it is as follows:

Capitalism came into existence as the result of overthrowing the feudalistic economic system. Feudalism was also a form of exploitation of man by man. Capitalism was a step in the right direction insofar as it rid the world of feudalism. It was a step in the wrong direction insofar as it developed an economic tyranny of its own.

The growth and successful expansion of Capitalism commenced during the sixteenth century in Western Europe. Around the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth a basic transition from hand production to machine production was in progress. The age of inventions and of machine power was being felt. England was particularly affected by it. The economy of the nobility with their large estates worked by many laborers with primitive tools gave way to capitalistic economy with new methods.

All during the nineteenth century Capitalism continued to grow with great rapidity and power. The wealth of communities - land, factories, produce and manufactured commodities - became more and more concentrated in the hands of capitalists and landlords. The older nobility gave way before the rising strength of the new class. This new class of capitalists commenced to exploit the laborers with increasing, systematic persistency. The workers, being poor, unorganized and helpless were forced to literally sell themselves into wage slavery to this greedy capitalist class. The wages they received were not enough to provide even subsistence for themselves and their families. The laborers were paid for only a fraction of what they produced and the difference (surplus value) was kept by the capitalist to increase their fortunes. Small capitalists and big ones, city capitalists and country ones, all pursued this same pattern of exploitation. Having the power to own they had the power to control. As they had the power to control they indoctrinated society with capitalistic culture, capitalistic education, capitalistic recreation, capitalistic science, capitalistic government, capitalistic law and the like, all of which was designed to foster and protect the system of capitalistic exploitation.

Capitalism today has reached its highest, most complex monopolistic and final stage of development, expressly, imperialism--the exportation of Capitalism and the militant, savage struggle for world markets. Imperialism spells the doom of Capitalism. It is Capitalism in its decaying, parasitical, dying and final stage. The inherent contradictions of Capitalism make this end inevitable.

Capitalism however will not disappear from the earth peacefully. It has been a breeder of wars. It has lived by the sword and will die by it. It will have to be destroyed by a violent revolution. One successful revolution of this type has already taken place in Russia. Others will take place all over the world until Capitalism is destroyed and Communism reigns supreme.

"Capitalism grew out of simpler and earlier forms of economic life. (And when we speak of 'economic' life we are merely using the old word which means the production and distribution of goods and services.) Capitalism developed without rational guidance as economic life became more complex and every man sought to satisfy his own individual interest without group regulation or control."

Rochester, Anna,
The Nature of Capitalism,
page 7.

"Capitalism is a system of the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class."

Theory and Practice of
the Communist Party,
prepared by National
Education Department,
Communist Party of
the United States of
America, page 10.

"Under capitalism the proletariat is deprived of the means of production. By means of production we understand those things that are of prime necessity for man to work with."

Leontiev, A.,
Political Economy,
page 93.

"...the growing shallowness and degeneracy of cultural and ideological life resulting from the minute specialization of labour, the monstrous forms of urban life and the restrictedness of rural life; the incapability of the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding the enormous achievements of the natural sciences, to create a synthetically scientific philosophy, and the growth of ideological, mystical and religious superstition, are all phenomena signaling the approach of the historical end of the capitalistic system."

Ibid., page 966.

"... the full intensity and the truly world-wide extent of the contradictions of capitalism became most glaringly revealed in the epoch of imperialism (finance capitalism), which, from the historical standpoint is a new form of capitalism, a new system of relationships between the various parts of the world capitalist economy and a change in the relationship between the principal classes of capitalist society."

Ibid., page 967.

"The parasitical character of modern capitalism is the product of the domination of capitalist monopolies, and finds its expression primarily in a tendency to impede the development of technique, to retard the development of the productive forces. Everybody knows that the only stimulus to capitalist activity is profit. When competition was free, the chase after profits forced the capitalists to introduce technical improvements, to drive technical processes forward. The enormous technical advances scored by society under its sway were not attributed to the capitalists' humanitarian motives, their solicitude for the weal of society as a whole, but to the selfish incentive of profit, personal aggrandizement."

Marxist Study Courses,
"Political Economy",
pamphlet issued by the
International Publisher,
New York, page 15.

"Bourgeoisie government guards the interests of the capitalists and landlords. Churches and schools, science and art, all stand at the service of capitalist exploitation."

Soviet Political Dictionary,
as translated from the Russian.

"Capitalism is the last structure founded on the exploitations of man by man."

Soviet Political Dictionary,
as translated from Russian.

"The world capitalist system, of which American capitalism is an organic part, is sinking deeper and deeper into insoluble contradictions. Outside of the Western Hemisphere that system is now in most difficult straits. Nor can the seemingly all-powerful United States escape and general capitalist decay, with its increasing economic chaos, fascist-like reaction, and atom-bomb war preparations. Once it passes through the present post-war industrial boom, which is based upon repairing the ravages of the war, it, too, will sink into grave economic and political difficulties."

Foster, William Z.,
American Trade Unionism,
page 372.

"The characteristic features of capitalist society which arose on the basis of commodity production are the monopoly of the most important and vital means of production by the capitalist class and big landlords; the exploitation of the wage labour of the proletariat, which, being deprived of the means of production, is compelled to sell its labour power; the production of commodities for profit; and, linked up with all this, the planless and anarchic character of the process of production as a whole. Exploitation relationships and the economic domination of the bourgeoisie find their political expression in the organized capitalist State--the instrument for the suppression of the proletariat."

"Program of the Communist
International" as contained
in Handbook of Marxism,
page 964.

"Capitalist production is commodity production. Everything is produced for sale. All products are commodities. Everything people need has to be bought. Nobody, however, can buy without selling something in return."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 8.

"The history of capitalism has entirely confirmed the theories of Marx and Engels concerning the laws of development of capitalist society and concerning the contradictions of this development that must inevitably lead to the downfall of the whole capitalist system."

Ibid., page 964.

"Capitalism is doomed. The capitalist system of private ownership of industry and land, production for profit, and exploitation of the workers is reaching the end of its course. It has outlived its historic mission. In its earlier stages capitalism was a progressive system: it constituted an advance over feudalism, which preceded it. Under capitalism there has been built an industrial system, at least in the imperialist countries; industrial technique has been developed; the proletariat has been created and disciplined. But even the limited progress that capitalism has accomplished for humanity has been achieved at the cost of incredible misery, poverty, ignorance and slaughter of the working class."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 69.

"Capitalism established itself as a world system by force. It defeated feudalism and laid the basis of its own power in a whole series of revolutionary civil wars in England, the United States, France, etc. Moreover, it has lived by violence, its regime being marked by the most terrible exploitation and devastating wars in human history. And capitalism will die sword in hand, fighting in vain to beat back the oncoming revolutionary proletariat."

Ibid., page 219.

CAPITALISM (two basic classes within it)

Communists argue that within the capitalistic system there are two basic classes: (1) the capitalist class; and (2) the working class. The conflict between the two opposing classes constitutes the class struggle. The outcome of this class struggle between the two basic forces will be the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism.

"In capitalist society there are two basic classes: the capitalist class and the working class. Their interests are irreconcilable.

"The development of capitalist production leads to the sharpening of the class struggle. With the development of industry the working class grows in numbers, strength, and consciousness. The struggle between the two basic classes in modern society becomes more intense.

"The middle classes tend constantly to be ruined by the development of capitalist production and hurled into the ranks of the proletariat. They vacillate between the working class and the capitalist class.

"The working class is the most revolutionary class. It leads all other exploited sections of the people--farmers, Negro people, etc. Created by capitalism, the working class is the grave-digger of capitalism. Its historical mission is to abolish capitalism and establish socialism."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared
by National Education De-
partment, Communist Party
of the United States of Amer-
ica, Page 10.

"Under capitalism society is divided into two great enemy camps, into two opposed classes--the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has all the wealth and all the power in its hands; it has all the plants, factories, mines, the land, the banks, the railroads; the bourgeoisie is the ruling class. The proletariat has all the oppression and poverty. The contrast between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--that is the most important distinction in any capitalist country. The struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie--that is what takes precedence over everything else. The gulf between these two classes grows ever deeper, ever wider. With the growth of class contradictions the indignation of the masses of the working class grows, their will to struggle grows, as do their revolutionary consciousness, their faith in their own strength and in their final victory over capitalism."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy,
Page 13.

CAPITALISM (inherent contradictions of)

Communists make much use of the word contradiction in their literature. They consider it to be of vital importance. By the term contradiction applied in the general sense, they mean that certain forces are always in conflict with each other. This may go on in a given body, a phenomenon or in society itself. Subsequently development is brought about through this struggle of opposites. It is the contradiction in a given situation which provides the "inner impulse" for movement. In a sense, the struggle of opposites, of contradictions, sets things into motion and it is only through such motion or change that development results.

In applying this idea to society, Communists insist there are certain definite inherent contradictions or conflicting forces inseparably welded to the system of Capitalism. Further, these contradictions cannot be corrected or eliminated, consequently they will inevitably bring about the collapse of Capitalism. In short, Capitalism is doomed because of these contradictions. They determine the outcome of the process. However, this process which leads to the doom of Capitalism will not happen automatically. It must be directed, hastened, and completed by a revolution.

The basic contradictions of Capitalism are three in number: (1) the ceaseless struggle and fight which exists between capital and labor; (2) the ceaseless struggle and fight which exists between powerful financial groups and imperialistic interests in their greedy scramble for raw materials, favorable locations, markets and profits (e.g. capitalists competing and conflicting with each other); (3) the ceaseless struggle and fight between the so-called industrialized, progressive, cultural and "civilized" nations of the world and the so-called rural, undeveloped, backward, unlettered and "uncivilized" people and their areas which go to make up the colonies and "dependent" segments of the nations mentioned, (e.g. imperialists vs. colonial people). These are the three basic contradictions of Capitalism, and as imperialism expands and becomes more voracious these contradictions deepen and sharpen and the crises which they give rise to become more acute and more paralyzing to the capitalistic system. The class struggle spreads and is more devastating. Imperialistic wars develop, and finally out of all this conflict the old world of Capitalism collapses amid force, violence, and chaos and out of this chaos the new world of Communism emerges.

The battle cry of the old French revolutionist Baboeuf will then be realized:
"Let everything return to chaos, and from chaos let there rise a new and regenerated world."

"All collisions in history have their origin, according to our view, in the contradiction between the productive forces and the forms of intercourse."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Friedrich, German Ideology, Page 73.

"The decisive trend in capitalism is towards the sharpening of its contradictions."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, Page 171.

"The absolute deterioration of the conditions of the working class becomes a fact even in certain highly developed capitalist countries. The growing competition between imperialist countries, the constant menace of war and the growing intensity of class conflicts prepare the ground for a new and higher stage of development of the general crisis of capitalism and of the world proletarian revolution."

"Program of the Communist International," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, Pages 980-981.

"The capitalist world, powerless to eliminate its inherent contradictions, strives to establish international associations (the League of Nations) the main purpose of which is to retard the irresistible growth of the revolutionary crisis..."

Ibid., Page 981.

"Mankind therefore finds itself faced with a contradiction: on the one hand, it has to gain an exhaustive knowledge of the world system in all its interrelations; and on the other hand, because of the nature both of man and of the world system, this task can never be completely fulfilled."

Engels, Frederick, Handbook of Marxism, p. 234.

"The first contradiction is the antagonism between labour and capital.

"The second contradiction is the antagonism between the various financial groups and the imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory.

"The third contradiction is the antagonism between the handful of ruling, 'civilised' nations and the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, pp. 15-16.

"The contradiction between American imperialism and the democratic forces in the capitalist world is not being mitigated, but is, on the contrary, developing and growing. When the American economic crisis comes, the American imperialists will, because of it, tighten their attacks, and the three contradictions mentioned above will become sharper. Such a period is not far off, for the American economic crisis will arrive this year or next."

Ting-Yi, Lu, "The Post-War International Situation," Political Affairs, March, 1947, p. 247.

CAPITALISM (uneven economic and political development)

Communists maintain that Capitalism does not develop as rapidly or in exactly the same pattern in some nations as it does in others; that this "uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism." This is why the Communist revolution cannot take place in all countries throughout the world at the same time. All capitalist countries are not ready for the revolution. Some are backward, others progressive, some rural, others industrialized, some with one form of government, others with a totally different form and so on. This uneven economic and political development therefore makes it necessary for the Communist revolutions to take place singly in different countries at different times, contingent upon the country's readiness for such revolutions. As these revolutions are successful in successive countries all Communist nations will then band together against non-Communist nations as they keep spreading these revolutions throughout the world.

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own Socialist production, would stand up against the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), edited by Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B), p. 169. See also: Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 141.

CAPITALISM (British)

Communists regard British Capitalism as a typical example of the predatory growth of this system, its parasitical nature and ultimate decay. They point out that the history of British Capitalism is the history of greedy acquisition of territory; the plundering of this territory for profits; the crushing of the freedom and lives of small nations and the impoverishment of millions of people who suffered from contact with British avarice and lack of principles. Today, Communists contend, the savage era of British Capitalism, imperialistic expansion and recurrent warfare is over. British Capitalism is dying, the Empire is breaking up and no longer will it be able to brutally assault and plunder small nations and wage world wars merely to perpetuate its capitalistic system and preserve the small, select few, spearheaded by the useless House of Lords, who owned, controlled and ran the British Empire in a most anti-democratic manner.

"On the one hand there is England, a state which owns a great part of the globe; the wealthiest state in the world; which created this wealth not so much by the labour of its workers as by the exploitation of vast colonies, by the vast power of the English banks which, constituting a numerically insignificant group of three, four or five giant banks, stand at the head of all the other banks, controlling hundreds of billions of rubles, and controlling in such a way that we can say without exaggeration: there is not a spot on the whole globe that this capital has not laid its heavy hand on; there is not a patch of land that is not enmeshed by a thousand threads in the net of British capital.

Lenin, V. I., War and the Workers, page 9.

"British capitalism always was, is and will be the most vicious strangler of popular revolutions. Ever since the Great French Revolution...the British

bourgeoisie has always stood in the front ranks of the butchers of the liberation movement of mankind..."

Stalin, Joseph, as quoted by D. Z. Manuilsky, The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow, Reports and Speeches, 16th Congress, C. P. S. U., page 64.

Of British capitalists, Marx wrote:

"A people which enslaves another people, forges its own chains."

Marx, Karl, as quoted in Handbook of Marxism, page 196.

CAPITALISM (has no future in the United States or elsewhere)

According to the Communist interpretation of world trends Capitalism is already a system of the past. What there is left of it is dying in the present. It will have no future. This applies to the United States as well as to other non-Communist countries of today.

"It is capitalism that has no future here or anywhere else. When you look at what appears to be a very strong capitalism in America and what appears to be a very weak Communist Party, bear in mind that on a world scale capitalism came out of the war weaker than it was, while the Communist movement came out substantially stronger. Bear in mind, too, that it was this strong American capitalism which suffered the biggest crackup in 1929 and had the slowest recovery--and the same thing will happen again."

Magil, A. B., Socialism -
What's in It For You?,
page 60.

CAPITALISM (destroyed only by revolution)

Though Communists assert that Capitalism contains inherent contradictions which are leading it to its doom they do not believe it possible to rid the world of Capitalism without the use of force and violence. The decadent nature of Capitalism must be dealt a killing blow and this blow must come from the outside and be one of force -- revolution and warfare. Communists explain that over a long period of time capitalists have come into control of society. They dominate the educational system, the law courts, the churches and the social mores. They own vast fortunes and live in comparative luxury to the struggling masses. Hence, though the Communists prefer to have capitalists give up without warfare and peacefully surrender Capitalism, they do not believe they will do this. As they will not do this Communists will be forced to overthrow Capitalism by force and violence which is made necessary by the resistance of the capitalists. In substance the Communists say it is the capitalists who will cause this violence through their resisting, as a minority group, the will of the majority, the great masses of people.

" . . . This, of course, did not mean that capitalism would die away of itself, without a revolution of the proletariat, . . . Lenin always taught that without a revolution of the working class, capitalism cannot be overthrown. Therefore, while defining imperialism as moribund capitalism, Lenin at the same time showed that imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union (B),
edited by a Commission of
the Central Committee
of the C.P.S.U. (B), page 168.

"Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital and to convert capitalist property into public property by peaceful means, and that the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a proletarian revolution, by establishing

its own political rule - the dictatorship of the proletariat - which must crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless, Communist society."

Ibid., p. 9.

"But in order to vanquish the old world and create a new classless society, the proletariat must have its own working-class party, which Marx and Engels called the Communist Party."

Ibid., p. 9.

"Expansion of capitalism unavoidably leads to the downfall of capitalism. Exploitation will not disappear of its own volition. It will only succumb to revolutionary struggle and victories of the proletariat . . . "

Soviet Political
Dictionary as
translated from Russian.

"The masses of the people have not yet reached the stage when they are ready to storm the citadel of capitalism, but the idea of storming it is maturing in the minds of the masses - there can hardly be any doubt about that."

Stalin, Joseph, Report
on the work of the
Central Committee of
the C.P.S.U., Seventeenth
Congress, p. 17.

"We already know that capitalism will not go off the stage on its own initiative, that it will not collapse automatically.

We know that all the theories of the automatic collapse of capitalism only bring untold harm to the cause of the working class, lulling its will to the long persistent struggle which is necessary in order to triumph over the exploiters. No sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism creates a situation where the bourgeoisie can find absolutely no way out. Only a persistent struggle will decide the collapse of the capitalist system."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy, p. 282.

CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT

When speaking of "capitalist encirclement" Communists mean that Soviet Russia is surrounded in the world by nations who are non-Communist and hostile and liable to intervene in internal affairs. This is an undesirable situation, an encirclement which must be broken. It is expected it will be broken when the Communist revolution is really successful in several nations. Communists maintain that this "capitalistic encirclement" is a constant, ceaseless threat to the security of Soviet Russia, necessitating large armed forces and extensive defense measures. Communists also charge that the encirclement of non-Communist nations has caused spies, divisionists, provocateurs and terrorists to be sent into Russia in order to disrupt the country and secure military secrets. Trotskyite representatives are particularly condemned for this type of activity which allegedly takes place. In view of this Soviet Russia attempts to justify its efforts to break the "encirclement" and establish Communism in other nations.

"Never to forget that we are surrounded by a capitalist world..."

Stalin, Joseph, From
Socialism to Communism
in the Soviet Union, page 28.

"Only blockheads or masked enemies ... can deny the danger of military intervention and of attempts at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists."

Stalin, Joseph, Letter
to Ivanov, page 12.

"Capitalist encirclement—that is no empty phrase; that is a very real and unpleasant feature. Capitalist encirclement means that here is one country, the Soviet Union, which has established the socialist order on its own territory and besides this there are many countries, bourgeois countries, which continue to carry on a capitalist mode of life and which surround the Soviet Union, waiting for an opportunity to attack it, break it, or at any rate to undermine its power and weaken it.

"Our comrades forgot this fundamental fact. But it is that precisely which determines the basis of relations between the capitalist encirclement and the Soviet Union."

Stalin, Joseph, Mastering Bolshevism, page 11.

"The U.S.S.R. is surrounded by governments where capitalists and landlords are still in power.... The presence of capitalist encirclement demands constant attention to the strengthening and fortification of the international proletariat ties of the U.S.S.R. working classes with the working classes of the bourgeoisie countries; to the strengthening of the Soviet government and defensive capacity strength of the U.S.S.R.; to the strengthening and fortifying of the Red Army, Red Navy, Aviation and the Society for the Defense of the Soviet Union and for development of its Aviation and Chemical Industries. Steady aid to those employed in the glorious Soviet intelligence...and similar foreign intelligence agencies."

Soviet Political Dictionary,
as translated from Russian.

CAPITALIST STABILIZATION

This is a rather nebulous Communist theory whereby an explanation is given to account for the failure of Communism to spread more rapidly throughout the world than it has done to date. According to this explanation, Capitalism by lowering living standards, suppressing Communist activities, creating imperialist wars and making various temporary adjustments has a "breathing spell" or "stabilization." This "stabilization," however, cannot be permanent and inevitably the invalid character and inherent contradictions of Capitalism will increase class warfare and force world revolution to take place. Following this world revolution, Communism will then reign supreme. Throughout this whole process the very existence and influence of the Soviet Union will serve to counteract "capitalist stabilization."

"The existence of the Soviet Union and the influence it exercises upon the toiling and oppressed masses all over the world is in itself a most striking expression of the profound crisis of the world capitalist system and of the expansion and intensification of the class struggle to a degree hitherto without parallel in history."

The Program of the Communist International, pages 26-27.

"Experience throughout the post-war historical period has shown that the stabilization achieved by the repression of the working class and the systematic depression of its standard of living can be only a partial, transient and decaying stabilization."

Ibid., page 25.

CAPITALIST WORLD (to hasten its doom by attacking Soviet Russia)

Communists claim that if the capitalistic nations attack Soviet Russia it will simply result in the hastening of their final collapse and destruction. This will in part be brought about through the stirring up by Communists of the workers throughout the world and rallying them behind the interests of Soviet Russia and against the interests of their own nations.

"The moribund capitalist world will not save itself by a counter-revolutionary war on the Soviet Union, but will only hasten its own destruction. The armed resistance of the great Soviet people will stir up the whole world of labour... It will rouse the proletarians and working people in all corners of the globe..."

Manuilsky, D.Z., "Report To The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)" published in World News and Views, Special Edition, Volume 19, Number 19, April 6, 1939, page 70.

CAPITALISTIC GOVERNMENTS

By this phrase Communists designate governments in capitalistic countries which they claim can have nothing in common with proletarian (e.g. Communist) governments. Here again Communists stress the irreconcilable nature of the Communist way of life with the non-Communist way. They insist that all capitalist governments must be destroyed or smashed.

"Capitalist governments have nothing in common with proletarian governments. They are especially constructed throughout to maintain the rulership of the bourgeoisie. In the revolutionary struggle they are smashed and Soviet governments established, built according to the requirements of the toiling masses."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 271.

"A United States of Europe, or a United States of the World is a utopian dream under the capitalist system."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and The Tasks of the Communists, Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, page 52.

CENTRISTS: CENTRISM

By the use of these terms Communists seek to describe persons who refuse to go to either the extremes of the "Left" or the "Right", within the capitalistic system, preferring to hold the center position and to pursue a "middle of the road" program. Communists condemn Centrists, charging that this position is incompatible with Communism. Oddly enough, however, Communists describe themselves as occupying the center position within the "Left-Wing" social systems, and condemn all those who deviate either to the right or to the left of their center position.

"...and finally, there are the 'Centrists,' those who wobble between the 'Lefts' and the Rights ... Centrism is not a concept of space: on the one side, for instance, sit the Rights, on the other the 'Lefts', and in between sit the Centrists. Centrism is a political concept. Its ideology is one of adaptation, of subordination of the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie in the same party. This ideology is alien and contrary to Leninism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, page 97.

CHAUVINISM (in general)

This word is taken from the name of a Frenchman, Nicolas Chauvin, a great admirer of Napoleon, who advocated a theory of the superiority of one race over another. To Communists the word now means race hatred which the ruling classes have promulgated for centuries in order to prevent oppressed races and groups from uniting and overthrowing the ruling class. They kept races divided so they could better exploit them. Today Communists are ceaselessly relating "chauvinism" to imperialism and imperialism to the United States. They refer to "chauvinism" as a form of imperialist ideology used as a brutal instrument of imperialist expansion, conquest and exploitation; as an instrument which specifically aims to instil into the masses hatred and contempt for other races, nations and people. Concrete examples of this type of "chauvinism" would be the Nordic and Aryan race theories of the Nazis, the Anglo-Saxon "white man's burden" attitude, the Japanese effort to identify "divinity" with its own race, the declarations that the white race is superior to the black race and the like. This word is also related by Communists to excessive patriotism or jingoistic nationalism which leads to national enmity and hatred of other nations. Communists say "chauvinism" is only profitable to the bourgeoisie, which, covering itself with national feelings, eases its conscience for its greedy policy of grasping colonies; for its violent policy of oppression and destruction of weak nationalities and national masses in general. They contend that during the period of imperialism "chauvinism" grew stronger in connection with the growth of monopolies and the aggravation of the struggle by the imperialist bourgeoisie for an avaricious redivision of the world; that it evidenced itself clearly during the first world imperialistic war, 1914-1918, when the bourgeoisie of all warring nations poisoned the consciousness of the masses of their countries with ideas of nationalism to justify the grasping, predatory purposes of this world war. Communists therefore maintain they intend to continue waging an irreconcilable fight against "chauvinism."

"Chauvinism consists of any or all actions which are utilized to secure and justify the domination or oppression of one nation over another nation, or over national minorities, or any theory of 'superior races.'"

Theory And Practice of The
Communist Party, prepared by
National Education Department

of the Communist Party of
the United States of America,
page 32.

"Americanism and love of country are prostituted to
the vilest chauvinism, to the service of reactionary
domestic and foreign policy."

Browder, Earl, What Is
Communism?, pages 69-70.

CHAUVINISM (white)

Communists use this phrase as a mark of disrespect, contempt and loathsomeness directed toward any person presumed to be guilty of racial consciousness, of thinking that the white race is superior to other races. Frequent use of this term has been made by negro Communists. Communists also use this word to signify the pride of the "petty bourgeois" in their race and the historical accomplishments of this race. Communists insist that "white chauvinism" must be destroyed. This idea is behind their campaigns for "social equality" and their recommendations for opening all kinds of work on all levels to all races and colors, for mixed regiments, abolition of zoning and segregation laws and other similar discrimination practices. Though Communists make much noise over "white chauvinism" interestingly enough they do not always "practice what they preach". Communists do not regularly intermarry with negroes nor do they associate with them to the same degree socially as they do their white colleagues. For Party purposes, of course, they are all one big happy family, but privately and personally it is a different matter. Fundamentally, they play upon "white chauvinism" like so many other issues, as a tactic to cause race hatred, division, strikes and anything else which will spread Communism and bring them closer to their goal.

"The elimination of white chauvinism and its remnants, conscious or unconscious, within the Party, the labor movement, and among the people generally, in all its forms, is the duty of all Communist Party members."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 33.

"White chauvinism is a system of ideas based upon the theory of 'white superiority.' It is utilized as an instrument of national oppression. In this country it is directed primarily against the Negro people.

"Expressing itself very often as discrimination or segregation, white chauvinism takes many different

forms, ranging from the ravings and actions of a Bilbo, Rankin or Talmadge to actions or words on the part of a worker who is not even conscious of carrying or expressing white chauvinism."

Ibid., page 32.

CHAUVINISM (social)

Communists in using this phrase relate it to persons whom they consider to be "socialist in words, imperialist in deeds." Similarly they charge such persons with possessing excessive pride usually linked to their own particular social class. They would support one capitalist nation which is waging an imperialist war against a second capitalist nation. To be guilty of this is, in the eyes of Communists, to reflect an inability to think and act as a true proletarian should. Communists regard social chauvinism to be a dangerous violation of Communist principles which may lead to even greater defects if not corrected. In fact some view the social chauvinist outlook as being more perilous to the course of Communism than the bourgeoisie "mental outlook" because the latter is smug, decadent and static whereas the latter may be questioning, virile and counterrevolutionary.

"These we call social-chauvinists, i.e., Socialists in words and chauvinists in deeds. A chauvinist is one who conceals the defence of the predatory interests of 'his own' ruling classes with the concept 'defence of the fatherland.'"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 14.

"The social-chauvinists are our class enemies, bourgeois within the labour movement. They represent strata, or groups, or sections of the working class which objectively have been bribed by the bourgeoisie (by better wages, positions of honour, etc.), and which help their bourgeoisie to plunder and oppress small and weak peoples and to fight for the division of the capitalist spoils."

Ibid., page 5.

"The social-chauvinists are our class enemies, the bourgeois within the labor movement... They have gone over to the bourgeoisie..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, pages 63-64.

CHURCHES

In view of the fact that Communists are unalterably opposed to the principles of all religions it follows that they are equally opposed to churches which assist in giving practical application to religious values. Communists seek to explain the existence of the church as an institution by linking it with the capitalistic system, contending it is an outgrowth of the capitalistic modes of production designed to enrich the ruling capitalists and to exploit the ruled masses. Proceeding on the assumption that the church as an institution is linked to Capitalism Communists argue that it will disappear when Capitalism is overthrown. This does not mean, however, that the churches will disappear automatically on their own accord without a struggle. On the contrary Communists believe it is necessary to actively and systematically combat the churches in a variety of ways, directly and indirectly, openly and concealed. This campaign against the churches is to be vigorously conducted on a local, sectional, national and international scale. On seizing control of a nation, on dominating the industries and the field of education Communists would then carry their fight against the churches into its final phase resulting ultimately in the complete elimination of all churches from society. William Z. Foster, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, has predicted that the abolition of the churches from society is one of the things which will occur if Communists are successful in capturing the United States.

"As the factories and schools open, the churches close."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 114.

"The proletarian government must withdraw all state support from the Church, which is the agency of the former ruling class; it must prevent all Church interference in State-organized educational affairs, and ruthlessly suppress the counter-revolutionary activity of the ecclesiastical organizations."

"Program of the Communist International," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 1009-1010.

"The Catholic Church, with the pope in its van, is now an important bulwark of all counter-revolutionary organizations and forces...But the Catholic Church does not stand alone. Every other ecclesiastical organization--Lutheran, Anglican, Jewish, Buddhist, Mohammedan and others, likewise helps the capitalists and landowners of its country to exploit and stupefy the masses..."

Yaroslawsky, E., Religion
In The U.S.S.R. pages 36, 37.

"The lead in these religious organizations is increasingly taken by prominent capitalists like Henry Ford, billionaire owner of automobile and tractor plants; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., leading Wall Street financier..."

Ibid., page 37.

"The proletarian must withdraw all State support from the church, and abolish the influence exercised by the Church on the system of education and training organized by the State; it must ruthlessly suppress the counter-revolutionary activities of ecclesiastical organizations."

"Program of the Communist
International" as quoted in
Religion by V. I. Lenin, page 9.

"Although in many capitalist countries the church is nominally separated from the state, and the school from the church, the capitalists easily bridge the gap by maintaining relations between the organs of capital and the organs of religion and the church. In this way they retain in their hands one of the most potent means of deceiving and stupefying the minds of the masses."

Yaroslawsky, E.,
Religion In The U.S.S.R.,
page 37.

"Communists look upon all religious organizations, including all sectarian organizations, as organizations which harbor opponents of the proletarian dictatorship, and of socialist construction."

Ibid., page 53.

"The growth of godlessness in the United States, the closing of churches in other countries, are inevitable accompaniments of the decay of capitalism... the exposure of the role of the church and of religion will proceed at a growing pace in the countries of capitalism and create a mighty army of militant atheists throughout the world.

"The only country in which the anti-religious movement is able to develop openly, broadly, unhindered is the U.S.S.R. Our experience is of the greatest importance to every nation. We must never forget that by our work we are rendering assistance to our foreign comrades. We must deeply internationalize our work so that every atheist should regard his work as part of our international struggle against religion and the church."

Ibid., pages 63-64.

CLASS

By the word "class" Communists mean a section of a given population who occupy a specific relation to the means of production. For example, the capitalists own land, mines, factories and the like. The workers or laborers do not own such possessions but they do work on the land and in the mines and factories. Therefore you have two main classes in society, (1) the capitalist (bourgeoisie) and (2) the wage-earners (the proletariat or working class). In centuries past the analogous relationship was on the one hand the slave owner and on the other hand the slave. Now ownership has shifted from persons to property. Now, as indicated, we have the capitalist and the wage-slave, basically the two classes have remained the same down through the centuries. Capitalism is merely a modern variation of feudalism brought on by inventions and discoveries and a general change in thinking.

In considering the concept of "class" Communists admit, in well developed capitalist nations, a group exists which is referred to as the "middle class" or "petty bourgeoisie," composed of minor merchants, small farmers, professional people, little businessmen, civil service employees, managerial staff members of large capitalist enterprises and the like. According to the Communists this so-called "middle class" occupies an uncertain, vacillating position for being comprised of workers it naturally tends ideologically toward the proletariat, yet, because it participates in producing commodities it also tends toward the capitalists. The "middle class" therefore possesses a sort of dual personality. Communists believe however, that this uncertain and unique "middle class" is a natural ally of the working class and might be won over in the bitter struggle against the capitalist class. If not won over, its strength can be broken by division and general progressive atrophy.

"What is meant by classes in general? It is what permits one part of society to appropriate the labour of another. If one part of society appropriates all the land, we have the classes of landlords and peasants. If one part of society owns the plants and factories, shares and capital, while the other part works in these factories, we have the classes of capitalists and proletarians."

Lenin, V.I., Collected Works,
"Speech at the Third Congress
of the Russian Young Communist
League," Volume XXV, page 391,
Russian Edition.

"By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage laborers, who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor-power in order to live."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Fredrick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 46.

"And what are classes in general? Classes are that which permits one section of society to appropriate the labour of another section."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume IX, page 476.

CLASS (peasantry the last capitalist class)

Communists view the peasantry (small farmers) as being the last capitalist class because it is self-reliant and subsists through "small commodity production" resulting in a flow of capitalists coming from its ranks. It is the peasantry which remains relatively untouched and uninfluenced by the social changes taking place in the urban industrial centers.

"Lenin said that the peasantry is the last capitalist class. Is that postulate correct? Yes, it is absolutely correct. Why is the peasantry described as the last capitalist class? Because of the two main classes of which our society is composed, the peasantry is a class whose economy is based on private property and small commodity production. Because the peasantry, as long as it remains a peasantry, living by small commodity production, will throw up capitalists from its ranks, and cannot help throwing them up, constantly and continuously. This fact is of decisive importance in relation to our Marxian attitude to the problem of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. That means that we want, not any kind of alliance with the peasantry, but only such an alliance as is based on the struggle against the capitalist elements of the peasantry."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume 2, page 129.

CLASSES (existed before Capitalism)

Communists do not say that Capitalism created classes and class difference. They admit that classes existed before Capitalism. However, they do charge that Capitalism did not improve the situation, on the contrary it substituted "new classes for old" and in some areas this substitution resulted in even worse exploitation than before.

"Capitalism was not the creator of classes and class differences. Classes existed before capitalism, under the feudal system and even earlier. But capitalism substituted new classes for the old. Capitalism created new methods of class oppression and class struggle."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy, p. 16.

CLASSES (liberty and equality not possible while classes exist)

To Communists, any talk on the part of non-Communists about liberty and equality in society is nothing but nonsense and deception while classes exist. Communists argue that liberty and equality are impossible in any society where classes and class differences are permitted to express themselves. The only way to enjoy these desired modes of living is to abolish all classes and establish the classless Communist Society.

"As long as classes exist the liberty and equality of classes is a bourgeois deception. The proletariat takes power, becomes the ruling class, smashes bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, suppresses the bourgeoisie, suppresses all the attempts of all other classes to return to capitalism, gives real liberty and equality to the toilers (which is made possible only by the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production), and gives them, not only the 'right to,' but the real use of what has been taken from the bourgeoisie."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume I, Page 52.

CLASSES (proletariat alone is revolutionary)

To Communists the proletariat or the working class is the only true revolutionary class in society. It is made of stern, virile, enduring substance and it will therefore survive long after the capitalist class has decayed and vanished from the earth.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 19.

CLASSES (abolition of)

Communists advocate a complete abolition of classes in society and the attendant differences attached to these classes. The ultimate goal of all Communists is to develop, among other things, a social order which will be both classless and stateless. They recognize the difficulty involved and point out the great effort required to abolish classes as the people who make them up are deeply imbued with snobbishness, selfishness, a fake sense of superiority and a tenacious desire to continue class exploitation. They will not dissolve classes voluntarily, therefore it will be necessary to smash the classes by force and violence. It will mean a bitter, ruthless struggle extending over a long period of time.

"...having seized state power, and being supported by the semi-proletariat, the proletariat with the aid of this power continues the class struggle until classes are abolished."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 52.

"The abolition of classes by means of the bitter class struggle of the proletariat--such is Lenin's formula."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume II, page 124.

"It was easy to kick out the tsar--only a few days were required for that. It was not very difficult to kick out the landlords--we succeeded in doing that in a few months. Nor was it difficult to kick out the capitalists. But it is much more difficult to abolish classes...."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 476.

"There have yet been no cases in history when dying classes have voluntarily departed from the scene. There have been no cases in history when the dying bourgeoisie has not exerted all its remaining strength to preserve its existence. Whether our lower apparatus is good or bad, our advance, our offensive, will reduce the numbers of the capitalist elements and force them out of existence, and they, the dying classes, will resist at all costs."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, page 127.

"The dying classes resist, not because they have become stronger than we are, but because socialism is growing faster than they are, and they are becoming weaker than we. And because they are becoming weaker, they feel that their last days are approaching and are obliged to resist with every means and method in their power."

Ibid., pages 127-128.

"The abolition of classes (says Lenin) requires a long, difficult and stubborn class struggle, which, after the overthrow of the power of the capitalists, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the puerile believers in the old socialism and the old Social-Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms and becomes in many respects still more bitter.

Ibid., page 121.

See also: Lenin, V. I.,
Collected Works, Volume XXIV,
page 315, Russian Edition.

"Socialism, putting an end to classes, will thereby put an end to the State."

Lenin, V. I., "The Teachings
of Karl Marx" as contained in
Handbook of Marxism, page 563.

CLASS STRUGGLE

By class struggle Communists mean the struggle which they assume continually goes on between the two basic classes in capitalist society, the capitalist and the workers, the exploiters and the exploited, the rulers and the ruled. In brief it is the bitter struggle which goes on between those who own the means of production and the great masses of people who possess nothing except their capacity for laboring. This issue is a vital element of Communist theory and practice.

To Communists the class struggle has been the same in its fundamental elements all down through the centuries though it has assumed different forms in different ages. For example, in very early times the class struggle was between the slave owner and the slaves. In a later age it was between the feudal lords and the serfs, which developed into a struggle between the old, dying feudalism and the new, emerging capitalism. Finally, in our age the class struggle is centered between the capitalist and the wage-laborers. The result of this struggle will be the collapse of capitalism and the emergence of Communism. This will mean the acceptance and application at the proper time of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the concept of the class struggle. One is to complement the other. The former will be an extension of the latter.

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

"Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 9.

"Classes, their struggle, the contradictions of class interests--this is what constitutes the life of capitalist society."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy, pages 14-15.

"What is this class struggle? It is...overthrowing the capitalists, abolishing the capitalist class."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 476.

"What is the class struggle? It is the struggle of one part of the people against the other, the struggle waged by all the disfranchised, the oppressed, the toilers, against the privileged, the oppressors, the parasites; the struggle of the wage labourers, or proletarians, against the property owners, or bourgeoisie."

Ibid., Volume II, page 304.

"The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

"They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."

Marx, Karl, as quoted in The History of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels by V. Adoratsky, page 9. See also: Marx, Karl, Selected Works, Volume I, page 219.

CLASS STRUGGLE (necessary for development)

From the aspect of the final end, Communists do not regard class struggle as being bad in itself but rather as being a good thing, a necessary thing. Because out of this clash of opposites there will come growth and development toward Communism. This development would not come about peacefully for the capitalists would unreasonably insist on preserving their system. Hence, the necessity for this class struggle, this forceful forging ahead toward the world-wide Communist Society.

"Can the capitalists be forced out and the roots of capitalism be annihilated without a bitter class struggle? No, it is impossible. Can classes be abolished according to the theory and practice of capitalists growing into socialism? No, they cannot. Such a theory and practice can only cultivate and perpetuate classes, for this theory is contrary to the theory of class struggle."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, p. 123.

"The laws of social development do not realize themselves automatically. They forge their way through the class struggle taking place in society."

Leontiev, A., Political
Economy, p. 12.

CLASS STRUGGLE (a political struggle)

Communists do not regard the class struggle as being merely economic. They think of it as being also political and urge organized political action be used to supplement the economic struggle which forms the basis of the whole process. Economics is primary and politics is secondary, but both are necessary for victory.

"We Communists hold that every class struggle is a political struggle."

Olgin, M.J., Why Communism?,
pp. 33-34.

"...all class struggles for emancipation in the last resort, despite their necessarily political form - for every class struggle is a political struggle - turn ultimately on the question of economic emancipation."

Engels, Frederick, Ludwig Feuerbach, p. 62.

"The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it makes this struggle particularly wide, sharp and ruthless."

Lenin, V.I., Selected Works,
Volume X, p. 167.

CLASS STRUGGLE (policy of the Communist Party)

It is the policy of the Communist Party to do all possible to increase and spread the class struggle, directing its force to the final end - revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"In view of such a state of affairs, what should be the policy of the Party? The policy should be to arouse the working class and the exploited masses of the countryside, to increase their fighting capacity and develop their ability to mobilise for the fight against the capitalist elements of town and country, for the fight against the resisting class enemies. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle is valuable, among other reasons, for the very fact that it facilitates the mobilisation of the working class against the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, p. 128.

CLASS STRUGGLE (exists also on the theoretical plane)

The class struggle for Communists does not exist only in the field of practical action. It exists also in the field of ideas, in the realm of the mind. Hence, for them there is continually going on in society a clash of ideas, of theories and ideologies. This intellectual class struggle serves as a complement to the physical class struggle, out of which it originally emerged.

"The class struggle also takes place on the theoretical front against the theories and ideology which the capitalists develop in order to justify and perpetuate their system of exploitation."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 11.

CLASS STRUGGLE (and the "genius of Marx")

According to Lenin, the genius of Karl Marx is to be found in his understanding of the doctrine of the class struggle and its application to the revolutionary process of establishing Communism. This gives an indication of how important the notion of the class struggle is considered to be to the theory of Communism.

"The genius of Marx consists in the fact that he was able before anybody else to draw from this and consistently apply the deduction that world history teaches. This deduction is the doctrine of the class struggle."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, Page 7.

CLASS STRUGGLE (ends in revolution)

All Communists argue that the inherent contradictions in Capitalism will produce one crisis after another, each one more sharp and serious than the one before. All this will increase the tempo of the class struggle until the point is reached where revolution breaks out, Capitalism is overthrown and the road cleared for the march of Communism.

"The class struggle, as we have already seen, becomes ever sharper with the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, and it eventually culminates in the proletarian revolution."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 172-173.

"Communist action is based upon the slogan of 'Class Against Class'; that is, the working class against the capitalist class. This slogan expresses the elementary fighting policy of the revolutionary movement."

Ibid., pages 252-253.

"Under the leadership of the Communist Party and following out its class struggle policy, the workers can defend their interests here and now and they will ultimately traverse fully the revolutionary way out of the crisis by overthrowing capitalism and establishing a Soviet system."

Ibid., page 259.

"An oppressed class is the vital condition for every society founded on the antagonism of classes. The emancipation of the oppressed class thus implies necessarily the creation of a new society.

"Meanwhile the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a struggle of class against class, a struggle which carried to its highest expression is a total revolution. Indeed, is it at all surprising that a society founded on the opposition of classes should culminate in brutal contradiction, the shock of body against body, as its final denouement?

Marx, Karl, The Poverty of Philosophy, pages 146, 147.

CLASS STRUGGLE (extended to the dictatorship of the proletariat)

Communists repeatedly insist that it would be false Marxism to limit the class struggle in such a way as to eliminate from its content the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary every true Communist must extend the principle of the class struggle to include the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a course of action is necessary for the class struggle could not succeed, could not complete itself and fulfil its historic role without the services of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The doctrine of the class struggle, as applied by Marx to the question of the state and of the Socialist revolution, leads inevitably to the recognition of the political rule of the proletariat, of its dictatorship, that is, of a power shared with none and relying directly upon the armed force of the masses."

Lenin, V.I., State and Revolution,
P. 23.

See also: Selected Works, by V. I. Lenin,
Volume VII, p. 26.

"To limit Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it....A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin, V.I. as quoted in
Marxist Glossary by L. Harry
Gould, p. 22.

Lenin writes elsewhere

"...the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat..."

Lenin, V.I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, p. 33.

CLASS-COLLABORATION

"Class-collaboration" means to peacefully work out and reconcile the seeming conflicting interests of the capitalists and the workers. It is one main aspect of reformism. The basic assumption is that actually the real interests of the capitalists and the workers are not in conflict, but actually are identical. What is good for one is good for the other; they work toward a common goal. Communists disagree sharply with this conception of "class-collaboration" asserting it results in harmful submission on the part of the workers to the capitalist class. Communists argue that the interests of the two classes are in basic conflict; are irreconcilable and cannot be harmonized. No peace nor cooperation between the two can exist. Communists hasten to point out, however, that under certain conditions class-collaboration is permissible as a tactic, such as class-collaboration in fighting Fascism and Nazism or temporary class-collaboration as a deceptive measure to gain an immediate objective.

"The Communists also have always been inveterate opponents of the 'harmony-of-interests-between-capital-and-labor' conception of labor leaders' of the Gompers school (of whom unfortunately many are still with us)."

Foster, William Z., American Trade Unionism, page 364.

"There is need still, however, to continue the struggle against class-collaborationism, ideologically and practically, in all its insidious forms."

Ibid., page 365.

Lenin in speaking of using class-collaboration as a temporary, tricky, deceptive device to spread or strengthen Communism at a given moment said:

"Only those who have no self-reliance can fear to enter into temporary alliances

even with unreliable people; not a single political party could exist without entering such alliances."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in
Marxist Glossary by L. Harry
Gould, page 21.

However, in speaking of class-collaboration as a permanent policy, Lenin condemned it without reserve and spoke of the

"futility and hopelessness of collaboration."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, page 139.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

This phrase means the clear understanding by the workers (or, the proletarians) that (1) they represent one single, solid, unique class as distinct and separated from all other classes; (2) the interests of the workers as a class are in contradiction to and are forever irreconcilable to the interests of the capitalist class against whom they must carefully organize as a class and relentlessly fight in order to gain desirable economic and social objectives; (3) the final aim of the organized and militant workers must be Socialism which leads to Communism. There must be no deviations, no modifications, no compromises, no swerving aside, no matter how slight, from this end. This first stage, expressly Socialism, means among other things, precisely what Engels had in mind when he said the revolutionary struggle must establish "the ruling power in the State" as a necessary step toward liberating "the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggle." On this same question Lenin says: "The principal material basis for the development of proletarian class consciousness is large-scale industry, where the worker sees the factories working, where every day he senses the power which can really abolish classes." Lenin contends that "working class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected." In brief then, "class consciousness" means that one knows to what class he belongs and works only in the interest of that class. According to Communists if a man is not "class conscious" he does not think for himself but rather thinks as the capitalists want him to, whereas, if he is class conscious he does think for himself and this thinking should lead him, according to Lenin, to full acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat which will be used as a weapon to annihilate all opposition and pave the road toward the higher phase of Communism.

"At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of these objectively unavoidable dialectics of human history, utilizing on the one hand, the phases of political stagnation, when things are moving at a snail's pace along the road of the so-called 'peaceful' development, to increase the class consciousness,

strength, and fighting capacity of the most advanced class..."

Lenin, V. I., "Tactics of the Class Struggle of the Proletariat" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 565-566.

COMMODITY

Communists make frequent references in their literature to the term "commodity." It is one of the vital terms in their economic theory. They mean by the word any product created by labor which meets or satisfies a human need or want. Such a commodity necessarily must have value and "use-value."

"A commodity is, in the first place, a thing that satisfies a human want; in the second place, it is a thing that can be exchanged for another thing."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume XI, Page 22.

"...nothing can have value without being an object of utility. If the thing is useless, so is the labor contained in it; the labor does not count as labor, and therefore creates no value."

Marx, Karl, as quoted in
Marxist Glossary, by L.
Harry Gould, Page 25.

"The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity."

Marx, Karl, Ibid., Page 25.

"In the value form of the product (i.e., commodity), as in a folded bud, lies the whole form of capitalist production, the antagonism between capital and wage-labor, the industrial reserve army and crises."

Engels, Frederick, Ibid.,
Page 25.

"The production of commodities is a system of social relationships in which different producers produce various products (the social division of labour), and in which all these products are equated to one another in exchange. Consequently, the element common to all commodities is not concrete labour in a definite branch of production, not labour of one particular kind, but abstract human labour--human labour in general. All the labour power of a given society, represented in the sum total of values of all commodities, is one and the same human labour power."

Lenin, V. I., The Teachings
of Karl Marx, Page 19.

COMMUNISM OR MARXIST SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

By these phrases Communists mean the system of thought and action originated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, developed by V. I. Lenin, and continued by Joseph Stalin and his followers. This system recommends, among other things (1) a materialistic explanation of man and the universe; (2) a materialistic interpretation of history centering about the class struggle; (3) abolition of the non-Communist State which is conceived to be an instrument of force; (4) a revolutionary theory, method, and a flexible course of action to overthrow the State and the capitalistic system; (5) a moral code based on utility; on non-supernatural class concepts; (6) abolition of all religions; (7) a world-wide Communist revolution; (8) a world-wide Communist society.

Through the application of these basic ideas an attempt will be made to smash the foundations of the world social order which now exists and build totally new foundations, a new world social order. The object is not as Marx has said, to interpret the world but to change it. Therefore, the stress is placed on militant action, deeds, results.

"We want to recast the world."

Lenin, V. I., in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, page 156.

"This, properly speaking, explains why in the activities of this group there is no discrepancy between word and deed, and why the teachings of Marx fully preserve their living, revolutionary force. To this group can be fully applied the words of Marx that: Marxists cannot rest content with explaining the world, they must go farther and change it. The name of this group is Bolshevism, Communism."

Stalin, Joseph, Lenin, page 6.

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it."

Marx, Karl as quoted in Handbook of Marxism, page 231.

COMMUNISM (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin)

The four "great" men whom the Communists never cease extolling in superlative terms are Karl Marx (1818-1883), Frederick Engels, (1820-1895), Nicolai (Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov) Lenin, (1870-1924), and Joseph Stalin (1879-). Communists accept the thoughts and statements of these men in their entirety and without exception. Together they constitute the science of Marxism-Leninism. The contributions which these men made to this "science" may be summarized as follows:

KARL MARX

Marx is referred to as the "originator" of Communism (e.g. Marxism-Leninism) or the discoverer of the laws underlying it. Some main contributions attributed to Marx are:

1. The outcome or consequence of the present capitalistic social order was the laboring class and the needs and demands of this class.
2. Humanity will not be delivered from its poverty, enslavement and suffering by some well-meaning and idealistic people. It can be delivered only from the ills which beset it by a militant class struggle of organized workers; the proletariat.
3. Socialism (e.g. Communism) is not the product of visionaries and utopian dreamers. On the contrary it grows out of and is the product of the economic factor in history; the "productive forces" rather than of the mind of man per se.
4. Class struggle without exception is a militant political struggle. The workers must be conscious of this fact and they must so organize and act as to bring an end to the class struggle. This can be done only by eliminating its basis, which is private property, free enterprise and profit, in substance, the capitalistic system.

FREDERICK ENGELS

Engels is referred to as the "collaborator" and co-founder with Marx of Communism. Engels was a close personal friend of Marx and assisted him financially. They thought together, wrote together, and conspired against society together. Engels, however, always insisted that Marx was the genius and he was simply the helper of the genius. In view of their close collaboration, Engels' contributions to the subject are to be identified with those of Marx given above.

V. I. LENIN

Lenin is referred to as the "developer" of Communism and also as a man of action who was the leader of the first successful Communist revolution, the Russian Revolution of 1917. Some main contributions attributed to Lenin are:

1. An analysis and condemnation of imperialism.
2. Development of the idea and application of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. Development of ways and means ("forms and methods") of building a successful socialistic order by, through, and under the dictatorship of the proletariat.
4. Development and application of the idea that the "decisive leadership" in all Communist revolutions should be the dictatorship of the proletariat.
5. Analysis of the colonial and national questions as they existed under imperialism.
6. Analysis of the Communist Party--how it must be organized, how it must function, how it must play out its role as a "vanguard" Party of the Proletariat.

JOSEPH STALIN

Stalin is referred to as the "continuer" of Communism originated by Marx and developed by Lenin. Some main contributions attributed to Stalin are:

1. Continued and applied the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
2. Continued and applied the idea that Socialism can be to a degree erected successfully in one country.
3. Continued and applied the idea of industrialization as an essential requirement for the "victory of socialism."
4. Continued and applied the idea of the collectivization of agriculture.
5. Continued and developed the idea of the Communist Party in the vanguard role under the dictatorship of the proletariat.
6. Directed a vigorous struggle against "opportunism."
7. Expanded dialectical materialism.
8. Guided the formulation of the Soviet Constitution.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that to all Communists, these four men are sacrosanct. Marx the originator, Engels the collaborator, Lenin the developer, and Stalin the continuer are the men whose thoughts, practices, and objectives are blindly defended, applied and pursued by Communists the world over.

"The founders and leaders of Communism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, have provided models of struggle for the purity of revolutionary theory, examples of irreconcilability to hostile ideology. The classics of Marxism teach us that in the sphere of theory there can be no concessions. In their struggle against the Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and bourgeois nationalists, the leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin, maintained

the purity of revolutionary theory, which was a most important condition for the great victories of the Bolshevik Party."

"On the Ideological--Political Work of the Party Organizations Under Present-Day Conditions," an article reprinted from Bolshevik, No. 17-18, September, 1945, in Political Affairs, February, 1946, page 230.

COMMUNISM (world-wide in principle)

Communists interpret their principles in a universal sense. They point out that Communism is not just a way of life for one nation or two or three nations, but for the whole world. In fact, it is one of the cardinal tenets of Communism that it is impossible to develop in full the Communist Society in any one country until the entire world is Communistic. The reason for this is, if any non-Communist state or society exists anywhere in the world, it is a threat to the security of Communism. Therefore, it is necessary for Communist social orders to maintain a state, armed forces, and other apparatus of the state. Just so long as the state and its organs are maintained the higher phase, or complete Communism, is impossible, for complete Communism will be a stateless society. Therefore, Communism in this sense cannot exist except on a world-wide basis, which means that all other social orders and states must be destroyed. For the Communists, the ultimate goal is either world-wide Communism or nothing. Hence, they consider it their "sacred duty" to undermine and overthrow all non-Communist societies in order that one, world-wide Communist Society, may be established.

"Let your call, the call of the fighters of the revolution, spread throughout the world to the joy of all the oppressed and enslaved!"

"Over there, in the West, in the belligerent countries, the dawn of a new life, the dawn of the great workers' revolution is breaking. Let your brothers in the West know tomorrow that you on your banners are bringing them, not war, but peace, not enslavement, but liberation."

Lenin, V. I., and Stalin,
Joseph, The Russian Revolution,
page 89.

"A full guarantee against intervention, and that means, also, the final victory of socialism, is

only possible on an international scale, as a result of the combined efforts of the proletariat in a number of countries, or, still better, as a result of the victory of the proletariat in several countries. What is the final victory of socialism?

"The final victory of socialism is the complete guarantee against attempted intervention, and that means against restoration, for any serious attempt at restoration can take place only with serious support from outside, only with the support of international capital. Hence, the support of our revolution by the workers of all countries, and still more the victory of the workers in at least several countries, is a necessary condition for completely guaranteeing the first victorious country against attempts at intervention and restoration, a necessary condition for the final victory of socialism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 169.

"We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great leaders.

"With Stalin at their head the millions of our political army overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of socialism throughout the whole world!"

Dimitroff, George, The United Front Against War and Fascism, page 144.

"The appreciation of the role and significance of Soviets has now also spread to the lands of the East. The foundation of the Soviet movement

has been laid all over the East, all over Asia,
among all the colonial peoples."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, pages 198-199.

"The study of the history of the C.P.S.U (B.)
strengthens our certainty of the ultimate victory
of the great cause of the Party of Lenin-Stalin,
the victory of Communism throughout the world."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union,
edited by a Commission of
the Central Committee,
C.P.S.U. (B.), page 2.

"In the days of mourning for Lenin, at the Second
Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin
made a solemn vow in the name of the Party. He
said: "We Communists are people of a special mould.
We are made of a special stuff. We are those who
form the army of the great proletarian strategist,
the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher
than the honour of belonging to this army. There
is nothing higher than the title of member of
the Party whose founder and leader is Comrade
Lenin..."

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to
remain faithful to the principles of the Commu-
nist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin,
that we will not spare our lives to strengthen
and extend the union of the toilers of the whole
world--the Communist International."

Stalin, Joseph, as quoted in
The History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union,
edited by a Commission of
the Central Committee of the
C.P.S.U. (B.), pages 268-269.
See also: The Lenin Heritage,
by Joseph Stalin.

"With Lenin's banner we have won decisive successes in the struggle for the victory of socialist construction.

"With that same banner we shall be victorious in the proletarian revolution throughout the world."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, page 345.

"But our World Communist movement always presented an iron front against any such weakening of international discipline, fighting for the Leninist principle that the Communist Party is a monolithic and homogenous body of revolutionary workers functioning as the vanguard of the working class."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party in Action,
pages 34-35.

"So let the clarion call of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, in the battle cry of the Communist International, ring out all the more loudly from this platform to the whole world."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front Against War and Fascism,
page 130.

"Ten to twenty years of correct relations with the peasantry--and victory on an international scale is assured (even if the proletarian revolutions which are growing, should be delayed). (Outline and synopsis of pamphlet 'The Food Tax, 1921'; Collected Works, Russian edition, Volume XXVI, page 313)"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 167.

"Today there is the World Communist Party, the
Communist International."

Dimitroff, George, The United
Front Against War and Fascism,
page 137.

COMMUNISM (a world society)

When Communists speak of a Communist Society they mean one which is stateless and classless and where all property is owned in common. They also conceive it as being world-wide, indicating that a mature, fully developed Communist Society is not possible unless it exists on a world-wide basis. This excludes the existence of all non-Communist forms of society.

"Communist society will abolish the class division of society, i.e., simultaneously with the anarchy in production, it will abolish all forces of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands. Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energies to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might."

"Program of the Communist
International" quoted in:
Toward Soviet America by
William Z. Foster, pp. 128-
129.

"The future Communist society will be Stateless. With private property in industry and land abolished (but, of course, not in articles of personal use), with exploitation of the toilers ended, and with the capitalist class finally defeated and all classes liquidated, there will then be no further need for the State, which in its essence, is an organ of class repression. The revolutionary State of the period of transition from capitalism to Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, will, in the words of Engels, 'wither away' and be replaced by a scientific technical 'administration of things.' The present planning boards in the Soviet Union are forerunners of such a Stateless society.

"Under Communism the guiding principle will be: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his

needs.' That is, the distribution of life necessities -- food, clothing, shelter, education, etc. -- will be free, without let or hindrance. Communist production, carried out upon the most efficient basis and freed from the drains of capitalist exploiters, will provide such an abundance of necessary commodities that there will be plenty for all with a minimum of effort. There will then be no need for pinch-penny measuring and weighing. Proletarian discipline and solidarity will be quite sufficient to prevent possible idlers from taking advantage of this free regime of distribution by either refusing to work or by unsocial wasting."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pp. 129-130.

"That all-sided dependence, that natural-grown form of the world historical cooperation of individuals, will be transformed by the Communist revolution into a control and conscious domination of those powers that are born of the mutual reactions of men, and which have heretofore imposed upon them and ruled over them as powers completely alien."

Marx, Karl, Capital And Other Writings, p. 2.

"The general characteristics of communist society are given in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Briefly, the anatomy of communist society may be described as follows: It is a society in which a) there will be no private ownership of the means of production but social, collective ownership; b) there will be no classes or state, but workers in industry and agriculture managing their economic affairs as a free association of toilers; c) national economy, organised according to plan, will be based on the highest technique in both industry and agriculture; d) there will be no antithesis between town and country, between industry and agriculture; e) the products will be distributed according to the principle of the old French Communists: 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs'; f) science and art will enjoy conditions conducive to their highest development; g) the individual, freed from bread and butter

cares, and of the necessity of cringing to the 'powers that be' will become really free, etc., etc. Clearly, we are still remote from such a society."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, Page 387.

"With regard to the international conditions necessary for the complete triumph of communist society, these will develop and grow in proportion as revolutionary crises and revolutionary outbreaks of the working class in capitalist countries grow. It must not be imagined that the working class in one country, or in several countries, will march towards socialism, and still more to communism, and that the capitalists of other countries will sit still with folded arms and look on with indifference. Still less must it be imagined that the working class in capitalist countries will agree to be mere spectators of the victorious development of socialism in one or another country. As a matter of fact, the capitalists will do all in their power to crush such countries. As a matter of fact, every important step taken towards socialism, and still more towards communism, in any country will inevitably be accompanied by the unrestrainable efforts of the working class in capitalist countries to achieve the dictatorship and socialism in those countries. Thus, in the further progress of development of the international revolution, two world centres will be formed: the socialist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards socialism, and the capitalist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating towards capitalism. The fight between these two centres for the conquest of world economy will decide the fate of capitalism and communism throughout the whole world, for the final defeat of world capitalism means the victory of socialism in the arena of world economy."

Ibid., Pages 387-388.

COMMUNISM (first or lower phase).

By the "first", or "lower" phase, or stage of Communism, its proponents mean that form of the Socialist state which will be established following the Communist revolution. As this Socialistic state has freshly emerged from a violent conflict and as it immediately supplants the capitalistic economic system, it will for a time retain certain characteristics, practices and ideas of this capitalistic system. During this transitory stage, the main principle will be "from each according to his ability to each according to what he produces." However, over a long period of time, as people become educated to Socialism all the capitalistic characteristics of the social order will disappear and the state itself will slowly "wither away" as the threshold of the "higher phase" or stage of Communism will be reached. The lower phase under Socialism implies controlled, planned, ordered work in society, whereas the higher phase under Communism implies free association and voluntary work in society.

"If we were to ask ourselves in what way Communism differs from socialism, we would have to reply that socialism is the society which grows directly out of capitalism, that it is the first form of the new society. Communism, on the other hand, is a higher form of society, which can develop only when socialism has taken firm hold."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VIII, Page 239.

"At this lower stage, Communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of the products of labour according to needs: these are distributed according to the amount of labour expended. Division of labour, i.e., the system whereby certain groups perform certain labour functions, and especially the distinction between mental and manual labour, still

exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class division of society and, consequently, remnants of the proletarian State power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain."

"Program of the Communist International", as contained in Handbook of Marxism, Page 987.

"In its first phase, or first stage, Communism cannot as yet be economically ripe and entirely free from all the traditions and all traces of capitalism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, Page 90.

"What we are dealing with here is a Communist society, not as it has developed upon its own foundation, but on the contrary, just as it is emerging out of capitalist society; consequently, a society which still bears, in every respect, economic, moral and intellectual, the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it is issuing."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, Page 5.

"But these shortcomings are unavoidable in the first phase of Communist society, as it issues forth from capitalist society after a long and painful travail."

Ibid., Page 6.

"And it is this Communist society--a society which has just come into the world out of the womb of capitalism, and which, in all respects, bears the

stamp of the old society--that Marx terms the 'first', or lower, phase of Communist society."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, Page 76.

"The first phase of Communism, therefore, still cannot produce justice and equality; differences, and unjust differences, in wealth will still exist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize as private property the means of production, the factories, machines, land, and so on."

Ibid., Page 77.

"Accounting and control--these are the chief things necessary for the organizing and correct functioning of the first phase of Communist society. All citizens are here transformed into hired employees of the state, which is made up of the armed workers. All citizens become employees and workers of one national state 'syndicate'. All that is required is that they should work equally, should regularly do their share of work, and should receive equal pay."

Ibid., Page 83.

"The whole of society will have become one office and one factory, with equal work and equal pay. But this 'factory' discipline, which the proletariat will extend to the whole of society after the defeat of the capitalists and the overthrow of the exploiters, is by no means our ideal, or our final aim. It is but a foothold necessary for the radical cleansing of society of all the hideousness and foulness of capitalist exploitation, in order to advance further."

Ibid., Page 84.

"Hence, the first phase of communism cannot produce justice and equality, differences, and unjust differences, in wealth still exist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize the means of production: the factories, machines, land, etc., as private property. In smashing Lassalle's petty-bourgeois, confused phrases about 'equality' and 'justice' in general, Marx shows the course of development of communist society, which, at first, is compelled to abolish only the 'injustice' of the means of production having been seized by private individuals, and which cannot at once abolish the other injustice of the distribution of articles of consumption 'according to the amount of work performed' (and not according to needs)."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in What is Socialism?, by Nemyay Sparks, pages 15-16. See also: Selected Works, of V. I. Lenin, Volume VII, page 85.

"Until the 'higher' phase of Communism arrives, the Socialists demand the strictest control, by society and by the state, of the quantity of labour and the quantity of consumption; only this control must start with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the control of the workers over the capitalists, and must be carried out, not by a state of bureaucrats, but by a state of armed workers."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 80.

COMMUNISM (higher, second or final phase)

By these terms Communists mean that following the termination of the successful stage of Socialism or the "lower phase" of Communism the Communist Society will cross the threshold into the "higher phase" which is mature, full grown Communism with all the "defects" of previous social systems removed. It will be a stateless, classless, Godless society where all property will be held in common and human activities will conform to the principle "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs." The final goal, a world wide Communist Society alone will prevail.

"As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole--the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society--is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not 'abolished', it withers away."

Engels, Frederick as quoted in
From Socialism To Communism in
the Soviet Union by Joseph
Stalin, page 52.

See also: Engels, Frederick,
Herr Eugene Dushring's Revolution
in Science (Anti-Dushring),
pages 308-309.

"If we were to ask ourselves in what way Communism differs from Socialism, we would have to reply that Socialism is the society which grows directly out of capitalism, that it is the first form of the new society. Communism, on the other hand, is a higher form of society, which can develop only when Socialism has taken firm hold. Socialism implies the performance of work without the aid of capitalists; it implies social labor accompanied by the strictest accounting, control and supervision on the part of the organized vanguard, the most advanced section of the toilers. Moreover, it implies that standards of labor and the amount of compensation for labor must be determined. They must be determined because capitalist society has left such relics and habits as uncoordinated labor, lack of confidence in social economy, the old habits of the small producer, which prevail in all peasant countries. All these run counter to a real Communist economy. Communism, on the other hand, is the name we apply to a system under which people become accustomed to the performance of public duties without any specific machinery of compulsion, when unpaid work for the common good becomes the general phenomenon."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VIII, Part 239.

"On the general characteristics of the Socialist stage of development and its relation to Communism, the Program of the Communist International says:

"This higher stage of Communism, the stage in which Communist society has already developed on its own foundations, in which an enormous growth of social productive forces has accompanied the manifold development of man -- presupposes, as an historical condition precedent, a lower stage of development, the stage of Socialism. At this lower stage Communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of Socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of

products of labor according to needs; these are distributed according to the amount of labor expended. Division of labor, i.e., the system whereby certain groups perform certain labor functions, and especially the distinction between mental and manual labor, still exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class divisions of society, and, consequently, remnants of the proletarian State power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain. The antagonism between town and country has not yet been entirely removed. But none of these survivals of former society is protected or defended by any social force. Being the product of a definite level of productive forces, they will disappear as rapidly as mankind, freed from the fetters of the capitalist system, subjugates the forces of nature, reeducates itself in the spirit of Communism, and passes from Socialism to complete Communism."¹¹

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 132-133.

"In a higher phase of Communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor shall have disappeared, and with it the antagonism between intellectual and manual labor, after labor has become not only a means of life but also the primary necessity of life; when, with the development of the individual in every sense, the productive forces also increase and all the springs of collective wealth flow with abundance-- only then can the limited horizon of bourgeois right be left behind entirely and society inscribe upon its banner; 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!'"¹²

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, page 7.

See also: State and Revolution by V. I. Lenin, pages 78-79.

"The economic basis for the complete withering away of the State is that high stage of development of Communism when the antagonism between mental and physical labour disappears, that is to say, when one of the principal sources of modern social inequality disappears---a source, moreover, which it is impossible to remove immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 79.

"...when all members of society, or even only the overwhelming majority, have learned to govern the state themselves, have taken this business into their own hands, have 'established' control over the insignificant minority of capitalists, over the gentry with capitalist leanings, and the workers thoroughly demoralized by capitalism---from this moment the need for any government begins to disappear. The more complete the democracy, the nearer the moment when it begins to be unnecessary."

Ibid., page 84.

COMMUNISM (primitive)

From time to time when Communists refer to "primitive Communism" they mean the mode of production which existed in the early stages of man's history when people lived in small groups or communities and, according to Communists, as labor was then in common it "led to the common ownership of the means of production, as well as of the fruits of production." Hence, in line with this Marxist interpretation there was no private ownership, ipso facto, no class divisions or class exploitation or state.

"Thus we see that up to the rise of class division in society, primitive clan communism prevailed."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy,
page 36.

"Under primitive communism there was no state. The state appeared later, with the rise of private property and the division of society into classes."

Ibid., page 38.

"Lenin in his lecture on the state said the following:

'In primitive society, when people lived in small clans, in the lowest stage of their development, in a state near to savagery, in the epoch from which modern civilized man is separated by several thousands of years, at that time there were as yet no signs of the existence of the state.'

Ibid., page 38.
See also: Collected Works
by V. I. Lenin, Russian Edition,
pages 365-366.

"The dissolution of primitive communism leads to the

transfer of cattle from communal to private ownership. Land and tools also become private property. With the inception of private ownership the basis is laid for the rise and growth of inequality."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy, pages 40-41.

"The distinction between rich and poor was added to that between free men and slaves. This and the new division of labour constitute a new division of society into classes."

Engels, Frederick, The Origin of the Family, page 198.

COMMUNISM (as distinct from non-Marxist Socialism)

There are many different branches of Socialism and to the Communist all are false except his own, which is Marxist Scientific Socialism. Communists are particularly opposed to forms of Socialism which advocate peaceful, legal, constitutional means of reaching the desired objective.

"Our Party, different from the Socialist Party, creates no illusions amongst the workers that they can vote their way to emancipation, that they can capture the ready-made machinery of the state and utilize it for the emancipation of the working class."

Foster, William Z.,
Acceptance Speeches, page 11.

COMMUNISM (irreconcilable with non-Communist states)

Communists believe that it is not possible for a Communist state to exist for long in the world with non-Communist states or conversely. They believe that the two are irreconcilable in nature, permanent peace impossible and that a bloody, life and death struggle between the two inevitable. One system or the other must conquer the world.

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately, one or the other must conquer."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 170. See
also Collected Works,
Russian Edition, Volume XXIV,
page 122.

COMMUNISM (organizer of the revolution)

The principles of Communism make it imperative that all persons embracing these principles devote their time and their talents to organizing the international proletarian revolution.

".....Communism openly comes out as the organizer of the international proletarian revolution."

Program of the Communist
International, Page 10.

COMMUNISM (partial victory in a single country possible, complete victory impossible)

When Communists speak of a partial victory for their system being possible in one country, they mean it is within the realm of practical achievement to (1) create and successfully direct a revolution against capitalism; (2) overthrow by force and violence this system and its state; (3) establish a dictatorship of the proletariat and move along the road of socialism. This is partial victory in a single country. It must be noted, however, that this is not the "higher phase" of Communism but rather the "lower phase". The complete Communist Society cannot be developed in a single country while other countries have non-Communist states and are a threat to it. The full Communist Society can only begin to take shape when at least a number of nations are Communist, or when the whole world is Communist and there exist no threats to the system which will therefore enable the state to "wither away" and facilitate the development of the "higher phase", the ultimate goal. Up to that time, only a partial victory can be claimed for Communism.

"On the basis of the facts concerning imperialist capitalism...Lenin displaced this view as obsolete and set forth a new theory...that the simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries is impossible, while the victory of socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, is possible."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.), edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B), pages 169-170.

"What is the meaning of the impossibility of the complete and final victory of socialism in a single country without the victory of the revolution in other countries? It means the impossibility of having full guarantees against intervention, and hence against the restoration of the bourgeois order, without the victory of

the revolution in at least a number of countries.
To deny this indisputable fact is to abandon
internationalism, to abandon Leninism."

Stalin, Joseph, Problems
of Leninism, page 66.

COMMUNISM (shifting of center gravity from legal to illegal)

Communists explain that their program is a very flexible and fluid one with the "center of gravity" shifting first in the direction of legality and next in the direction of illegality, depending upon shifting circumstances and the needs of a particular period of time.

"The centre of gravity of our activities is not fixed. It is constantly shifting; sometimes in the direction of the legal organization, sometimes in the direction of the underground organization. This centre of gravity is at all times determined by the ever-changing realities of the actual class-struggle."

The Communist, Official Organ
of the Communist Party of America,
Volume I, Number 4, October 1921,
page 6.

COMMUNISM (unique development of)

When Communists speak of the growth of Communism or the development of the world wide revolution, they do not mean it will grow in the same way in every nation, nor will the revolution come simultaneously in all nations. They believe that the individual differences in races and nations will affect the growth of Communism so that it will come to each nation in its own unique way. The revolution will develop differently in each nation in accordance with the difference in racial background, geographical location, political progress and economic development. However, this does not exclude the necessity for force and violence and a dictatorship just so long as any opposition to Communism exists.

"Each nation will come to socialism in its own way. Already some of the new democracies of Europe are moving toward socialism, but in a way different from that taken by the people of Russia"

Sparks, Nemmy, What Is Socialism?, Page 27.

COMMUNISM (war form)

By war Communism is meant the organizing of the nation on a basis which will make certain that the armed forces will be well supplied with all necessary materials to carry on a successful conflict against the enemy. This means in substance that compulsion or forcing of the people to conform to the plans of the Communist State is carried out on a mass basis. It entails certain temporary departures from the blueprint designed to establish the mature Communist Society.

"But the Bolshevik Party knew that these were only the first, not the decisive successes of the Red Army. It was aware that new and far more serious battles were still to come, and that the country could recover the lost food, raw material and fuel regions only by a prolonged and stubborn struggle with the enemy. The Bolsheviks therefore undertook intense preparations for a protracted war and decided to place the whole country at the service of the front. The Soviet Government introduced War Communism. It took under its control the middle-sized and small industries, in addition to large-scale industry, so as to accumulate goods for the supply of the army and the agricultural population. It introduced a state monopoly of the grain trade, prohibited private trading in grain and established the surplus-appropriation system, under which all surplus produce in the hands of the peasants was to be registered and acquired by the state at fixed prices, so as to accumulate stores of grain for the provisioning of the army and the workers. Lastly, it introduced universal labour service for all classes. By making physical labour compulsory for the bourgeoisie and thus releasing workers for other duties of greater importance to the front, the Party was giving practical effect to the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.'

"All these measures, which were necessitated by the exceptionally difficult conditions of national defense, and bore a temporary character, were in their entirety known as War Communism.

"The country prepared itself for a long and exacting civil war, for a war against the foreign and internal enemies of the Soviet power. By the end of 1918 it had to increase the strength of the army threefold, and to accumulate supplies for this army."

History of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union (B),
edited by a Commission of the
Central Committee of the
C. P. S. U. (B), page 229.

COMMUNISM (whole truth need not be told to the workers)

In applying the principles of Communism it is not believed desirable to tell the whole truth to the working class of people, among whom Communists carry on their most extensive work. It would appear that Communists are of the opinion that if the workers knew the whole truth about the Communist Program they would not accept it. Hence, the "whole truth" is to be reserved for the select few, the "advanced guard" of the Party. This applies in particular to the use of force and violence.

"The whole truth does not mean telling the workers, at every turn of the game, that the seizure of power will have to be accomplished by force of arms. The injection of the idea of armed force, whether as a means of defense or offense, at the wrong psychological moment can only harm the revolutionary movement. There are stages in the class struggle that do not call for the introduction of the idea of armed force. Telling the workers the whole truth about a given situation does not mean giving the workers the full Communist program. A Communist program is not a Bible to be brought to the workers always in full, with all its implications. It is a guide to action for the advanced guard of the working class---The Communist Party. It is to be applied in practice according to the demands of every particular situation.

The Communist, Official Organ
of the Communist Party of America,
Volume I, No. 4, October 1921,
page 6.

COMMUNISM (progress of)

Communists are continually engaged in discussing the "progress" which Communism is making throughout the world. They even term as "progress" certain seeming defeats which they suffer, such as in France and in Italy during 1947 and 1948. This is understandable only when it is realized that Communists do not look upon progress as something which follows a straight, even, unbroken line. On the contrary, they view progress as a crooked, zig-zag, uneven, broken line. They expect setbacks. However, they claim that each setback is temporary and can be utilized for greater advances in the future than have been achieved heretofore. When they surge ahead on a far-flung world-wide front and are set back, then, surge ahead again, each successive time they surge ahead they reach a higher level than before.

"...The progress of Communism does not follow a straight line. It is not regular, it has not to overcome thousands of obstacles, but it moves forward just the same."

Lenin, V. I., quoted
in Lenin, the Great
Strategist of the Class
War by A. Losovsky, page 42.

COMMUNISM (foreign policy principle)

Communists in propounding the principles of foreign policy which are acceptable to the science of Marxism-Leninism, do so in a relatively simple, uncomplicated manner which is not too difficult to follow, once their terminology is understood. As in so many other fields of thought, Communist foreign policy is, in substance, anything which will advance Communism throughout the world. If the advocacy of peace in foreign policy matters will advance Communism, peace will be advocated very vigorously. If concealed or open warfare will advance Communism, warfare will be participated in without compunction. If telling the truth in a given foreign policy matter will advance Communism, the truth will be told. If telling falsehoods in a given foreign policy matter will advance Communism, falsehoods will be told. If open cooperation with nations will advance Communism, such a relationship will be established. If subterfuge, hostility and the deceptive playing of one nation against another will advance Communism, this course of action will be pursued. In short, the idea of utility as it relates to the advance of Communism throughout the world shapes foreign policy under Communism.

The essence of foreign policy under Communism is laid bare in a statement by V. I. Lenin made a number of years ago and applied with considerable success since then by Communists wherever they are. Lenin, in speaking of the relationship between Japan and the United States, said:

"War is brewing between them. They cannot live in peace on the shores of the Pacific, although those shores are three thousand versts apart. This rivalry is unquestionably due to the relations between their capitalisms..... But in such a state of affairs, can we, as Communists, remain indifferent and merely say: 'We shall carry on propaganda for Communism in these countries.' That is true, but that is not all. The practical task of Communist policy is to take advantage of this hostility and to incite one against the other....Of course, to support one country against another would be a crime against Communism. But we Communists must use one country against another.."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VIII, Pages 283-284.

Speaking later of negotiations with the United States, Lenin writes:

"By all means, defeat America....We have already set Japan and America at loggerheads, to put it crudely, and have thereby gained an advantage. We have also gained as far as the Americans are concerned."

Ibid., Volume VIII, Page 286..

COMMUNISM (peace policy principle)

Though Communists talk constantly about peace and how greatly they desire to advance and enjoy peace what they actually mean by this word is somewhat misleading. Communists desire peace but what kind of a peace? They desire a Communist peace only, that is, the type of peace which would follow when Communists have completely annihilated all Communist opposition. They desire a peace which would go with a world-wide Communist social order which had crushed and destroyed all other types of social orders. Communists do not believe it is possible for them to live in peace just so long as any portion of the world is non-Communist. In essence when Communists say they want peace they mean they want world-wide Communism which they believe will necessarily be established through force and violence, through warfare. This is the Communist peace policy which they frequently refer to and recommend.

"The peace policy of the proletarian State certainly does not imply that the Soviet State has become reconciled with capitalism, as the Social Democratic and their Trotskyist allies declare in order to discredit the Soviet State in the eyes of the international proletariat. This policy is the Leninist policy of the proletarian dictatorship. It is merely another---and under present conditions---a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism; a form which the U.S.S.R. has consistently employed since the October revolution.

"The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbors no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace with the imperialists. The proletariat knows that the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union is inevitable; that in the process of a proletarian world revolution, wars between proletarian and bourgeois States, wars for the emancipation of the world from capitalism, will necessarily and inevitably arise. Therefore, the primary duty of the proletariat, as the fighter for Socialism, is to make all the necessary political, economic and military preparations for these wars, to strengthen its Red Army---that mighty weapon of the proletariat---and to train the masses of the toilers in the art of war."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War And The Tasks Of The Communists, Resolution of

the Sixth World Congress of the
Communist International, pages 30-31.

"Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is
but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy 'by
other means.'"

Ibid., page 31.

Communists, in promulgating this unique and disguised "peace policy"
repeatedly assert that only

"...Communism will bring peace on earth."

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, page 326.

"We cannot wiggle out of an imperialistic war, we cannot
have a democratic peace, but only a peace imposed by
violence, until we overthrow the power of Capitalism,
until the powers of government pass into the hands of a
different class, the proletarian class."

Lenin, V.I., statement in The
Proletarian Revolution In Russia
by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotzky,
page 88.

"We must support the peace policy of the Soviet Union..."

Daily Worker, January 14, 1936,
page 8, (Editorial).

COMMUNISM (main task in Europe and America)

According to the doctrines of Communism its main task during the coming years is to closely follow and correctly interpret social events, especially the crisis, in Europe and America in order to seize the right moment when the revolution can be launched, a revolution which is described as the "last and great revolutionary struggle."

"The main task of contemporary Communism in Western Europe and America is to acquire the ability to seek, to find, to determine correctly the concrete path, or the particular turn of events that will bring the masses right up to the real, decisive, last and great revolutionary struggle."

Lenin, V.I., Left-Wing
Communism, page 76.

COMMUNISM (time element)

Authoritative Communists are very careful about saying when the Communist Society will be established. They will indicate when the crises of capitalism may arrive. They will indicate when Communist revolutions may break out. However, they will not say when the Communist Society will be established, remaining very vague, evasive and general about the details of this Society itself. They explain that racial characteristics and uneven economic development in various parts of the world have a direct bearing on the time element. They point out that it is not possible to even say how long the preliminary stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat will exist because this dictatorship, among other things, exists for the purpose of destroying the opposition and it is not possible to know how long the opposition to Communism will persist in the losing struggle. The dictatorship may have to last hundreds or even thousands of years if necessary. The time element, then, is an unknown quantity and Communists are evasive and vague in answering any question relative thereto.

"Marx and Engels....saw clearly that the transition from capitalism to socialism would be accompanied by prolonged birth pangs, a long period of the dictatorship of the proletariat...."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 281.

"We do not and cannot know how many stages transitional to socialism there will be. This will depend on when the European socialist revolution begins on a real scale...."

Ibid., Volume VIII, page 316.

"Communism is marching, must march, towards this goal; and it will reach it, but only after very many years."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 90.

Lenin in speaking of the development of the complete Communist Society said:

"But how rapidly this development will proceed...we do not and cannot know."

Ibid., Volume VII, Page 88.

Lenin continued:

"...we must emphasize the protracted nature of this process..."

Ibid., Page 88.

Lenin concluded:

"...we leave the question of length of time, or the concrete forms of the withering away, quite open, because no material is available to enable us to answer these questions."

Ibid., Page 88.

COMMUNISTS

In a specific, technical sense the term "Communist" may be defined as representing a person who accepts the complete social (including philosophical, economic, political and cultural) principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. To express this same idea in a different form in the behalf of clarity, it may be said that a "Communist" is a person who adheres to the complete "science of Marxism-Leninism" as interpreted internationally by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) under the current leadership of Joseph Stalin. This interpretation is based on dialectical materialism which demands a revolutionary overthrow of Capitalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ultimate establishment of a world-wide classless, stateless, and Godless society, wherein all property will be held in common.

In a general non-technical sense the term "Communist" may be defined as representing a person who believes society should not be organized on the basis of private ownership but rather on the basis of common ownership. Within this general definition would come many different approaches, each one of which would lay claim to the Communist goal of common ownership of property.

In this study we are concerned with the term "Communist" only as it is understood in the more precise, specific and technical sense. It is in this sense that we find it related to the present day Communists and their parties which are scattered all over the world, busily engaged in attempting to establish "world Communism." This type of Communist may be an open party member, a concealed party member, or not a party member at all, yet, a person who accepts and supports the social principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the programs of the various far-flung militant Communist parties.

"We call ourselves Communists. What is a Communist? The word Communist is derived from the Latin word for 'common.' Communist society is a society in which all things--the land, the factories--are owned in common. Communism means working in common."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IX, page 479.

As previously indicated Communists believe that any person who accepts their principles and supports their programs is a Communist, even though that person is not a member of their Party. They write in this connection

"...you are a Communist, no less than the rest of us who belong to the Communist Party."

What You Should Know About
The Communists, a pamphlet
published by the Communist
Party, U.S.A., March, 1947,
page 8. No author listed.

Elsewhere they say:

"If you agree with the policies and objectives we have enumerated, you are definitely a Communist."

Ibid., page 15.

"Above all, do we arm ourselves with the political weapons forged by the victorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the mighty sword of Marxism-Leninism, and are strengthened and inspired by the victories of socialist construction won under its Bolshevik leadership, headed by Stalin. Our World Communist Party...provides us the guarantee not only of our victory in America, but of the victory of the proletariat throughout the world."

Browder, Earl, Communism In
The United States, page 79.

A Communist, then, is a person who embraces the social principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as adhering to the

policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B); he is a person who does all this in order to create conditions which will result in

"...the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics..."

Program of the Communist International, page 87.

Alex Bittelman, a recognized authority on Communism, who for years has been a leader in the Communist Party of the United States, illuminates the application of this definition to an American Communist by indicating that such a person is preparing for

"...the revolutionary way, the Bolshevik way, the way of the Socialist Revolution and Soviet Power in the United States.

"...for the overthrow of capitalist rule.

"...for a Soviet America. ...

"...for a Soviet government in the United States under the leadership of the Communist Party.

"...a world party with such a leading component part as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and such a leader as Stalin..."

Bittelman, Alex, in
"Introduction" to Communism
In The United States by
Earl Browder, pages vii,
viii, ix, x, xi.

COMMUNISTS (people of a special mould)

Genuine Communists regard themselves as being people of a "special mould", people who have vision, courage, discipline, industry, and a self-sacrificial spirit which non-Communists do not have. They think of themselves as being militant members of a great world-wide, crusading army designed to shatter to bits the old world and build a new world which will be free from the social evils of the past. They think of themselves as being people of destiny and they intend to strain every fibre of their being to keep their "rendezvous with destiny". Their estimate of themselves is not altogether modest.

"We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of special material. We are those who comprise the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour to belong to this army."

Stalin, Joseph, Lenin,
Page 41.

COMMUNISTS (illegal work necessary)

Communists believe that it is necessary for them, individually as well as collectively, to carry on illegal work in order to spread Communism. Similarly they advocate individual trickery, deceit, lying and a concealing or distorting of the truth. As Communists do not recognize the validity of laws under a capitalistic system they are taught to evade and break these laws whenever and wherever it will result in creating conditions favorable for a revolution and the subsequent development of Communism.

Lenin taught individual Communists to be ready

"...to practice trickery, to employ cunning, and to resort to illegal methods, to sometimes even overlook or conceal the truth..."

Lenin, V. I., Should Communists Participate In Reactionary Trade Unions?, page 13.

"People are so degraded and dulled by bourgeois legality that they cannot even conceive of the need for other organisations, illegal organisations for the purpose of leading the revolutionary struggle. So low have people fallen that they imagine that legal unions existing with the permission of the police are the limits beyond which it is impossible to go - as if the preservation of such unions as leading organizations could be conceived of in periods of crisis!"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 214.

"Illegal work is necessary as bourgeois 'democracy' the world over has actually established a state of siege against the Communists... We must make use of

all the legal possibilities. And at the same time we must learn to issue illegal leaflets, to form illegal group meetings, to form illegal shop committees, where it is necessary, to have illegal directing centers, etc."

The Communist, Volume V,
August 15, 1920, page 11.

COMMUNISTS (dual purpose)

When Communists participate in labor unions, or in civilian defense, or in any other form of individual or group activity, they are not satisfied with performing their assignments and ending the matter there. They must go beyond this point and engage in spreading Communism. They approach a task with a dual purpose, first to complete the task and next to use this task or position as a springboard from which to launch their work to advance Communism.

"Obviously it is not enough to be active in a trade union or in civilian defense. A Communist must be active in a way that differs from others. He should be inspired by party ideology. His activity has a purpose beyond that of the non-Communist."

Williamson, John, quoted in
The Communist, Volume XXII,
No. 1, January, 1943, page 35.

COMMUNISTS (main duty is support of Soviet Russia)

Russia is regarded as being the fatherland of all Communists. It was the first country to go into Communist revolution successfully. It was the first country to start building the road leading to the Communist Society. Hence, all Communists are expected to regard the support and defense of Soviet Russia as their sacred duty. Communists do not owe any allegiance to the non-Communist nation in which they live but they do owe undying allegiance to Soviet Russia.

"The unconditional support of Soviet Russia is still the main duty of the Communists of all countries."

Theses and Resolutions ,
Adopted at the Third World
Congress of the Communist
International, page 65.

"In the event of an anti-Soviet war being declared, the Communists, in the course of carrying out this policy, must prepare themselves, and the nationally oppressed masses, for national revolutionary rebellions, or wars, against the imperialist bourgeoisie."

The Struggle Against Im-
perialist War and the Tasks
of the Communists, Resolu-
tion of the Sixth World
Congress of the Communist
International, page 36.

COMMUNISTS OF THE UNITED STATES (international fraternal bonds)

Communists of the United States do not regard themselves as existing and working apart from and independent of Communists elsewhere in the world. On the contrary, they consider themselves to be joined by "bonds of kinship and fraternal brotherhood" with the Communists of all nations. In effect American Communists are members of one vast international revolutionary brotherhood.

"We American Communists proudly proclaim our bonds of kinship and fraternal brotherhood with the fighters for freedom in all countries."

Editorial, Political Affairs, September, 1947,
Page 777.

"Our universal Marxist science is the fraternal bond between us and the Communists of all lands."

Dennis, Eugene, "The Truth About the Communists --- A Statement to America," New Masses, April 8, 1947, Page 13.

"The fraternal exchange of opinions helped to develop in the Communist Parties everywhere, mastery of Marxist theory and practice."

Jerome, V. J., "The Communist Vanguard," The Communist, Volume XXIII, No. 6, June, 1944, page 564.

COMMUNISTS OF THE UNITED STATES (support of Russia)

Communists in this country, as in other countries have blindly and fanatically supported all Russian policies, both domestic and foreign. On matters of grave importance the Communists in this country at once shift their policies so as to correspond with shifts in Russian policy. One prime example of this is to be found in World War II. When Russia had a Pact with Nazi Germany American Communists were opposed to having the United States enter the war against Germany. When Russia entered the war as a result of Germany's attack the American Communists changed overnight, advocating that the United States enter the war at once against Germany. And so it is in other matters, American Communists are regularly found accepting the leadership of Soviet Russia in issues of national and international importance. American Communists on sending a greeting to the Communist Party of Russia said;

"Our party supports the leadership of the old Bolsheviks..."

The Daily Worker, May 24, 1924,
page 1.

"Consistently supporting the Soviet Union since its inception, American Communists were acting as internationalists and as Americans."

Trachtenberg, Alexander,
"The Soviet Union and the
American People", The Communist,
September, 1939, page 885.

"The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the red flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution...the red flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class. And all capitalist flags are

flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them."

Foster, William Z., in
testifying before the
Fish Committee of the
71st Congress, 3rd
Session, Report No. 2270,
page 12.

COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU OF BELGRADE (COMINFORM)

This organization, referred to in the abbreviated form as the Cominform, was established in September of 1947. It consisted of the Communist Parties of Russia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, and Italy. However, in July, 1948 Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform, being charged with having committed the grave error of revisionism, of having deviated from the correct Marxist position in the direction of nationalism. When the organization was first founded Communists claimed it was to serve merely as a focal point for the exchange of information and ideas. In the light of the expulsion of Yugoslavia it is indicated that this organization has an international disciplinary power which goes considerably beyond the mere exchange of information. Since the expulsion of Yugoslavia the headquarters of this organization has been changed from Belgrade to Bucharest.

The Cominform takes over some of the functions of the old Third Communist International. It has for its present objective the strengthening and expansion of the Communist position in Europe. There is nothing, however, to prevent this organization from expanding along the lines of the Third Communist International, including within its fold all the other Communist Parties of the world. The Cominform is governed through the representatives of the Central Committees of the nine parties (now eight) mentioned above. It is of some interest to observe that Russian-trained, former Third Communist International men represented the Central Committees of these parties at the time of the Founding Conference. It is of further interest to note the appearance there of Andrei Zhdanov and Georgi Malenkov, important members of the all powerful Politburo of Soviet Russia.

This background and the statements of their official organ, "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy" make it rather clear that these men assume the world is divided into two great camps, the Communist and the non-Communist. Therefore, an international organization such as the Cominform is necessary to the development and the direction of the Communist camp.

"The task of the Information Bureau will be to organize interchange of experience among the Parties, and if need be, to coordinate their activities on the basis of mutual agreement."

For a Lasting Peace, for a People's
Democracy, organ of the Cominform,
November 10, 1947, page 1.

"Fundamental changes have taken place in the international situation as a result of the Second World War and in the post-war period...The Soviet Union and the other democratic countries regarded as their basic war aims the restoration and consolidation of democratic order (meaning Communist variety) in Europe...The United States of America, and Britain... set themselves another aim in the war: to rid themselves of competitors on the markets (Germany and Japan) and to establish their dominant position. This difference in the definition of war aims and the tasks of the post-war settlements grew more profound after the war. Two diametrically opposed political lines took shape...Thus two camps were formed--the imperialist and anti-democratic camp having as its basic aim the establishment of world domination of American imperialism and the smashing of democracy, and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp having as its basic aim the undermining of imperialism, the consolidation of democracy, and the eradication of the remnants of fascism.

"Under these circumstances it is necessary that the anti-imperialist, democratic camp should close its ranks, draw up an agreed program of actions and work out its own tactics against the main forces of the imperialist camp, against American imperialism and its British and French allies, against the right-wing Socialists primarily in Britain and France.

"This imposes a special task on Communist Parties. They must take into their hands the banner of defense...the lead of all the forces that are ready to fight for honor...Communist Parties must take the lead in resisting the plans of imperialist expansion and aggression in all spheres--state, political, economic and ideological; they must close their ranks, unite their efforts..."

Ibid., page 1.

"What is the significance of the much publicized recent meeting in Poland of nine big Communist Parties of Europe...?"

"The simple reality is that the nine-party Communist conference, and the Information Bureau which it set up, have as their purpose to put the peoples of Europe on guard against the attempt of Wall Street imperialism to conquer and enslave them."

"The statement of the nine Communist Parties also does a major service in awakening the peoples of Europe and the world to the growing danger of a new world war, as a consequence of the ruthless expansionist drive of American big business."

"The action of the nine Communist Parties is eloquent evidence that all of Europe, confronting reactionary Wall Street economic, political and military pressure, will eventually react as Poland has done."

"American workers, instead of joining in with the attacks of big business against the action of the nine Communist Parties in coming together to protect their people's welfare, have the most powerful reasons why they should make common cause with these great parties."

Foster, William Z., The Meaning of the 9 Party Communist Conference, pages 5, 16, 20.

COMMUNIST INFORMATION BUREAU OF BELGRADE (and the Communist Party of the United States)

The Communist Party of the United States has given full approval to the principles, practices and objectives of the Cominform though not yet a member, indicating that at this particular time it would not be expedient to do so. It considers the establishment of this organization to be of great importance.

"The establishment of an Information Bureau by nine Communist Parties of Europe is of great significance. This provision for a medium through which these Parties can consult, and, if they deem it desirable, coordinate activity, has heartened anti-fascists, anti-imperialists
...

"Considering the question of whether or not to seek affiliation to the new Information Bureau, the National Board of the Communist Party has concluded that the present political situation in the United States is such that the Communist Party should not affiliate. The reactionary and pro-fascist forces now whipping up anti-Communist hysteria and war incitement in our country would undoubtedly seize upon such action by the American Communist Party as a pretext for new provocations and repressions against the Communists..."

Daily Worker, November 3, 1947,
pages 2, 10.

William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, asserts:

"We hold that Communists have as much right as any others to form an international organization if they so desire.... So why should not Communist parties, if they want, establish an information bureau for their

mutual service?"

Foster, William Z., as quoted by the New York Herald Tribune, January 11, 1948 in an article written by Bert Andrews entitled "How U. S. Communists look at Current Issues." See also Daily Worker, October 6, 1947, and Political Affairs, December, 1947.

COMMUNIST PARTY

The Communist Party per se is regarded by all Communists to be the Party of the working-class or proletariat. As such it is to Communists the general staff of the workers, an organized detachment of the working-class, the only genuine political party of the workers, the sum total of all other organizations, the flawless leader and the highest form of a revolutionary working-class party or organization.

As a "vanguard party" the Communist Party inspires, leads and directs the ceaseless struggles of the working-class or proletariat. It is the unflinching guide of the great masses of laborers, an unflinching, courageous guide which will bring to the laborers better all around living conditions, the proletarian revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, Socialism and ultimately the final goal, namely, the Communist Society. It is the "engineer" of the world shaking revolution; the vehicle of the new order. It will accomplish all this only on the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism; only through the practical application of the ideas of this science.

Arrogating to itself this unique position, the Communist Party declares its undying opposition to all other parties, which it claims, serve only the capitalist class and not the workers.

The members of the Communist Party are to be recruited from the most able, militant, loyal, sincere, self-sacrificing workers. They may also be recruited from other classes and groups in the social order providing that such people fully recognize and accept the Communist Party program and adhere to it as the only real force which can inspire, organize and direct the struggling masses to ultimate freedom.

Membership in the Communist Party generally requires as a minimum, (1) full acceptance of Communist principles, policies and objectives, (2) payment of dues, (3) common action toward the desired goal.

The Communist Party is to exist in all countries of the world; it is to use the same methods, (with local adaptations) same principles and seek the same ends. These Communist parties will work in close collaboration with each other as they press their issues along a far flung battle line for the conquest of the world.

"... in order to vanquish the old world and create a new, classless society, the proletariat must have its own working-class party, which Marx and Engels called the Communist Party."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks),
edited by a Commission of the
Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B),
page 9.

"The Communist Party alone is the really revolutionary party of the proletariat ..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume I, page 12.

"We must call ourselves a Communist Party -- just as Marx and Engels called themselves Communists."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, page 72.

"The Party calls itself Communist because Communism is its final aim."

Magil, A. B., Socialism,
page 60.

"The Party is the vanguard of the working-class."

"Program of the Communist
International," as contained
in Handbook of Marxism, page 1032.

"It is a revolutionary organization, bound by an iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules..."

Ibid., page 1033.

"The Party is not only the vanguard, the class conscious detachment of the working-class, but also an

organized detachment of the working-class, with its own discipline, which is binding on its members."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), page 47.

"'We are the Party of a class,' Lenin wrote, 'and therefore almost the entire class (and in times of war, in the period of civil war, the entire class) should act under the leadership of our Party, should adhere to our Party as closely as possible.'"

Ibid., page 46.

"From this follow the duties of the Communist Parties ... to create a united front between the workers of the advanced countries and the toiling masses of the colonial countries ... when war breaks out, to transform the imperialist war into civil war ... to overthrow capitalism, and set up the Soviet state ..."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume II, page 42.

"The Communist Party is the brain and heart and nerves of the Russian revolution, and so it must be in any proletarian revolution. It makes the most severe demands upon its membership. They must be models of proletarian courage, initiative, energy and resourcefulness. They are the leaven that lightens the whole lump. In the bitter civil war they were the leaders and inspirers at the fighting front."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 142-143.

"Communism says: The vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, leads the non-Party masses of

the workers, educates, prepares, teaches and trains the masses (the 'school' of Communism).."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IX, page 35.

"Our Party ... is striving to secure political domination for itself. Our aim is the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, page 209.

"For, however important its leading role may be, the Party still remains only part of the class."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 281.

"The Communist Party is the vanguard and general staff of the workers ..."

"The Communist Party is a political party, which means that its concern is the struggle of the working class as a whole for State power."

"Its aim is to effect the seizure of political power by the workers. It therefore looks upon every activity of the workers (and poor farmers) from this point of view."

"The Communist Party not only draws into its ranks the most advanced and most militant workers, but it gives them political training."

"The Communist Party is active directly as an organization and indirectly through its members within other organizations. The Communist Party leads political as well as economic struggles..."

"The Communist Party also participates in the election campaigns as a separate and distinct political party."

It nominates its candidates for federal and local offices and it solicits votes. It is anxious to have its representatives in the legislative bodies."

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union...is the most influential... Its advice is highly precious because it has long accomplished what the Communist Parties of the world are only striving at--the proletarian revolution."

Olgin, M. J., Why
Communism?, pages
64, 65, 72.

"The Party is above everything else! To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!"

Dimitroff, George, The
United Front Against War
and Fascism, page 141.

COMMUNIST PARTY (an advocate of force and violence)

The question of whether or not the Communist Party per se advocates force and violence as a means of achieving its objective has been on different occasions a topic of sharp discussion. The answer to this question seemingly can be found in the works of Communist authorities alone. And who should know better than the authoritative Communist thinkers as to whether or not their Party does advocate the use of force and violence? The answer appears to be yes. The Communist Party does advocate the use of force and violence wherever and whenever it is necessary to use it and where there is a reasonable belief that the use of it will bring victory. As this is an issue of many legal ramifications and grave social consequences, it is essential that the question of evidence be considered in some detail, not only under this particular heading but also under a separate heading of "Force and Violence."

"Marx and Engels ... showed that only the class struggle of the proletariat, only the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, would rid humanity of capitalism and exploitation. ... and that the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a proletarian revolution ... But in order to vanquish the old world and create a new, classless society, the proletariat must have its own working-class party, which Marx and Engels called the Communist Party."

History of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks),
edited by a Commission of the
Central Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B),
page 9.

"The revolutionary army is needed because great historical questions can be solved only by violence, and the organization of violence (e.g. Communist Party) in the modern struggle is a military organization."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume III, page 313.

"Great questions in the life of nations are settled only by force."

Ibid., Volume III, p.226.

"In the final analysis, force alone can settle the great problems of political liberty and class struggle, and it is our business to prepare and organize this force (e.g. business of the Communist Party) and to use it actively, not only for defensive purposes, but also for the purpose of attack."

Ibid., Volume III, p. 54.

"The necessity of systematically fostering (e.g. Communist Party) among the masses this and just this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' teaching."

Lenin, V. I.,
State and Revolution, p. 20.

COMMUNIST PARTY (the General Staff of the revolution)

Communists assume without questioning that a revolution is necessary in order to overthrow the capitalist system and to establish Communism. In view of the necessity for a revolution they reasonably conclude that a "General Staff" should be formed to engineer this revolution. The "General Staff" formed to engineer the revolution is the Communist Party. It is this Party which is charged with the responsibility of closely following daily events, monthly trends, and yearly developments being ever watchful for opportunities to create a revolutionary situation. The Communist Party considers itself to be constantly at war with the non-Communist world, with its ideas, policies and institutions and this fact furnishes the basis for its concept of the "General Staff."

"Every army at war must have an experienced General Staff if it is to avoid certain defeat. All the more reason therefore why the proletariat must have such a General Staff if it is to prevent itself from being routed by its mortal enemies. But where is this General Staff? Only the revolutionary party of the proletariat can serve as this General Staff. A working class without a revolutionary party is like an army without a General Staff. The Party is the Military Staff of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, Page 89. See
also: Handbook of Marxism,
Pages 842-843.

COMMUNIST PARTY (leading detachment of the working class)

Communist literature is replete with references of the close relationship existing (in theory) between their Party and the working class. Paeans of praise continually roll out in waves from Communist sources and is directed toward the working class whom they seek to win over as an instrument to be used in establishing Communism. Communist writers never cease explaining that the Communist Party is the leading detachment of the working class; it is the only real friend of the working class, the guide, inspirer and protector. They tell the working class that the leadership of the Communist Party will bring them all their hearts desire. It will introduce them to the millennial age.

"The Party is the leading detachment of the working class, its advanced fortress, its general staff. Sceptics, opportunists, capitulators and traitors cannot be tolerated on the directing staff of the working class. If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly, such a struggle can only end in defeat. The easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. To attain victory, the Party of the working class, its directing staff, its advanced fortress, must first be purged of capitulators, deserters, scabs and traitors."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, (B), Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), p. 360.

"At the head of the revolutionary struggle of the working class stands the Communist Party. Only firm leadership on the part of the Communist Party ensures the victory of the proletariat."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy, p. 31.

"The Party is the directly ruling vanguard of the proletariat, it is the leader."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IX, p. 70.

"The Party is not only the vanguard of the working class. If it desires really to direct the struggle of the class it must at the same time be the organized detachment of its class. The Party's tasks under the conditions of capitalism are extremely serious and varied. The Party must direct the struggle of the proletariat under the exceptionally difficult conditions of internal and external development; it must lead the proletariat in the offensive when the situation calls for an offensive; it must lead the proletariat in retreat when the situation calls for retreat in order to ward off the blows of a powerful enemy; it must imbue the millions of unorganized non-Party workers with the spirit of discipline and system in the struggle, with the spirit of organization and endurance. But the Party can fulfil these tasks only if it is itself the embodiment of discipline and organization, if it is itself the organized detachment of the proletariat. Without these conditions there can be no talk of the Party really leading the proletarian millions. The Party is the organized detachment of the working class."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, p. 112.

COMMUNIST PARTY (vanguard organizational principle)

Communists look upon their Party as being the true expression of the vanguard organizational principle. It is the first line or the advanced guard of the great army of the world proletariat. It is in the forefront of the battle, leading, directing, and inspiring. The Communist Party is so organized as to always be in the vanguard (front) of the struggling masses and the issues disputed and the objectives desired by the masses. To do this, it must have a revolutionary theory, and this theory is Marxism-Leninism.

"The Party must first of all constitute the vanguard of the working class."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 88.

"But in order that it may really be the vanguard, the Party must be armed with a revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution."

"The Party is the political leader of the working class."

Stalin, Joseph, "Foundations of Leninism," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 842.

"The organizational principles of Bolshevism follow inevitably from the Bolshevik conception of the role of the Communist Party. What is this conception? Stalin states that in the following words:

'The Party should be the vanguard of the working class. It should group within it the best elements, should embody their experiences, their revolutionary spirit, their unbounded devotion to the cause of the proletariat... The Party is the political leader of the working class.'

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party In Action, page 34.

"It is obvious that in a Communist Party there can be no room for factional divisions and groupings."

Ibid., page 36.

COMMUNIST PARTY (more than the vanguard, detachment of the proletariat, sum total of organizations, highest form of organization - also a weapon for establishing, consolidation and extension of the dictatorship.)

According to the Communist interpretation their Party is a highly unusual and unique organization which has no counterpart elsewhere in the world today or at any time in history. It is wholly distinctive. They claim it is a vanguard Party. But this is not all. It is more than a mere vanguard Party. They also claim it is a detachment of the proletariat, sum total of organizations, and the highest form of an organization. But even this is not all. To Communists their Party is all of these things, plus being a tremendous and effective weapon for establishing, consolidating and extending the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"But the Party cannot be merely a vanguard. It must at the same time be a unit of the class, be part of that class, intimately bound to it with every fiber of its being."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 89.

"The Party is not only the vanguard of the working class. If it desires really to lead the struggle of the class it must at the same time be the organized detachment of its class."

Ibid., page 90.

"... the Party is regarded as the sum total of the organizations and the Party member as a member of one of the organizations of the Party."

Ibid., page 91.

"But the Party is not merely the sum total of Party organizations. The Party at the same time represents a single system of these organizations, their formal unification into a single whole ..."

Ibid., page 91.

"The Party is the organized detachment of the working class."

Ibid., page 93.

"That is why Lenin says that the Party is the highest form of class association of proletarians whose political leadership ought to extend to every other form of organization of the proletariat. ('Left-Wing' Communism, etc., chap. VI)"

Ibid., page 94.

"The Party is the highest form of organization of the proletariat."

Ibid., page 95.

"The Party is not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians; it is at the same time a weapon in the hands of the proletariat for the achievement of the dictatorship where that has not yet been achieved; for the consolidation and extension of the dictatorship where it has already been achieved."

Ibid., page 95.

COMMUNIST PARTY (as a political party)

When the Communists speak of the Communist Party of the United States as being a "political party" they do not mean this in the same sense as do Republicans and Democrats and others who speak of their respective organizations as being "political parties." In fact the Communists qualify this phrase even in their Party Constitution referring to themselves as a "class political party." Candidates to high political office, from various political parties in this country, if elected, would accept the high office in accordance with our traditions and would not seek to eliminate the United States Constitution or establish a government foreign to American democratic principles. However, candidates of the Communist Party would do just this, indicating quite clearly that when they speak of themselves as being a "political party" actually they mean a conspiratorial, revolutionary party which would grant freedom only to one group---the Communist group. It is a "political party" in this special sense.

"No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could, even if he would, become president of the present government. When a Communist heads a government in the United States---and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises---that government will not be a capitalist government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Foster, William Z.,
Acceptance Speeches,
page 12.

"The Party is the political leader of the working class."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
page 89.

"The working class needs a political party to give it socialist consciousness, to make it see the need of socialism in the course of its day-to-day struggles. Such a party is the Communist Party. It is composed of the most advanced workers, and its role is to develop the socialist consciousness of the workers in the course of the leadership which it gives to their daily struggles for their immediate needs."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 11.

"We want our Parties in the capitalist countries to come out and act as real political parties of the working class, to become in actual fact a political factor in the life of their countries, to pursue at all times an active Bolshevik mass policy and not confide themselves to propaganda and criticism, and bare appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front Against War and Fascism, page 90.

COMMUNIST PARTY (a select revolutionary organization bound by iron discipline)

Though Communists speak of mass organizations and a large Communist Party, they do not want this Party to become unwieldy, particularly do they indicate a preference for having the control of the Party rest in the hands of a small, select, tried and trusted group of revolutionaries who are highly disciplined. These men represent, for all practical purposes, a dictatorship of an inner core within the Party though their iron rule is hidden under the cloak of "democratic centralism."

"The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, closely linked up with the masses.

"The Party' is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active, and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will, and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain unbreakable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves..."

Program of the Communist International, pages 76-77.

COMMUNIST PARTY (Lessons taught by the Russian Bolshevik Party)

Communists point out to all members of their party and to the working class in general that the Russian Revolution and the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) have much to teach the Communists and laborers of the whole world; that these Russian lessons should be closely heeded and applied in various countries of Europe, Asia and America. Among these lessons are; (1) The new period is one of class violence and revolutionary action; (2) victory is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, e.g. Communist Party; (3) a revolutionary party must be based on Marxism-Leninism.

"What are the chief conclusions to be drawn from the historical path traversed by the Bolshevik Party?

"What does the history of the C.P.S.U.(B.) teach us?

"The history of the Party teaches us, first of all, that the victory of the proletarian revolution, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is impossible without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party free from opportunism, irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its state power."

"The history of the Party teaches us that only a party of the new type, a Marxist-Leninist party, a party of social revolution, a party capable of preparing the proletariat for decisive battles against the bourgeoisie and of organizing the victory of the proletarian revolution, can be such a party."

"... The new period is one of open class collisions, of revolutionary action by the proletariat, of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and the seizure of power by the proletariat. In

this period the proletariat is confronted with new tasks, the tasks of reorganizing all party work on new, revolutionary lines; of educating the workers in the spirit of revolutionary struggle for power; of preparing and moving up reserves; of establishing an alliance with the proletarians of neighbouring countries; of establishing firm ties with the liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, etc., etc. To think that these new tasks can be performed by the old Social-Democratic parties, brought up as they were in the peaceful conditions of parliamentarism, is to doom oneself to hopeless despair and inevitable defeat. If, with such tasks to shoulder, the proletariat remained under the leadership of the old parties it would be completely unarmed and defenseless. It goes without saying that the proletariat could not consent to such a state of affairs.

Hence the necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal.

Without such a party it is useless even to think of overthrowing imperialism and achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat. This new party is the party of Leninism."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(B), edited by a Commission
of the Central Committee of
the C.P.S.U.(B), pages 353-354.
See also, Leninism, Vol. I.,
by Joseph Stalin, pages 87-88.

COMMUNIST PARTY (legal organization necessary)

Communists admit that an illegal Party is not sufficient to disseminate Communist doctrines and to create conditions favorable for a revolution. It is believed that an illegal status isolates them too firmly from the broad masses of people among whom they must work. Therefore, it is quite necessary to have a legal organization and, if the Communist Party itself is declared illegal, it becomes imperative that another organization (front type) capable of having a legal existence, be established to carry on the work of the Communist Party and led by it.

"...In order to end the unbearable isolation of our Party and bring it into direct touch with the masses, we must create a legal organization, actively participating in every phase of the class-struggle--on the industrial field, parliamentary field; on a platform that will meet the requirements of the law, as actually enforced by the ruling class. We must have an organization co-existing with the Communist Party and led by it...."

The Communist--Official Organ of
the Communist Party of America,
Volume I, No. 4, page 4,
October, 1921.

COMMUNIST PARTY (cannot be wholly legal)

It has been explained in Communist publications that the Communist Party cannot be a truly legal Party in the strict sense of the term. It cannot be legal for the principles of Communism as expressed by the Party are in direct opposition to the principles of Capitalism and to the laws on which Capitalism rests and by which it is protected. The practices of the Party, therefore, cannot be harmonized with those of the capitalist state. For the Communist Party to be legal it would have to accept and tolerate the capitalist state. This it will not do, hence, its illegality is unavoidable.

"A truly revolutionary (i.e. Communist) party can never be 'legal' in the sense of having its purpose harmonize with the purpose of the laws made by the capitalist state ... Hence, to call a Communist Party 'legal' means that its existence is tolerated by the capitalist state ...

"A legal political party ... cannot replace the Communist Party. It must serve as an instrument in the complete control of the Communist Party ..."

The Communist,
Volume 1, No. 9,
July, 1922, page 2.

COMMUNIST PARTY (legal and illegal status exploited)

Communists indicate quite clearly that their Party may experience either a legal or illegal status in a given social order. If the Party is illegal it must be alert and seize every opportunity provided by possible legal actions to build an organization which can spread Communism. Every legal party must be alert and ready to engage in an illegal revolutionary uprising if conditions become favorable to it. This work, both legal and illegal, is to be focused in the hands of a small, centralized group within the Party.

"In the illegal parties, on the other hand, there is often insufficient understanding, of the methods of using the opportunities furnished by the legal activity to build a party organization which maintains the closest and most vital relations with the revolutionary masses...Every legal communist party must understand how to assure for itself the greatest preparedness for action even under the conditions of underground activity, especially must it be ready for the outbreak of revolutionary uprisings. Every illegal communist party must exploit with energy all the opportunities afforded by the legal labor movement to become through intensive party work the organizer and leader of the great revolutionary masses.

"The conduct of the legal and illegal work must always be concentrated in the hands of the same central party organization."

The Communist, Official Organ of the Communist Party of America, Volume I, Number 4, October 1921, page 26.

COMMUNIST PARTY (underground apparatus)

Communists are convinced of the necessity to have two forms of apparatus composing the Communist Party, namely, the above ground apparatus and the underground apparatus. This fits in with their theory that it is necessary to carry on both legal and illegal activities at the same time. The above ground apparatus gives the Party an air of respectability and legality and exploits all legal avenues to the highest degree. The underground apparatus conducts the illegal, unlawful, secret, conspiratorial activities of the Party and exploits all such avenues to the highest degree. This underground apparatus or machinery is not looked upon as a temporary, transitory device, but rather as a permanent section of the Party; a constant necessity. Communists say they "will never cease to maintain" their underground apparatus. It matters not whether the Communist Party is outlawed in a given nation or is permitted to exist openly. If outlawed they can maintain, of course, only the underground apparatus. If not outlawed they will maintain both forms.

"The underground machinery of the Communist Party is not merely a temporary device to be liquidated as soon as the Communist Party with its full program can be announced in the open. The underground machinery is for permanent use. It is not a machinery to be used only on emergency occasions. It is for constant use. It must continue to operate not only while a legal party operates with restricted program, but also at all times, before and after the Communist Party with a full Communist program shall exist in the open. There is never a time, previous to the final overthrow of the Capitalist State, when a truly revolutionary party does not have to perform a considerable amount of work free from police knowledge and interference. The Communist Party will never cease to maintain its underground machinery until after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Workers Soviet Republic."

The Communist - Official Organ of the Communist Party of America, Volume I, No. 9, July, 1922, pages 2-3.

"The imperialists will not only try to destroy the legal Communist Parties but the whole apparatus and leadership of the underground parties as well. The Communist Parties must immediately set to work to prepare to meet this situation. The legal Communist Parties must exert every effort to prepare for the timely transition to underground conditions. The underground parties must make preparations to adapt their leadership and their organizations to conditions of a worse terror than prevails at present. Timely preparations must be made for the changing of organizational methods and for changing the organizational contacts from top to bottom. Party members must be prepared beforehand for the new situation that will arise in connection with the mobilization and the opening of hostilities."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Communists,
page 63.

"Referring to the new conditions, Lenin in 1908 wrote: 'Strongly organized underground Party centres, systematic illegal publication of literature and especially territorial and particularly factory party nuclei, guided by the most progressive of the workers themselves living in direct contact with the masses---this is the basis upon which we are building and will complete an unshakable nucleus of the revolutionary and Social Democratic labor movement. And this illegal nucleus will incomparably more widely than in previous times extend its ramifications, and spread its influence through the Duma, through the trade unions, the cooperatives, and educational societies.'"

Lenin, V. I., Lenin On Organization,
Volume I, pages 16-17.

"After the February Revolution, the organizations of the Bolshevik Party, which had worked illegally under the extremely difficult conditions of tsardom, emerged from underground and began to develop political and organizational work

openly. The membership of the Bolshevik organizations at that time did not exceed 40,000 or 45,000. But these were all staunch revolutionaries, steeled in the struggle."

History of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks),
edited by a Commission of the
Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B),
page 183.

COMMUNIST PARTY (must accept Marxism-
Leninism in its entirety)

Communists repeatedly argue that it is not possible for any person to accept a portion of Marxism-Leninism and then expect to solve the social problems. Further, it should not be changed or revised in any manner. Communists insist that if one is to accept Marxism-Leninism at all then it must be accepted in its entirety. Half measures are staunchly condemned. Hence, in all Communist literature the principles of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin are defended without exception. There is no criticism of Marx and Lenin.

"A Communist Party must be a vanguard party; it can be that only if it accepts Marxism-Leninism in its entirety. It is impossible to separate and discard any component part of Marxism at will and still claim Bolshevik inheritance and leadership."

Childs, Morris,
"A Speech In Discussion On The
Draft Resolutions," Political
Affairs, July, 1945, p. 603

COMMUNIST PARTY (and "left"--"right" wing)

Communists say that their Party occupies the center position in Marxist thinking, being neither too far to the "left" nor too far to the "right". All followers of Marx who are too far in one direction or the other are condemned by the Communist Party and are expelled from it unless they "correct" their thinking.

"We are the Left wing only in relation to the non-Communist Parties of the working class. But we have never undertaken to be 'more Left than anyone else.' This is what the late Parvus advocated at one time, and Lenin immediately rebuked him severely for this. Among Communists we are neither Lefts nor Rights; we are simply Leninists. Lenin knew what he was about when he fought simultaneously on two fronts, against the Left deviation among the Communists and against the Right deviation. It was not for nothing that one of the best pamphlets Lenin wrote was 'Left Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 222-223.

COMMUNIST PARTY (strategic aims)

Among their more important strategic aims, Communists list the extending of more influence over members of their own class. This is to include the women and youth. As a means of carrying out this strategy, broad mass organizations are formed.

"In order that it may fulfil its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself to accomplish the following fundamental strategic aims:

"Extend its influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the Communist Party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations (Soviets, trade unions, factory councils, co-operative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.).

"To accomplish this the Communist Party must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia, and over the so-called 'small man', i.e., the petty-bourgeois strata generally."

"Program of the Communist International," as quoted in Handbook of Marxism, page 1033.

COMMUNIST PARTY (in factories)

The work of the Communist Party in the factories is considered to be of utmost importance. It is expected to organize units among factory employees so as to spread Communist doctrine, prepare the workers for the coming clashes with the employers, and to educate the working class as a whole for revolutionary progress and administration.

"The Party must so far as possible support the formation in the factories, besides Communist Party units, of shop committees, which serve, on the one hand, as a basis for the economic struggle, and on the other, as a school for the preparation of the vanguard of the working class for the administration of the industries after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been established. It is understood that these shop committees must work in close contact with the industrial unions."

The Communist, Official Organ of
the United Communist Party of
America, Volume V, August 15, 1920,
page 5.

COMMUNIST PARTY (in trade unions)

Communists insist that it is absolutely necessary for their Party to dominate, control and direct the trade unions. Without the organized strength of the trade unions at its disposal, the Party does not believe it possible for them to carry through a successful revolution. Hence, the Party centers much of its work around organized labor.

"In its work the Party relies directly on the trade unions..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, p. 88.

"Trade unions represented enormous progress for the working class at the beginning of the development of capitalism. ... When the highest form of proletarian class organization began to arise, viz., the revolutionary party of the proletariat ... the trade unions inevitably began to reveal certain reactionary traits ... at the same time (the Party) must not forget that they are and will long remain a necessary 'school of communism', a preparatory school for training the proletarians to exercise their dictatorship, an indispensable organization of the workers for gradually transferring the management of the whole economy of the country to the hands of the working class ... A certain amount of 'reactionariness' in the trade unions ... is inevitable under the dictatorship of the proletariat ..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, pp. 90 and 91.

COMMUNIST PARTY (importance of journalism)

To Communists journalism is a very important field which should be heavily infiltrated. The power of the written word is never underestimated by the Communists. Hence, the Party seeks to develop and train as many effective writers as possible. Special classes in journalism are available and every encouragement is given to those who show some talent in this direction.

"As in all Party organizations, some comrades on the paper are more developed than others. The main body of the staff still needs to acquire a better education in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We are trying to pursue a systematic and planned personnel policy, to choose people more carefully for special attention and additional political training. We are striving to convince the comrades that their journalistic function is an important Communist task, and that it is being appreciated. We are seeking to involve the comrades in the work of the branches, sections and Party committees. We are establishing classes in Marxism for the members of the staff, as well as setting up classes in the technique of journalism to improve the work. We aim to cooperate more closely with the educational department of the Party and to assign staff members to full-time Party training schools.

Childs, Morris, "Report to the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA," July 18, 1946, Political Affairs, September, 1946, Volume XXV, No. 9, page 835.

COMMUNIST PARTY (not democratic)

The Communist Party is not a democratic party in the sense that democracy is understood in the United States. Further, Communists do not desire to have their Party organized on the principles of American democracy. Democracy is a form of state and the abolition of the state is one of the tasks which the Communist Party has set for itself. Hence, democracy, as we know it, is not to exist in the Communist Party, which serves as a vehicle in the establishment of the Communist Society.

"The term democracy is not only scientifically incorrect when applied to a Communist Party; it has now, since March 1917, simply become a blinker covering the eyes of the revolutionary people and preventing them from boldly and freely, on their own initiative, building up the new: the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and all other Deputies as the sole power in the state and as the harbinger of the 'withering away' of the state in every form."

Lenin, V.I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, P. 74.

COMMUNIST PARTY (work for same end on a world-wide basis)

The Communist Party is world-wide in scope. Communists intend to have their parties operating in all the major countries of the world and also in most of the minor nations. The Communist outlook is a world outlook necessitating a world-wide organization of parties. The Communist objective is world Communism, hence, the existence of these parties throughout the world. The leaders of these parties maintain contact with each other, exchange ideas, experiences, assist each other and map out tactical and strategical plans for world conquest, plans designed to synchronize the work of the various parties so as to derive from them the maximum amount of strength and effectiveness.

"There is a Communist Party in every country of the world. All of them work for the same end, and all of them adapt their activities to conditions existing in their country. ... Experiences of a world-wide struggle are shared and a general line of further struggles mapped out."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?,
page 71.

COMMUNIST PARTY (world-wide growth of)

Communists assert that during and following World War II Communist Parties all over the world have grown rapidly. They view this as one of the more pronounced features of the war. Likewise they view this growth as something which will have a significant effect on the United States.

"All over the world one of the most pronounced features of the war which has just come to an end has been a big growth of the Communist Parties. ... Wherever one looks, in France, China, India, Indonesia, Poland, Italy and the Balkans, not to mention the U.S.S.R., the Communist Parties have grown enormously in the past year or two. Yes, and not only in the countries of the United Nations, but in the defeated countries, Germany and Japan, they are growing too.

"The United States is part of the world, economically and politically, and the same deep, fundamental forces that have produced a strong growth of Communist Parties all over the world are bound to express themselves here too in a strengthening of our Communist Party.

"In honor of the great Lenin, the best resolution we can possibly make is to build a powerful Communist Party in the United States, that will rank with the mass Communist Parties that are growing up in so many other parts of the world. We can do this--we must do it--we will do it!"

Foster, William Z., "The Wage and Strike Movement," Political Affairs, Volume XXV, No. 2, February, 1946, pages 128-129.

COMMUNIST PARTY (backed by the Soviet Union)

Quite regularly Communists tell of the support which the Soviet Union is giving to the "working people" of the world. On occasions they will go beyond this point and admit that the Soviet Union of Russia is a strong backer of Communist Parties throughout the world. This was particularly true of references to the Communist International. This organization was dissolved in 1943, but its principles were never dissolved and are partially revived today in the form of the Communist Information Bureau of Belgrade (Cominform).

".... In nearly all countries there are now strong Communist Parties, under the leadership of the Communist International and ready to apply Lenin's decisive revolutionary slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a revolutionary war against capitalism. And behind it all stands the great fortress of Socialism, the Soviet Union with its powerful, revolutionary Red Army."

Foster, William Z.,
From Bryan to Stalin,
page 344.

COMMUNIST PARTY (relationship to Russian
diplomatic representatives)

Communists have gone on record as being in favor of their Party working in close cooperation with the representatives of the Soviet Government of Russia who may be assigned to their own country. They advocated a coordination of the activities of the Russian representatives with those of the local Communist Party.

"Representatives of Soviet Russia in various countries, engaging in political activities, should co-ordinate these activities in some form or other with the activities and policies of the respective Communist Parties..."

Resolution concerning the "relation of Communist Parties to the Soviet Government representatives," adopted by the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America, The Communist, Volume II, No. 8, August 1, 1920, p. 8.

COMMUNIST PARTY (represents aims of Soviet Russia)

Though Communists deny their Parties "take orders" from Soviet Russia, there are definite indications that Communist Parties support the very same aims and programs of Soviet Russia, particularly in the realm of foreign policy. This was more evident during the existence of the Communist International. However, it is to be recalled that the principles of the Communist International were not rejected or denounced at the time the organization was dissolved; that the Cominform of today assumes a number of the functions of the old International.

"The Communist Parties of the various countries are the direct representatives of the Communist International, and thus, indirectly of the aims and policies of Soviet Russia."

Resolution concerning the "Relation of Communist Parties to the Soviet Government Representatives," adopted by the Second Convention of the Communist Party of America, The Communist, Volume II, No. 8, August 1, 1920, page 8.

COMMUNIST PARTY (and the conversion of existing bourgeoisie armies in
revolutionary armies)

One of the functions of the Communist Party is to create treasonable conditions in a nation whereby non-Communist armies will be demoralized, weakened and eventually changed into revolutionary armies which will serve the ends of the Communist revolution.

"The Communist Parties must follow the precepts of Marx and Engels who, in the epoch of great national wars, opposed the petty bourgeois democratic utopia of militia and advocated...their conversion into revolutionary armies."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the Sixth World Congress
of the Communist International,
page 37.

COMMUNIST PARTY (realizes the dictatorship)

Communists assert that without the Communist Party there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the Party which prepares and plans for the revolution, directs the revolution, sets up the dictatorship and carries it through to maturity - realizes it. It does this not as an isolated Party but as one welded to the people and greatly assisted by the trade unions.

"The Party is the main guiding force within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, p. 277.

"Without the Party as the main leading force, a dictatorship of the proletariat at all durable and firm is impossible."

Ibid., p. 278.

"The Party realizes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It does, so, however, not directly, but with the help of the trade unions, and through the soviets and their ramifications. Without these 'belts,' anything like a firm dictatorship would be impossible."

Ibid., p. 278.

"This proposition, as you see, identifies the 'dictatorship of the Party' with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Can one regard this identification as being correct and remain standing on Leninist grounds? No!"

Ibid., p. 279.

"The Party carries out the dictatorship of the proletariat, but what it carries out is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and not of anything else. Anyone who identifies the leading role of the Party with the dictatorship of the proletariat substitutes the 'dictatorship' of the Party for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Ibid., p. 280.

"The proletariat needs the Party for the purpose of achieving and maintaining the dictatorship. The Party is the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Ibid., p. 96.

COMMUNIST PARTY (governs the country through the dictatorship)

Though Communists claim that under their system the people rule, actually this is not true. The Communist Party is the ruling over-all body and a small inner circle of this Party wields the decisive power in all things. Ostensibly the Party rules in the name of the working class; the proletariat. The Party propagandizes the theory that it expresses and is the will of the people, whereas what really happens is that the will of the select rulers of the Party is forced upon the people. The Party dominates, dictates, controls and governs the nation. The Party is supreme. The Party is the state. The Party can do no wrong. It does all this under the euphemism of being a "guide" to the government.

When Joseph Stalin was asked by a visiting delegation if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union controlled the government, he gave this evasive, "hair-splitting" reply:

"Perhaps the delegation did not mean control, but the guidance exercised by the Party in relation to the government. If that is what the delegation meant by its question, then my reply is: Yes, our Party does guide the government. And the Party is able to guide the government because it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the workers and the toilers generally, and it has the right to guide the organs of the government in the name of this majority."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 365.

COMMUNIST PARTY (the only Party to exist)

Communists believe that their Party and their Party alone has the right to exist. Other Parties, having no right to exist because they do not truly represent the working class, are to be destroyed; they are not entitled to freedom and existence. The Communist Party, say its members, is the correct one and cannot tolerate the existence of any incorrect Party. Hence, a one Party system under Communism is imperative and inevitable.

"The essential difference between the existence of Parties in the Western world and with us Communists, is that the sole possibility with Communism is the following: One party is in power, and all others are in jail."

Trud, November 13, 1927.

"The unity of the proletariat in the epoch of social revolution," Lenin says, "can be achieved only by the extreme revolutionary Party of Marxism, and only by a relentless struggle against all other Parties."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.), Page 359. See also: Collected Works, by V. I. Lenin, Volume XXVI, Page 50, Russian Edition.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (summary description)

The Communist Party of the United States of America is described by the Communists as being a "political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism." Its basis is, therefore, identical with the basis of all other Communist parties throughout the world. All are based on the "science" of Marxism-Leninism. The major concepts of Marxism-Leninism as it applies specifically to the United States, are as follows.

The United States Government is based upon the highest stage of capitalism--imperialism; therefore, it oppresses the working class within its boundaries and it is an aggressor against other nations, either capitalist or otherwise (particularly the U. S. S. R.).

The United States Government must be overthrown through violent revolution. It cannot be done away with through legislative reforms, since a dictatorship of the proletariat--a dictatorship by the Communist Party--cannot be attained without violence, inasmuch as the capitalist class will resist the attempts of the Communists to assume control of the state.

Prior to the time when a revolutionary situation exists, it is the obligation of the Communist Party to intensify the class struggle in the United States, or to intensify the animosities which are claimed to exist between the capitalist class and the working class. These animosities are claimed to exist because of the capitalist class exploiting or discriminating against the working class. The Communist Party, calling itself the "vanguard of the working class," represents itself to be the leader of the working class since it is only "politically" advanced enough to give proper guidance to the working class in the class struggle.

The Socialist system as it exists in the U. S. S. R. serves as the goal for the Communist Party in the United States. The U. S. S. R. is regarded by the Communist Party as the "motherland of all workers", or, as it is sometimes put, the "fatherland of Socialism." There is an obligation on the part of the Communist Party-USA to lend every possible aid and support to the U. S. S. R. This results in a strict adherence to Soviet foreign policy and a direct hostility to United States foreign policy when the two vary. The present-day application of this

adherence is that the United States Government, being the essence of imperialism, pursues an aggressive foreign policy and follows a path of aggrandizement which, if not curbed or changed, will lead to war.

In the event war would break out between the United States and the Soviet Union, it would be an imperialist war and, therefore, one which would be unjust and which could not be supported by the Communist Party in the United States. Furthermore, an imperialist war must, by the dictates of Lenin, Stalin and other Bolshevik authorities, be converted into a civil war by the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is a part of the international working class movement, which has for its main purpose the realization of the proletarian revolution in each country. As a result, there is an affinity of purpose and action on the part of all Communist Parties. This affinity of action and purpose leads to recognition and support by the Communist Party in the United States of those countries, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, which are under Communist influence or control. Therefore, any opposition in United States foreign policy directed at these countries is attacked in turn by the Communist Party of the United States of America.

"The Communist Party of the United States was born in a setting different from that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The history and the traditions of the two countries have a different pattern. But we can say that the same science, Marxism-Leninism, which nurtures the Red Army, is also available to us in the United States."

Don, Sam, "Leninism and Foreign Policy," The Communist, January, 1944, page 24.

"The Communist Party of the United States, in line with its program of class struggle, unites with the revolutionary workers of the world."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 258.

"The aim of the Communist Party is to build Communist Society. This aim is shared by all Communist Parties throughout the world, although the immediate questions and problems facing these Parties may be very different."

The Aims of the Communist Party, pamphlet published by the Communist Party, 16 King Street, London, England, June, 1946, page 5.

"Whatever the stage of the struggle, the policy of all Communist Parties is guided by their understanding of the scientific theories of Marxism..."

Ibid., page 5.

"...the Communist Party of this country functions as an organic part of the world party of Communism."

Bittelman, Alex, in the "Introduction" to Communism In the United States by Earl Browder, page XI.

"...the Soviet Union stands out as the chief fortress of international working class strength ... the Soviet Union is the only fatherland of the workers and all toilers the world over, whose major international task is to seek the defeat of the enemies of the Soviet Union...and to engage daily in the defense of the Soviet Union."

Ibid., page XII.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (based on Marxism-Leninism)

Communists regularly assert that the Communist Party of the United States of America is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It adheres to these principles tenaciously. It accepts all of them without exception. It is Marxism-Leninism which the Party would substitute in this country for American democracy.

"The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism."

Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America, published by the Communist Party, USA, National Office 35 East 12th Street, New York 3, N. Y., September 1945 : page 3.

"Our Party is a Leninist Party. This means, in the first instance, that its policies are based upon a thorough Marxian analysis of the objective conditions, of the relation of class forces, of the mood and political maturity of the masses."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party in Action, page 8.

"The C. P. U. S. A. proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution."

Bittelman, Alex, "The Socialist Revolution in the United States," The Communist, February, 1935, page 127.

"Steering a firm and steadfast course, guided by the compass of Marxism-Leninism, inspired by the heroic and masterful example of Stalin and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we Communists are marching forward, equipping ourselves and our class to solve the new responsibilities which history has placed before the American working class and our Party. And in preparation more effectively to fulfill these historic tasks and responsibilities with Bolshevik devotion and dispatch, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we American Communists are especially mindful of the counsel of Comrade Dimitroff set forth in his brilliant pamphlet, The War and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries."

Dennis, Gene, "Roosevelt, the War, and the New Deal," The Communist, January, 1940, page 39.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (membership requirements)

Among the more important requirements established by Communists for membership in their Party are: (1) acceptance of the doctrines, methods, and aims of the Party; (2) payment of dues; and (3) action in the furtherance of Communist objectives.

"Who can belong to the Communist Party?"

"Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex, or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party....."

"Any person eligible for membership according to Section I, who accepts the aims, principles and program of the Party as determined by its constitution and conventions, who holds membership in and attends club meetings, who is active on behalf of the Party, who reads the Party press and literature and pays dues regularly, shall be considered a member."

Sections 1 and 2, Article III, Constitution, C.P.U.S.A.
See also: Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by the National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 44.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. (a revolutionary Party)

American Communists have repeatedly asserted over a period of years that there is no peaceful solution to the social problem. The only solution is a violent revolutionary one, terminating in the forcible overthrow of the capitalist system.

"Our Party is a revolutionary Party. It aims not simply to ease conditions a bit under capitalism for the workers but to abolish capitalism altogether."

Foster, William Z., Acceptance Speeches, page 13.

"The leader of the revolution in all its stages is the Communist Party."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 277.

The well-known Communist authority, Alexander Bittelman, until recently a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, indicates that the goal of his Party is to struggle for

"...the revolutionary way out and for a Soviet America."

Bittelman, Alexander, in the "Introduction" to Communism in the United States, by Earl Browder, page viii.

"It will also become clear why the Communist Party considers the United Front, in this period, the major road along which the masses will become prepared, on the basis of their own experiences, to struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis and for a Soviet government in the United States under the leadership of the Communist Party."

Ibid., page ix.

"This world party of Communism, which the Second (Socialist) International was never able to achieve, a world party with such a leading component part as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and such a leader as Stalin, is the source of the greatest strength and inspiration to the revolutionary movement in each capitalist country."

Ibid., page xi.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. (strength of)

Communist strength in the United States is not to be determined by numerical calculations. To estimate the number of members of the Communist Party in this country at 70,000 does not give any true indication of Party strength. Communists draw strength from different levels such as: (1) open Communist Party member; (2) the concealed Communist who spreads all the doctrines but does not join the Party, for deceptive purposes; (3) the "fellow-traveler" who supports most all the Party programs but does not join; (4) the "sympathizer" who, while not a Communist, entertains kindly feelings toward them; (5) the opportunist who, though not a Communist, cooperates with them for his own selfish reasons and advantages; (6) the "confused liberal" who, while not a Communist, may believe it possible to work together with Communists for desirable social ends; (7) well-meaning, socially minded citizens who are deceived by Communist propaganda and unknowingly support Communist "front organizations."

"But elections, for a number of reasons, are not an exact register of the Party strength."

"The actual strength of the Communist movement in the United States is not something that can be accurately stated in just so many figures. It has to be measured largely by the general mass influence of the Party and its program."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 229-231.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (history of struggles against opportunism)

American Communists are zealous in guarding the "purity" of their Party, and their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism as outlined for them by Soviet Russia. Hence, the history of the Party in the United States is filled with dissensions and bitter breaks by some with the "core" of the Party which allegedly remains true to Marxism-Leninism. Some who disagreed with Party policies either resigned or were expelled from the Party and moved more to the "left". Others moved more to the "right". Party members claim that "unity, ideological clarity, and strength" are maintained through these struggles which are frequently termed "opportunism".

".....the laws governing the development of the internal life of every Communist Party also governed the development of the internal life of the Communist Party of the United States, namely, the history of the development of the internal life of our Party is the history of struggle against opportunist and alien groups within the Party --- Lovestoneism, Trotskyism, Browderism --- as the carriers of bourgeois influences among the workers and within the Party.

"All Communist Parties achieve their unity, ideological clarity, and strength only in constant struggle against opportunism --- Right opportunism and Leftist sectarianism--- in their own midst. Only in this way do they acquire the capacity to function truly as vanguard parties of the working class."

Bittelman, Alex, as quoted
in Political Affairs, Oc-
tober, 1940, Volume XXV,
Number 10, page 871.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (and World War II)

Communists charge that World War II was an imperialist War up until the time that Russia entered the conflict. Hence, they bitterly opposed United States participation prior to Russia's entry. They denounced selective service, lend-lease and all other defense preparations. However, immediately following Russia's entry Communists the world over, as well as American Communists, reversed their position entirely and argued that it was no longer an imperialist war, but a "war of liberation". Therefore, the United States should enter the conflict at once in order to defeat Germany.

Before Russia entered World War II:

"The present war is an imperialist war for which the bourgeoisie of all belligerent powers are equally guilty."

The Communist, November, 1939,
a resolution captioned, "America
and the International Situation,"
page 995.

"...The Communists stand ready to support a genuine national defense policy, one that is controlled by a democratic people's government and applied to preserve American and world peace. But we reject President Roosevelt's huge scheme of militarization, which is nothing else than Wall Street's program of imperialist aggression and war."

Foster, William Z., quoted
in The Communist, July, 1940,
page 611.

"This is the sinister meaning of the War-Powers Bill (H.R. 1776) which they are trying to stampede through Congress at this very moment."

National Committee, C.P.U.S.A.,
January 23, 1941, quoted in
The Communist, February, 1941,
page 115.

"Since then the increasingly aggressive imperialist policies of the Roosevelt Administration and Wall Street have drawn the United States deeper and further into the imperialist war and brought about the immediate danger of the direct involvement of our country as a military belligerent. Moreover, American imperialism is now taking a leading role in the organization of a new anti-Soviet war front in direct opposition to the interests of the American people..."

"Keep America Out of the Imperialist War! Oppose all war loans and credits to the imperialist war-makers and their lackeys. Repudiate the militarization and armaments program. Fight against any actions by the President, the State Department or Congress which would tend to continue the war, to aid one of the other warring imperialist groups or to worsen American-Soviet relations. Enact measures to curb drastically war profiteering and monopoly profits and control."

Communist Party resolution
adopted by its National Committee
at a plenary session held Feb-
ruary 17-18, 1940 and entitled
"The Political Situation, the
Role of the Working Class and Tasks
of the Communist Party," The Com-
munist, March, 1940, pages 211, 215.

After Russia entered World War II:

"Hitler fascism has brazenly attacked the Soviet Union, in flagrant violation of a treaty of nonaggression, and despite the peace and neutrality policy of the U. S. S. R. This has immeasurably increased the menace of Hitler and fascism to the national existence of all peoples, to the social and national security of the people of the United States. The involvement of the Soviet Union in the war has changed the character of the war. The glorious and mighty defense by the Red Army and the united peoples of the Soviet Union, their valiant struggle to drive out and crush the aggressor, create the opportunity for the people of the United States and for all peoples to unite and assure the complete and final annihilation of Hitler and Hitlerism."

Manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U. S. A., adopted at its Plenary Meeting, held June 28 and 29, 1941, The Communist, August 1941, page 678.

"Defend America by giving full aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all nations who fight against Hitler!"

"For full and unlimited collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to bring about the military defeat of fascism!"

Ibid., page 682.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. (importance of open work)

While strongly recommending underground activities and illegal methods, the Communist Party is aware that it cannot be really effective unless it also operates in the open. It believes the masses of people cannot be won over without open activities skillfully organized. Therefore, it urges all members to "exploit all legal possibilities" as a means of spreading Communism.

"But whether the Party is legal or illegal, the center of gravity of the activities of the Communist Party of America is in the open work, in connection with the broad masses and their struggles. For this purpose it must exploit all legal possibilities for propaganda and agitation to the fullest possible extent. Especially does this apply to the activities within the trades unions and in the political field...."

The Communist, Official Organ of the Communist Party of America (Section of the Communist International), Volume I, No. 10, August-September 1922, page 4.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (establishment of a dictatorship)

One main objective of the Communist Party in this country is the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Communists insist that such a dictatorship is absolutely essential in order to develop a Communist social order.

"It (the Communist Party) sees its historic task in organizing and leading the American working class and its allies to the victory of the Socialist revolution--the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of Socialism in the U.S.A."

Bittelman, Alex, "The Socialist Revolution in the United States," The Communist, February, 1935, Page 127.

"The leader and organizer of the proletarian dictatorship is the Communist Party."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, Page 140.

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A. (its "historical mission")

Communists often refer, in their literature scattered throughout the United States, to the "historical mission" of the Communist Party. By this they simply mean it is the mission of this Party to create a revolution, overthrow the capitalist system, establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, sovietize America and move on toward the World Communist Society. On occasions the phrase "historical mission" refers to the establishment of the "dictatorship" alone but in its complete sense it includes the whole revolutionary process designed to wipe out American democracy and replace it with Communism.

"Every Communist must know that the Party has a historical mission to fulfill, that it has the mission of liberating the oppressed exploited masses from the yoke of capitalism, that it has the mission of organizing and leading the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of the new world, a Soviet America."

Peters, J., The Communist Party, a Manual on Organization, Page 124. See also: Program of the Communist International, Page 77.

"We American Communists have a historic destiny.... We are challenging the foremost enemy of our country and mankind--American capitalism."

Flynn, Gurley Elizabeth,
"What We're Fighting For,"
Daily Worker, September 17,
1947, Page 7, column 3.

"It is our task to carry on the revolutionary struggle against this mighty capitalist power (meaning the United States), to mobilize the workers against it, and finally to overthrow and destroy it."

The Workers' Monthly,
July, 1926, page 401.

"We must combat every manifestation of American imperialism in world politics."

Foster, William Z., The Menace of American Imperialism, page 12.

COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A. (as viewed by Joseph Stalin)

Joseph Stalin has consistently manifested a keen interest in the Communist Party of the United States. In summarizing his viewpoints on this matter it may be said that Stalin believes the Communist Party in this country is of great and decisive importance to the world-wide Communist movement spearheaded by Russia. Stalin reasons that the crisis in world capitalism will inevitably affect the United States. Millions will be unemployed. Bitter rivalry will develop between England and this nation for world markets. There will be a steady growth in armaments. Contradictions within the system of capitalism will hasten its doom. Relative chaos and confusion of leadership will prevail. This the Communist Party should put to good revolutionary use. Stalin observed, "I think the moment not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole." He then points out that "the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared." This means the Communist Party must be ready at the opportune time to launch the revolution and seize control of the United States. Stalin concludes: "For that end we must work..." This is his view of the Communist Party of the United States, a view which fits neatly into the over-all world pattern of the Communist movement.

"A word or two regarding the tasks and the mission of the American Communist Party. I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of those few Communist Parties in the world upon which history has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. You all know very well the strength and power of American capitalism. Many now think that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. That, of course, is not true. It is entirely untrue, comrades.

The crisis of world capitalism is developing with increasing rapidity and cannot but affect American capitalism. The three million now unemployed in America are the first swallows indicating the ripening of the economic crisis in America. The sharpening antagonism between America and England, the struggle for markets and raw materials and, finally, the colossal growth of armaments—that is the second portent of the approaching crisis. I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. Every effort and every means must be employed in preparing for that, comrades. For that end the American Communist Party must be improved and bolshevized. For that end we must work for the complete liquidation of factionalism and deviations in the Party. For that end we must work for the reestablishment of unity in the Communist Party of America. For that end we must work in order to forge real revolutionary cadres and a real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, capable of leading the many millions of the American working class toward the revolutionary class struggles. For that end all personal factors and factional considerations must be laid aside and the revolutionary education of the working class of America must be placed above all.

"That is why I think, comrades, that the most serious attention must be paid to the proposals of the Commission of the Presidium of the E. C. S. I. for your consideration here, for the aim of these proposals is to render the Communist Party of America a

healthy Party, to eradicate factionalism, to create unity, to strengthen the Party and to bolshevize it."

Stalin, Joseph, Speeches on the American Communist Party, Page 19-20. See also: Milestones in the History of the Communist Party by Alex Bittelman, Page 89-90.

An American Communist leader in putting the stamp of full approval on what Joseph Stalin had said about the Communist Party of the United States wrote:

"The Communist Party of the United States holds the view that only in the measure in which we become a Bolshevik Party do we fulfill our tasks as a Communist Party. Each member of our Party can have no higher aim and desire than to become a good Bolshevik in a good Bolshevik Party."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party in Action, pp. 14-15.

COMPETITION

By "competition" Communists mean in theory the competing with each other for the common good. They deny that they overlook the importance of competition or seek to eliminate it. On the contrary they assert that the Communist form of competition is a much higher type than is the form of competition found in capitalistic society where it is assumed competition degenerates into a cutthroat scramble for money, property, power and social prestige. Communists say that under Capitalism people compete against each other for selfish, individual interests, whereas under Communism people will compete with each other for unselfish, common interests.

"Lenin, in an article written in 1918, says:

'Socialism does not only not extinguish competition but on the contrary for the first time creates possibilities to apply competition widely, on a real mass scale, to draw the majority of the workers into the field of this work, where they can really show themselves, where they can develop their abilities, disclose their talents which are an untouched source among the masses and which capitalism trampled upon, crushed and strangled by thousands and millions.'

"Stalin thus describes the basically different capitalist and Socialist competition:

'The principle of capitalist competition is defeat and death for some and victory for others. The principle of Socialist competition is, comradely assistance to those lagging behind the more advanced, with the purpose to reach general advancement.'"

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, p. 334.

"Socialism does not extinguish competition..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, p. 413.

Lenin also contends that Communism does not:

"...deny the importance of competition."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 333.

COMPLACENCY

Communists constantly remind themselves to never be complacent or smug about their work and their accomplishments. They must never ease up for one minute in their work among the laboring class and among others who can be won over to their cause. They must never underestimate the power of the opposition. The opposition or enemy is always strong and must be overcome by greater strength and not by complacency. Communists must be constantly on guard against all forms of conceit, over-confidence and ill-founded feelings of superiority. They must be questioning, critical, dissatisfied with themselves and their progress, realistic and vigorous. They must not coast on laurels won, or indolently "rest on the oars."

"We must put an end to opportunist complacency, arising from the mistaken presupposition that, in proportion to the growth of our forces, the enemy will grow ever tamer and more inoffensive... It's no business of the Bolsheviks to rest on their laurels and stand around gaping. It is not complacency that we need, but vigilance, real Bolshevik revolutionary vigilance."

Stalin, Joseph, as
quoted in Marxist
Glossary, by L. Harry
Gould, Page 28.

"There's no such thing (for the capitalists) as absolutely inextricable positions."

Lenin, V. I., Ibid.,
Page 28.

"Communist conceit," said Lenin, "means that an individual, who is a member of the Communist Party

and has not yet been cleaned out of the Party, imagines that he can perform all his duties by communist decrees."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume II, Page 232. See also: Lenin, V. I., Collected Works, Volume XXVII, Russian edition, Pages 50-51.

"All revolutionary parties that have hitherto perished, perished from the fact that they got a swelled head, and were unable to see where their strength lay, were afraid to speak of their own weaknesses. But we shall not perish, because we are not afraid to speak of our weaknesses, and we shall learn how to overcome our weaknesses."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted by Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume II, Page 233. See also: Ibid., Pages 260-261.

COMINTERN

This word is merely the abbreviated form of the phrase Third Communist International, an organization which is discussed elsewhere in this study. Therefore there will be no need of going into detail about this term. Suffice to say that it was used frequently in Communist literature and at all times as being synonymous with the Third Communist International, which, as previously indicated, has been replaced to some degree by the Cominform.

"In the fifteen years of its existence the Comintern has grown into a true world party. It has reached the high stage where all 'Communist Parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern,' And it is in Comrade Stalin, since Lenin's death, that this strategy has found the greatest formulator, interpreter, and organizer. With the deepest pride in this achievement, the class-conscious workers of the United States, the militant farmers and revolutionary Negroes, will celebrate the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Comintern. It is with the same feeling of pride that they realize that they belong to a world party together with the glorious Party of the Soviet Union;and that by building the revolutionary movement in the United States we are also building the world power of the proletariat for the victory of the world revolution."

Bittleman, Alex, Milestones
In The History of The
Communist Party, page 92.

"The Comintern is a child of the mighty Bolshevik Revolution that destroyed Czarism and established the proletarian dictatorship of the workers, peasants and real army soldiers. The Comintern, the General Staff of the World Revolution, has won many tremendous victories...for the overthrow of the international

bourgeoisie, the victory of the World Soviet Republic."

"The First Ten Years of the Communist International," contained in The Communist, March, 1929, page 99.

"The seat of the Comintern is Moscow..."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?, page 72.

COMPROMISE; MANOEUVRE; CONCESSIONS

By these terms Communists mean that it is not only permissible but highly desirably to make adjustments and temporary agreements with the enemy, namely the non-Communist world and its representatives. This does not mean however, that Communists, on compromising, must deviate from Marxist principles or lose sight of their objective, which is a world-wide Communist revolution. On the contrary compromises and concessions should be made for the sole purpose of protecting the status of Communism and laying the foundation for continued progress in this direction.

This question of compromise is of considerable significance in dealing with Communists, particularly at this time. It will be seen that their whole line of diplomacy during World War II was one of mere compromise. Their basic objective was not altered in the least. Whether it is on a small local level in trade unions, or on sectional community issues, or on national and international questions, all Communists and their parties and Communist nations will compromise, concede and manoeuvre at any time if it will be to the interest of preserving, strengthening or spreading Communism. To think that such compromises indicate that their fundamental principles and over-all goal has been modified would a gross error of judgment.

"...compromises are often unavoidably forced upon a fighting party by circumstances, and it is absurd once and for all to refuse 'to stop at intermediate stations.' The task of a truly revolutionary party is not to renounce compromises once and for all, but to be able throughout all compromises, when they are unavoidable, to remain true to its principles, to its class, to its revolutionary purpose, to its task of preparing the way for the revolution and of educating the masses for victory in the revolution."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, page 208.

"There are compromises and compromises. One must be able to analyse the situation and the concrete conditions of each compromise, or of each form of compromise."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 76.

"From the point of view of the danger of a collision between capitalism and Bolshevism, it must be said that concessions are a continuation of the war, but in a different sphere. Every step of the enemy will have to be watched. Every means of administration, surveillance, influence and authority will be required. And this is war."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VIII, page 297.

"This is a long process, and the hasty 'decision,' 'no compromise, no manoeuvres,' can only hinder the strengthening of the influence of the revolutionary proletariat and the growth of its forces."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, Page 117.

"To carry on a war for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie, a war which is a hundred times more difficult, prolonged and complicated than the most stubborn of ordinary wars between states, and to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilise the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies, to refuse to temporise and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies--is not this ridiculous in the extreme?"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, Page 111.

"Concessions do not mean peace with capitalism, but war on a new plane."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VIII, page 298.

"...it is not a question of reforms or compromises and agreements, as such, but of the use that is made of reforms and compromises."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 103.

"...to refuse beforehand to manoeuvre, to utilise the conflict of interests (even though temporary) among one's enemies; to refuse to temporise and compromise with possible (even though transient, unstable, vacillating and conditional) allies--is not this ridiculous in the extreme?"

Ibid., pages 102, 103.

"To tie one's hands beforehand, openly to tell the enemy, ...whether and when we shall fight him is being stupid, not revolutionary. To accept battle at a time when it is obviously advantageous to the enemy and not to us is a crime; and those politicians of the revolutionary class who are unable to manoeuvre, to compromise in order to avoid an obviously disadvantageous battle are good for nothing."

Lenin, V. I., Left-Wing Communism; An Infantile Disorder, page 58.

"...the justified practise of manoeuvring, necessary in every war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had ripened."

Lenin, V. I., A Letter to American Workers, page 14.

"Lenin pointed out repeatedly that compromises are permissible and, in fact, necessary. He stated that we must not reject compromises, but must examine each case on its merits and determine whether it be beneficial or harmful. He further stated that it was absolutely necessary to take advantage of division in the ranks of the bourgeoisie in order to advance labor's cause. In 'Left-Wing' Communism, Lenin shows how to approach this question in a Marxist and not an opportunist way, and gives many examples of necessary compromises and alliances made by the Bolsheviks with bourgeois groups. The Bolsheviks, however, never forgot at the same time to carry on the struggle against these groups ideologically. It would be well for all Party members to read and re-read this masterly work carefully and thoroughly, especially its chapter on compromises."

Weinstone, William, "The
Tactics of the Party in
the New York State Elec-
tions," Political Affairs,
October, 1946, Volume XXV,
No. 10, page 913.

COMPROMISE; MANOEUVRE; CONCESSIONS (example of)

One example on an international level of the way Communists will compromise, manoeuvre and seemingly concede a point is to be found indicated in the exchange of letters between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinov at the time of United States recognition of Soviet Russia in 1933. On November 16, 1933, Maxim Litvinov dispatched a letter to the President giving assurances that it was to be the fixed policy of the U.S.S.R. from which there would be no digressions. Soviet Russia agreed.

"Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group - and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group - which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions."

Soviet Union Review,
December, 1933, p. 247.

This language appears clear and subject to but one interpretation by all interested parties. Such, however, is not the case as became evident in the light of later developments. In his interview with Roy Howard on March 1, 1936, Joseph Stalin gave this seemingly clear paragraph a new and subtle twist. Stalin said:

"The point is that official persons in either country must refrain from interfering in the internal life of the other country. Our officials

are honestly fulfilling this obligation. . . . In signing that agreement both Litvinov and President Roosevelt, as representatives of two states, had in mind the activities of the agents of their states who must not and will not interfere in the internal affairs of the other side. . . . The Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement, as an agreement between the representatives of two states, should be interpreted within these limits."

The Stalin-Howard
Interview, page 9.

In the light of this, later interpretation espionage and other subversive activities of the members of the Communist International which were conducted in the United States were in the eyes of Joseph Stalin, perfectly permissible because the Communist International was not an organ of the Soviet government (though the center of its activities was in Moscow). Similarly the subversive revolutionary activities of Communist Party members were permissible even though they did receive their inspiration from Moscow and adhered to the "science" of Marxism-Leninism. Also the activities of the representatives of Russian satellite nations in this country, such as Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and the like would not be covered by this agreement as would not the work of Soviet trained agents sent into this nation with no ostensible connection with the Soviet Government.

Yet, all this appeared at the time, (1933) that the Soviet Government was willing to compromise and to concede a point for the sake of good will and cooperation. Actually it was a type of compromise on this particular point which worked only to the advantage of Russia and to the spread of Communism. Other examples of such Communist compromises would be the Soviet-Germany Peace Pact, later the cooperation of Communists with non-Communist nations all over the world for the purpose of defeating Germany when it broke the pact with Russia. Again, in the United States the Communist Party will duck and dodge, twist and squirm and compromise with anything or anyone if this compromise will strengthen its position. During the past it has been both for and against President Roosevelt, for and against John L. Lewis, for and against various parties, organizations and groups, its sentiment and support being determined on each occasion by what it could gain for itself.

CONFISCATION OR EXPROPRIATION

By these words Communists mean to convey this idea: during and following a successful revolution all property will be forcibly seized and taken from its owners, who will be paid nothing for the property taken from them. It will be confiscated without remuneration or expropriated. Theoretically the property will be turned over to the "people," to the people's state. Actually it means that such confiscated property would come under the complete control of the Communist Party.

"The victorious proletariat utilises the conquest of power as a lever of economic revolution, i.e., the revolutionary transformation of the property relations of capitalism into relationships of the socialist mode of production. The starting point of this great economic revolution is the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, i.e., the conversion of the monopolist property of the bourgeoisie into the property of the proletarian State."

"Communist International Programme" quoted in Handbook of Marxism, p. 994.

"In the first period after the proletarian revolution it is absolutely necessary, not only immediately to confiscate the estates of the big landlords, but also to deport, or intern, all the big landlords as the leaders of counter-revolution and the ruthless exploiters of the whole of the rural population."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, p. 227.

"The big banks are the 'state apparatus' we need for the realization of socialism and which we shall take from capitalism ready-made."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VI, p. 266.

In confiscating property Communists point to the methods of the Russian Revolution recommending their adoption in other Communist revolutions.

"The October Socialist Revolution smashed capitalism, deprived the bourgeoisie of the means of production and converted the mills, factories, land, railways and banks into the property of the whole people, into public property.

"It established the dictatorship of the proletariat and turned over the government of the vast country to the working class, thus making it the ruling class.

"The October Socialist Revolution thereby ushered in a new era in the history of mankind--the era of proletarian revolutions."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(Bolsheviks) edited by a
Commission of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.),
Page 224.

"The Party proclaimed the country an armed camp and placed its economic, cultural and political life on a war footing."

Ibid., Page 228.

CONSPIRACY

By this word is meant the combining of the efforts of two or more persons, usually in secret to commit a crime or to systematically violate established laws and to conceive plots destructive to the status quo. Conspiracy does not only involve overt illegal acts. It may also involve lying, slander and vicious intrigues. Though Communists deny, for public consumption, that they recommend conspiracy, as a matter of actual practice they do, and with consummate skill. The words of Thackeray are apropos in describing Communist conspirators who are "the artfulest, the wisest, the most toilsome and dexterous plot builders in the world."

"Conspiracy is so essential a condition of an organization of this kind that all other conditions (the number and selection of members, their functions, etc.) must be made to conform with it."

Lenin, V. I., Lenin On Organization, Volume I,
p. 99.

"The centralization of the more conspiratorial functions in an organization of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a great number of other organizations which are based on a wide public and can therefore be as loose and as little conspiratorial as possible, as for example, workers' trade union secretary than a people's tribune... Such unions and organizations to the greatest possible number and with the most varied functions are necessary everywhere, but it is foolish and dangerous to confuse them with organizations of revolutionaries, to erase the borderline between them, to still further darken the already unbelievably dim realization among the masses of the fact that for the purpose of 'serving' the mass movement we require people who will devote themselves exclusively...and that such people must train themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries."

Lenin, V. I., Lenin On Organization, Volume I,
p. 85.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURE

When Communists refer to "constitutional procedure" they mean by it a process which may under certain conditions be used by them to spread Communism; to advance and strengthen their political position in preparation for total seizure of power by non-constitutional action. Communists do not approve of "constitutional procedure" as an end in itself but merely as a means which they can use and abuse to further the desired end, which is Communism. What is perhaps more important is that Communists do not believe that a Communist society can be established by "constitutional procedure" and that any such belief is an illusion. They believe that such a society can only be established through extra-constitutional methods, through conspiracy, force, violence and revolution.

"Let the party of the workers clearly realise its tasks.
Down with constitutional illusions!"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume III, p. 359.

"The logic of life is stronger than the logic of text-
books on constitutional law. Revolution teaches."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume III, p. 366.

"Constitutional illusions is a term designating the
political error comprised in people accepting as existing,
normal, regular, legal, in short, as 'constitutional,' an
order which, in reality, does not exist."

Lenin, V. I., The Proletarian
Revolution In Russia by V. I.
Lenin and Leon Trotsky, p. 215.

CULTURE (in general)

Communists interpret "culture" as being the methods, techniques and arts by which human needs are expressed and satisfied; the accumulation of knowing and the sum total of important achievements. To Communists any "culture" is a reflection of the major characteristics of a given social order; a "culture" determined by material factors and not by spiritual factors. A capitalist "culture" is the reflection of the material factors of the capitalistic system as refined in the minds of individual ruling capitalists. Communist culture would stress man per se, excluding God and all spiritual elements. It would focus the energies of man on the immediate; it would develop an exclusive "this worldliness" rooting man's complete self in materialism.

"The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class."

Marx, Karl, and Engels,
Frederick, Communist
Manifesto, page 29.

"Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economic conditions of existence of your class."

Ibid., page 26.

Speaking of non-Communists who lament the loss of culture under Communism, its apologists write

"That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine."

Ibid., page 26.

CULTURE (Communist type)

As with capitalist culture Communist culture will emerge from the material elements in life but as these elements will be organized differently under Communism it follows that its culture will be different and according to the Communist interpretation, vastly superior to capitalist culture. In the first place it will be a revolutionary culture, that is, one which has broken fundamentally with that of previous social orders. Secondly it will be grounded on the capacity of the proletariat for cultural maturity. In the process of developing this new Communist culture all class divisions will be swept away. Similarly religion will be abolished in order to conform to the materialistic nature of the new world pattern.

"The role of organizer of the new human society presupposes that the proletariat itself will become culturally mature, that it will transform its own nature..."

"Program of the Communist International," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 1008.

"...revolution is not only necessary because there is no other way of overthrowing the ruling class, but also because only in the process of revolution is the overthrowing class able to purge itself of the dross of the old society and become capable of creating a new society...it must take possession of all the schools, from the elementary schools to the universities.

Ibid., page 1008.

"One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating religion - the opium of the people."

Ibid., page 1009.

CRISIS

By "crisis" the Communists mean economic depressions and mass unemployment, poverty and want. They refer to it theoretically as the disruption of the process of production which in Capitalism occurs in recurrent cycles throughout its history periodically as a result of the laborers being unable to purchase the commodities which their own labor has produced. According to Communists, "crises" are inevitable under the capitalistic system. As indicated, Communists contend that the capitalist crisis has appeared in cycles throughout its history. Leontiev wrote: "Capitalist crises are distinguished by their periodicity, i.e., they occur at regular intervals of time." Communists cite the following years as being "crisis" years: 1825, 1836, 1847, 1857, 1890, 1900, 1907, 1920-21, 1929-32. They maintain the "crisis" of 1937 was "headed off" by diverting industrial output to armaments and subsequent warfare.

"The ultimate cause of all real crises is the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared with the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute consuming power of society would be their limit."

Marx, Karl, as quoted in
Marxist Glossary, by L.
Harry Gould, Page 31.

"Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past, the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the

commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed as absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilization, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and no sooner do they overcome these fetters than they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, Communist
Manifesto, pages 14-15.

"The bourgeois oppositions point to the bourgeois governments, and accuse them of not having taken 'all possible steps' to prevent the crisis. 'Democrats' accuse 'Republicans,' 'Republicans' accuse 'Democrats,' and both together accuse the Hoover group with its 'Federal Reserve System' of having

failed to keep the crisis 'in check.'"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, pages 251-252.

"These gentlemen forget that crises cannot be considered an accidental event in the system of capitalist economy. They forget that economic crises are the inevitable result of capitalism. They forget that crises were born with the birth of capitalist supremacy."

Ibid., page 252.

"It is the policy of the Communist party to organize the workers and farmers and to lead their resistance to the capitalist offensive, to prevent the capitalists from finding a way out of their crisis at the expense and further enslavement of the toiling masses."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 244.

DECISIVE LINK

The phrase "decisive link" is found from time to time in various publications. By this phrase, the Communists mean the united front which seeks to merge all workers into one solid, fighting front led by the Communist Party against the capitalists.

"Every Party member must realize that in fighting for the realization of the united front of the working class we are fighting for the establishment of 'the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolutions.' This is the link that will fuse the proletariat into a single mass political power and 'will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism, against the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets.' This gives us the line and methods to infuse the masses with the ideas of Communism, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the present period. This gives us the true weapon for the building and strengthening of the Communist Party, for the realization of the political unity of the American proletariat--one party--and for building the transition to the revolutionary struggle for a Soviet America...."

"The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International and the Tasks of Our Party," a resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. published in The Communist, December, 1935, Volume XIV, No. 12, Page 1184.

DEMOCRACY (general outlook)

Speaking relatively, Communists interpret "democracy" to mean a form of political organization (state) and practice based upon majority rule by means of which different classes seek to strengthen and expand their own respective economic interests. By this very fact democracy admits the existence of separate classes and the class struggle. To the Communists there is no such thing as "democracy in general" because they conceive of it as being relative and qualified depending for its form and degree of development on time and the social growth of a given sphere. They point as an example to the ruling class and some segments of the free citizens in ancient Greece who took part in their own political affairs. All others were denied this democratic right. The same is true, assert the Communists, with bourgeois or capitalist democracy such as exists in the United States. It is a class democracy--a democracy of the ruling, exploiting class.

To Communists, the fact that the vast body of people in the United States do actually participate in both the capitalistic system and its democratic government; the fact that they do contribute to determining elections and do enjoy freedom, does not change in the Communists' minds the idea that (1) democracy in the United States is a capitalist democracy of one class; (2) a capitalist democracy is a democracy for the rich; (3) any democracy which exists for the rich is in reality, and for all practical purposes, a "veiled dictatorship" of wealth, and must be destroyed.

Lenin in discussing the formal nature of democracy claimed it was centered on the problem of "control by the mass of its representative institutions and full time officials." Present day Communists pick up this idea and in applying it to the United States, and in fact to all non-Communist democratic nations, charge that the masses of people do not have any real control over their representatives--representatives who serve not the people but a class--the capitalist class.

Communists, following their peculiar line of sophistical reasoning, therefore conclude that a comparison of the democracy of the United States, where labor is exploited, with the "democracy" of the Soviet Union, where labor is allegedly not exploited will show why, in the words of Lenin, the Soviet Union is "a million times more democratic than the most advanced capitalist democracies of the west." The implication here is that there are only two basic forms of democracy: (1) capitalist democracy; and, (2) Communist democracy.

As their theory is a theory of revolutionary action, Communists urgently recommend taking vigorous action in the direction of Communist democracy, finding their justification for this decision in the words of Lenin, applicable to the whole world;

"Just as Socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy."

Lenin, V.I., as quoted in Marxist Glossary, by L. Harry Gould, page 35.

By "complete democracy" is meant the Communist State, which will eventually "wither away" as the stateless, classless world-wide Communist Society develops. Hence, democracy will disappear. By the waging of a "revolutionary struggle for democracy" is meant the establishment of those freedoms known only under democracy which are to be used as instruments by Communists to spread the theory and practice of Communism which will ultimately destroy the democratic way of life.

"Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material and economic inequality of classes. By leaving inviolable, defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois-democracy, as far as the exploited classes (especially the proletariat) is concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties ... into a juridical fiction and, consequently, into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses. Being the expression of the political domination of the bourgeoisie, so-called democracy is therefore capitalist-democracy."

"Program of the Communist International," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 992-993.

"....democracy means the rule of the people, whereas the armed people cannot rule over themselves."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, Page 74.

"....democracy means only formal equality."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution,
Page 82.

"The more complete the democracy, the nearer the moment when it begins to be unnecessary."

Ibid., Page 84.

DEMOCRACY (a form of state, used to apply force)

Communists in describing democracy say among other things that it is a form of state. Further, every state is an organ of force and suppression. As the idea and existence of a state is contrary to the principles of the "higher phase" of Communism, democracy as a form of state must be destroyed.

"Democracy is a form of State -- one of its varieties. Consequently, like every State, it consists in organized, systematic application of force against human beings."

Lenin, V. I.; "The State and Revolution" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 756. See also Selected Works, of V. I. Lenin, Volume VII, page 91.

"Once you agree that this State is your enemy the answer to the question is not difficult. Once you have freed yourself from the democracy illusion your road is clear."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism? page 46.

"Democracy is a state which recognizes the subordination of the minority to the majority, i.e., an organization for the systematic use of violence by one class against the other, by one section of the population against another."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 75.

DEMOCRACY (attitude of the Communist Party toward it)

In the first place, Communists have indicated that democratic principles as known in the United States cannot be applied to the Communist Party. It is organized on a different basis and to apply the term democracy to it would be "scientifically incorrect." In the second place, though the Party places itself outside the scope of democracy it intends to use democracy to strengthen and advance the designs of the Party. As Marx has written, the Communist Party will support democracy against any group whose overthrow it seeks, but it will oppose and overthrow democracy at any time there is a good opportunity of getting "a foothold for itself."

"The term democracy is not only scientifically incorrect when applied to a Communist Party; it has now, since March, 1917, simply become a blinker covering the eyes of the revolutionary people and preventing them from boldly and freely, on their own initiative, building up the new: the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and all other Deputies, as the sole power in the state and as the harbinger of the 'withering away' of the state in every form."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, Page 74.

"The attitude of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty bourgeois democracy is as follows: the party marches with it against the faction whose overthrow it seeks, but opposes it in every measure on which it seeks to get a foothold for itself."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, Page 358-359.

Marx and Engels gave considerable thought to a systematic party approach to the destruction of democracy. Engels termed this effort the "Plan

of Campaign against Democracy" and Marx, in defining it, further said:

"It was...at bottom nothing but a plan of war against democracy."

Marx, Karl, "Letter to Engels,
July 13, 1851," Selected Cor-
respondence, page 39.

For all practical purposes the Communist Party of today is just that: a carefully, deceptively conceived "plan of war against democracy," operating under the cloak of being an exponent of democratic freedom and progress.

Lenin makes it very evident that it would be a mistake for any person to assume that because the Communist Party struggles for certain democratic measures on occasions that this means the Party is in favor of democracy. Not at all, says Lenin, because in struggling for a democratic measure or in defending a democratic group at a certain point along the way the Party as the leader of the proletariat never for one moment loses sight of the fact that it seeks to establish not democracy but Communism.

"It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, etc."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume V, page 268.

"In order to leave nothing unclear, two months after the appearance of the Two Tactics Lenin wrote an article entitled 'Attitude of Social-Democrats to the Peasant Movement,' in which he explained:

'From the democratic revolution we shall at once, and just in accordance with the measure of our strength,

the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass to the Socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half way.!"

History of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks),
edited by a Commission of the
Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.
(B), page 74. See also: Lenin,
V. I., Selected Works, Volume
III, page 145.

DEMOCRACY UNDER CAPITALISM (specifically condemned)

When Communists speak of democracy under capitalism or capitalistic democracy (also referred to as bourgeoisie democracy, etc.) they point to the United States and other nations similarly organized as being typical examples of this form of democracy.

Although Communists are continually mouthing phrases about democracy and assert they are supporting, fostering, and preserving democracy in this country, the truth of the matter is, as previously indicated, they are opposed to all forms of democracy as a permanent way of life and seek to destroy it. They are particularly opposed to democracy under Capitalism as it exists in the United States. They say capitalist democracy in the United States is, in the first place, false in principle. It is false in principle to Communists because it exists within the capitalistic system which all Communists insist is invalid and must be overthrown by force and violence. It is a restricted democracy because in the United States, according to Communists, only a small minority enjoy its rights and privileges. For the majority of the people, they do not exist. It is a hypocritical democracy because while claiming equal opportunity for all, it allows racial discrimination to exist. It is a democracy for the rich only because under capitalist democracy, the social order is always dominated and controlled by a small group of rich and powerful people who deny to the masses of people the privileges they reserve for themselves. It is an exploiting democracy because aggressive capitalism impoverishes the people domestically, and at the same time expands into imperialism, engaging in an avaricious struggle for world markets. It is a war-provoking democracy because imperialistic expansion and the clashing, conflicting business interests of rival imperialisms inevitably bring on world wars.

To the Communists, all these marks are the marks of a mature capitalist democracy. Therefore, when they speak of being for democracy they do not mean they are for what they assume is American or capitalist democracy. On the contrary, when they speak of democracy they mean the Communist version.

"Marx splendidly grasped this essence of capitalist democracy, when, in analysing the experience of the Commune,

"he said that the oppressed were allowed, once every few years, to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class should be in parliament to represent and repress them! But from this capitalist democracy-- inevitably narrow, subtly rejecting the poor, and therefore hypocritical and false to the core..."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, pages 72-73.

"Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich--that is the democracy of capitalist society."

Ibid., page 72. See also: Selected Works by V. I. Lenin, Volume VII, page 80.

"But this democracy is always bound by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority, only for the possessing classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains just about the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics: freedom for the slave-owners. The modern wage-slaves, owing to the conditions of capitalist exploitation, are so much crushed by want and poverty that 'democracy is nothing to them,' 'politics is nothing to them'; that, in the ordinary peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participating in social and political life."

Ibid., pages 71-72.

"They talk about democracy. But what is democracy? Democracy in capitalist countries, where there are antagonistic classes, is, in the last analysis, democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. In the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, democracy is democracy for the toilers, i.e., democracy for all. But from this, it follows that the principles of democracy are violated, not by the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., but by the bourgeois constitutions. That is why I think that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the only thoroughly

"democratic Constitution in the world." .

Stalin, Joseph, On the Draft Con-
stitution of the U.S.S.R.,
pages 29-30.

DEMOCRACY UNDER CAPITALISM (for the rich minority, is false, hypocritical,
narrow, restricted, mutilated)

Communists while giving lip service to the word democracy as used in the United States, deceptively act according to a totally different definition of the word. As has been stated before when they work toward what they call democracy, what they are actually working toward as the ultimate goal is Communism. Yet, in spite of their elaborate system of falsification and deception, in spite of their well organized wide scale hypocrisy, one of the main arguments which they use against capitalist democracy is that it is a false, hypocritical, distorted democracy which operates in a provincial fashion for the rich only.

Lenin established a propaganda line on capitalist democracy which Communists ever since his time have repeated with monotonous regularity. Lenin wrote:

"... in capitalist society we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority."

Lenin, V.I. Selected Works,
Volume VII, p. 81.

He argued that a capitalist democracy, for example, such as there exists in the United States, Canada, England, Sweden and the like, is

"... inevitably narrow, tacitly repelling the poor, and therefore hypocritical and false to the core...."

Ibid., p. 80.

"Under capitalism democracy is restricted, cramped, curtailed, mutilated..."

Ibid., page 107.

"Bourgeois democracy ... remains ... restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor."

Ibid., page 130.

"Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy..."

The Communist Labor Party
News, Convention Edition,
September, 1919, page 2.

DEMOCRACY (of the petty bourgeoisie)

In a capitalist democracy where the petty bourgeoisie (small capitalists, etc.) are strong and influential, Communists look for a program of social reforms to be launched by the small capitalist. These social reforms usually go along with a constitutional government granting considerable freedom. According to the Communists, the tendency in such a democracy is toward extending on the part of the small capitalist a hand of conciliation and collaboration toward the proletariat. This effort at collaboration or "fusion" of the small capitalists and the proletariat into a single party must be strongly opposed by all Communists. They do not want any such "fusion" between small capitalists and the workers. They want to keep them far apart and hostile toward each other. However, without allowing the two groups to merge with each other, it is the responsibility of Communists to urge the small capitalists to make democratic reforms and then seize upon these reforms as instruments to advance Communism.

"The democratic petty bourgeois, far from desiring to overturn the whole of society for the revolutionary proletariat, strives for a change in social conditions which will make the existing society as endurable and comfortable as possible for him. He therefore demands above all a reduction of state expenditures by cutting down the bureaucracy, and a shifting of the main burden of taxation upon the large landowners and bourgeoisie. He demands further a removal of the pressure of big capital upon small by means of public credit institutions and laws against usury, making it possible for him and for the peasants to get loans on favorable terms from the state instead of from the capitalists; and further, an establishment of bourgeois property relations on the land through the complete elimination of feudalism. To achieve all this, he requires a democratic--whether constitutional or republican--state constitution which will give a majority to him and his allies, the peasants, and a democratic municipal constitution which will hand

over to him the direct control of municipal property and a whole series of functions which are now exercised by the bureaucrats."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, page 359.

"At the present moment, when the democratic petty bourgeoisie are everywhere oppressed, they exhort the proletariat to a common unity and conciliation, they extend a hand to the proletariat and strive to establish a big opposition party, which shall embrace all shadings to be found in the ranks of the democratic party. That is, they strive to involve the workers with them in a single party organization in which those general social democratic phrases, behind which are concealed their special interests, shall predominate, and in which for the sake of peace the specific demands of the proletariat shall not be brought forward. Such a fusion would turn out exclusively to their benefit and wholly to the detriment of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent dearly-bought position, and sink once more to the position of an appendage of the official bourgeois democracy. This fusion must therefore be most resolutely rejected."

Ibid., pages 360-361.

"As to the workers, they are above all to remain wage-workers as before; only the democratic petty bourgeoisie wants a better wage for the workers and a more secure existence, and hopes to procure them through partial interference from the state and through welfare measures. In short it hopes to bribe the workers with a more or less concealed charity and to break their revolutionary strength by making their position more bearable for the moment."

Ibid., page 359.

"The victory of the petty bourgeoisie, who are in process of disintegration, and of the peasantry, may perhaps bring a ministry of 'converted' Republicans into power. This will give us universal suffrage and greater freedom of movement (freedom of the press, of organisation, and of assembly)--new weapons not to be despised.

"Or it will bring us the bourgeois republic, with the same people and some Mazzinist or other among them. This would extend liberty and our field of action still further, at any rate for the moment. And Marx has said that the bourgeois republic is the only political form in which the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie can be resolved. To say nothing of the reaction which would make itself felt in Europe.

"Thus the victory of the revolutionary movement which is being prepared cannot but strengthen us and place us under more favourable conditions."

Engels, Frederick, Selected Correspondence, page 522.

DEMOCRACY (a means to an end)

According to Communist theory and practice, though democracy must ultimately be destroyed so as to make way for fully matured Communism, nevertheless democracy is valuable as a means to the desired end-- Communism. They point out that under democracy, even capitalist democracy, there is much more freedom, more rights and more privileges than under feudal, monarchial, fascist or related forms of government. This democratic freedom is valuable because Communist ideas, propaganda and the general infiltration of society can be best carried on where there is freedom of thought and action. Similarly, this democratic freedom is very useful in preparing the actual revolutionary situation leading to violent insurrection, civil war and the overthrow of the capitalist state.

Here there is reason enough for Communists to be constantly shouting for more and more democratic freedom. For the more freedom they enjoy the better able they are to spread Communism. And the faster they spread Communism, the sooner will the day arrive when Communist States will be able to deny freedom to non-Communists whose liberties, ironically enough made this denial possible.

From the statements of the Communist authorities themselves, it becomes quite apparent that for them and their followers democracy is a useful stage along the way, a tool, an instrument, a means to an end.

"The revolutionary Marxists....said to the bourgeoisie: 'You, exploiters and hypocrites, talk about democracy while at every step you create a thousand and one obstacles to prevent the oppressed masses from taking part in politics. We take you at your word and in the interests of these masses we demand the extension of your bourgeois democracy in order to prepare the masses for revolution for the purpose of overthrowing you....'"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, pages 169-170.

"Democracy is of great importance for the working class in its struggle for freedom against the capitalists. But democracy is by no means a boundary that must not be overstepped; it is only one of the stages in the process of development from feudalism to capitalism, and from capitalism to communism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 91.

"When we carry on a resolute struggle for the defense of democratic rights and liberties, against reaction and fascism, we do so as Marxists, as consistent proletarian revolutionaries and not as bourgeois democrats or reformists. Where we come forward in defense of the national interests of our own people, in defense of their independence and liberty, we do not become nationalists or bourgeois patriots; we do so as proletarian revolutionaries and true sons of our people."

Dimitroff, George, as quoted by
The Communist, June, 1937, page
515.

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that democracy gives Communists, gives the "proletariat as a revolutionary class"

"...the opportunity to crush, to smash to atoms, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois, even the republican bourgeois, state machine, the standing army, the police and bureaucracy..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII,
page 91-92.

Engels wrote very clearly on the use of democracy as a means:

"This conception (of democracy) changes with every
demos (people), and so does not get us a step further.
In my opinion, what should be said is this: the
proletariat too requires democratic forms for the
seizure of political power, but like all political
forms, these serve it as means."

Engels, Frederick, in a letter
to Bernstein March 24, 1884,
Selected Correspondence, page
435.

DEMOCRACY (use of democratic legislative bodies)

As previously indicated Communists plan to use all democratic liberties, rights and privileges in the general sense to destroy democracy. They also plan to use in the specific sense all parliaments or legislative bodies of a democracy for the same purpose. It matters not whether the legislative bodies are municipal, state or national, the object of the Communists is to infiltrate and capture them. Following the capture they will obliterate these legislative bodies as a preliminary step toward Communism.

"... the more highly democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments fall under the control of the Stock Exchange and the bankers? This, of course, does not mean that we must not use bourgeois parliaments (the Bolsheviks have made better use of them than any other party in the world, for in 1912-14 we captured the entire workers' curia in the Fourth Duma)."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, pages 132-133.

"Comical pedants! They failed to understand that voting within the limits, the institutions, the customs of bourgeois parliamentarism is part of the bourgeois state apparatus which must be broken and smashed from top to bottom in order to effect the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to pass from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy."

Ibid., Volume X, page 51.

"Where the Party elects its candidates to legislative bodies they make use of these public forums to expose the capitalist character of the government and to bring forward the Communist program in its various phases. In all its parliamentary

activities the Communist party makes it clear to the workers that the capitalist democracy is a sham and that there must be no illusions about peacefully capturing the State for the working class."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 255.

DEMOCRACY (Social)

Originally, in the specific sense, to Communists a Social-Democrat was a member and supporter of the Second International. He was a person who claimed to believe in some form of Socialism, but, according to the Communist version, he was in actuality, in deeds, an aid to the bourgeoisie and class rule. As such he was a bogus socialist. Communists have charged "social-democrats" with (1) recommending policies in the labor movement which are far ahead of the immediate needs of the laborers (a form of "sectarianism"); (2) recommending policies which result in welding the laborers to capitalistic policies in matters which the laborers should assume an independent position; (3) being an opportunist; (4) diverting the attention and energies of the laborers from the only true revolution--the Marxist one; (5) being a very decided obstacle to developing militancy and unity among the laboring class; (6) being a general barrier standing in the way of the march toward Revolution--Socialism--Communism; (7) being a specific barrier to this march by disrupting militant unity among the laborers in the struggle against imperialism, and by splitting and weakening the united front against the capitalist.

In view of all this Social-Democracy in all its shades, both its national and international activities, plus its leaders such as Leon Blum in France, Clement Attlee in England, and Norman Thomas in the United States, stand completely condemned by all Communists the world over.

This phrase is also used in the general sense to refer to "reformists" and "opportunists" groups and their policies as applied to the labor movement. Communists deplore the alleged fact that all these groups are marked by "timidity, legalism, respectability." As such, Communists charge they regularly betray the laboring class in their insipid capitulation to Capitalism.

Communist literature contains regularly many references to Social Democracy. Communist thinkers are continually attacking it. Communist organizations are systematically combatting the Social Democratic movement as one which is very dangerous and harmful to the spread of Communism. In view of the attention they give it and the seriousness with which they regard this particular form of opposition, rather extensive original sources will be given in order to clarify this issue.

The hatred with which Communists view Social Democracy is reflected in the statement of Rosa Luxemburg who described it as being a:

"stinking corpse."

Luxemburg, Rosa, as quoted
in Selected Works, by V. I.
Lenin, Volume X, Page 7.

Lenin, not to be outdone in giving attention to Social Democracy,
declared:

"The collapse of the Second International is the collapse
of socialist opportunism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume V, Page 134.

Though Communists regularly pronounced Social Democracy to be dead,
the idea persisted and today Communists are still fighting it with bitter
tenacity.

"The policy of the Social Democracy is basically that of
Fascism; the beating back of the proletarian revolution,
the saving of capitalism and the profits of the employers
at the expense of the workers. The principal difference
is that Social Democracy hides its Fascism under a mask
of Marxian Socialism. Thus, in the period of the decline
of capitalism, Social Reformism becomes Social Fascism."

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, Page 177.

"Traveling to Fascism the Social Democrats, inter-
nationally as well as in his country, are fulfilling
every task assigned them by the employers. In summing
up their intellectual fasciszation, the Program of
the Communist International, says:

'In the sphere of theory, Social Democracy has utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, having traversed the road from revision to complete liberal bourgeois reformism and avowed social-imperialism; it has substituted in place of the Marxian theory of the contradictions of capitalism, the bourgeois theory of its harmonious development; it has pigeon-holed the theory of crises and of the pauperization of the proletariat; it has turned the flaming and menacing theory of class struggle into prosaic advocacy of class peace; it has exchanged the theory of growing class antagonisms for the petty bourgeois fairy tale about the "democratization" of capital; in place of the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism it has substituted the bourgeois deceit of pacifism and the lying propaganda of "ultra-imperialism"; it has changed the theory of the revolutionary downfall of capitalism for the counterfeit coinage of "sound" capitalism transforming itself peacefully into Socialism; it has replaced revolution by evolution; the destruction of the bourgeois State by its active upbuilding, the theory of proletarian dictatorship by the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie, the doctrine of international solidarity--by preaching defense of the imperialist fatherland; for Marxian dialectical materialism, it has substituted the idealist philosophy and is now engaged in picking up the crumbs of religion that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie.'

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, Pages 185-186.

"As a recent resolution of the Communist International says: 'The Social Democracy has turned itself into a shock-brigade of world imperialism which is preparing for war against the U. S. S. R.'"

Ibid., Page 187.

"We are Marxists and our policy is based upon the Communist Manifesto which has been perverted and disregarded by the 'Social Democracy' on two important points:

"1. As workingmen have no country, the 'defense of the fatherland' in an imperialistic war is a betrayal of Socialism.

"2. The Marxian theory of government has been perverted by the second International."

Lenin, V. I., statement in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, page 153.

"Our attitude of absolute opposition to Social-Democratic governments, which are governments of compromise with the bourgeoisie, is well known."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front Against War and Fascism, Page 52.

"The principal function of social democracy at the present time is to disrupt the essential militant unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism. In splitting and disrupting the united front of the proletarian struggle against capital, social democracy serves as the mainstay of imperialism in the working class."

"Program of the Communist International", as contained in Handbook of Marxism, Page 978.

"A Social-Democratic party (i.e., a Menshevik party) is not tolerated in the Soviet Union for the same reason

as counter-revolutionaries are not tolerated here."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, Page 402.

"Social-Democracy becomes an opposition, or a government and bourgeois party, when the so-called democratic bourgeoisie comes into power. It becomes a party of avowed counter-revolution when the revolutionary proletariat seizes power."

Ibid., Page 402.

"The term 'Social Democracy' is unscientific, as Marx explained in 1875, and Engels, in a more popular form, in 1894. Mankind can only pass from Capitalism into Socialism, that is, public ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to individual work. Our party looks farther ahead than that; Socialism is bound sooner or later to ripen into Communism, whose banner bears the motto: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

"That is the first reason. Here is my second:

"The second part of the term 'Social Democracy' is scientifically wrong. Democracy is only a form of authority. We Marxists are opposed to every form of authority."

Lenin, V. I., statement
in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky,
Pages 153, 154.

"And Comrade Stalin was a thousand times right when he wrote ten years ago that; 'It is impossible to put an end to capitalism, without having put an end to Social-Democratism in the working class movement.'"

Dimitroff, George, The United Front, Page 276. See also Problems of Leninism, by Joseph Stalin, Russian Edition, Page 209.

DEMOCRACY (people deceived in democratic nations)

A main line of Communist propaganda directed against democratic nations consists in the charge that such nations deceive, mislead, and swindle their people in various ways. According to the Communists, only toy forms of democracy exist in non-Communist nations, toy forms which have no practical value for the masses of people. In view of this, Communists are directed in their propaganda to expose the "falsity" and "deception" of democratic nations to the people in order to arouse them and prepare the ground for the overthrow of these democratic nations.

"In all democratic countries--France, Switzerland, America, or England--the masses are deceived on an incomparably wider scale and in a more subtle manner than in other countries."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 133.

Lenin explains that Communist revolutionaries do not have

"the time to think about the toy forms of democracy..."

Ibid., Volume II, page 155.

Lenin repeatedly advocated the "exposure" of the democratic nations to the masses of people.

"...in order to prepare them for the revolution."

Ibid., Volume VII, page 133.

DEMOCRACY (American form not to be defended)

Communists are opposed to defending democracy as it exists in the United States. When Nazi Germany was threatening the democratic nations of the world, United States Communists urged citizens to oppose a war against Hitler and told them not to fight in defense of this democratic nation. This position was in full accord with the foreign policy of Soviet Russia at that time.

"Workers! Do not believe those who summon you to the war under the flag of national unity. What can there be in common between you and those who trade in guns and human blood? What unity can there be between the exploited and the exploiters? Do not believe those who are dragging you to war under the false pretext of the defense of democracy."

"Peace to the People," an article published by The Communist, December, 1939, page 1094.

DEMOCRACY (and the class struggle)

Communists reason that under a capitalist democracy the class struggle can develop more quickly and more effectively. This is so because under such a democracy there is more freedom and better opportunities to create tensions and clashes between capital and labor, thereby increasing the tempo of the class struggle. All this prepares the ground for the final violent eruption, which develops into a wide-spread revolution. Therefore, it is the duty of every Communist to keep agitating for more and more freedom and civil rights under the capitalist democracy they live in and which they desire to destroy.

"A wider, freer and more open form of the class struggle and of class oppression greatly assists the proletariat in its struggle for the abolition of all classes" (which means Communism).

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 73.

"The Marxists have always said that the more developed, the 'purer' democracy is, the more naked, sharp and ruthless becomes the class struggle..."

Ibid., page 227.

DEMOCRACY (impossible during a revolution)

Even when speaking of proletarian or Communist democracy Communists admit that they do not intend to apply any democratic principles. They point out that all who oppose Communism (the enemies) must be forcibly suppressed, and deprived of their freedom. Under these conditions Communists confess that democracy is not possible. The really significant point, however, is, they do not say just how long this revolutionary process which denies freedom and democracy will last. It may go on many years or a century or two.

"...the proletariat cannot achieve victory without breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie, without forcibly suppressing its enemies, and that, where there is forcible suppression, where there is no 'freedom,' there is, of course, no democracy."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, pages 143-144.

DEMOCRACY (industrial)

In taking their position in staunch opposition to democracy as a final goal of social living Communists will not accept any substitutions or modifications of the term. Such phrases as "industrial democracy" or "economic democracy" stand condemned by Communists as being totally inadequate as contrasted to Communism.

"Tricky phrases like 'industrial democracy' are wrong, and nothing will come of them."

Lenin, V.I., Selected Works, Volume IX,
p. 16

DEMOCRACY (in transition)

According to Communists capitalist democracy results in the suppression by force of the vast majority of the people. However, following the revolution and the transitional period from Capitalism to Communism the "new democracy" or proletarian democracy will suppress and exclude from the democratic process the exploiters, and the masses of people will then enjoy democracy for the first time.

"Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e., exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people - this is the change democracy undergoes during the transition from Capitalism to Communism."

Lenin, V.I., Selected Works, Volume VII,
page 81.

DEMOCRACY (political)

Communists consider political democracy based on popular elections quite helpful to the spread of Communism; hence they continually mouth phrases in its praise. However, they actually have nothing but contempt for what they conceive as constituting the essence of political democracy, charging that it is founded on a systematic practice of flattery, falsehoods and frauds. The United States is considered to be a political bourgeoisie democracy.

"The mechanics of political democracy work in the same direction. Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarism it is impossible to gain the following of the masses without a widely-ramified, systematically-managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with popular catchwords and promising reforms and blessings to the workers right and left--as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, Page 760.

DEMOCRACY (world democratic view false)

Communists being unalterably opposed to democracy as a final way of organizing society, are quite naturally opposed to any world view of democracy or to a world-wide democratic society. They consider any concept of "world democracy" to be false and therefore it must be opposed by all Communists.

"...it will be useful for many Communists in advanced capitalist countries to convince themselves...of the possibility - and necessity - of making use of even the slight remnants of legality which still remain at the disposal of the Communists, say, in contemporary America or France... in order to expose in the utter falsity of social-pacifist views and hopes for 'world democracy'".

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume 3, page 7.

DEMOCRACY (pure)

In extending their attack on democracy in order to include every possible form of this way of life Communists vigorously denounce pure democracy as being incompatible with their viewpoints.

"Hence, only a reactionary, only an enemy of the working class, only a henchman of the bourgeoisie, can ... babble about pure democracy."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 149.

DEMOCRACY (and American Communists)

American Communists ceaselessly declare themselves to be in favor of democracy. The unsuspecting American citizen often assumes that this must mean the democracy of the United States. On closer consideration it becomes evident that such is not true. In spite of all their deception and elaborate means of obscuring the real issues, occasionally American Communists do clearly reveal where their real loyalty rests. It rests with the Soviet Union and its dictatorship which American Communists refer to as "Soviet democracy".

Gene Dennis, General-Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States and Gil Green a member of its National Board write:

"We say, as did Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress:

"We are adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the toilers..."

"...we advance the historic objectives of the working class for achieving the socialist re-organization of society and the establishment of socialist, proletarian democracy, the highest form, and most democratic of all democracies, such as triumphantly flourishes on one-sixth of the globe, in the land of victorious socialism, the U.S.S.R.

"In pursuing this policy, we carry out, in accordance with the concrete conditions of our time, the teachings of Lenin when he counseled the workers of all countries:

"...it would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution..."

Dennis, Gene and Green,
Gil, "Notes on the Defense
of American Democracy", The
Communist, May, 1938, pages
414, 418.

DEMOCRACY (proletarian)

While the Communist state functions in the transitional period from the revolution to the "higher phase" of Communism there is to exist, according to the Communist version, proletarian (workers) democracy. It is to be a democracy of the vast majority of people, whereas they claim non-proletarian democracy such as exists in the United States is a democracy only for a small minority consisting of the rich and powerful. Hence, they conclude that proletarian democracy under the Communist Party is in the words of both Lenin and Stalin a million times more democratic than is any other form. Further, proletarian democracy is admittedly a class democracy and as such it suppresses and denies essential civil liberties and rights to all non-Communists. It considers this procedure to be justifiable and not incompatible with the principles of proletarian democracy for these non-Communists who are suppressed are regarded as exploiters.

In brief for all practical purposes, the phrase "proletarian democracy" means to the Communist the "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "Soviet Democracy" or just plain "Sovietism." It is used as a euphemism for these ideas. Viewed from the western point of view it contains an inherent contradiction for a government cannot be a dictatorship and a democracy at the same time, even though the dictatorship is ostensibly of the proletariat. This contradiction, however, does not seem to trouble the logic of Communists.

"...proletarian democracy, a democracy for the poor, and not a democracy for the rich, as is the case in every bourgeois democracy, even the best."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, pages 135-136.

"Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet government is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic.

Ibid., page 135.

"Proletarian democracy, of which Soviet government is one of the forms, has given a development and expansion of democracy hitherto unprecedented in the world."

Ibid., page 133.

"The Soviet form of state, being the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian-democracy, is the very opposite of bourgeois-democracy, which is bourgeois-dictatorship in a masked form. The Soviet State is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class--the proletariat. Unlike bourgeois democracy, proletarian-democracy openly admits its class character and aims avowedly at the suppression of the exploiters in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the population. It deprives its class enemies of political rights and, under special historical conditions, may grant the proletariat a number of temporary advantages over the diffused petty-bourgeois peasantry in order to strengthen its role of leader.

"Program of the Communist International," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 991-992.

"Soviet democracy, therefore, is proletarian democracy, democracy of the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters."

Program of the Communist International, page 39.

DEMOCRACY (new type)

In current Communist literature much is said about the new type of democracy developing in various sections of the world. Reference is made to the new democracies of Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the like. What is meant by the new type of democracy is simply proletarian or the Communist form of democracy.

"...We shall aim to convince the broad masses that the eventual elimination of the profit system and the establishment of socialism in the United States will usher in a new and higher type of democracy and a free road to unlimited and stable social progress because it will end exploitation of man by man and nation by nation, through the establishment of a society without oppression and exploitation."

"Resolution of the National Convention, C.P.U.S.A., July, 1945," Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 36.

"From the ashes of the war have arisen the new democracies and the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples."

Zhdanov, A., "On The History of Philosophy," National Affairs, Volume 5, No. 6, June 1948, page 204. See also various references in The New Europe by William Z. Foster.

DEMOCRACY (ultimate destruction of)

Communists intend to ultimately do away with all forms of democracy. Non-Communist democracy such as exists in the United States and elsewhere is to be crushed by force and violence. Proletarian or Communist democracy is to "wither away" as the higher phase of Communist Society is reached. The main point is--that under Communism democracy will not be allowed to exist. Democracy is a form of state and the state must be destroyed. There can be no exception.

How does this fit in with the numberless statements on the part of Communists that they are in favor of democracy and work for it day in and day out? To understand this is to first understand what they mean by the word democracy. As previously indicated Communists claim there are only two basic forms of democracy (1) bourgeoisie or capitalist democracy and (2) proletarian or Communist democracy. Therefore, when Communists say they are for democracy what they mean is they are for Communist democracy which is something completely different from the democracy which exists today in the United States.

Communists also say that even within a capitalist democracy they are strongly in favor of the democratic rights and privileges existent even though they would prefer a Communist democracy. How does this fit in with the first statement to the effect that they would destroy democracy? The answer is that Communists favor the rights and privileges enjoyed in a capitalistic democracy because it gives them great freedom to spread Communism. In short, they are in favor of such democratic measures granted by a capitalist democracy, for by the use of these measures they intend to shatter capitalist democracy.

In view of the above, the Communist position that democracy, both capitalist and proletarian, must be eliminated from society is not inconsistent with their tactics which would sponsor, defend and use the freedom and civil rights of capitalist democracy to destroy this democracy. Neither is it inconsistent (though false as a principle) with the plan to supplant capitalist democracy with proletarian or Communist democracy which, in turn, will be eliminated as the "higher phase" of Communist Society is reached and voluntary association becomes fundamental.

Their position then, on democracy, while deceptive, misleading, dishonest, and vicious is generally consistent with the Communist premise, false though it is, that any course of action which will spread the revolution and move the world closer to the Communist goal is permissible. To them, the end justifies the means. Use democracy in order to destroy it. Destroy

it in order to gain the ultimate Communist object.

This controversial question of the relationship of Communism to Democracy becomes rather clear on considering the thoughts of Communist authorities. Though some non-Communists may be confused on the issues the Communists are not confused. They know that under Communism, democracy must be entirely eliminated from the world.

"But it is 'unintelligible' only to one who has not reflected on the fact that democracy is also a state and that, consequently, democracy will also disappear when the state disappears."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, Page 17.

"...the abolition of the state means also the abolition of democracy; that the withering away of the state means the withering away of democracy."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, Page 75.

"Democracy is a state recognising the subordination of the minority to the majority, i.e., an organisation for the systematic use of violence by one class against the other, by one part of the population against another. We set ourselves the ultimate aim of destroying the state, i.e., every organised and systematic violence, every use of violence against man in general."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, Page 68.

"...it is constantly forgotten that the destruction of the state means also the destruction of democracy; that the withering away of the state also means the withering away of democracy."

Ibid., Page 68.

"Of course, democracy is also a form of state which must disappear when the state disappears...."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume V, Page 267.

"Communism alone is capable of giving really complete democracy, and the more complete it is the more quickly will it become unnecessary and wither away of itself.

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, Page 82.

"...For Marx and me...it was therefore quite impossible to choose such an elastic term to characterise our special point of view. Today things are different, and the word (Social Democrat) may perhaps pass muster (mag passieren), however unsuitable (unpassend) it still is for a party whose economic programme is not merely Socialist in general, but directly Communist, and whose ultimate political aim is to overcome the whole state, and therefore democracy as well."

Engels, Frederick, as quoted
by V. I. Lenin in State and
Revolution, Page 67.

"Democracy is only a form of authority. We Marxists are opposed to every form of authority."

Lenin, V. I., as stated in
The Proletarian Revolution
in Russia, by V. I. Lenin
and Leon Trotsky, Page 15+.

"Let us look forward, not backward; let us look away from the democracy of the usual bourgeois type, which

enforces the domination of the bourgeoisie by means of an antiquated, monarchistic machinery of government, the police, the army and the bureaucracy. Let us look forward to the advent of the newly-born democracy, which has already ceased to be a democracy, for democracy means the people's authority and the armed masses of the nation could not exercise an authority over themselves."

Lenin, V. I., statement in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, Pages 154-155.

Engels concludes that the aim of Communism and its various parties:

"...is to overcome the whole state and therefore democracy as well."

Engels, Frederick, as quoted by V. I. Lenin in Selected Works, Volume VII, Page 74.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Democratic Centralism is the guiding principle of organization on which the Communist Party is founded. As such it is a vital link in Communist theory. It seeks to reconcile the need for placing important authority in the leading organs of the Party with the need for the spirit and practice of democracy. To express it differently, Democratic Centralism attempts to reconcile or form a balance between authoritative centralization and democratic decentralization; an attempt to reach dialectical unity. Communists contend that their party is so organized on this principle of Democratic Centralism that it has "complete inner unity of outlook" plus an effective combination of discipline and initiative or "independent activity of Party membership." In a sense Communists indicate at this point that authority and freedom are complementary (a fact the Judaic-Christian tradition has recognized for twenty centuries) and the one enriches and strengthens the other. As a result of this fusion the Communist Party expects to achieve maximum efficiency in the vanguard role it seeks to play in the coming world revolution.

As a matter of actual practice Democratic Centralism has resulted in the most rigid dictatorship controlling every Communist Party in the world as well as Soviet Russia itself. It is a deceptive cloak dropped over vicious, ruthless, arbitrary authority. The two terms "democratic" and "centralism" as welded together by Communists in one phase are incongruous. It amounts to saying "democratic dictatorship" which, obviously is absurd as a statement and impossible as an achievement. In effect it would mean plus and minus are the very same things or non-being and being are identical.

To sum up: Democratic Centralism means, fundamentally, four important things:

1. "All directing bodies of the Party, from top to bottom, shall be elected;
2. "Party bodies shall give periodical accounts of their activities to their respective Party organizations;
3. "There shall be strict Party discipline and the subordination of the minority to the majority;

4. "All decisions of higher bodies shall be absolutely binding on lower bodies and on all Party members."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union(B), edited by a Commission of the Central Committee, C. P. S. U. (B), page 198.

The fourth and last point is the one which has particular significance. The "higher bodies" rule and the "higher bodies" are themselves ruled by a very small inner circle, in which one man is the dominant figure.

"Democratic centralism is the method of functioning of the Communist organization which combines the maximum democracy in the shaping of policy and the election of all leadership with sufficient centralization of committee authority to guarantee immediate reaction to problems and speedy mobilization of the entire membership and organization around the fulfillment of key tasks. Democratic centralism thus guarantees that all leading committees are elected by the membership and all basic problems are discussed and shaped by the membership. The elected leadership has the responsibility to report systematically to the membership on the actions and decisions taken by the higher committee. But once decisions are made in the higher committees, these decisions become the line of activity for the membership as a whole."

Williamson, John, "The Reconstitution of the Communist Party," Political Affairs, Volume XXIV, No. 9, September 1945, page 810.

"The Party Constitution establishes democratic centralism as the fundamental guiding principle of Communist Party organization.

"Democratic centralism combines the conscious and active democratic participation of the membership in the work of the Party, and the best forms of centralized leadership.

"Why is it democratic?"

- a) The membership participates in formulating policies and tasks.
- b) The leadership is elected by the membership and is directly responsible to the membership.
- c) Leading committees in all sections of the Party are elected directly by the membership or by its elected representatives.

"All officers and leading committees of the Party, from the Club Executive Committees to the highest committees, shall be elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Committees and officers must report regularly on their activities to the body which elected them."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared
by National Education
Department, Communist Party
of the United States of
America, p. 45.

"After a decision has been made ... this decision must be unreservedly carried out..."

"On the basis of democratic centralism, all lower Party organizations are subordinated to the higher bodies; District organizations are subordinated to the Central Committee; Section organizations are subordinated to the District Committee; Party Units (shop, street and town) are subordinated to the Section Committees."

"All decisions of the National Convention and the Central Committee must be fulfilled by the whole Party; all decisions of the District Convention and Committee must be fulfilled by the Section organizations of that District; all decisions of the Section Convention and Committee are binding on the shop, street and town Units in that Section."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization, page 24.

"This Communist Party is organized on the principle of democratic-centralism. That means that the leadership of the party is elected from below, from the membership units of the party, in a delegated party convention, which is the supreme authority of the party. The convention adopts the program and elects a Central Committee, which exercises full power of direction of the party between conventions. Below the Central Committee, and subordinated to it, are twenty-nine District Committees, elected by District Conventions; the Districts are similarly subdivided into Sections; the Section Committees are based directly upon the membership units (or nuclei).

"This system of democratic-centralism accomplishes two vital aims of Communist organization. It achieves a united party, motivated by a uniform strategy and tactic, uniting tens of thousands of wills into a single will, concentrating into one great proletarian fist that multitude of individual forces that would otherwise cancel one another by disunity and confusion. Secondly, it achieves this not by blotting out individual participation and initiative, but by broadening and deepening inner democracy by organizing it.

"The Communist Party of the United States is, in turn, united with its brother parties of all other countries (seventy-two of them) into a "world Party, organized on the same principles."

Browder, Earl, What is
Communism? pp. 206-207

DEMOCRATIC RABBLE

Though Communists pose today as the great supporters and admirers of democratic people, and in so doing they are faithfully following in the footsteps of those two "peerless leaders" Engels and Marx, this pose is not quite true to the facts of history. Neither Marx nor Engels were always democratic in their social relations. Engels was known to sneer at numerous people and Marx exhibited a superior, vain attitude toward most all people, so much so that a noted Socialist at the time, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, was forced to describe Marx as being "morose, vain and treacherous." Engels, in describing one of his own revolutionary escapades, wrote:

"To conclude, I came through all right everywhere, and taking it all together it is a good thing that someone from the Neue Rheinische Zeitung was present, for all the democratic rabble from Baden and the Palatinate were there and are boasting of the heroic deeds they never did."

Engels, Frederick, Selected Correspondence, page 24.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (in general)

To Communists a democratic republic is simply a form of representative government existing within the capitalist system. The United States is described by Communists as being a democratic republic.

All Communists are bitterly opposed to democratic republics as a permanent form of government. They claim that under a democratic republic the state is simply a "machine for the oppression of one class by another class." This state machine is nothing but a cruel instrument in the greedy hands of the capitalists, used by them to exploit the laborers. In effect, then, for the Communists the democratic republic is a brutal dictatorship of capitalism masquerading under bogus democratic forms. The only choice which is granted to the people is that of selecting every few years which one of different capitalist exploiters they choose to have exploit them.

"The most democratic bourgeois republic was never, nor could it be anything else than a machine with which capital suppressed the toilers, an instrument of the political rule of capital, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The democratic bourgeois republic promised the rule of the majority, it proclaimed the rule of the majority, but it could never put this into effect as long as the private ownership of the land and other means of production existed."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, Pages 35-36.

"Whatever forms a republic may assume, even the most democratic republic, if it is a bourgeois republic, if it retains private property in land, mills, and factories, and if private capital keeps the whole of society in wage slavery, that is, if it does not carry out what is proclaimed in the programme of our Party and in the Soviet Constitution, then this state is a machine for the suppression of certain people by others."

And we shall place this machine in the hands of the class that is to overthrow the power of capital.

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume XI, Page 656.

"In the bourgeois-democratic republic 'freedom' was really freedom for the rich."

Ibid., Volume X, Page 36.

"...wage slavery is the lot of the people even in the most democratic bourgeois republic. Furthermore, every state is a 'special repressive force' for the suppression of the oppressed class. Consequently, no state is either 'free' or a 'people's state.'"

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution,
Page 18.

"Engels emphasises again and again that not only in a monarchy, but also in a democratic republic, the state remains a state, i.e., it retains its fundamental and characteristic feature of transforming the officials, 'the servants of society,' its organs, into the masters of society."

Ibid., Page 64.

"To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people through parliament---this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics."

Ibid., Page 40.

"A parliamentary bourgeois republic hampers and stifles the independent political life of the masses...."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, page 57.

"And people think they have taken quite an extraordinarily bold step forward when they rid themselves of belief in hereditary monarchy and swear by the democratic republic. In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy..."

Engels, Frederick,
Ibid., Volume VII,
pages 72-73.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (an avenue to Communism)

As is evident, Communists viciously denounce the democratic republic as a permanent form of government with every propaganda weapon at their disposal. Yet, with characteristic Communist deceit and treachery, they admit among themselves that the democratic republic with the freedom and rights and opportunities it gives to its citizens, is by far the best form of government under which Communism can be spread and eventually established. Some go so far as to say that it is the only form under which Communism can come to power. In view of this situation, the Communists adopt a dual attitude, when expedient, toward the democratic republic. They condemn it, but at the same time they deceitfully praise its liberties and ask for more of them in order to more quickly seize power under the Communist dictatorship. Their open attitude therefore is not always the same toward the democratic republics. It swings back and forth, depending on which attitude will gain most for the Communist Party at a given time. Their concealed attitude, of course, remains the same, expressly, the democratic republic must be smashed.

"If one thing is certain it is that our Party and the working class can only come to power under the form of the democratic republic."

Engels, Frederick, as quoted in Selected Works, by V. I. Lenin, Volume VII, page 65.

"Our attitude towards bourgeois democracy (e.g. democratic republic) is not the same under all conditions."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front Against War and Fascism, page 111.

"We must not forget", Lenin says further, "that there is not, nor can there be, at the present time, any other means of bringing Socialism nearer, than complete political liberty, than a democratic republic."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in

the History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union,
edited by a Commission of the
Central Committee of the
C.P.S.U.(B), page 66.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (wealth rules)

With a variety of approaches, Communists keep hammering away on the theme that the wealthy, the rich and powerful are the ruthless rulers of every democratic republic. This wealthy dictatorship wields its brutal power usually in two ways: first, by corruption of the officials as in the United States; and second, by an alliance between the big capitalists and the government as in England and pre-war France.

"In a democratic republic, Engels continues, 'wealth wields its power indirectly, but all the more effectively,' first, by means of the 'direct corruption of the officials' (America); second, by means of 'the alliance between the government and the Stock Exchange' (France and America)."

Engels, Frederick, as quoted in Selected Works, by V. I. Lenin, Volume VII, page 1.

"The omnipotence of 'wealth' is thus more secure in a democratic republic, since it does not depend on the faulty political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 15.

"....even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, 'the right of assembly' is but an empty phrase..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 226.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (a terroristic dictatorship)

In broadening their vehement and ceaseless attack upon the democratic republic, Communists maintain that not only does wealth rule and exploit the workers but it subjects them also to a terroristic dictatorship. This "terroristic dictatorship" takes the form of shooting down strikers, breaking up labor union organizations, and engaging in many similar acts.

"....the sanguinary shooting down of strikers by mercenaries armed by the capitalists in the free and democratic republic of America--these and thousands of similar facts reveal the truth which the bourgeoisie vainly tries to conceal, viz., that even in the most democratic republics it is the terror and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which rule...."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, Pages 227-228.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (its armed forces)

Communists spread propoganda widely charging that the armed forces of a democratic republic exist as an organ of oppression. Using this as a point of departure, they agitate for drastic reductions in the size of the armed forces and the quantity of its supplies. Similarly they agitate continually in every manner possible to demoralize and disrupt the members of the armed forces, knowing that if this can be done their chances to succeed in the revolution they are creating will be immeasurably better.

"The army was an apparatus of oppression not only under monarchies. It remains such in all bourgeois republics, even the most democratic."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, Page 232.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (to be destroyed)

The democratic republic is to be destroyed under Communism. It matters not whether it is a democratic republic existing under the most liberal and progressive non-Communist economic order, it still must be done away with.

"In order to emphasise this element of habit, Engels speaks of a new generation, 'reared under new and free social conditions,' which 'will be able to throw on the scrap heap all this state rubbish'---every kind of state, including even the democratic-republican state."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, Page 68.

DEVIATION (in general)

Deviation or departure from the policy and "line" established by the Communist Party on the part of any of its members is regarded as a very serious matter. It consists in a tendency, not wholly crystalized, to turn aside from correct revolutionary principles and procedure as established by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and as carried out today by Communist Parties throughout the world. In essence a deviationist is any Communist who does not adhere one hundred per cent to the established interpretation of Marxism-Leninism or follow without exception the prevailing "line" of the Party. It obviously excludes any original thinking or diversified action relating to what is conceived to be the core of Marxism-Leninism.

Deviation may be either to the right or to the left. A Communist who "deviates" to the left (a left deviationist) may also be known as a "left sectarian." A Communist who deviates to the right (a right deviationist) may also be known as a "right opportunist." Also, deviation may relate to a single person or more than one, to a group of persons.

Stalin has described "deviation" as being

"a tendency, an inclination, not yet formulated, it is true, and perhaps not yet consciously realized, but nevertheless a tendency on the part of a section of the Communists to depart from the revolutionary line of Marxism..."

Stalin, Joseph as
quoted in Marxist
Glossary by L. Harry
Gould, page 36.

"The social basis of deviations is the predominance of small production in our country; is the fact that out of small production arise the elements of capitalism; the fact, that our Party is surrounded by a petty-bourgeois environment; and, finally, the

fact that certain sections of our Party have become infected by that environment. That, fundamentally, is the social basis for deviations. All deviations bear a petty-bourgeois character."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume II,
page 88.

"And we say that wherever there is a Right deviation, there must be a 'Left' deviation. The 'Left' deviation is the shadow of the Right deviation. Lenin said with regard to the Otzovists, that the 'Lefts' are Mensheviks turned inside out. That is absolutely true. The same thing can be said of the present day 'Lefts.' Those who incline towards Trotskyism are in fact Rights turned inside out, they are Rights concealing themselves behind 'Left' phrases. Hence the fight on two fronts--against the Right deviation and against the 'Left' deviation."

Ibid., page 94.

"Therefore, in our Party we Leninists are neither 'Lefts' nor Rights. We are a Marxist-Leninist Party. And in our Party we fight not only those whom we call open opportunist deviationists, but also those who want to be more 'Left' than Marxism, more 'Left' than Leninism, and conceal their Right opportunist nature behind high-sounding 'Left' phrases. Everybody understands that when people who have not yet rid themselves of Trotskyist tendencies are called 'Left' it is meant ironically. Lenin referred to the 'Left Communists' as Lefts, sometimes with and sometimes without quotation marks. But everybody knows that Lenin referred to them as Lefts

ironically and thereby emphasized that they were Left only in words, in appearance, but that in actual fact they represented petty-bourgeois Right tendencies."

Ibid., page 96.

DEVIATION TO THE LEFT (or left sectarianism)

A "left deviationist" goes more to the "left," becomes more extreme and radical. According to the Communist interpretation, a "left deviationist" is a Communist who over-estimates the strength of Capitalists. For example, he has lost faith in and patience with the capacity of the workers to organize and continue a long, bitter, enduring and successful conflict against Capitalism. He is a person who tends to go to the extreme, to push farther to the "left" in order to quickly reach the desired end. He is impulsive, false in his thinking; and in the words of Joseph Stalin, guilty of "adventurism" and "superhuman" leaps in the sphere of policy. Such an attitude is said to be ruinous to good organization and completely false in ideological orientation, hence the "left deviationist" stands condemned by the Communist Party without reservation.

"Where does the danger of the 'Left' (Trotskyist) deviation in our Party lie? In the fact that it over-estimates the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism; that it can see only the possibility of the restoration of capitalism, but cannot see the possibility of constructing socialism with the resources of our country..."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, Page 63.

"You see therefore that both dangers, the 'Left' and the Right, both the deviations from the Leninist line, the Right and the 'Left,' lead to the same results, although from different directions. Which danger is the worst? In my opinion, they are equally bad."

Ibid., Page 64.

DEVIATION TO THE RIGHT (or right opportunism)

A "right deviationist" goes more to the "right", becomes less extreme and more conservative. According to the Communist interpretation, a "right deviationist" has underestimated the strength of Capitalism. For example, he recommends, as a Communist Party member, changes within the Party which are allegedly Marxist, but are actually a distortion of Marx in the direction of Capitalism. A "right deviationist" would "tone down" the concept of class struggle, he would make basic concessions to, and compromise with Capitalism. He would, as a consequence, seriously weaken the revolutionary vitality of the Communist Party and in the words of Joseph Stalin, "add to the conditions necessary for the preservation of Capitalism."

As previously indicated, Earl Browder, according to the Communist interpretation, is a "right deviationist." Other examples given by Communists of "right deviation" are: (1) opposition to the destruction of the Kulaks as a class in the Soviet Union, 1928--1933; (2) the Kavanagh--Ryan--Higgins leadership in Australia, 1926--1929 under which the theory of "exceptionalism" was advanced, contending that Australia would not become involved in the international economic crisis, forecasted by the Comintern, and similar "contrary" doctrines; (3) the Jay Lovestone group in the United States (1929), whom Joseph Stalin charged with being guilty of "right-wing deviation cunningly masked under left-wing phraseology."

"Under capitalist conditions, the Right deviation in Communism represents a tendency, an inclination, not yet formulated, it is true, and perhaps not even consciously realized, but nevertheless a tendency, on the part of a section of Communists to depart from the revolutionary line of Marxism in the direction of Social-Democracy. When certain groups of Communists deny the expediency of the slogan 'class against class' in election campaigns (France), or are opposed to the Communist Party putting up independent candidates (Great Britain), or are disinclined to make a sharp issue of the fight against 'Left' Social Democracy (Germany), etc., etc., it means that there are individuals in the Communist Party who are striving

to adapt Communism to Social-Democracy. The triumph of the Right deviation within the Communist Parties in capitalist countries would mean the ideological collapse of the Communist Parties, and a tremendous accession of strength to Social Democracy. And what does an accession of strength to Social Democracy mean? It means the consolidation and strengthening of capitalism, for Social Democracy is the main bulwark of capitalism among the working class. Hence, the triumph of the Right deviation in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries favours the conditions necessary for the preservation of capitalism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, pages 58-59.

"Where does the danger of the Right, frankly opportunist, deviation within the Party lie? In the fact that it underestimates the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism; that it fails to realize the existence of the danger of restoration of capitalism..."

Ibid., page 63.

"There cannot be the slightest doubt that the triumph of the Right deviation in our Party would release the forces of capitalism, would undermine the revolutionary position of the proletariat and increase the chances for the restoration of capitalism in our country."

Ibid., page 63.

DIALECTICS; DIALECTICAL

This is one of the most frequently used terms in Communist literature. The word itself is derived from a Greek word, "dialogo" (or dia. † legein), (diálektikos) which pertains to the art of discourse, reasoning, and debate. The idea has been attributed to the Greek, Zeno of Elea, and the practical application of it to Socrates, more specifically as reflected in the Dialogues of Plato.

It is a method of argumentation, a way of arriving at valid principles or a means by which a "critical" examination of logical consequences" can be made. It is a branch of logic, an art of disputation used to separate error from truth. To Communists, it is all this plus a special class of contradictions--thesis--antithesis--out of which comes the synthesis of Communism. To them it resolves into a method of understanding nature and history and the relationship of one to the other. This "understanding" becomes synonymous with Communism.

With Communists, the stress in dialectics is placed on change-- ceaseless flux, ebb and flow of material elements. To them the world is constantly changing, and this change or motion is simply a form of the existence of matter.

Nothing then is eternal. Therefore, when this dialectical method is applied to the history of human society it shows that no political or economic system will endure permanently. Every system has its day. Every system contains within its very ideological structure the seeds of its own defeat and destruction. All political and economic systems prior to those now in existence gave way before new and younger ones and there is no reason to believe that all systems existing today will not do likewise. Each succeeding system though, represents a higher stage of development; gives more freedom to people. For example, the Slave System gave way to Feudalism and Feudalism gave way to Capitalism. But Capitalism brought into being the proletarian class and class struggle (e.g. the seed of its own destruction) and the proletariat will ultimately destroy Capitalism which will be supplanted by Communism. Now this ceaseless change is the very essence of being. However, it is not just change per se but rather revolutionary change. And, revolutionary change means change in a specific direction; change which has form to it as opposed to formless change. It is change from the lower to the higher; a development which proceeds from the simple to the complex,

ever onward and upward. This development, however, will not be regular, steady and smooth as a study of history will indicate. This development will be irregular, unsteady and rough. There will be both qualitative and quantitative changes. For example, a number of small, apparently unimportant quantitative changes in society will take place, but as they accumulate their full force will be felt which will cause a qualitative change. To illustrate this point, it may be said that the class struggle has caused the creation of labor unions, the passage of factory or industrial legislation (e.g. unemployment insurance, old age pensions, sanitary and hygienic measures, wage and hour laws, etc.) the formation of working class political parties. The Communists consider all these as constituting small quantitative changes in the social order under the capitalistic system. They do not change the essential nature of Capitalism; hence, they are not and cannot be qualitative changes. When, however, all these small quantitative steady changes increase in number and receive wider expansion they cause a natural growth in the power and influence of the working-class. It grows stronger and stronger until it outweighs the dwindling strength and power of the dying Capitalistic class and its system of exploitation. When this stage is reached, then the workers (e.g. Communists) will seize the power of the social order (e.g. government, etc.) by force if necessary, and it is at this very point that a qualitative change takes place. For dead Capitalism will give way to the new form--a Socialistic way of life. The ultimate end, or final stage, however, of this progressive process of change will inevitably be world-wide Communism. Will Communism be supplanted by still another social system? The Communist answer is an emphatic no. The reason offered is this: Communism conforms to the revolutionary nature of matter. It is not so much a system as it is a true expression of nature itself, hence, it will allow for constant change; it does not contain any seeds of destruction within itself as prior systems did, therefore nothing will follow or supplant Communism. It will remain as constant as change itself.

"Dialectics comes from the Greek dialego, to discourse, to debate. In ancient times dialectics was the art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in the argument of an opponent and overcoming these contradictions. There were philosophers in ancient times who believed that the disclosure of contradictions in thought and the clash of opposite opinions was the best method of arriving at the truth. This dialectical method of thought, later extended to the phenomena of nature,

developed into the dialectical method of apprehending nature, which regards the phenomena of nature as being in constant movement and undergoing constant change, and the development of nature as the result of the development of the contradictions in nature, as the result of the interaction of opposed forces in nature."

Stalin, Joseph, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, pages 6-7.

"Dialectics is nothing more than the science of the general laws of motion and development of Nature, human society and thought.."

Engels, Frederick, "Anti-Duhring" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 266.

"Dialectics is this growing understanding in the human mind of the process of change and development that goes on throughout the universe. We do not limit it merely to the social sphere or to the class struggle going on now. Dialectics is universal. There is a dialectics of nature, there will always be a dialectics for every phase of life. Since life changes its forms, dialectics will never be eliminated. The dialectical process will not be eliminated in the future society. It will take new forms; it will no longer assume the form of the basic antagonisms of class society."

Browder, Earl, Communism in the United States, page 342.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM*

Background

With the welding of dialectics to materialism Communists lay claim to the establishment of a school of philosophy, namely, dialectical materialism. The foundation of this school of philosophy was laid by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin, Stalin and all other Communist thinkers who have followed them. It placed stress on being the world outlook of the Communist Parties.

The words dialectics and dialectical as used by Communists have already been defined. Before proceeding with the phrase "dialectical materialism" some attention will be given first to the isolated word "materialism."

Materialism

The word materialism is derived from the Latin word "materialis" meaning in the general sense, stuff, matter or substance. In the philosophic sense it means that the world and all life on it exists in its own right, apart from any external cause (e.g. God or man); that it is self-originating, self-regulating, self-explanatory, and self-perpetuating. Atheism is its main premise. Materialism assumes that matter is the primary substance and that the human mind is merely secondary; an outgrowth of matter, or, in the words of George Santayana, "a lyric cry in the midst of business." Bertrand Russell writes:

"Materialism as a theory of the nature of the world has had a curious history. Arising almost at the

* The word "materialism" is being used here in the philosophical sense. It is not to be confused with the popular conception of the term denoting inordinate desire for material goods, thirst for power, undisciplined sensual appetites or the hunger for the passing fame and glory of the world. In insisting on a distinction being made between the two conceptions of materialism Engels berated his enemies, writing: "By the word materialism the Philistine understand gluttony, drunkenness, lust of eye, lust of flesh, arrogance, cupidity, avarice, miserliness, profit-hunting and stock-exchange swindling--in short, all the filthy vices in which he himself indulges in private." As indicated, the discussion of materialism here is philosophic and not the type referred to by Engels.

beginning of Greek philosophy it has persisted down to our own time, in spite of the fact that very few eminent philosophers have advocated it."

Russell, Bertrand, in the Introduction to History of Materialism, by F. A. Lange, page v.

As indicated, there have been many different theories of materialism before and since Karl Marx's variety appeared on the horizon. There are the theories of Thales, Leucippus of Abdera, Democritus, Epicurus, Lucretius, Heraclitus, Zeno, Hobbes, Diderot, Holbach, Hartley, Priestly, Haeckel, Montague, Loeb and others. The various ideas of these materialists had their points of similarity and of differences, but irrespective of this the general pattern was the same. For common to all forms of materialism are such themes as (1) matter is the basic reality and God does not exist; (2) the universe and all life on it can be explained in terms of motion and matter; (3) human values should center around material considerations, satisfactions and pleasures; (4) the interpretation of human history must rest on material elements.

Karl Marx and his Communist followers of today claim that though all these materialistic theories were a step in the right direction, nevertheless they are all inadequate and false when compared to Marxian materialism. Marx referred to the materialistic thinking which preceded him as being elemental, disconnected and "crude". Marx said the materialist thinkers who preceded him were either illogical, incomplete, false or too mechanical and static. Marx on the contrary insisted that his form of materialism was logical, complete, non-mechanical, dynamic and self-moving.

To sum up, materialism, among those who advocate it, represents the nature of basic reality, the thought which flows from it and its interpretation of life. Whereas, dialectics is the method used in argumentation to understand and to establish the validity of certain principles under discussion. The merger of the two into "dialectical materialism" as used by the Communists will be next considered.

Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism is the philosophy, the world outlook or the Weltanschauung of all Communists who follow the thought of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is the *raison d'être* of all such Communist Parties. It is their ideological weapon to be used against all non-Communist ideologies. It is their yardstick by which they measure the standards of the developing world-wide Communist movement.

It is dialectical in that it engages in discursive reasoning, discussion, debate--and in such a manner as to stress the "dynamic interconnectedness of things" (a oneness of nature--a worm, a dog and a man all of the same fundamental substance, etc.) and the radical nature of ceaseless motion and change. It is materialism because it proceeds on the premise that mind, ideas, spirit, sensation and consciousness are simply outgrowths of matter. As outgrowths of matter they have no independent reality and are contingent upon matter for their existence. The physical world exists, *per se*, totally independent of, and external to, sensation, consciousness and experience. There is no dualism, no distinct realities of mind and matter. Lenin wrote: "The doctrine of independence of the outer world from consciousness (sensation, experience) is the fundamental proposition of materialism." Matter, then, is primary, mind is secondary. Mind merely reflects the material world and is inseparable from it. Mind itself is a reflection of matter translated into thought. Matter in motion is all. There is no God, no soul and no immortality. Man, say the Communists, perishes at death like any other beast of the field.

Dialectical Materialism and the Social Order

In transferring the principles of dialectical materialism to the social order, Communists propound such ideas as (1) all history is a history of bitter class struggle for material considerations between two basic classes, the capitalists and the workers; (2) the state has been used as an instrument of force and oppression by the capitalists and rulers against the great majority of workers, hence, the state or government must be overthrown--destroyed; (3) in order to overthrow and smash the capitalist state a revolutionary theory and a revolution are necessary; (4) the revolution must be violent and world-wide, though not necessarily occurring in all nations at the same time; (5) no supernatural moral laws such as the Judaic-Christian moral code, are to

interfere with the revolution for Communist morality must be based on non-class, non-supernatural principles rooted in utility (whatever spreads Communism is moral); (6) all religions without exception are false, harmful and delay the revolution and must be destroyed; (7) only a world-wide Communist Society corresponds to the revolutionary nature of matter -- to materialism, therefore, all other social orders must be eliminated, leaving Communism to reign supreme throughout the world.

Dialectical Materialism In Action

In transferring the principles of dialectical materialism to the specific, concrete field of action Communists have created Communist Parties in all nations throughout the world. These Communist Parties are to be the "engineers of the revolution." They represent organized dialectical materialism in full war dress, in militant action. Leading these Parties are the select professional revolutionaries, the cream of the cream, constituting an exclusive international revolutionary brotherhood. These Communist Parties, spread all over the world are the General Staff of the revolution. Their principles are identical. Their methods (with local adaptations) are identical. Their objectives are identical. Working together as a vast army on a far-flung world battlefield they move in unison with each other. They plan, conspire and act within one great, flexible pattern of behavior.

Three Laws Underlying Dialectical Materialism

Within this comprehensive framework of dialectical materialism, extending from its philosophical concepts to its plan for the social order, and on to its course of action centered in the Communist Parties, there is woven into it as a unifying thread three fundamental laws. These laws are as follows:

1. Law of Interpenetration (unity and struggle of opposites)

In all nature there are inherent contradictions. All things in nature have negative and positive sides. All things have a past and a future. At all times something is dying away while at the very moment something is being born; is developing. The ceaseless struggle between these opposites make up the internal content or substance of the process of development. For example the contradiction in capitalism is to be found in the connection between the productive forces and the

relations of production. Appropriation is private but production is social. This is the contradiction. This contradiction finds its expression in, and in fact creates, class struggle. This class struggle provides the driving force or "self-movement" of history. It will make Communism inevitable.

2. Law of Transformation (transformation of quantity into quality)

The apparently small, unimportant, imperceptible insignificant changes are quantitative changes. Actually they are vital for enough of them pave the way for fundamental changes which are qualitative. For example, the seemingly minor changes which prepares the ground; lays the foundation for Socialism are quantitative. Their accumulated force makes the change from Capitalism to Socialism possible and this is a qualitative change; a transition of quantity into quality.

3. Law of Negation of Negation (series of changes unending)

This process takes place when in the natural evolution of human society the system of life which destroys or supplants the one which preceded it contains within its own system a new contradiction - the very seed of its own destruction. For example, capitalism overcame feudalism and produces capitalist private property. This is the initial negation of individual private property based on the labor of the owner. Continuing from this point there flows from capitalist production, with the immutability of a law of nature, its own negation. The sum total of this process is the negation of the negation.

In very brief form the above is a description of dialectical materialism. It is the very kernel, the heart and the core of all Communist thought. The refutation of dialectical materialism (which has been done) cracks the entire intellectual edifice or structure of Communist thought. When the unsoundness of dialectical materialism as a system of thought is established and its errors exposed, all attendant Communist ideas collapse of their own falseness.

"Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is materialistic."

Stalin, Joseph, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, page 5.
See also: Selected Works of Joseph Stalin, Volume II, page 406.

"The philosophy of Marxism is materialism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 4.

"Marx and Engels always defended philosophical materialism in the most determined manner and repeatedly explained the profound erroneousness of every deviation from this basis.

Ibid., page 4.

"Deepening and developing philosophical materialism, Marx completed it, extended its knowledge of nature to the knowledge of human society. Marx's historical materialism was one of the greatest achievements of scientific thought."

Ibid., page 4,5.

"Marx's philosophy is finished philosophical materialism, which has provided humanity, and especially the working class, with powerful instruments of knowledge."

Ibid., page 5.

"Materialism in general recognises objectively real being (matter) as independent of the mind, sensation, experience...consciousness is only the reflection of being, at best an approximately true (adequate, ideally exact) reflection of it."

Ibid., page 377.

"...the world picture is a picture of how matter moves and of how 'matter thinks.'"

Ibid., page 402.

"...matter is that which, acting upon our sense-organs, produces sensation; matter is the objective reality given to us in sensation...matter, nature, being, the physical--is primary, and spirit, consciousness, sensation, the psychical--is secondary."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI,
pages 207, 208.

"Speaking of the materialist views of the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, who held that 'the world, the all in one, was not created by any god or any man, but was, is and ever will be a living flame, systematically flaring up and systematically dying down,' Lenin comments: 'A very good exposition of the rudiments of dialectical materialism'."

Stalin, Joseph, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, page 1.
See also: Lenin, V. I., Philosophical Notebooks, Russian Edition, page 318.

"Development is the 'struggle' of the opposites."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume XI, pages 81, 82.

"The great basic question of all philosophy, especially of modern philosophy, is that concerning the relation of thinking and being...spirit to nature...which is primary, spirit or nature... The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other...comprised the

camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 15.

"Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our mind really exists, and that the material world, being, nature, exists only in our mind, in our sensations, ideas and perceptions, the Marxist materialist philosophy holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our mind; that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, ideas, mind, and that mind is secondary, derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter which in its development has reached a high degree of perfection, namely, of the brain, and the brain is the organ of thought; and that therefore one cannot separate thought from matter without committing a grave error."

Stalin, Joseph, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, pages 15, 16.

"It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks. This matter is the substratum of all changes going on in the world."

Engels, Frederick, Socialism Utopian and Scientific, page 11.

"Motion is the form of existence of matter. Never and nowhere has there been or can there be matter without motion...Matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter... If we enquire...what thought and consciousness are, whence they come we find that they are products of the human brain, and that man himself is a product of nature, developing in and along with his environment. Obviously, therefore, the products

of the human brain, being in the last analysis likewise products of nature, do not contradict the rest of nature, but correspond to it."

Engels, Frederick as quoted by Lenin, V. I., The Teachings of Karl Marx, page 11.

"All classes and all countries are at the same time looked upon not statically, but dynamically; i.e., not as motionless, but as in motion (the laws of their motion being determined by the economic conditions of existence of each class). The motion, in its turn, is looked upon not only from the point of view of the past, but also from the point of view of the future; and, moreover, not only in accordance with the vulgar conception of the 'evolutionists,' who see only slow changes--but dialectically: 'In such great developments, twenty years are but as one day--and then may come days which are the concentrated essence of twenty years,' wrote Marx to Engels."*

Lenin, V. I., The Teachings of Karl Marx, page 33.

"A Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of religion; but he must be a dialectical materialist, i.e., one who puts the fight against religion not abstractly, not on the basis of abstract, purely theoretical, unvarying propaganda, but concretely, on the basis of the class struggle which is going on in practice and educating the masses more and better than anything else."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, pages 668-669.

* To the question, will not the ideas of ceaseless change, motion, struggle of opposites and contradictions as propounded by dialectical materialism, also bring about the collapse and dissolution of Communism as it has other social systems, the Communist answer is neither clear nor convincing. As indicated

under a discussion of "Dialectics" the Communists attempt to "get around" this very pertinent question by saying the contradictions under Communism will not arise from economic causes as they have heretofore. The economic contradictions will be gone. Class antagonisms will be gone. Hence, while there will be sufficient contradictions to warrant change and development (such being essential for progress) these contradictions will be of such a different nature and will assume such different forms that they will not destroy Communism. On the contrary they will strengthen it, because Communism corresponds to the revolutionary nature of matter in which these contradictions originate. Communism will therefore remain as constant as change itself.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Communists in their thinking seem to be inclined toward concepts of dictatorship. They seem to believe it necessary to think in such terms. Although they talk freely about various forms of government, in the final analysis Communists appear to favor dividing all governments into two basic dictatorship categories. These two are (1) the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (capitalist) and (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat (workers). To Communists the United States and all other non-Communist states represent a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie of capital, wealth, minority power. It is their desire to destroy the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Lenin was absolutely right when he said:

'The forms of the bourgeois state are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same: in one way or another, in the last analysis, all these states are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but in essence there will inevitably be only one: the dictatorship of the proletariat.'"

Stalin, Joseph, From
Socialism to Communism
In The Soviet Union, page 55.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (what it is)

The phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" is found everywhere in Communist literature. It is one of the very vital doctrines in Communist theory. It is an objective toward which all Communists are striving.

By this phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" Communists mean the type of government which is to be established during and following the Communist revolution. It is to be a ruthless dictatorship. In theory it is to be a dictatorship of the workers over the non-workers or anti-Communists. It will be a dictatorship under the guidance of the Communist Party.

This form of "dictatorship" means a rule of one class over another based on force and not on law. The proletariat as we have seen, means the wage workers. Therefore a "dictatorship of the proletariat" simply means a rule by force and not by law of the wage workers as a class over all other classes. Communists point out that a "dictatorship of the proletariat" is an open dictatorship of the wage workers in alliance with other workers, who together form the vast majority in any given society. According to this interpretation it is in effect a dictatorship of the majority over the minority, whereas formerly it was a dictatorship of the minority over the majority. The dictatorship is to be temporary (state to wither away), a transitional period between the seizure of power and the final goal - Communism. Communists consider the dictatorship of the proletariat to be far superior to (1) the concealed and obscure dictatorship of a capitalist democracy or (2) the open terroristic dictatorships in fascist nations where big capitalists run the government. It is to be noted that this form of dictatorship is by a specific class, theoretically, and not by any one person or clique or party. Yet, as a matter of actual practice it results in the dictatorship of one Party and of a small clique within that Party, a clique which can be dominated by one man.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is also known by other names such as "proletarian democracy", "new democracy" and the "Soviet State". It is therefore of some interest to note when American Communists loudly shout that they are in favor of democracy and want more of it what they mean by the word democracy is precisely the dictatorship of the proletariat, or proletarian democracy and not American democracy which they are bitterly opposed to.

"Here is the most general definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, given by Lenin: 'The dictatorship of

the proletariat is not the end of the class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat which has achieved victory and has seized political power against the bourgeoisie who have been defeated but not annihilated, who have not disappeared, who have not ceased their resistance, who have increased their resistance."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, Page 270. See
also: Collected Works, Russian
edition, Volume XXIV, Page 311.

"They failed to understand that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule of one class, which takes into its hands the whole apparatus of the new state, which vanquishes the bourgeoisie and neutralises the whole of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, the lower middle class and the intelligentsia."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, Pages 51-52.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat--says Lenin--is a persistent struggle--sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative--against the forces and traditions of the old society."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, Page 96.

"...the dictatorship of the proletariat,' says Lenin, 'is the class struggle of the proletariat which has achieved victory and has seized political power.'"

Ibid., Page 281.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat (its essence)

The very essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is unlimited power based on violence and not on law. It recommends bloody, ruthless, brutal procedure. It is warfare against the non-Communist world. It recommends crushing general freedom and specific liberties of the people. It recommends not merely suppressing but annihilating the opposition to Communism. It recommends completely ignoring the moral laws of the Judaic-Christian tradition on which western civilization was founded.

"Dictatorship is power based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws. The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is power won and maintained by the violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, power that is unrestricted by any laws."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 123.

"Unrestricted power, beyond the law, resting on force in the strictest sense of the word --- this is dictatorship."

Ibid., page 251-252.

"The scientific concept, dictatorship, means nothing more nor less than power that directly rests on violence, that is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules... Dictatorship means... note this once and for all... unlimited power, resting on violence and not on law. During civil war, victorious power can only be dictatorship."

Lenin, V. I., Collected Works, Russian Edition, Volume XXV, pages 436, 444.
See also Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 272.

"To put it briefly; the dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
by Joseph Stalin, Leninism,
Volume I, page 46.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, against the bourgeoisie..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 60.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat ... means the violent suppression of the resistance..."

Ibid., Volume VII, page 230.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is fierce war."

Ibid., Volume IX, page 264.

Lenin advised all Communist and all nations that they must

"...not shrink from adopting dictatorial methods..."

Ibid., Volume VII, page 365.

Communists regularly point out how they are in a continual state of war against non-Communist ideas, non-Communist institutions and non-Communist nations. They point with pride to the fact that the Communist Party is the General Staff of the coming revolution. All this fits in very well

with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Dictatorship is a state of acute war. We are precisely in such a state."

Ibid., Volume IX, Page 242.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (a necessity)

Communists insist that a dictatorship is absolutely necessary as a part of the Communist process. As indicated, they conceive dictatorship to be unrestricted power based on violence and not on law and as such it is to serve as a ruthless weapon to crush and annihilate all opposition to the establishment of the Communist Society. It is necessary because non-Communists will not surrender peacefully. They fight back - they oppose and resist Communism. This makes it necessary to organize force and violence into the form of a dictatorship and direct it against all non-Communists.

"History teaches that not a single oppressed class has ever come into power, or could come into power, without passing through the period of dictatorship, i.e., the conquest of political power and the violent suppression of the desperate, furious and unscrupulous resistance which the exploiters always put up."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume VII, pages
223-224.

"A strong and powerful dictatorship of the proletariat -- that is what we must have now in order to shatter the last remnants of the dying classes and to frustrate their thieving designs."

Stalin, Joseph as
quoted by A. Leontiev,
Political Economy, page 30.
See also "Results of the
Five-Year Plan," in the
symposium: From the First
to the Second Five-Year
Plan, page 54.

In describing the great need for a dictatorship of the proletariat, Marx wrote:

"But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings,
page 400. See also
Leninism by Joseph Stalin, Volume I,
page 47.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is essential in order to conduct an irreconcilable fight against the capitalist elements, in order to suppress the bourgeoisie and to tear out capitalism by the roots."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume II,
page 122.

Writing elsewhere Lenin argued that a dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely necessary.

"Because it is impossible to emerge from a society in which one class oppresses another except by establishing the dictatorship of the oppressed class."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 221.

Lenin explains further that a "decisive victory" in a revolution can only mean a

"...dictatorship of the proletariat..."

Ibid., Volume III, page
101.

"The essence of Marx's doctrine of the state is assimilated only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary ... not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but for the entire historical period between capitalism and 'classless society,' communism."

Ibid., Volume VII, page 34.

Dictatorship of Proletariat (fundamental to Communism)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is considered to be absolutely fundamental to the revolution. It is the fulcrum of the revolution, the main "organ and instrument" to crush opposition and advance Communism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is "a question of the basic content of the proletarian revolution."

"The question of the proletarian dictatorship is above all a question of the basic content of the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievements become realities only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the chief fulcrum of the proletarian revolution, its organ and instrument, called into existence, first, to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and to consolidate its achievements; secondly, to lead the proletarian revolution to its completion, to lead the revolution onward to the complete victory of Socialism. Victory over the bourgeoisie and the overthrow of its power may be gained by revolution even without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But such revolution will not be in a position to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie, maintain its conquests and move on to the decisive victory for Socialism, unless at a certain stage of its development, it creates a special organ in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as its principal bulwark."

Stalin, Joseph,
The Foundations of
Leninism, p. 44.

"The question of the dictatorship of the
proletariat is the fundamental question..."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume VII, p. 241

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (transitional link)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is conceived of as a transitional link, a temporary bond of change between the old capitalist social order being destroyed and the new Communist social order being erected. It is a transformer. It is not thought of as an end in itself but as a means to an end. It is a mighty force which sweeps the road to Communism free of all obstacles. It is a road which has two sections, the first section or half is Socialism, the lower phase of Communism. The second section or last half of the road is the higher phase or full fledged Communism. When this last or higher phase has been reached this transitional link, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is no longer needed and it quietly disappears from society by itself. It "withers away."

"Between capitalist and Communist society--Marx continues--lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the former into the latter. To this also corresponds a political transition period, in which the state can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin, V.I., quoting
Karl Marx, State and
Revolution, page 71.

"Between capitalist and Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Marx, Karl, as quoted
by V.I. Lenin, Selected
Works, Volume VII, page 78.

"Lenin was absolutely right when he said:

"The forms of the bourgeois state are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same; in one way or another, in the last analysis, all these states are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The transition from capitalism to Communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but in essence there will inevitably be only one; the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, From Socialism to Communism In the Soviet Union, page 55.
See also; Selected Works of V.I. Lenin, Volume VII.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is that power which accomplishes the building of classless socialist society. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the leading force in the society that builds socialism."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy, page 31.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not only violence. It is also the leadership of the toiling masses of the non-proletarian classes, it is also the building up of socialist economy, which is of a higher type than capitalist economy, and has a greater productivity of labour than capitalist economy."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 220.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not an end in itself. The dictatorship is a means, a path leading to socialism. And what is socialism? Socialism is the transition from a society with the dictatorship of the proletariat to a stateless society."

Ibid., page 201.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (special form of class alliance)

To all Communists the dictatorship of the proletariat represents "a special form of class alliance." It is an alliance between the Communist Party in its vanguard role and the proletariat (the great mass of laborers). Further, it is an alliance between the Communist Party, the proletariat and certain segments of the non-proletariat people, who are favorable to Communism, such as, small businessmen, poor farmers, professional men and some of the intelligentsia. This alliance is directed specifically against all non-Communists, against the capitalists. This alliance has for its purpose the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat--Lenin says-- is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of toilers (the petty bourgeoisie, the small masters, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these; it is an alliance against capital, an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on their part at restoration, an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism. It is a special type of alliance, which is being built up under special circumstances, namely, in the circumstances of furious civil war; it is an alliance between the firm supporters of socialism and its wavering allies and sometimes 'neutrals' (when the agreement to fight becomes an agreement to maintain neutrality). It is an alliance between classes which differ economically, politically, socially and ideologically."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 271.
See also: Collected Works
of V.I., Lenin, Volume XXIV,
Russian Edition, page 311.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat implies that the industrial workers alone are capable of leading the entire mass of the toilers. On the other hand, while representing the dictatorship of a single class, the dictatorship of the proletariat at the same time represents a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, as the vanguard of the toiling masses, and the numerous non-proletarian sections of the toiling masses, or the majority of them. It represents an alliance for the complete overthrow of capital, for the complete suppression of the opposition of the bourgeoisie and its attempts at restoration, an alliance aiming at the complete building up and consolidation of Socialism."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 136.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, is the power which relies on the alliance between the proletariat and the toiling masses of the peasantry for 'the complete overthrow of capital' and 'the final establishment and consolidation of socialism.'"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 112.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (specific functions and purposes)

In discussing the specific functions and purposes of the dictatorship of the proletariat Communists indicate they are six in number. These six specific functions or purposes may be summed up as follows.

1. The dictatorship of the proletariat will assist in the seizure of the power of the old state by force and violence.
2. The dictatorship of the proletariat will in a ruthless manner break the resistance of the capitalists. Similarly it will obliterate the capitalist system and utterly crush and annihilate all counter-revolutionary individuals and organizations.
3. The dictatorship of the proletariat will weld into one solid unity the wage workers or proletariat, the small farmers, sympathetic small capitalists and professional people. Using this unity as a foundation the dictatorship will commence to construct or erect the new social order on Socialistic (lower phase of Communism) principles. Steps will be taken to eliminate all classes.
4. The dictatorship of the proletariat will plan, organize and erect a mighty army, navy and air corps destined to one day engage in a tremendous life and death struggle with the non-Communist world.
5. The dictatorship of the proletariat will bring complete victory to the world-wide revolution; driving fear into the hearts of those nations and persons who remain among the opposition; forcibly suppressing all non-Communists as enemies of the dictatorship.
6. The dictatorship of the proletariat will plan, organize, educate and carry out the construction of the world wide Communist Society.

"... there are three fundamental aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"(1) The utilisation of the power of the proletariat for the suppression of the exploiters, for the defence of the country, for the consolidation of the ties with the proletarians of other lands, and for the development and the victory of the revolution in all countries.

"(2) The utilisation of the power of the proletariat in order to detach the toiling and exploited masses once and for all from the bourgeoisie, to consolidate the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, to enlist these masses in the work of socialist construction, and to assure the state leadership of these masses by the proletariat.

"(3) The utilisation of the power of the proletariat for the organization of socialism, for the abolition of classes, and for the transition to a society without classes, to a society without a state.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a combination of all three aspects."

Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, pp. 26-27.

"Does this mean that the only thing required is to assume power, to seize it? No, it does not. The seizure of power is only the beginning. For a number of reasons, the bourgeoisie overthrown in one country for a considerable time remains stronger than the proletariat which has overthrown it. Therefore, the important thing is to retain power, to consolidate it and make it invincible. What is required to attain this end? At least three main tasks confronting the dictatorship of the proletariat 'on the morrow' of victory must be fulfilled. They are:

"a) to break the resistance of the landlords and capitalists overthrown and expropriated by the revolution, and to liquidate every attempt they make to restore the power of capital;

"b) to organise construction in such a way as will rally all toilers around the proletariat and to carry on this work in such a way as will prepare for the liquidation, the extinction of classes;

"c) to arm the revolution and to organise the army of the revolution for the struggle against the external enemy and for the struggle against imperialism.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary in order to carry out and fulfill these tasks."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pp. 41-42.

Lenin asserted the dictatorship of the proletariat, among other things, existed for destroying all enemies of Communism, for

"crushing the oppressors".

Lenin, V.I., Selected works,
Volume VII, p. 81.

Dictatorship of Proletariat (to be created by violence)

The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be established on any extensive scale without the use of force and violence. Peaceful means are not effective. This form of dictatorship develops during the violence of the revolution. It matures in violence as it crushes all opposition and paves the road for Communism. Communists never tire of repeating that non-Communists will not give up without a struggle, hence, it becomes necessary to resort to violence in all its ramifications.

"....the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot come about as a result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can come only as the result of the destruction of the bourgeois state machine, of the bourgeois army, of the bourgeois civil administration and of the bourgeois police."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, Page 47.

"....the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a concept of the state. The dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily include the concept of violence. There is no dictatorship without violence if dictatorship is to be understood in the strict sense of the term. Lenin defines the dictatorship of the proletariat as 'power based directly on violence.'"

Ibid., Page 282. See also:
Collected Works of V. I.
Lenin, Volume XIX, Russian
edition, Page 315.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat (world history marching toward it)

Communists believe that the establishment of world-wide Communism is inevitable because it is welded to certain invariable laws of society which are developing in that direction. As the dictatorship of the proletariat is an integral part of this process, it follows that world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable. Nothing can stop the process. It is written into the heart of nature. This does not mean, of course, that it will be a smooth, even process. On the contrary, it will be rough, uneven, and irregular. But the end is unavoidable.

"World history is undeviatingly marching toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it is far from marching toward it by smooth, simple and straight paths."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, Page 33.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat (a continuation and extension of the class struggle)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is regarded by Communists to be a continuation and extension of the class struggle under new and broader conditions. It will be recalled that the class struggle assumes the existence of an unbridgeable gulf between the exploiters, rulers and capitalists on one side and the exploited, ruled and workers on the other side. There can be no collaboration between these two basic classes. The former must be completely destroyed and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a weapon to be used for this end.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuation of the class struggle under new conditions. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight--bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative--against the forces and traditions of the old society, against external capitalist enemies, against the remnants of the exploiting classes within the country, against the upshoots of the new bourgeoisie that spring up on the basis of still prevailing commodity production."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 1003.
Also quoted in approval by William Z. Foster, General Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States in his book Toward Soviet America, page 135.

"To limit Marxism to the teaching of the class struggle means to curtail Marxism--to distort it, to reduce it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 30.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat (anti-democratic)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is anti-democratic. It is anti-democratic because it has no respect for the inherent dignity of the individual as an individual; because it unlawfully restricts liberties in general; because it refuses to grant equal opportunity to all; because it will not allow the existence of any opposition group; because it will not allow free thought and expression; because it insists on destroying opposition to Communism by any means available, including force and violence.

"But the dictatorship of the proletariat ... cannot result merely in an expansion of democracy ... the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them ... their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression there is also violence, there is no freedom, no democracy."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, pages 80,81.

"... the suppression of a class means inequality in so far as this class is concerned, and its exemption from the privileges of 'democracy.'"

Lenin, V. I., "The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 832.

"The party which has triumphed in the revolution is necessarily compelled to maintain its rule by means of that fear with which its arms inspire the reactionaries."

Engels, Frederick, quoted
by V.I. Lenin in "The
Proletarian Revolution and
Kautsky the Renegade," as
contained in Handbook of
Marxism, page 833.

"... the proletariat cannot triumph without breaking
the resistance of the bourgeoisie, without forcibly
suppressing its enemies, and that where there is
forcible suppression there is, of course, no 'freedom,'
no democracy..."

Lenin, V.I., "The Pro-
letarian Revolution and
Kautsky the Renegade,"
as contained in Handbook
of Marxism, page 839.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (directed by Communist Party)

The dictatorship of the proletariat, in theory, is a dictatorship of the working class. As a matter of practice, wherever it has been attempted it appears to have resulted in a dictatorship of the Communist Party, more specifically a small group of revolutionaries within that Party. Though Communists vigorously deny this, the facts seem to substantiate the statement. Communists prefer to say that the Communist Party is in alliance with the proletariat; that it gives "directions" to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This gives every indication of being a mere play on words. The fact remains the Communist Party reigns supreme in any nation under the control of Communism. It is the only party in existence. All others are denied the right to exist.

"The Party is the direct governing vanguard of the proletariat; it is the leader."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
in Problems of Leninism
by Joseph Stalin, page 38.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat consists of the directions given by the Party plus the carrying out of these directions by the mass organizations of the proletariat, plus their fulfilment by the general population."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 280.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not simply the governing upper stratum 'cleverly' 'selected' by the careful hand of an 'experienced strategist,' and 'sensibly relying' on the support of one section or another of the population. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class alliance between the proletariat and the toiling masses of the peasantry,

for the purpose of overthrowing capital, for bringing about the final victory of socialism, an alliance based on the condition that its leading force is the proletariat."

Ibid., Pages 108-109.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be contrasted to the leadership ('dictatorship') of the Party, if correct interrelationships exist between the Party and the working class, between the vanguard and the working masses. But what follows from this is that it is all the more impermissible to identify the Party with the working class, the leadership ('dictatorship') of the Party with the dictatorship of the working class. From the circumstance that the 'dictatorship' of the Party must not be set up in contrast to the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Sorin came to the (incorrect) conclusion that 'the dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of our Party.'"

Ibid., Page 292.

"The Party is not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians; it is at the same time a weapon....The proletariat needs the Party first of all as its General Staff, which it must have for the successful seizure of power....But the proletariat needs the Party, not only to achieve the dictatorship, it needs it still more to maintain, consolidate, and extend its dictatorship.... The Party is the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, "Foundations of Leninism," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, Pages 849-851.

"Here in the Soviet Union, in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fact that not a single important political or organizational question is decided by our Soviet and other mass organizations without directions from the Party must be regarded as the highest expression of the leading role of the Party. In this sense it could be said that the dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence the 'dictatorship' of its vanguard, the 'dictatorship' of its Party, as the main guiding force of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, Page 34.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat (is Soviet*government -- "revolutionary, bold, quick and ruthless")

The dictatorship of the proletariat is Soviet government. By Soviet government is meant a revolutionary dictatorship based on power, not necessarily on law. It is highly centralized, and the power it exerts is different from the power exerted by non-Soviet governments, in that it is the revolutionary power based on the proletariat, flowing from the forcible seizure of the old order. It is a government which has come into existence as the result of a long, violent, revolutionary process which has destroyed Capitalism and has ruthlessly suppressed and crushed the resistance.

"First, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters...secondly, a great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more destructive than external war, and implies thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society...cannot but 'reveal themselves' in such periods of profound change... We must have time and an iron hand to put these down.

"There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this...The misfortune of previous revolutions has been that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of

*The word "Soviet" is the Russian term for council. As used by Communists, it may mean "a council of delegates." The delegates are elected to represent the proletariat and allied groups.

disintegration, did not last long.

"It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical-economic and political-- lesson that Marx confirmed in giving his short, sharp, concise and striking formula: dictatorship of the proletariat.

"But dictatorship is a big word, and big words should not be thrown about carelessly. Dictatorship is iron rule, government that is revolutionarily bold, quick, and ruthless in suppressing the exploiters as well as hooligans.

"...Soviet government is nothing more nor less than the organizational form of the dictatorship of the proletariat..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, pages 337, 338, 339.

"What is the political nature of this government? It is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., a power based on outright revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the masses from below, and not on a law made by a centralized government. It is an entirely different power from that of the ordinary type of parliamentary bourgeois-democratic republic which has hitherto prevailed in the advanced countries of Europe and America. This circumstance is often forgotten, often not reflected on, yet it is the crux of the matter."

Ibid., Volume VI, page 27.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat (restricts freedom)

The dictatorship of the proletariat deliberately and systematically restricts the freedom and liberties of all, particularly all non-Communists. Similarly all non-Communists are to be denied freedom of thought, expression, and action as well as being discriminated against in other ways. Communists openly declare that their special form of "democracy" "makes no pretense" at being a democracy for all people. It is a "democracy" only for Communists, and ostensibly for the proletariat as a group. The justification used for this procedure is that all non-Communists are exploiters and oppressors, and freedom should be denied to them.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, unlike the capitalist dictatorship, makes no pretenses of being an all-class democracy, a democracy of both exploiters and exploited. It is frankly a democracy of the toiling masses, directed against the exploiters. Its freedom is only for useful producers, not for social parasites. Lenin, writing before the Russian revolution, says: 'Together with an immense expansion of democracy--for the first time becoming democracy of the poor, democracy of the people and not democracy of the rich folk--the dictatorship of the proletariat will produce a whole series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, exploiters and capitalists.'"

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
Page 134. See also:
State and Revolution,
by V. I. Lenin, Page 90.

"...the printing presses and the paper are taken away from the bourgeoisie."

Lenin, V. I., "The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky, the Renegade," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, Page 829.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (required even with a majority)

In theory, Communists claim it is necessary to have a majority of the workers on their side in order for the revolution to be successful. However, as recent history reflects, they are not unwilling to seize control of a nation as a minority party and exert the will of this minority party on the vast majority of the people. In pursuing such a pattern of operations, it becomes obvious why they insist upon a dictatorship form of government. But what happens when the Communists go from the minority to the majority position? Do they believe a dictatorship of the proletariat is desirable and essential when they are in the majority? Yes, they still insist upon the necessity of the dictatorship, saying it is required to obliterate all remaining opposition and to instill fear into all non-Communists and forcibly suppress them.

"Why do we need a dictatorship when we have a majority? And Marx and Engels explain: In order to break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie; in order to inspire the reactionaries with fear; in order to maintain the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie; in order that the proletariat may forcibly suppress its enemies!"

Lenin, V. I., "The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, Page 834. See also: Selected Works, by V. I. Lenin, Volume VII, Page 139.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (is proletarian democracy)

When Communists speak of being in favor of democracy as previously stated, they do not mean the type of democracy now enjoyed in the United States. They mean proletarian democracy, though for the consumption of the American public Communists in this country usually omit the word proletarian.

Just what is proletarian democracy? Proletarian democracy is the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the Communist or Soviet state. Proletarian democracy broadly speaking, is, synonymous with the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the light of American principles and ideals this is not democracy at all. It is naked dictatorship.

"Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is proletarian democracy..."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 46-47.

"He who has failed to understand that this is the content of the dictatorship of the proletariat (or what is the same thing, Soviet power, or proletarian democracy) takes the name of the dictatorship of the proletariat in vain."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, pages 52-53.

"The state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. In this respect the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in essence, from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian state is an instrument for the suppression of the bourgeoisie."

Lenin, V. I., Leninism,
Volume I, page 45.

Russia is held up as an example of proletarian democracy.

"Proletarian democracy, of which the Soviet regime constitutes one of the forms..."

Lenin, V. I., "The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 827.

"The Soviet form of State, being the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian--democracy, is the very opposite of bourgeois--democracy...The Soviet State is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class--the proletariat...proletarian--democracy openly admits its class character and aims avowedly at the suppression of the exploiters...It deprives its class enemies of political rights..."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 99L.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (contrasted with bourgeoisie rule)

In order to rationalize their somewhat unique position, Communists contrast the dictatorship of the proletariat with bourgeoisie rule which they refer to as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It appears that Communists are of the impression that all government must be a dictatorship of some type, that there are only two basic types of dictatorship, namely: (1) the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (capitalist class); and, (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat (working class). As the dictatorship of one class or the other must prevail, Communists assert it must be a dictatorship of the proletariat directed by the Communist Party. According to their point of view, this would mean a dictatorship of the majority of the people over the small, exploiting minority--the bourgeoisie. Heretofore, the position has been reversed. It was a dictatorship of the exploiting bourgeoisie minority over the suffering majority of the masses. They feel justified therefore in repressing and exerting brutality over the capitalist minority in the behalf of the working class majority.

"The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie means the repression of the vast majority of the population in the interests of a handful of parasites. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the repression of a small group of exploiters in the interests of the vast majority of the population, in the interests of the entire mass of toilers."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy,
Page 29.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (time of arrival)

To the question of when does the dictatorship of the proletariat arrive; at what precise time does it appear in the revolutionary process, the Communists reply, it arrives during the revolution, during the actual fighting. The dictatorship arrives at that moment when the non-Communist social order is being destroyed by subterfuge, illegal methods or by force and violence. It assumes its mature form after the enemy has been defeated and Communists are in full control of the situation in a given nation. Similarly, the world dictatorship of the proletariat is gradually being built up as one nation after the other comes under the control of Communism. It will assume its mature form at the end of the world-wide revolutionary process; when Communism has been victorious throughout the world.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a mere change of government, but a new state, with new organs of power, both central and local; it is the proletarian state which has arisen on the ruins of the old state, the state of the bourgeoisie.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat does not arise on the basis of the bourgeois order; it arises while this order is being torn down, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, in the process of the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, during the process of socialisation of the principal instruments and means of production, in the process of violent proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a revolutionary power based on violence against the bourgeoisie.

"The state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. In this respect the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in essence, from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian state is an instrument for the suppression of the bourgeoisie."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, pp. 50-51.

The revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship in one nation leads to the same thing happening in other nations until a world dictatorship of the proletariat is created.

"The world dictatorship of the proletariat comes only as the final result of the revolutionary process."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 1010.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (world-wide dictatorship)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not to be confined to one or two countries. It is capable of universal application. Therefore the purpose of Communists is to spread the dictatorship of the proletariat from one country to another over a considerable period of time. When sufficient success has been met with, the remaining non-Communist nations will be confronted in open warfare and thoroughly destroyed. Following this victory a world dictatorship of the proletariat will be established.

"The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and growth of social revolutions, i.e., of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, in so far as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in 'peaceful' relationships as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars of imperialist States against Soviet States; a period in which the ties between the Soviet States and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 988.

DISARMAMENT

The Communist position on the question of disarmament is of special significance at this time. With World War II over, a period of reconstruction under way, just where do Communists in the United States and elsewhere stand on the vital issue of disarmament? Like their stand on many other issues, it has a dual aspect and it is not a little deceptive to those unfamiliar with Communist tactics.

It appears that Soviet Russia, in pursuing flexible Leninist tactics, invites all non-Communist nations to disarm. However, Communists within non-Communist nations are not to be confused by these Soviet proposals or to interpret them to mean that they too should propose disarmament along pacifist lines. On the contrary, the Communists, while echoing Soviet proposals for propaganda effect, should actually attempt a gradual arming of the proletariat, of the Communists, as a result of which they can one day confront the ruling class in civil war and overthrow it.

In the light of these deceptive disarmament tactics, Communists in the United States are always agitating for a drastic reduction in the armed forces, curtailment of appropriations, the surrendering of foreign defense bases, and similar measures. Communists hope that if they can start the movement in this direction, it will slowly transform itself into a situation whereby they can successfully infiltrate the smaller, decentralized defense forces, arm themselves, and one day be in a position to create a violent insurrection and civil war.

At no time in this process do Communists in the United States or elsewhere agitate for a reduction in the armed forces of Russia or of any of the armed forces of Russian satellite nations now under Communist domination. The heavy silence at this point is merely an indication of the dual aspect of the Communist disarmament program. While Soviet Russia suggests that all non-Communist nations disarm, and while Communists within these nations seek to transform this disarmament of their government (to Communists the capitalists, bourgeois, etc.) into a general arming of the proletariat (for practical purposes the Communists) and a strengthening of the military position of the Communist Party, all Communist nations are to be busily engaged not in disarming, but in greatly increasing their armed forces. Communists reason all this proceeds quite logically from the basic assumption that one day all remaining, non-Communist nations must be destroyed by force and violence, hence, any Communist disarmament program must necessarily be devoted to disarming and weakening the non-Communist nations while at the same time arming and strengthening the Communist nations.

Interestingly enough, at one time some Communists were severely reprimanded for misinterpreting Soviet policy on disarmament. It appears that when the Soviet Government recommended disarmament among nations, some Communists wrongly assumed that this applied to all nations--both Communist and non-Communist. It was quickly pointed out to them how disgracefully in error they were, for Soviet Russia's proposals for disarmament actually applied only to non-Communist nations and not to Russia itself. Further, the disarming in non-Communist nations was to be understood in a special sense, one which would result in arming Communists.

"The Soviet Government's position on the question of disarmament is a continuation of Lenin's policy, and a consistent application of his precepts.

"The workers in the Soviet Union, having defeated the bourgeoisie in civil war and having established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, may adopt a new method in their fight against pacifism--that venomous tool of imperialism--namely, to propose general disarmament to the imperialists. But the proletariat which is still fighting for power in capitalist States, cannot employ such a method. It would not be a revolutionary act for the proletariat in these countries to propose to, or demand disarmament from their bourgeoisie and their flunkies; it would merely mean the substitution of the slogan of arm the proletariat for the slogan of disarm the proletariat; it would mean the rejection of civil war and of Socialism. Hence, Communists must strenuously combat the wrong conclusions drawn from the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals--conclusions which contradict the revolutionary sense of this program--and must ruthlessly condemn such a deviation in their own ranks.

"The aim of the Soviet proposals is not to spread pacifist illusions, but to destroy them...."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, Resolution of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, pages 54-55.

"Let the hypocritical or the sentimental bourgeoisie dream of disarmament. So long as there are oppressed and exploited people in the world, we must strive, not for disarmament, but for the universal arming of the people."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume III, page 339.

"The armament of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat is one of the most important features of capitalist society. And with this fact in view, the revolutionary Socialist should accept the 'demand' for disarmament! That would be complete abandonment of our class policy and of every thought of the revolution. We claim: armament of the proletariat to overthrow, to expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie, as the only possible tactic prepared by, based on, and forced upon us by the objective development of capitalist militarism. Only after the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat can the latter, without betraying its world historical task, throw armaments on the scrap heap, and it will do this-- but not until then."

Lenin, V. I., as stated in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia,
by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky,
page 139.

"Certain revolutionary Socialists who are advocates of disarmament use as their main argument the claim that this demand expresses most clearly, most emphatically and most thoroughly the struggle against all forms of militarism, against every war. And this main argument constitutes precisely the fundamental mistake of all the advocates of disarmament. Socialists cannot be opposed to every war without ceasing to be Socialists."

Ibid., page 136.

"We are living--Lenin writes--not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the

Soviet republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile, a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove it also by military organisation."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 301. See
also: Collected Works of
V. I. Lenin, Volume XXIV,
Russian Edition, page 122.

DISCIPLINE (in general)

By "discipline" Communists mean the willing, voluntary assumption by members of the Party of duties and responsibilities which they regard as being in the interest of the class struggle, the fight for class liberation. In short, it means absolute submission and obedience to Communist Party orders for the sake of the over-all objective. To Communists, order, among other things, can be maintained only by strict discipline. Discipline may relate to activity in such spheres as the party, state branches, labor unions, schools and the military. Communists refer to discipline in capitalist democracies as being "bar-rack-room" discipline lacking in theoretical training, application, democracy, and comradeship which they claim distinguishes their particular brand.

The results of Communist discipline may take such forms as: (1) private censure; (2) public censure; (3) removal from a given assignment; (4) removal from committees; (5) removal from all responsible work; (6) expulsion from the Party, and (7) in some extreme cases (though never admitted openly by Communists) killings. It is to be noted that Communists do not discipline their members by suspension or probation, as this is considered to be too bourgeois. If an expelled person "corrects the faults for which he was expelled", with proper humility and submissiveness, the Party will again consider his application for membership to the Party.

Lenin insisted that iron discipline must be maintained, that any person either inside or outside of the Communist party who interferes with or in any way injures Communism must be severely disciplined.

"There is not, nor can there be, ...any sentimentality."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IX, Page 267.

"In order to protect the Party from the factional sorties of the Rights, we must raise the question of iron discipline within the Party and of the unconditional subordination of the Party members to that discipline."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, Page 116.

"....iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes conscious and voluntary submission, for only conscious discipline can be truly iron discipline. But after a discussion has been closed, after criticism has run its course and a decision has been made, unity of will and unity of action of all Party members become indispensable conditions without which Party unity and iron discipline in the Party are inconceivable."

Ibid., Volume I, Pages 96-97.

"This is the position in regard to discipline in the Party in the period of struggle preceding the establishment of the dictatorship. The same thing applies, but to a greater degree, to discipline in the Party after the establishment of the dictatorship."

Ibid., Page 97.

"On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflicts of opinion within the Party.

"The achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat are impossible without a party strong in its cohesion and iron discipline."

Ibid., Page 96.

"Communist discipline is not imposed from above, but is voluntary and self-imposed. Real discipline is conscious of discipline. A fundamental condition for Party discipline is a full understanding of Communist policies, and devotion and loyalty to the cause of the working class.

"Communist discipline does not exclude expression of criticism or a conflict of opinions. It must be based upon the broadest and freest discussion, upon freedom to express differences and discussion of

controversial questions--until decisions are made. Once a decision has been made, it must, however, be carried out by all without reservations. Members have the right to appeal the decisions to a higher body, but are obligated to carry out the decision while the appeal is pending."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, Page 46.

"There can be no discipline in the Party if there is no conscious and voluntary submission...."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization, Page 28.

"A comrade who committed an error must be given an opportunity to correct it in practice, and only those who stubbornly persist in their mistakes and those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front Against War and Fascism, Page 141.

"Expulsion from the Party and not coercion is the specific means of influencing the membership, the means of purging and hardening the vanguard."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 70.

DISCIPLINE (bolshevik)

Many references are made in Communist literature to bolshevik discipline. This is Communist discipline. It merely signifies that it is the highest type, the most effective form, the very finest quality of Communist discipline. Whenever Communists attach the word "bolshevik" to anything then they are speaking in terms of the superlative. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), bolshevik courage, bolshevik sacrifice, bolshevik leadership, bolshevik honor, bolshevik ebullience, bolshevik revolution, bolshevik culture--these represent the very flower of Communist development--the models to be emulated by Communists all over the world.

"...the Communist Party can discharge its duty only if it is organized with the highest degree of centralization, ruled by iron discipline bordering on military discipline..."

Stalin, Joseph, "Foundations of Leninism" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 852.

"...the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power...without the strictest discipline...in our Party..."

Lenin, V. I., "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder, page 9.

DISCIPLINE (of the Red Army)

Certain norms of conduct governing the application of Communist discipline today were first worked out in Soviet Russia during and following the Revolution of 1917. Both the principles and the practices of Communist discipline were established in those days by Lenin and his followers. This Communist discipline was carried on, among other places, in the Red Army. This carries with it a certain significance for the Communist Parties of today for it is their claim that the Communist Party per se, is militant in spirit, operates like an army on a far-flung world battle front and is in fact the "General Staff" of the coming world revolution.

"After many months of meetings, the discipline of the Red Army was not inferior to the discipline of the old army. Strict, stern measures were adopted, even shooting, measures that were not even adopted in the old army. Philistines wrote and howled, 'There, the Bolsheviks have introduced the death penalty.' We must say, 'Yes, we have introduced it, and have done so deliberately.'"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IX, page 266.

DISCIPLINE (must stop at nothing)

The severity of Communist discipline cannot be obscured by any nebulous phases which they may use about voluntary submission and the like. They believe in the rule of the iron hand and recommend very severe, even extreme, ruthless disciplinary measures whenever they believe that Communism will benefit by it.

On this point Lenin wrote:

"...an organization of real revolutionaries will stop at nothing to rid itself of an undesirable member."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume II, page 156.

He recommended in the spirit of revolutionary tradition that any Communist who was remiss in his duties be at once subject to severe standards which:

"...sternly and ruthlessly punishes every departure from the duties..."

Ibid., page 156.

DISCIPLINE (international)

Communist discipline does not extend merely to local, sectional, districts or national areas. It is international, extending throughout the world. Communist discipline does not merely apply to individuals, it embraces organizations as well. Communist parties as well as individuals are subject to the inflexible coils of Communist discipline. The object is to have a common discipline of individual wills and a common discipline of collective wills (e.g. Communist parties) bound tightly to common leadership -- and all this on a world basis. Who will furnish this common world leadership and this common world discipline to which all Communists and their parties must meekly subordinate themselves? From all indications it is Soviet Russia. Further, the results of this international discipline must always redound to the interests of Soviet Russia, the "fatherland of the proletariat."

"In the revolutionary section of the world proletariat a common international discipline prevails. The actions of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union correspond to the interests of the toilers of France, as well as of Germany, America and the other countries. And what the French, English, American, Japanese or Chinese Communists undertake to do is never in contradiction to the interests of the Soviet Union."

"...Millions of proletarians of the whole world... are linked together by a powerful common idea, by a single will, by a common leadership, a common discipline."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front, page 144.

"In order that revolutionary work and revolutionary action may be co-ordinated and in order that these activities may be guided most successfully, the international proletariat must be found by international class discipline, for which first of all, it is most important to have the strictest international discipline in the Communist ranks.

"This international Communist discipline must find expression in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movement to its general and lasting interests and in the strict fulfillment, by all members, of the decisions passed..."

Program of the Communist
International as contained
in Handbook of Marxism,
page 1041.

It is of further interest to note that all Communists the world over, are to

"...submit to only one discipline, viz., international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship.

Ibid., pages 1041--1042.

GLOSSARY OF MARXIST WORDS AND PHRASES

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ECONOMISM

This word describes a trend in the labor movement (most pronounced in Russia at the end of the last century) to concentrate almost exclusively on the economic struggle while ignoring the political struggle; to belittle the importance of political action; to neglect political discussion. Its view is exemplified by such slogans as "Fight for an economic position"; "Politics always obediently follows economics". According to Lenin "Economism" would have the laborers devote their attention to the economic struggle while the "Marxian intelligentsia merge with the liberals (capitalists) for political struggle." This of course, was highly distasteful to Lenin. Communists condemn "Economism" very vigorously, arguing that the economic and political struggle must be carried on together with equal ardor; that they are halves of the same whole; that the victory of the workers can never be gained if either one is ignored. They view it as a primitive narrow interpretation of Marxist theory. Concentration must be on both at the same time said Lenin, a merging of forces, unified struggle in both spheres. "Economism" alone would seek to bring about economic changes first followed by political changes. Communists would bring about political changes first (seizure of government) followed by economic changes. Lenin charged that "Economism" was marked by a "combination of pettifogging practice and utter disregard of theory."

"Is it true that, in general, the economic struggle 'is the most widely applicable method' of drawing the masses into the political struggle? It is absolutely untrue...Why then should we, beforehand, restrict the scope of political agitation by declaring only one of the methods to be 'the most widely applicable...!'"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume II, pages 79-80.

"..Economism. . . to understand the identity of the most pressing needs of the proletariat (a ~~un~~ ^{un} ~~aid~~ ^{aid} ~~side~~ ^{side} ~~d~~ political education through the medium of political agitation and political exposures)..."

Ibid., page 108.

ECONOMIC AGITATION

Communists regularly point out how they are always struggling for economic reforms which will help the poor people. They at times give the impression to the non-Communist that they are interested in economic reforms as an end. This, however, is not the truth. Communists use economic reforms not as ends but as means to an end, namely the revolutionary overthrow of the non-Communist social order. They weld their economic action to political actions. Their apparent sincere interest in economic reforms is simply another one of their many deceptive devices. Their economic agitation is an outgrowth of their political motives. Both political and economic sources of agitation are used by them for revolutionary purposes. Further, they clearly point out to their fellow Communists that they must not concentrate on economic agitation to the exclusion of political action. V. I. Lenin explains how Communism

"...always included, and now includes, the fight for reforms in its activities. But it utilizes 'economic' agitation for the purpose of presenting to the government...demands for all sorts of measures..."

Lenin, V. I., "What Is To Be Done," as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 594.

Lenin makes it clear that Communists must not

"...attach greater value to economic reforms than to political reforms, or...regard them as being particularly important, etc...."

Ibid., page 595.

"It is not enough to explain to the workers that they are politically oppressed (no more than it was to explain to them that their interests were antagonistic to the interests of the employers). Advantage must be taken of every concrete example of this oppression for the purpose of agitation (in the same way that we began to use concrete examples of economic oppression for the purpose of agitation). And inasmuch as political oppression affects all sorts of classes in society, inasmuch as it manifests itself in various spheres of life and activity, in industrial life, civic life, in personal and family life, in religious life, scientific life, etc., etc., it is not evident that we shall not be fulfilling our task of developing the political consciousness of the workers if we do not undertake the organization of the political exposure of autocracy in all its aspects? In order to carry on agitation around concrete examples of oppression, these examples must be exposed (just as it was necessary to expose factory evils in order to carry on economic agitation)."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume II, pages 78-79.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

The question of economic determinism or what Communists prefer to explain through the use of the phrase - historical materialism, has occupied considerable space in the literature of both the Communists and the anti-Communists. The latter have charged the former with being economic determinists whereas the Communists deny they are economic determinists as it is described by their opponents. They prefer to be known as historical materialists. Communists allege that their opponents in hurling the charge of "economic determinism" at them, mean by it the conviction that only the economic factor determines the nature of all institutions in human society. Communists claim they do not hold this exact conviction. They say they do believe factors other than the economic one do help to mold and shape human society, that they contribute to the formation of the superstructure of such a society. However, argue the Communists, these non-economic factors are in turn either directly or indirectly the result of the productive forces in society, that is to say, the result of the economic factor. It is this economic factor "production and reproduction in real life", which is ultimately the determining factor in the historical process and this process Communists prefer to describe as historical materialism. When described in this manner religion, the moral code "and the forms of consciousness corresponding to them" do not have any independent existence or history. They become merely the expression of the economic factor, the modes of production. In brief, man's thoughts, ideas, ideals, laws and the like emerge from and are ultimately determined by material forces. As one writer has expressed it, to Communists; "economic methods of production is the beer--religion, art, philosophy and law is its foam." Man's spirit and consciousness, then, does not ultimately determine his being. It is his social being which ultimately determines man's consciousness. It is the economic factor, therefore, say the Communists which determines the social, political and intellectual process in general.

"Morals, religion, metaphysics and other ideologies, and the forms of consciousness corresponding to them, here no longer retain a look of independence. They have no history, they have no development, but men in developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter along with this reality of theirs their thought and the products of their thought. It

is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness."

Marx, Karl, Capital
and Other Writings,
pages. 9, 10.

"According to the materialist conception of history the determining element in history is ultimately the production and reproduction in real life. More than this neither Marx . . . have ever asserted. If therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract and absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure--political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc.--forms of law--and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the combatants; political, legal, philosophical theories, religious ideas and their further development into systems of dogma--also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form."

Engels, Frederick,
"Letter to Bloch",
Selected Correspondence,
page 475.

"The production of ideas and conceptions, of consciousness, is, to begin with, directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, language of real life. Men's conceptions, thoughts, spiritual intercourse, here still appear as the direct emanation of their material conduct. The same holds for spiritual production, as represented in the language of the

politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc., of a people. Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas, etc--but this means real, functioning men, as they are determined by a definite development of their productive forces and the intercourse corresponding to the same up to its remotest formations."

Marx, Karl, Capital
And Other Writings,
page 9.

"What we understand by the economic conditions which we regard as the determining basis of the history of society are the methods by which human beings in a given society produce their means of subsistence and exchange the products among themselves (in so far as division of labour exists).

"We regard economic conditions as the factor which ultimately determines historical development. But race is itself an economic factor. Here, however, two points must not be overlooked;

"Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc., development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic base. It is not that the economic position is the cause and alone active, while everything else only has a passive effect. There is, rather, interaction on the basis of the economic necessity, which ultimately always asserts itself...Men make their history themselves, only in given surroundings which condition it and on the basis of actual relations already existing, among which the economic relations, however much they may be influenced by the other political and ideological ones, are still ultimately the decisive ones, forming the red thread which runs

through them and alone leads to understanding."

Engels, Frederick, as
quoted in The Selected
Correspondence of Marx
and Engels, pages 516, 518.

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, esthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions

of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production."

Marx, Karl, "Preface To a Contribution to The Critique of Political Economy" as quoted in New Foundations, Volume I, Number 1, 1947, page 42.

"...the economic structure of society always forms the real basis from which, in the last analysis, is to be explained the whole superstructure of legal and political institutions, as well as of the religious, philosophical, and other conceptions..."

Engels, Frederick, Anti-Duhring, page 32.

"The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist."

Marx, Karl, The Poverty of Philosophy, page 92.

"But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply... the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all..."

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, The Communist Manifesto, page 26.

EDUCATION

Although Communists talk a great deal about the discovery of facts and the promulgation of truth their educational principles and practices do not seem to be so much concerned with these lofty objectives as they are with indoctrinating the minds of their devotees. They seek to inculcate a particular Marxist point of view which they believe will be most helpful in furthering the proletarian revolution. Among other things this means the relating of their educational principles and practices to "the daily activities and the daily struggles of the Party." If successful in establishing Communism in a given nation the Communists would then proceed to destroy the educational system of the "capitalists" and develop a Communist system which would admit only Marxist principles. Academic freedom as we understand the phrase would no longer exist. Education would become an instrument of world-wide Communist revolution, a molding of minds to conform to the "science" of Marxism-Leninism. This would constitute Communist "education." This is what Communists have in mind when they say they would reduce "ignorance" because the revolution in the words of V. I. Lenin is hindered by the "...ignorance of the masses," that is, ignorance of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and the desire to promulgate this view.

"Genuine Leninist education cannot by any means be separated from the daily activities and the daily struggles of the Party. It must be organically connected with these struggles. No one can become a real Leninist if he studies in a glass case. We must discourage, and the Workers' School must fight with all its means, against any such conception."

The Workers Monthly,
Volume IV, No. 1,
November, 1924, page 36.

"In destroying the capitalist monopoly of the means of production, the working class must also destroy the capitalist monopoly of education, that is, it must take possession of all the schools, from the elementary schools

to the universities. It is particularly important for the proletariat to train members of the working class as experts in the sphere of production (engineers, technicians, organizers etc.), as well as in the sphere of military affairs, science, art, etc."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 1008.

"With the transfer of the means of production into common ownership the individual family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private house-keeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children equally, whether they are legitimate or not. And this puts an end to the anxiety about the 'consequences,' which is now the most essential social---moral as well as economic---factor that deters a girl from giving herself without reluctance to the man she loves. Will that not be cause enough to bring about the gradual establishment of an unconstrained sexual intercourse, and with this also a more lenient public opinion in regard to maidenly honour and womanly shame?"

Engels, Frederick, "The Origin of the Family" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 304, 305.

Communists do not believe that only peaceful and formal methods should be used in educating the masses. They consider revolutionary experience to be an excellent educational device. V. I. Lenin wrote:

"When the bourgeois gentry and their uncritical chorus of satellites, the social-reformists, talk priggishly about the 'education' of the masses, by education they usually mean something schoolmasterly, pedantic, something that demoralizes the masses and imbues them with bourgeois prejudices.

"The real education of the masses can never be separated from the independent, the political, and particularly from the revolutionary struggle of the masses themselves."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume III, page 6.

In view of this interpretation of the "education of the masses" it appears that the public school system in the United States stands condemned by Communists as being inadequate in both method and content.

Emphasizing elsewhere his revolutionary concept of education V. I. Lenin writes:

"Months of revolution sometimes educate citizens more swiftly and completely than decades of political stagnation."

Ibid., page 314.

EPISTEMOLOGY

This term refers to that branch of philosophy concerned with what the mind of man can know. Literally it means a study of knowledge. To express it somewhat differently epistemology includes a study of the basis and methods of knowledge. The question it seeks to answer is: What can man know about the universe and himself? This subject is of considerable importance to Communists because they claim to know a great deal. They are always ready, with the Marxist-Leninist answer to most any question which can be raised relating to man and the universe. Their whole world outlook, dialectical materialism, is predicated on their conviction that they do know about man and the universe; that what they do know establishes the validity of Marxism-Leninism. Communists give the impression that epistemology, as one writer has facetiously remarked, is the knowledge that gives them "knowledge of what knowledge is knowledge." The Communists' cocksure, dogmatic attitude on this subject may be found summed up in these words:

"...Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that our knowledge of the laws of nature, tested by experiment and practice, is authentic knowledge having the validity of objective truth, and that there are no things in the world which are unknowable, but only things which are still not known, but which will be disclosed and made known by the efforts of science and practice."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet
Union (B), Edited by a
Commission of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U.
(B), page 113.

EQUALITY; EQUALITARIANISM

This word is used by Communists to describe the idea that Communism propounds the principle of "complete equality" for all citizens in wages and in all living standards. Communists assert they have been maligned and falsely represented on this idea. Communists say they do not believe in this form of "complete equality;" that such is impossible. They maintain that after the establishment of the stage of Socialism, inequality in income will continue. By the very nature of things it is inevitable that it will continue by reason of the fact that some people will contribute more than others to the common pool, to building Socialism, hence, they ought to and will receive more income. However, as Socialism develops the difference between the value of skilled and unskilled labor will diminish (ideally it may ultimately disappear altogether). As this disparity diminishes, as this gulf narrows, so also will the difference in income levels throughout society. Income will therefore tend to equalize. It is to be noted though that it is precisely at this point of development in the revolutionary process that Socialism will merge into Communism. This is the point of the tremendous change. It is on this great threshold of development that all the old, loathsome economic customs, techniques, categories, and conceptions of the decadent social orders of the past, such as, riches, poverty, wages, class distinctions, incomes, equality and inequality in all their forms, will completely and forever disappear. There will be, in the words of Lenin, a "withering away." This ideal Communist social order, at long last reached, will not have incomes of any kind where people give according to their ability and receive according to what they produce. On the contrary, they will give according to their ability and receive according to their needs. According to Marx: "The cry for an equality of wages rests, therefore, upon a mistake, is an insane wish never to be fulfilled." In a Communist society there can be no "equality of wages" for there will be no wages to equalize; there will be no equality or inequality upon which such an equalization could be predicated.

"By equality Marxism means, not equality in personal requirements and personal life, but the abolition of classes, i.e., (a) the equal emancipation of all toilers from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; (b) the equal abolition for all of private property in the means of production

after they have been transformed into the property of the whole of society; (c) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability and the equal right of all toilers to receive according to the amount of work they have done (socialist society); (d) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability and the equal right of all toilers to receive according to their requirements (communist society). And Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity, either in the period of socialism or in the period of communism.

"That is the Marxian conception of equality.

"Marxism has not recognized, nor does it recognize, any other equality."

Stalin, Joseph, "Report At Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1934", as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 938.

"In both cases the real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes."

Engels, Frederick, "Anti-Dühring", as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 254.

"...there are no longer any communes in which there is equality, equalitarianism in requirements and in personal life. Practice has shown that the communes would certainly have died out had they not abandoned equality and had they not actually passed to the position of an artel. Hence, it is useless talking about what no longer exists."

Stalin, Joseph,
"Report of 1934
Congress, C.P.S.U."
as contained in A
Handbook of Marxism,
page 937.

ESPIONAGE

Espionage plays an important part in the Communist State. Communists within the Party, are expected to spy on one another and report to higher authorities any serious deviations from the established Party line or any breach of Communist loyalty to the revolutionary goal. When the Communist Party seizes control of a nation it directs the espionage system against all who oppose Communism. Freedom of the opposition ceases. In this sense it becomes a police state. Opponents of Communism are tagged with various labels such as "spies, assassins and wreckers" who must be destroyed. On becoming securely established in a given nation Communists in addition to their other functions, direct their espionage system against foreign nations as a part of their efforts to overthrow all non-Communist social orders so that a world-wide Communist Society can be erected.

"The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remained; consequently, the Red Army and the Navy also fully remained, as did the punitive organs and the intelligence service, which are indispensable for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Selected Writings, page 474.

"As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against external enemies."

Stalin, Joseph, From
Socialism to Communism
In The Soviet Union, page 57.

EVOLUTION

Communists mean by this term that all things are in a state of motion, of continual ebb and flow of elements. Change, modification, adaptation, and development mark the process. Out of this motion, evolution or change, all things emerge in various forms. Communists accept the evolutionary approach to life but do not limit it to the physical organism only, saying that these evolutionary laws also apply with equal intensity and scope to society as a whole. To Communists man is constantly changing. By so changing man changes his environment. Through changing the environment the educational process is affected and changes also. All this in time continues to change man and the process appears to roll on in an endless fashion--ceaseless flux.

"Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history..."

Engels, Frederick, "Speech
At The Graveside of Karl
Marx, London, March 17, 1883"
as contained in Karl Marx
Selected Works, Volume I, page
16.

EXPLOITATION

The word "exploitation" is one of the most overworked words in Communist literature. All capitalist economic systems and governments, argue the Communists, are exploiting the people because under them capitalists take the surplus value from production which properly belongs to the laborers. The businessman exploits the people. The rulers exploit the people. The property owners exploit the people. These exploiters are parasites living off the labors of the toiling masses. In brief, all non-Communist social orders are based on exploitation because private ownership has produced a predatory minority class which owes its very existence to this system of exploitation. The roots of these exploitations go far back into the past. First, the slave owner exploited the slaves. Next, the feudal lords exploited their serfs and now the capitalists exploit the wage workers who comprise the great masses of people. Always it has been the exploitation of the large majority by a small minority. Communism promises to do away with this exploitation. This in simple form is the Communist version of exploitation and the concept it conveys in their literature. On securing power it is the intention of the Communists to "ruthlessly" suppress and destroy all exploiters. Today Communists refer to the United States as being dominated by exploiters and in so doing they are in substance merely rephrasing Lenin's statements on the subject.

"Hence, so long as there are exploiters ruling the majority of exploited, the democratic State must inevitably be a democracy for the exploiters."

Lenin, V. I., "Proletarian Revolution"
as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 832.

"A society based on exploitation is one in which one class, through its ownership of the means of production, is able to live as a parasite class, not producing, but living on"

the labour of---that is, exploiting---the
other class, or classes, who are obliged
to do all the real productive work on which
the life of the society as a whole depends.
But though all class societies are based on
exploitation, the form of the exploitation,
and therefore the character of the classes
and of the societies themselves, differ.

"In slave society the slave, being the property of the slave owner, can be bought and sold like a horse or a cow. In order that he may carry on production, the owner must first feed, clothe and house him. But he must also supply him with the raw materials and the tools. Since all the means of production, including the slave himself, belong to the slave owner, it follows that the goods produced by the slave are also the property of the slave owner. Here the exploitation is obvious, and admitted by every civilized person.

"In feudal society, which succeeded slavery, the form of exploitation is different; it is midway between slavery and wage labour, the form that exploitation takes in capitalist society. In its typical form, the actual producer, the serf, is tied to the land; he cannot change his master. But he has a small plot of land which he works for himself, although he is also obliged to work his lord's land so many days in the year, and give other service to his lord. What he produces on his own land, or on the 'common lands,' is his own; what he produces on the lord's land belongs to the lord. Here again, both the fact and the nature of exploitation are clear to everyone. (We speak of slavery and feudalism as the main forms of society in certain periods; but of course there were also some free producers--peasants and independent craftsmen, etc.--in both periods.)

"In capitalist society, too, the fact of exploitation is clearly understood, at least by every worker. He knows that while he and his fellow-workers do all the work, it is the small class of capitalists who enjoy the lion's share of all that he produces. The nature of the exploitation, that is to say how he is exploited, is not however so obvious, because, unlike the slave or the serf, the wage worker is not legally forced to work for his master. Yet in fact, like the serf, he works part of the time for himself and part for his employer. Like the slave, what he produces is not his but his employer's, who owns the means of production."

Capitalist Society,
pamphlet published by
The Communist Party, 16
King Street, London,
England, October, 1946,
pages 3, 4, 5.

"In the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and later for the transformation of the social system, as against the alliance of capitalists and landlords, an alliance of workers and peasants is formed, under the intellectual and political leadership of the former, an alliance which serves as the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The characteristic features of this transition period as a whole are the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters..."

"Program of the Communist
International" as contained
in A Handbook of Marxism,
page 990.

FACTION

By "faction" Communists mean a grouping of members of the Communist Party around one or more ideas which are at variance with the Party line. In short, it is disagreement on a group basis with Party policy and practice. Obviously, "factionalism" is considered to be a very serious matter with Communists. Joseph Stalin writes:

"It follows that the existence of factions is incompatible with Party unity and with its iron discipline. It need hardly be emphasized that the existence of factions leads to the creation of a number of centres, and the existence of a number of centres connotes the absence of a common centre in the Party, a breach in the unity of will, the weakening and disintegration of the dictatorship."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 97.

Stalin continues on to make the significant statement that Communists

"...cannot afford to be 'liberal' or to permit the formation of factions. The Party is synonymous with unity of will, which leaves no room for any factionalism or division of authority in the Party."

Ibid., page 97.

"In the practical struggle against factionalism, every organization of the Party must take strict measures to prevent any factional conduct whatsoever."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX,
page 133.

Lenin claims this word represents:

"...a non-critical unreasonnable, senseless repetition of what was true yesterday, i.e., in a period that has already passed."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IV, page 189.

FAMILY (parent, child, society)

The family unit has value to Communists only in relation to society as a whole. Just as the individual has no real function to Communists, apart from the social order, so, too, the family unit has no real function apart from the social order. It can claim no right to an independent existence. The family must subject itself to the ruling will. The parents under Communism would have no inviolable right to educate or develop their children according to their own principles. The children belong primarily to society and not to the parents.

In the early stages of the Communist regime in Soviet Russia some radical departures in family relationships were tried. Available knowledge indicates that these radical departures were not successful and today family life in Russia while ruthlessly subjected to the iron will of the dictatorship of the proletariat, still resembles monogamous family life in non-Communist nations. However there is no assurance that under complete Communism or its "higher phase", which all Communists are working toward, the family as we know it in the United States, will continue to exist.

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."

"But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social."

"The bourgeois claptrap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of modern industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour."

"The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial."

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick,
Communist Manifesto, page 27.

"We are now approaching a social revolution in which the former economic foundations of monogamy will just as surely disappear as those of its complement, prostitution."

Engels, Frederick,
"The Origin of the
Family, Private Property
and the State" as contained
in Handbook of Marxism, page 303.

"The duration of an attack of sex-love for an individual is however very different for different individuals, especially among men, and if affection definitely comes to an end, or is supplanted by a new passionate love, this makes divorce a benefit for both partners as well as for society."

Ibid., page 312.

"What we can now anticipate as to the way in which sex relations will be ordered after capitalist production has been swept away is mainly negative, limited for the most part to the features that will disappear. But what new features will come into being? The answer will be given when a new generation has grown up...When such people have come into existence, they will not care a brass farthing what people think to-day about how they should act; they will make their own practice for themselves, and their own public opinion, measured by this practice, as to the practice of each individual--and that will be the end of it."

Ibid., page 312.

FASCISM

Communists mean by fascism the open, organized, terrorist dictatorship of reactionary, monopoly capitalists. To them fascism is marked by three main factors: (1) a vicious, brutal suppression or crushing of the laboring class of which Communists consider themselves to be the rightful leaders; (2) a domestic policy resulting in virtual enslavement within the nation; (3) a devastating imperialistic foreign policy of exploitation, warfare and conquest. This fascist foreign policy is "totalitarianism" and embraces "bestial chauvinism" as it engages in lawlessness and destruction of nations for greedy economic reasons.

"Comrades, fascism in power was correctly described... as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front, page 10.

"The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume different forms in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country."

Ibid., page 11.

"No, fascism is not super-class government, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpenproletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist

vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its crudest form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations."

Ibid., page 11.

"Fascism comes to power as a party of attack on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the mass of the people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a 'revolutionary' movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of 'the whole nation' and for the 'salvation' of the nation."

"Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people;...

"Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

"Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people!"

Ibid., pages 14, 15.

"Fascism is not an alternative to capitalism; it is capitalism, the most extreme expression of the capitalistic dictatorship. As Manuilsky says: 'The Fascist regime is not a new type of State; it is one of the forms of the bourgeois dictatorship in the epoch of imperialism.'"

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 205. See also:
Manuilsky, D. Z., The
Communist Parties And
The Crisis of Capitalism,
page 36.

"Fascism is the instrument of finance capital. It speeds the development of State capitalism, linking the employers' organizations, 'trade unions,' etc. directly to the government."

"Fascism, the weapon of big capitalists, bankers and land-owners, finds its chief mass base among the petty bourgeoisie until these eventually become revolutionized by the intolerable conditions."

"Fascism is not an inevitable stage of the capitalist dictatorship; the revolution may forestall it."

"The implications of all this are clear: to escape the encroaching capitalist starvation and to emancipate themselves, the workers of the world, including those in this country, must and will take the revolutionary way out of the crisis."

Poster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pages 206, 208, 209, 212.

"In the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, fascism found faithful servants who were ready to spy, sabotage, commit acts of terrorism and diversion, and to work for the defeat of the U.S.S.R. in order to restore capitalism."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(Bolsheviks), edited by a
Commission of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.),
page 330.

"...fascism--the naked form of the capitalist dictatorship--organically grows out of bourgeois democracy."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party in Action, page 25.

"The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against capitalism, a struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world!"

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front, page 185.

FASCISM (American)

In speaking of "American fascism" Communists mean that the United States is not yet a fully developed fascist nation but it is on the road toward fascism. Further, Communists charge that the United States is promulgating fascist ideas and practices under the guise of democracy.

"The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front Against War and Fascism,
page 76.

"In mobilizing the mass of working people for the struggle against fascism, the formation of a wide, popular anti-fascist front on the basis of the proletarian united front is a particularly important task."

"Let us take, for example, so important a country in the capitalist world as the United States of America. There millions of people have been set into motion by the crisis."

"Embryo American fascism is trying to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage this fascism comes forward principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an 'un-American' tendency imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American democracy.'"

"As we know, the United States is not Hungary, or Finland, or Bulgaria, or Latvia. The success of fascism in the United States would vitally change the whole international situation."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front, pages 39, 41, 42.

FASCISM (and Communist collaboration)

Although Communists now violently condemn and oppose fascism there were times in the past when their attitude was much different. Again, to Communists it all is a matter of whether or not collaboration with fascism will be in the interests of Communism. This has been true of the Communist attitude toward both Italy and Germany.

In 1934 Stalin indicated to his Party that fascism in Italy was no barrier to

"...establishing very good relations with that country."

Stalin, Joseph,
Stalin Reports,
page 25.

In 1939 Communist leaders of Soviet Russia signed a pact with the Fascists of Germany. V. M. Molotov told the world

"...it is difficult to overestimate the international importance of the Soviet-German Pact."

Molotov, V. M.,
The Meaning of the
Soviet-German
Nonaggression Pact,
page 11.

The American Communists hastening to the support of Soviet Russia's position in regard to its Pact with Fascism carried such statements as:

"We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."

Daily Worker, November 1,
1939, Volume XVI, No. 261,
page 2.

"It is therefore not only senseless but criminal to wage such a war as a war for the 'destruction of Hitlerism'..."

Molotov, V. M.,
as quoted in
Ibid.

"It was not Germany who attacked France and England, but France and England, who attacked Germany, assuming responsibility for the present war..."

Stalin, Joseph, as
quoted, in the
Daily Worker,
November 30, 1939,
Volume XVI, No. 286,
page 1.

FASCISM (and the American Federation of Labor)

Communists regard the American Federation of Labor as being a very unsatisfactory labor organization in that it opposes Communism and encourages, according to the Communist's interpretation, fascist ideas and practices.

"In the A.F. of L. the process of fasci zation is far advanced."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 177.

"Developing Fascism in the United States has a main foundation in the leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Their system of craft unionism, maintained as against industrial unionism to prevent unity of action by the workers and to furnish additional jobs to officials, is a shameless method of union scabbery. Their endorsement of election candidates of the capitalist parties, or 'reward-your-friends' policy, is a plain sell-out of the working class. Their support of the rationalization of industry is part of the speed-up program of the bosses. Their systematic betrayal of the Negroes, women and young workers dovetails into the employers' special exploitation of these sections of the workers. Their long years of peddling the interests of the unskilled workers and their breaking up of attempts of these workers to organize constitutes the greatest of all their crimes against the working class. They are saturated with graft -- racketeering was born in the A.F. of L. With their huge salaries, ranging from \$10,000 to \$20,000 yearly or as much as those United States governors, senators, etc., they have nothing in common with the workers in their way of

living and thinking. So faithful a servant of capitalism is the A.F. of L. leadership that, if one wants to know its policy in any field of politics or economics, all that is necessary is to find out the policy of the bosses and you have the answer."

Ibid., pages 178, 179.

FASCISM (left social)

Communists break down the phrase "social fascism" into "Left Socialist Fascism" to indicate those who, while not Communists of the Stalinist type do go more to the "left" than the ordinary social fascists. Both kinds are soundly condemned by every Communist.

"But the most insidious and dangerous to the workers of all this crop of demagogues are the so-called 'left' Social Fascists. The substance of their activities is, while giving practical support to the right Social Fascists, to criticize them in the name of the revolution. They are the radical-phrase-mongers par excellence."

"Trotzky belongs to this general category. The harm of such elements is typically illustrated by Trotzky's present denial of an immediate war danger between Japan and the U.S.S.R., while at the same time he poses as an ultra-revolutionist."

"In the United States the principal representative of this insidious pseudo-revolutionary tendency is the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, or the so-called Muste group. This is made up of miscellaneous 'progressive' petty trade union bureaucrats, remnants of the old labor party movements, liberals and Brookwood intellectuals, dilettante churchmen, social workers, etc. Its chief political expression is the 'left' Stanley group in the Socialist party and its principal activities are on the trade union field. Such Socialists as Thomas and Maurer flirt with the movement. On the fringes of the Muste group are the renegade Communist groups of Lore, Lovestone, Cannon and Weisbord. They serve to give the whole tendency a more 'red' tinge with their pretense at Communism; but their practice dovetails with the Muste group. The 'left' Social Fascists are in reality specialized troops of the reactionary bureaucrats for struggle against the revolutionary

sections of the working class."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pages 195, 196, 197.

FASCISM (social)

This is a Communist term, which was formulated about 1929 at a Plenum of the Communist International, the origin of which has been attributed to Joseph Stalin. It contended that all reformists, such people as New Dealers, "middle of the roaders," liberals and all non-Communist radicals and Socialists are as a practical matter, merely serving as different roads over which the world is rushing to fascism. In short, all these groups were and are more or less secret allies of fascism. They opened the door to fascism and invited it in. When the New Deal commenced in the United States the Communists bitterly condemned it as being "social-fascism." Such programs as the National Recovery Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Agricultural Adjustment Act and other similar units were repeatedly offered by Communists as their "proofs" of the existence of "social fascism" in the United States.

Social fascists were and are regarded as being especially dangerous for they present themselves to the masses as progressives, socialists and liberals. They deceive the laboring class, and thereby sap the strength and hinder the expansion of the "true friend" of labor---the Communist Party. According to Communists the social-fascists are guilty of hypocrisy, organized deception and ruthlessly swindling the great masses of people. Communists consider social-fascists to be much worse and more dangerous than plain fascists, because the plain fascists do not hide behind any deceptive cloak of progress or friendliness to labor. They are outspoken and open in the position taken to Communists, while the social-fascists are double-tongued and concealed hence they, not the plain fascists, constitute the real enemies of the people.

When Nazi-Germany reached its peak and threatened Soviet Russia, the theory of "social-fascism," for obvious reasons, was very quickly "toned down" later. Joseph Stalin and his coterie then condemned the plain fascists as the real enemy of the people and looked to the social-fascists whom they had just been condemning for assistance in defeating plain fascism. It was at this point that the cry against "social-fascism," furthered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International held in 1935, was temporarily dropped altogether. Communists were then instructed to condemn plain fascism without reservation and to seek the closest possible alliance with the social-fascists. Only now they were no longer to be called social-fascists but rather the "peoples of the western democracies."

"Manuilsky says: 'Fascism and Social Fascism are two aspects of one and the same bulwark of bourgeois dictatorship,' and Stalin says: 'Fascism is a militant organization of the bourgeoisie resting upon the active support of Social Democracy.'"

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 191, 192.

"The difference is that while the Communists fight for the immediate demands as well as the final goal, the Social Fascists betray both."

Ibid., page 243.

"The 'fight' between Social Fascism and Fascism is so much 'sound and fury signifying nothing.'"

Ibid., page 191.

"We, Communists, are a class party, a proletarian party. ... We, Communists, are a revolutionary party; but we are ready to undertake joint action with other parties fighting against fascism."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front Against War and Fascism, page 135.

"...in the period of the decline of capitalism, Social Reformism becomes Social Fascism."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 177.

FEUDALISM

This is the name of the social order which preceded Capitalism. According to Communists the main factor in "feudalism" was the exploitation of the peasantry by the feudal lords; the impoverishment of the working class by the noble class.

"The basis of the relations of production under the feudal system is that the feudal lord owns the means of production and does not fully own the worker in production, i.e., the serf, whom the feudal lord can no longer kill, but whom he may buy and sell."

"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)"
as quoted in Marxist Glossary
by L. Harry Gould, page 48.

"Feudalism also had its proletariat--serfdom, which contained all the germs of the bourgeoisie. Feudal production also had two antagonistic elements which are likewise designated by the name of the good side and the bad side of feudalism, without considering that it is always the bad side that in the end triumphs over the good side. It is the bad side that produces the movement which makes history, by providing a struggle."

Marx, Karl, The Poverty of Philosophy, page 103.

FLEXIBILITY

While pursuing inflexible principles and fixed goals from which Communists never vary they do at the same time again and again stress the necessity for flexible tactics. Today they may condemn a certain group and tomorrow praise and work with that group if it is to their interests. Today they may advocate one course of action and tomorrow advocate its exact opposite with equal fervor to meet changing conditions in order to advance Communism.

"Only one thing is lacking to enable us to march forward more surely and more firmly to victory, namely, the full and completely thought out appreciation by all Communists in all countries of the necessity of displaying the utmost flexibility in their tactics."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 145.

"Right doctrinairism persisted in recognising only old forms, and became totally bankrupt, for it did not perceive the new content. Left doctrinairism persists in the unconditional repudiation of certain old forms and fails to see that the new content is forcing its way through all and sundry forms, that it is our duty as Communists to master all forms, to learn how to supplement with the maximum rapidity one form with another, to substitute one for another, and to adapt our tactics to every change that is called forth by something other than our class, or our efforts."

Ibid., page 147.

"The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all the necessary practical compromises, to 'tack', to make agreements, zigzags, retreats and so on..."

Ibid., page 138.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (the general concept)

At the present time American Communists vigorously deny they would engage in force and violence to achieve their goal of establishing Communism in the United States. They vigorously deny they advocate any methods even resembling those of force and violence. Are they correct and honest in making this statement? American Communists admit in the constitution of their Party that they embrace the "science of Marxism-Leninism" in its entirety and without any modifications or qualifications. On consulting the vast literature of Marxism-Leninism it appears to be rather evident that the very nature of this "science" necessarily includes force and violence as a means to the end. Communists naturally prefer to have the non-Communist world surrender to them peacefully. However, they do not believe this to be possible in the final conflict, hence, they reason that the resistance of the non-Communist world before the irresistible advances of Communism will make force and violence necessary. No less an authority than the well known D. Z. Manuilsky, a representative from the Soviet Republic to the United Nations has written very clearly and directly in explaining the essence of the Communist belief in force and violence.

"Violence is the soul of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. Squeeze the soul out of the class struggle and the result is a lot of liberal...jabbering..."

Manuilsky, D. Z.,
Social Democracy - Stepping
Stone to Fascism, page 34.

Many other Communist authorities on the question of force and violence say the same as Manuilsky.

"...the contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation comes to a violent explosion."

Engels, Frederick,
Anti-Duhring, page 304.

"That force, however, plays another role in history, a revolutionary role; that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with the new, that it is the instrument by the aid of which social development forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilised, political forms..."

Ibid., page 206.

"Marx and Engels taught that it was impossible to get rid of the power of capital and to convert capitalist property into public property by peaceful means, and that the working class could achieve this only by revolutionary violence against the bourgeoisie, by a proletarian revolution, by establishing its own political rule--the dictatorship of the proletariat--which must crush the resistance of the exploiters and create a new, classless, Communist society."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(Bolsheviks), edited by
a Commission of the Central
Committee of the C. P. S. U.
(B), page 9.

"The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian State is impossible without a violent revolution."

Lenin, V. I., "The State
and Revolution," as
contained in Handbook of
Marxism, pages 738-739.

"...the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class..."

Lenin, V. I. as quoted by Joseph Stalin in Leninism, Volume I, page 269. See also: State and Revolution by V. I. Lenin, Chapter I.

"We have seen what Marx means--that the working class must shatter, break up, blow up (sprengung, explosion, is the expression used by Engels) the whole state machinery."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 89.

"In order to overthrow capitalism it was not only necessary to remove the bourgeoisie from power, it was not only necessary to expropriate the capitalists, but also to smash entirely the bourgeois state machine and its old army, its bureaucratic officialdom and its police force, and to substitute for it a new, proletarian form of state, a new, socialist state."

Stalin, Joseph, From Socialism to Communism In the Soviet Union, page 55.

"The capitalists will not give up of their own accord; nor can they be talked, bought or voted out of power. ... To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act...led by the Communist party... The lessons of history allow of no other conclusion."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 213.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (necessary to promulgate this view)

It appears to be the intention of Communists to indoctrinate the masses of people, wherever it is expedient to do so, with the idea that force and violence are necessary to achieve their "liberation." They want the masses to be fully saturated with their version of force and violence. To bring about this end Communists believe a systematic fostering of this viewpoint is essential. This is to be done first in an indirect and subtle manner and as they make progress the instructions will take on a more direct and blunt form.

"The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses this and just this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' teaching."

Lenin, V. I., State And Revolution, page 20.

"Let us remember that the great mass struggle is approaching. This will be an armed uprising. It must, as far as possible, be simultaneous. The masses must know that they are entering upon an armed, sanguinary and desperate struggle...the ruthless extermination of the enemy will be their task..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 353.

Marx said Lenin:

"...opposed the proposition that the workers should renounce the use of arms, the use of organized force..."

Ibid., Volume VII, page 57.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (steps to be taken)

As previously indicated force and violence can take many different forms differing in both the method and the degree of intensity. Communists recommend using all forms. Picketing, strikes, demonstrations, riots and isolated barricades are considered to be the initial steps leading to wide-spread civil revolt. Communists do not recommend individual acts of violence. Such acts are regarded as being foolish and fruitless. Communists insist collective, group or mass acts of violence well organized.

"From strike and demonstrations to isolated barricades. From isolated barricades to the mass erection of barricades and street fighting against the troops."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 347.

"... the organization of the masses into light, mobile, small fighting units will, at the moment of the uprising, render a very great service in the work of procuring arms. ... A detachment that can shoot will be able to disarm a policeman, suddenly attack a patrol and thus procure arms. A detachment which cannot shoot, or which has no arms, will assist in building barricades, in reconnoitring, organizing liaisons, setting ambushes for the enemy, burning down the houses where the enemy has taken up his position, occupying apartments to serve as bases for the insurgents--in a word, thousands of the most diverse functions can be performed by free associations of people who are determined to fight to the last gasp, who know the locality well, who are most closely in contact with the population.

"Let an appeal be made at each factory, in each trade union and in each village for the formation of such voluntary, fighting detachments."

Ibid., page 381.

"We do not need hysterical outbursts. We need the regular march of the iron battalions of the proletariat."

Lenin, N., statement in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia by N. Lenin and Leon Trotzky, page 405.

"In the early stages of the revolution, even before the seizure of power, the workers will organize the Red Guard. Later on this loosely constructed body becomes developed into a firmly-knit, well-disciplined Red Army."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 274-275.

"The workers" (meaning Communists and Communist led workers) "are not looking forward to striking bargains; they do not ask for sops; they are striving to crush the reactionary forces mercilessly..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 123.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (civil and military authorities to be exterminated)

In a Communist uprising force and violence is to be directed in the first successful stages toward exterminating the high ranking civil and military leaders of a nation. In doing this Communists would be taking the most direct way of breaking the backbone of the opposition.

"...it is our duty in time of an uprising to exterminate ruthlessly all the chiefs of the civil and military authorities."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 350.

"Only the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the destruction of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus from top to bottom--parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., right up to the very wholesale deportation or internment of the most dangerous and stubborn exploiters--putting them under strict surveillance in order to combat inevitable attempts to resist and to restore capitalist slavery--only such measures can ensure the real subordination of the whole class of exploiters."

Ibid., Volume X, page 164.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (shooting the opposition)

When the Communists were criticized for taking extreme measures of force and violence Lenin defended such measures. He argued that extreme measures were necessary at times and one should not shrink from taking such action. When charged with persecuting the Mensheviks (minority group) Lenin replied:

"Of course, we persecute the Mensheviks, we even shoot them..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 237.

"Revolutionary forms of organization are necessary, a changing historical situation demands them, this period of revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat demands them, but they can only be brought into life, over the dead bodies of the former leaders, over the dead body of the old party, over the ruins of that party."

Lenin, N. (V. I.), statement
in The Proletarian Revolution
In Russia by N. Lenin and Leon
Trotzky, pages 129-130.

"The Soviet government will have to expropriate the expropriators by force. ... The Soviet State will have to crush these with an iron hand. The former exploiters will be given no quarter. The old system of robbery with all its rubbish will have to be cleared away. This means that the Soviet State must be ruthless; it must destroy the counter-revolutionary forces--the quicker the better for the workers and for the future of mankind. This is why the Soviet State is named Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is the reverse of capitalist dictatorship. It does not pretend to be a government treating all on the basis of equality. It openly declares itself to be a class government directed against the former ruling class. It uses force and violence against that class."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?,
page 81.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (as applied to the United States)

It is not to be assumed that the application of force and violence by Communists is to exclude the United States. It is a method capable of universal application and one to be applied wherever necessary. V. I. Lenin made the point clear for all Communists who followed him.

"Today, both in England and in America, the 'precondition of any real people's revolution' is the break-up, the shattering of the 'ready-made state machinery'..."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 34.

Lenin points out that both "England and America" are "the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'Liberalism'". Presumably fearing the liberal influences of these nations Lenin goes on to warn against reducing "Marxism to such a state of poverty-stricken 'liberal' distortion..." Lenin strongly urges that;

"...particular attention should be given to Marx's extremely profound remark that the destruction of the military and bureaucratic apparatus of the state is 'the precondition of any real people's revolution'".

Ibid., page 34.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (and the laborers)

The concept of force and violence is not to be confined to the realm of speculation nor to be presented as a method to be applied in the remote future. It can assume many forms of differing degrees of intensity and can prevail in many different fields of endeavor. One of the most important fields is that of labor. It was to the field of American labor that the American Communist, M. J. Olgin, directed these words:

"'But this is force and violence,' somebody will contend. 'Don't you Communists know that the use of force and violence is wrong?' We reply to this, first, that if being a 'red-blooded American' means anything, it means that you must not take punishment lying down, that you must offer resistance; secondly, that it is not the workers but the capitalists and their State that start the use of force and violence."

"What a picture! Those who live on your sweat and blood tell you it is not 'right' to resist this robbery. Those who hold the big stick over you tell you to be meek as a lamb. Those who make the oppressive laws against you preach among you about the sanctity of the law. This is boss law, boss justice, boss ideas of right and wrong. If the workers were to submit they would not be able to live; they would be reduced to something worse than chattel slavery."

"When you fight capitalism you are doing what is right and just and lawful from the point of view of your class interests and of the future of humanity. You are not 'out-laws' the way the capitalist world brands revolutionary fighters."

Olgin, M. J.; Why Communism?,
pages 78, 79.

"We Communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist State, and that is to smash it by force. To make Communism possible the workers must take hold of the State machinery of capitalism and destroy it."

Ibid., page 45.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (and the destruction of the state apparatus)

Communists do not advocate the use of force and violence merely as a means of seizing control of state power. They recommend that the use of force and violence be continued in order to utterly destroy the entire state apparatus or government. V. I. Lenin declared that previous revolutions were wrong in simply seizing the old state and maintaining instead of "...smashing it up..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 27.

"But what is forgotten or glossed over is this; if the state is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing above society and 'increasingly separating itself from it,' then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power, which was created by the ruling class and in which this 'separation' is embodied."

Lenin, V. I., State and
Revolution, pages 9, 10.

"The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and the substitution for it of a new one which, in the words of Engels, is 'no longer a state in the proper sense of the word'."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 124.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (and the proletarian revolution)

Communists regularly refer to the proletarian revolution, meaning a revolution of the proletariat, the workers. This phrase becomes a sort of smoke screen for the plain, direct phrase, Communist revolution. By referring to proletarian revolution Communists seek to give the impression that it is a mass majority movement rather than a select, minority Communist movement. Communists present themselves as being the leaders and the vanguard of the proletarian revolution thereby creating the false impression that their activities proceed from a broad base rooted in the working class. However, even though they claim the leadership of a majority movement among the workers this majority status does not deter Communists from continued advocacy of force and violence.

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully 'capturing' the ready-made bourgeois State machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination."

"Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat."

"The Program of the Communist International," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 990, 991.

"The proletariat needs state power, the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence, for the purpose of crushing the resistance..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 26.

"...the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 21.

"The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution."

Lenin, V. I., State and
Revolution, page 20.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE (and the class struggle)

The concept of the class struggle is such an inseparable and integral part of Communist theory and practice that its relationship to force and violence becomes of particular significance. Communists expect the class struggle to culminate in a classless Communist society. However, the Communist steps in this process appear to proceed from class struggle to civil war, resulting in widespread devastation.

"For the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably and in every country taken on the form of a civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of formal democracy in the interests of the war. Only suave priests, be they Christian or 'secular' parliamentary or parlor Socialists, are unable to see, understand and feel this necessity."

Lenin, V. I., A Letter
To American Workers,
page 16.

FREEDOM OF CRITICISM

As in so many other instances, what Communists mean by freedom of criticism is definitely not what is meant by this phrase among American citizens. In the United States there is freedom of thought, expression and action, restricted only by basic laws protecting the freedom of all from the abuses of a few. Any system of thought, any body of principles, any course of action, or any person or group of persons can be criticized here to the very roots. This is not so with the Communists. They are not free to criticize any of the basic principles of their theory or the application of this theory by the Party and its leaders once a decision is made. Their freedom of thought, expression, criticism, and action is very much limited to certain non-essentials or secondary issues in Communism, or to the opposition. To use a simple analogy, the Communists are like people travelling along a road who are not free to question whether or not the road is the right one or whether or not it leads to any desirable place. However, they are free to question and criticize the methods of travelling along this road, the slowness of their progress, or the wrongness of people travelling on roads different than their own, though they may know nothing about either these people or their roads from personal experience. This type of freedom of criticism for Americans would not be at all acceptable.

"There is complete freedom of discussion in the Party until a majority decision has been made by the Unit or the leading committee, after which discussion must cease and the decision be carried out by every organization and individual member of the Party."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual on Organization, page 26.

"It is clear, however, that basic principles and decisions... cannot be questioned in the Party.

"We cannot imagine a discussion, for example, questioning the correctness of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, or the necessity for the proletarian

dictatorship. We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. We do not question the correctness of the revolutionary theory of the class struggle laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

"We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc. ... of the Convention of the Party, or of the Central Committee after they are ratified."

Ibid., pages 26,27.

"And if we judge people not by the brilliant uniforms in which they deck themselves, not by the imposing appellations which they assume, but by their actions and by what they actually advocate, it will be clear that 'freedom of criticism' means freedom for opportunism in social-democracy, freedom to convert social-democracy into a democratic reformist party, freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas into socialism."

"The term 'Freedom of Criticism' contains the same inherent lie. Those who were really convinced that their ideas were scientific would not demand freedom for the new views to continue side by side with the old, but would demand the substitution of the new views for the old."

Selections from Lenin,
Volume I, pages 81-82.
See also: Lenin, V.I.,
Selected Works, Volume
II, page 33.

"Thus, freedom of criticism must not be converted into freedom to disturb Party discipline with impunity."

"At the 10th Congress Lenin said: 'We are not a debating club.'"

Lenin On Organization,
page 35.

"We allow freedom of opinion inside the Party, but within certain limits, determined by freedom of grouping..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 670.

FREEDOM OF PRESS

Communists do not believe in freedom of the press. In all nations controlled by Communists they believe that freedom of the press should not be extended to any person or group of persons who are non-Communist. This does not prevent them, however, from arguing that Communists should enjoy freedom of the press in non-Communist nations.

"What freedom of the press have you in mind? Freedom of the press, for which class--the bourgeoisie or the proletariat? If it is a question of freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie, then it does not and will not exist here as long as the proletarian dictatorship exists."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 403.

"We have no freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie. We have no freedom of the press for the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the beaten and overthrown bourgeoisie. But what is there surprising in that? We have never pledged ourselves to grant freedom of the press to all classes, and to make all classes happy."

Ibid., page 404.

"Freedom of the press' is another of the principal slogans of 'pure democracy'. Here, too, the workers know, and the Socialists of all countries have admitted a million times that this freedom is a sham as long as the best printing plants and the huge stocks of paper are in the possession of the capitalists, and as long

as the press is ruled by capital - which rule manifests itself the more strikingly, more sharply and more cynically, the more democracy and the republican system are developed, as for example in America."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII,
page 226, 227.

FREEDOM TO BE SUPPRESSED

Communists believe not only in denying freedom to non-Communists but also in suppressing such freedom wherever it may exist. They do this under the pretense that all who are not Communists are exploiters and exploiters have no right to freedom and therefore should be suppressed. The dictatorship of the proletariat or the Communist state exists for this purpose. When all non-Communists and non-Communist nations are abolished and when no opposition to Communism remains, then, and only then, will the state disappear, and only following the disappearance of the state can freedom exist. When it does exist it will be freedom for Communists only. This will have been made possible by the annihilation of the non-Communist opposition.

"...we must continue our ruthless struggle against these elements."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IX, page 242.

"It is still necessary to suppress the bourgeoisie and crush its resistance."

Lenin, V. I., State and
Revolution, page 37.

"...so long as the proletariat still uses the state it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist."

Engels, Frederick as quoted
by V. I. Lenin in Selected
Works, Volume VII, page 81.

"As long as classes exist, all arguments about freedom and equality should be accompanied by the question: Freedom for which class? and for what purpose? the equality of which class with which? and in what relation?"

Ibid., Volume X, page 266.

"Anyone who talks about freedom and equality within the limits of toiler democracy, i.e., conditions under which the capitalists are overthrown while private property and free trade remain--is a defender of the exploiters."

Ibid., page 266.

"We do not want freedom for the bourgeoisie..."

Ibid., Volume VIII, page 355.

"We say: 'A la guerre comme a la guerre; we do not promise any freedom, nor any democracy.'"

Ibid., Volume IX, page 242.

"While the state exists there is no freedom. When freedom exists, there will be no state."

Ibid., Volume VII, page 87.

"In our state, naturally, there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press, and so on for the foes of socialism. Every sort of attempt on their part to utilize...these freedoms...must be classified as a counterrevolutionary crime to which Article 58, Paragraph 10, or one of the corresponding articles of the Criminal Code is applicable."

Vyshinsky, Andrei, Y.,
The Law of the Soviet State,
page 617.

FRACTION

This word refers to Communists in any mass organization who unite in a "fraction" of that organization and carefully plan their efforts for influencing and leading step by step, other members of the organization in the direction of Communism. It is not to be confused with a nucleus. Article No. 6 of the Constitution of the Communist International stated:

"In all non-Party workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (trade unions, co-operative societies, sport organizations, ex-servicemen's organizations, and at the congresses and conferences) and also on municipal elective bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two Party members in such organizations and bodies, Communist fractions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies."

Article No. 7 of this same Constitution says:

"The Communist fractions are subordinated to the competent Party bodies."

Program of the Communist
International, page 8.

In The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization a fraction is defined as follows:

"Besides the basic organization of the Party, the Factory Units, and other forms of organization, Street and Town Units, there is another instrument in the hands of the Party through which we can influence the broadest strata of organized workers; that is, the Fraction."

"The Fraction is an instrument in the hands of the Party through which the Policy of the Party is brought to the organized masses, and through which the Party gives leadership to members of the mass organizations. Fractions are built in all the trade unions and other mass organizations of the workers. In all unions and in cultural, fraternal, sport and unemployed organizations of the workers or farmers, in all united front organizations, in all conventions and conferences of such organizations where there are at least three Communists, a Communist Fraction must be organized.

"The Party Fraction in the shop committees, sport clubs, etc., are under the jurisdiction of the corresponding Party organization: the Fraction in a shop is under the jurisdiction of the Factory Unit. The Fractions in organizations in a Unit territory are under the jurisdiction of the Street or Town Unit. The fractions in organizations in a Section territory are under the jurisdiction of the Section Committee; a Fraction in an organization which covers a territory belonging to more than one Section is under the jurisdiction of the District. The Fractions in national organizations are under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee.

"In all questions in which there is a decision of the corresponding Party organization, the Fractions must carry out these decisions. The policy for a mass organization is made in the Party Committee, but before the decisions are made on any basic question... the Party Committee invites the representatives of the given Fraction to participate in the discussion. The Fraction at this meeting has a consultative role. After the discussion, the decision is made by the Party committee. The Party Committee can decide that the Fraction members express their opinion on the problem through consultative voting. The decision, however, is made by the majority vote of the members of the Party Committee. ... The Party Fraction in a

union or a branch of another mass organization meets regularly before the meeting of this organization. At this meeting the members of the Party Fraction discuss and decide how to apply the policy of the Party in the organization; how to introduce the Party campaigns; how to recruit new Party members from the union; how to get new readers for the Daily Worker; and what things can be done to improve the conditions of the members of the organization. On the various questions, the decisions are made by vote. The minority must help to carry out the decisions. No Party member has the right to speak or act in the union or other mass organization against the decisions of the Fraction. The Party members must always act as a solid unit in the union or other mass organization. Workers look upon the Party as a disciplined body. If they should see that the Party members come to a meeting with different opinions on certain questions they will lose confidence in the ability of our Party to give them leadership. They will inevitably raise the question: 'How can the Party claim to be a disciplined organizational leader of the masses if they cannot unite their own members on certain issues?'

"If certain members of the Fraction do not agree with the decision of the majority, they can bring the problem to the Party committee and ask for a discussion, but this appeal cannot keep back the minority from carrying out the decision if the mass organization meeting happens to take place before the Party committee can act on this appeal."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization, pages 99, 100, 101, 102.

"In 'Infantile Diseases of Leftism' Lenin says:

'The Party is the highest form of the class organization of the proletariat; it should lead all the other forms of

proletarian organizations, and take a most active part in their struggles. This it does through Communist fractions.!"

Lenin On Organization,
pages 39, 40.

FUNDAMENTAL ANTAGONISM (of world scope)

In Communist literature frequent references are made to the fundamental antagonism which exists today in international affairs. Usually this phrase is obscured by various side issues, double talk and a loose handling of words. When stripped bare of all this it is seen that what Communists mean by fundamental antagonism is simply this: the world today is divided into two vast areas. On the one hand there is Soviet Russia with its supporting satellite nations. On the other hand there is capitalist United States with its supporting satellite nations, among whom Communists say considerable jealousy exists, especially between Great Britain and the United States. Between these two great forces, Communist and non-Communist nations, there is a sharp, deep, irreconcilable fundamental antagonism. The Cominform publication "For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy" is continually propounding this point of view today.

"... all the forces of the revolutionary proletariat... are rallying around the U.S.S.R. The world coalition of Capital, unstable, internally corroded, but armed to the teeth, is confronted by a single world coalition of Labour" (meaning Communism). "Thus, as a result of the first round of imperialist wars a new, fundamental antagonism has arisen of world historical scope and significance; the antagonism between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 982.

"The shifting of the economic centre of the world to the United States of America and the fact that the 'Dollar Republic' has become a world exploiter have caused the relations between United States and European capitalism, particularly British capitalism, to become strained."

Ibid., page 982.

Elsewhere it is pointed out:

"... the United States--the greatest of the young imperialist States, which has already won world hegemony for itself--is becoming the center of the world conflicts among the finance capitalist States."

Ibid., page 982.

"The most powerful imperialist state, the U. S. has pushed into the background not only the capitalist countries defeated in the war--Germany, Japan, Italy--but also such countries as France, Britain, Holland and Belgium. ... American imperialism is trying to subordinate them to its absolute domination."

Konstantinov, F., "International Significance of Leninism," For A Lasting Peace For A People's Democracy, January 15, 1949, page 2.

"The Hitler plans to enslave the world, which suffered a fiasco, are now replaced by American plans for world domination, in the carrying out of which Britain has been assigned the role of junior partner."

"Toward New Victories of the Democratic Camp!," For A Lasting Peace For A People's Democracy, January 1, 1948, page 1.

GANDHISM

Communists are resolutely opposed to the Gandhi movement in India. They condemn it for its religious qualities and its pacifism and recommend it be given the strong opposition of all Communists.

"Tendencies like Gandhism in India, thoroughly imbued with religious conceptions, idealize the most backward and economically most reactionary forms of social life, see the solution of the social problem not in proletarian socialism, but in a reversion to these backward forms, preach passivity and repudiate the class struggle, and in the process of the development of the revolution become transformed into an openly reactionary force. Gandhism is more and more becoming an ideology directed against mass revolution. It must be strongly combated by Communism."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, pages 1031-1032.

GRADUALNESS

Some social thinkers who favor a form of Socialism recommend reaching this desired end by gradual, peaceful methods. They stress education and the development of a spirit of cooperation and collaboration which will slowly but steadily work fundamental changes in the social order. Communists, who favor more violent and rapid methods vigorously condemn the gradual approach.

"This Social Fascist theory of 'gradualness' is the most insidious that the workers have to deal with."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 218.

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH, (1770-1831)

Hegel, a German philosopher, is mentioned frequently in tracing the development of Marx's dialectical materialism. Hegel's philosophy consists of both a method and a theory. His method is the dialectic, embracing the concept of the "union of opposites." It includes three main factors which are thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The ceaseless interaction of these three factors produces progress. His theory is somewhat reflected by the statement that "whatever is rational is real, and whatever is real is rational." Nothing can be fully real, rational and true except the Whole or the Absolute Idea. Such is Reality. Dialectics proceed until this Reality is attained. This attainment can come about only as the result of the logical, progressive processes of the mind. Karl Marx, who early in life came under the influence of Hegel, while retaining dialectics, inverted the entire Hegelian system of thought and concluded that ultimate reality is rooted not in the Absolute Idea but in matter. Hence, his philosophy is materialism. Because of the close, unique relationship existing between these two systems of thought, a thorough understanding of Marxism predicates a working knowledge of Hegel's philosophy which, obviously, has been only very faintly indicated in this introductory statement.

"If the Englishman transforms men into hats, the German transforms hats into ideas...the German is Hegel, simple professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin."

Marx, Karl, "The Poverty of Philosophy" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 349.

"'Did god create the world or has the world been in existence eternally?'

"The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other--(and among the philosophers, Hegel, for example, this creation often becomes still more intricate and

impossible than in Christianity)-comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism."

Engels, Frederick,
"Ludwig Feuerbach"
as contained in Hand-
book of Marxism, page 216.

"Out of the dissolution of the Hegelian school, however, there developed still another tendency, the only one which has borne real fruit. And this tendency is essentially connected with the name of Marx.

"The separation from the Hegelian school was here also the result of a return to the materialist standpoint....But here the materialistic world outlook was taken really seriously for the first time and was carried through consistently--at least in its basic features--in all domains of knowledge concerned.

"Hegel was not simply put aside. On the contrary, one started out from his revolutionary side described above, from the dialectical method. But in its Hegelian form this method was unusable. According to Hegel, dialectics is the self-development of the concept. The absolute concept does not only exist--where unknown--from eternity, it is also the actual living soul of the whole existing world....This ideological reversal had to be done away with. We comprehended the concepts in our heads once more materialistically--as images of real things instead of regarding the real things as images of this or that stage of development of the absolute concept. ...Thereby

the dialectic of the concept itself became merely the conscious reflex of the dialectical motion of the real world and the dialectic of Hegel was placed upon its head; or rather, turned off its head, on which it was standing before, and placed upon its feet again."

Engels, Frederick,
"Ludwig Feuerbach"
as contained in
A Handbook of Marxism,
pages 223-224.

HISTORY

On taking a general view of history Communists adhere to the interpretation that history does not reflect direct line movements but rather movements which are broken and irregular. Within this zig-zag historical process Communists assume that men do make their own history but in a very limited sense. Men are unable to choose their circumstances, hence, they can only make history under circumstances imposed upon them from without. To Communists man is free in a most restricted way. He is free only to cooperate with necessity. This is somewhat like saying that a man falling from the top of the Washington Monument is perfectly free to cooperate with the law of gravitation and continue on his journey to the ground.

"History moves in zig-zags and in round-about paths."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
in The Proletarian Revolution
in Russia by V.I.
Lenin and Leon Trotsky,
page 364.

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like an incubus on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something entirely new, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle slogans and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history

in this time-honoured disguise and this
borrowed language."

Marx, Karl, "The
Eighteenth Brumaire
of Louis Bonaparte,"
as contained in Hand-
book of Marxism, pages
116, 117.

HISTORICAL DIVIDING LINE (determined by attitude toward Soviet Russia)

It is not uncommon to find various references in Communist literature stressing the point of view that the historical dividing line between "good" and "bad" will be found in a person's or a party's attitude toward Soviet Russia. Peoples and parties who are loyal to Russia on the "good" side of this peculiar dividing line and peoples and parties whose loyalties rest in other values are on the "bad" side of the ledger. It is interesting to observe in this case that the dividing line does not relate to "Soviet power and socialism in general," but to the "Soviet Union," to a specific nation or government.

"The historical dividing line between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the attitude toward the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude toward Soviet power and socialism in general, but the attitude to the Soviet Union, which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years already, with its untiring struggle against enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin and Stalin."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front, page 280.

HISTORIC MISSION (historic role, task, rights, goal)

When Communists speak of "historic mission" of the proletariat they mean the seizure of power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of capitalism, and the formation of a new, Communist society. As the vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party has as its "historic mission" the direction of the proletarian struggle to achieve the above-named immediate and ultimate ends, in particular, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, "Manifesto of
the Communist Party," Karl
Marx Selected Works, Volume I,
page 217.

"The proletariat seizes the public power and by means of this power transforms the socialised means of production, slipping from the hands of the bourgeoisie, into public property. ...

"To carry through this world-emancipating act is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. And it is the task of scientific

socialism, the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, to establish the historical conditions and, with these, the nature of this act, and thus to bring to the consciousness of the now oppressed class the conditions and nature of the act which it is its destiny to accomplish."

Engels, Frederick, "Socialism:
Utopian and Scientific,"
Ibid., page 188.

"Among the numerous important discoveries for which Marx's name will be famous in the history of science, two only can be mentioned here.

"The first of these is the transformation he has brought about in our general conception of universal history. ...

"Such an analysis of history gives a natural and reasonable explanation of class rule, which had previously seemed explicable only as the outcome of human malevolence. But it does more than this, for it leads us to the view that nowadays, thanks to the tremendous increase in the forces of production, the last pretext for a division of mankind into rulers and ruled, exploiters and exploited, has vanished--at any rate in the more advanced countries of the world. It shows us that the dominant great bourgeoisie has fulfilled its historic mission... It shows, likewise, that the historic mission of leadership now devolves on the proletariat, a class which, in virtue of its social position, can only free itself by doing away once for all with class dominion, subjugation, and exploitation. It shows, finally, that the social forces of production, which have outgrown the control of the bourgeoisie, only await

seizure by the associated proletariat in order to bring about a state of affairs in which every member of society will not merely participate in the production of social wealth, but will have an equal share in the distribution and administration of this wealth;..."

Engels, Frederick, Karl Marx, Man, Thinker, and Revolutionist,
pages 27, 30, 31.

"In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League, took a prominent part in the Second Congress of the League (London, November 1847), and at its request drew up the famous Communist Manifesto, which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines the new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life, dialectics, the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development, the theory of the class struggle and of the historic revolutionary role of the proletariat--the creator of the new, Communist society."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 11.

"The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a Socialist society."

Ibid., page 49.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the weapon of the proletarian revolution, its organ, its most

important stronghold which is called into being, first, to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters and to consolidate its achievements; secondly, to lead the proletarian revolution to its completion, to lead the revolution onward to the complete victory of socialism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 41.

"Marx and Engels gave the main outlines of the idea of the Party as being the vanguard of the proletariat, without which (the Party), the proletariat could not achieve its emancipation, could not capture power or reconstruct capitalist society. Lenin's new contribution to this theory was that he developed these outlines further and applied them to the new conditions of the proletarian struggle in the period of imperialism and showed: a) that the Party is a higher form of the class organization of the proletariat as compared with the other forms of proletarian organization (labour unions, co-operative societies, state organization) and, moreover, its function is to generalize and direct the work of these organizations; b) that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be realized only through the Party as its directing force; c) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led by a single party, the Communist Party, which does not and must not share leadership with any other party; and d) that without iron discipline in the Party, the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush the exploiters and to transform class society into socialist society cannot be fulfilled."

Ibid., page 363.

"The split that occurred in the socialist movement in 1914 as a result of this treachery, and the subsequent treachery of the Social-Democratic parties, which in reality have become bourgeois labor parties, have

demonstrated that the international proletariat will be able to fulfill its historical mission-- to throw off the yoke of imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship--only by ruthless struggle against Social Democracy. Hence, the organization of the forces of the international revolution becomes possible only on the platform of communism."

Program of the Communist
International, page 8.

"In order that it may fulfill its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself and accomplish the following fundamental strategic aims..."

Ibid., page 77.

"And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the toilers, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International and possessed of so great and wise a pilot as our leader Comrade Stalin...be able to fulfill its historical mission with certainty-- to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism!"

Dimitroff, Georgi, The
United Front Against War
and Fascism, page 92.

"To us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world--a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but temporary rulers.

"The proletariat is the real master, tomorrow's master of the world... And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country all over the world...

"We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great leaders. ...

"With Stalin at their head the millions of our political army overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of socialism throughout the whole world!..."

Ibid., page 144.

"Marx was the first to reveal the historical mission of the proletariat--to conquer political power, destroy the world of capitalist slavery and build communism."

Adoratsky, V., in the "Preface" to Karl Marx Selected Works, Volume I, page xi.

"The overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist society is the historic mission of the working class. The United States Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism."

The Communist, Official Organ of the United Communist Party of America, June 12, 1920, Volume I, No. 1, page 11.

"The Sections of the International could not have functioned as vanguard and teacher, if they had not founded their work on Marxian theory. Their resoluteness was nourished on the ideological sustenance of scientific communism. Their social composition and their inner educational life made possible their consciousness of the historic goal of the proletariat, which gave purpose to the struggles for immediate and partial demands in which they continuously engaged."

The Communist - A magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, formerly published monthly by the Communist Party of the U.S.A., New York, September, 1939, page 852.

"In capitalist society there are two basic classes: the capitalist class and the working class. ...

"The working class is the most revolutionary class. It leads all other exploited sections of the people--farmers, Negro people, etc. Created by capitalism, the working class is the grave-digger of capitalism. Its historical mission is to abolish capitalism and establish socialism. ...

"The working class needs a political party to give it socialist consciousness, to make it see the need of socialism in the course of its day-to-day struggles. Such a party is the Communist Party. It is composed of the most advanced workers, and its role is to develop the socialist consciousness of the workers

in the course of the leadership which it gives to their daily struggles for their immediate needs."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, pages 10-11.

"The Communist Party, therefore, educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of Socialism."

Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States of America, pages 4-5.

IDEALISM VS. MATERIALISM

In the field of philosophy the question of idealism and materialism has given the Communists considerable concern and they have devoted much attention to the question. They go so far as to say that the issue of idealism vs. materialism is "the paramount question of the whole of philosophy." Frederick Engels devoted an entire chapter to this issue in his important book Ludwig Feuerbach.

It is understood, of course, on considering "idealism" here it is not to be related simply to high objectives or laudatory principles and the like. Similarly, "materialism" as used here is not to be related to physiological desires, wealth and the like. By philosophical idealism is meant that basic reality is rooted in ideas. Nature proceeded from this reality and not conversely. The world emanates from the thinker. The material world in fact is a reflection of the Supreme Idea or Spirit. By philosophical materialism is meant the exact opposite. Materialism assumes basic reality is matter. Ideas proceed from matter. The world emanated from matter (for greater detail see Section I, "Dialectical Materialism").

Communists are materialists. They reject idealism completely. To Communists all things proceed from a material reality, including ideas. Matter is primary. Mind is secondary.

"Thus the question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to nature--the paramount question of the whole of philosophy--has, no less than all religion, its roots in the narrow-minded and ignorant notions of savagery. ... The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature and, therefore, in the last instance, assumed world creation in some form or other--(and among the philosophers, Hegel, for example, this creation often becomes still more intricate and impossible than in Christianity)--comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of materialism."

Engels, Frederick, "Ludwig Feuerbach", as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 215-216.

"Marx decidedly rejected not only idealism, always connected in one way or another with religion, but also the views of Hume and Kant, that are especially widespread in our day, as well as agnosticism, criticism, positivism in various forms; he considered such philosophy as a 'reactionary' concession to idealism, at best as a 'shamefaced manner of admitting materialism through the back door while denying it before the world'".

Lenin, V. I., The Teachings of Karl Marx, page 12.

"Contrary to idealism, which regards the world as the embodiment of an 'absolute idea', a 'universal spirit', 'consciousness', Marx's philosophical materialism holds that the world is by its very nature material ...

"Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our mind really exists ... Marxist materialist philosophy holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our mind; that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, ideas, mind, and that mind is secondary derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter...

"Contrary to idealism ... Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable ..."

History of The Communist Party of The Soviet Union
(B), Edited by a Commission of the Central Commission of the C.P.S.U. (B), pages 112-113.

"Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter."

Engels, Frederick,
Karl Marx Selected Works,
Volume I, page 435.

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness."

Marx, Karl,
Ibid., page 356.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS; IMMEDIATE PARTIAL DEMANDS; PARTIAL DEMANDS

These three phrases for practical purposes are approximately synonymous. They may be regarded as steps and techniques through which Communists prepare the ground for a successful revolution. Communists do not prefer to make a thrust for the seizure of power until the ground has been carefully prepared; until the requisites enunciated by Lenin have matured; until there is a reasonably good chance for success. It is a very serious matter, almost a criminal offense, for Communists to set into motion an ill-prepared, abortive revolution. This is roundly condemned as inane adventurism, which has also been referred to as "revolutionary putschism." The "immediate demands" are to be made throughout the pre-revolutionary period. Forever pressing these demands the Communists play their role as the "vanguard of the more militant workers," the truly revolutionary proletariat, the model Bolsheviks. By the means of pressing these "immediate demands" the Communists attempt to "politicalize" and "radicalize" the masses of people. They seek to arouse them, make them class conscious and amenable to Communist leadership. Much of their work on this level is disguised and most deceptive. The average laborer is not therefore aware that he is being "politicalized" and "used" to further Communist designs. The talking points built into the "immediate demands" relate to issues that any good, honest American laborer is sincerely interested in per se, but not as a concealed instrument of a future revolution. These issues pertain to shorter working hours, higher wages, sanitary and hygienic working conditions, lower living costs, old age pensions, improved housing conditions, unemployment insurance, accident insurance, right to organize and bargain collectively, civil rights and the like. Around these popular issues Communist erect their elaborate and tenacious "day to day struggles." Having in mind a future revolution it can be seen that there is no appeasing Communists, no satisfying them short of this revolution. No matter how many concessions are made to these "immediate demands" Communists will not and in fact cannot as Communists be satisfied. All roads lead to the revolution and all roads must be travelled their entire length. There is no stopping for Communists at any half way place. It is all or nothing. This confuses the honest respectable American liberal and laborer leader who also uses these same issues for laudatory and respectable purposes. He wishes to improve conditions and is rightfully entitled to improve conditions. He seeks no revolution. He is satisfied with legitimate gains and improvements. But Communists, working within the same process knows his end is not improvement but revolution and he does not intend to permit anyone or anything to stand in his way to this end.

To sum up; the Communist device of "immediate demands" serve three distinct purposes: (1) It is a good training school or measure for Communists in the art of

agitating, guiding and controlling the large masses of laborers. (2) It throws a vicious smoke screen, a deceptive cloak of seeming good will over the Communist Party program and motives, confusing the laborers and their unions into believing the Communists are not bad at all, that on the contrary they are sincere, humanitarian, progressive, honest and possessed of the best of intentions. (3) The constant agitation and struggle over "immediate demands" are never allowed to subside for as soon as the old "immediate demands" are gained, new ones are at once put in their place and the battle goes on with increasing vigor. All this tends to "educate the masses" in the reality of class struggle and the necessity for class warfare. It tends to make the laborers hate the status quo, the present economic and political order. This hatred increases and expands to embrace ever swelling numbers of the people. Agitation broadens and grows more intense. The revolutionary ground then is well prepared, richly fertilized. Then, as if through casual spontaneity a ground swell occurs, seemingly without effort, or planning, and the revolutionary crisis is present. The time has arrived for the overthrow of the government by force and violence. "Immediate demands" have served their purpose well. They will not be needed and not permitted in the Communist social order of the future.

"When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggle of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor every-day needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power."

Program of the Communist
International, page 80.

"The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 43.

"In short, in every phase of life where capitalist exploitation and persecution bear down upon the masses, the Communist party comes forward with partial demands corresponding to the most immediate needs of these masses. But in so doing, it does not fail to point out that the final solution of their intolerable situation can be achieved only by the overthrow of the capitalist system..."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 251.

"In our agitation around these demands we must emphasize the absolute necessity for the proletarian revolution. Our strategy is to utilize these immediate demands to educate and organize the masses in preparation for the final revolutionary struggle, which will abolish capitalism altogether. Reliance upon immediate demands would lead us merely to reformism. Our Party is a revolutionary Party. It aims not simply to ease conditions a bit under capitalism for the workers but to abolish capitalism altogether."

Foster, William Z.,
Acceptance Speeches,
pages 12-13.

IMPERIALISM (general Communist conception)

Communists describe "Imperialism" as being the highest, the most developed and the last stage of moribund and decaying Capitalism. V. I. Lenin said it is "the eve of the proletarian revolution." To express this same thought somewhat differently, in the words of Joseph Stalin, when the stage of imperialism has been reached "the Socialist revolution becomes a practical necessity." It is significant to note in view of this, that Communists all over the world, spear-headed by Soviet Russia, ceaselessly brand the United States as being "Imperialistic."

According to the Communist interpretation imperialism exists when the great monopolies own, rule or control the economic life. For example, in this stage, bank capital and industrial capital merge as one to become "finance capital." And this is tantamount to complete control of the economic life. The means of production, machinery and the like, are sent to colonies. International monopolies are formed. From this flows a constant struggle between vast economic interests for world markets and more colonies. Colonies, races and nations are exploited. However, imperialism carries within it the seeds of decay, hence, while at the same time it is expanding and seemingly growing stronger, it is actually getting weaker and more parasitic. It commences to retard progress, side-tracks inventions that would interfere with its profits, and goes into an almost imperceptible decline right at its peak of power. Free competition is curtailed. High monopoly prices are maintained. Undivided and greedy control of the markets is continued. Tremendous profits are squeezed out of the labors of poorly paid colonial workers. Exploitation is conducted on a colossal international scale. All this creates tensions, struggles and constant economic warfare between competing imperialisms and rival imperialistic nations. This in turn causes world wars. V. I. Lenin is given credit for working out the most complete Communist analysis of imperialism. Lenin's study of imperialism may be summed up as follows:

1. Concentration of capital and production into the hands of a relative few takes place on high economic levels. This concentration becomes developed to a very complex degree. At this degree or stage monopolies are created. These monopolies fundamentally determine and control economic life. Their influence is the decisive factor.

2. Bank capital and industrial capital are merged as one to form finance-capital. This finance-capital automatically creates a ruling financial oligarchy within the nation.
3. Finance-capital is next exported (not to be identified with the export of commodities) beyond national boundary lines; it becomes international in scope. It creates class struggle in foreign colonies. This is a very important step.
4. Following the export of finance-capital huge international monopoly combines are formed by the capitalists, who, on the basis of this economic system, divide up the world.
5. This territorial division of the world for imperialistic exploitation by avaricious capitalists moves on toward completion. Its completion represents the last stage of decaying, dying Capitalism. In this stage the only way imperialists can increase their possessions is by warfare. This they do. This is why wars are inevitable under Capitalism.

"We must begin with as precise and full a definition of imperialism as possible. Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is threefold; imperialism is 1) monopoly capitalism; 2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism; 3) moribund capitalism. The substitution of monopoly for free competition is the fundamental economic feature, the quintessence of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in five principal forms: 1) cartels, syndicates and trusts--the concentration of production has reached a stage which gives rise to these monopolistic combinations of capitalists; 2) the monopolistic position of the big banks--three, four or five gigantic banks manipulate the whole economic life of America, France, Germany; 3) seizure of the sources of raw material by

the trusts and the financial oligarchy (finance capital is monopolistic industrial capital merged with bank capital); 4) the (economic) partition of the world by the international cartels has begun. Such international cartels, which command the entire world market and divide it 'amicably' among themselves--until war re-divides it--already number over one hundred! The export of capital, a highly characteristic phenomenon distinct from the export of commodities under non-monopoly capitalism, is closely connected with the economic and territorial-political partition of the world; 5) the territorial partition of the world (colonies) is completed."

Lenin, V. I. Selected Works, Volume XI, pages 748, 749.

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere."

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, The Communist Manifesto, page 12.

"Imperialism the last and highest degree of capitalism definitely came to its peak at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Imperialism is parasitical, dying, decaying capitalism. It firmly lends the proletariat to a socialist revolution."

Soviet Political Dictionary
as translated from Russian.

"Imperialism is the export of capital to the sources of

raw materials, the frenzied struggle for monopolist possession of these sources, the struggle for a redivision of the already divided world, a struggle waged with particular fury by new financial groups and powers seeking a 'place in the sun' against the old groups and powers which cling tightly to what they have grabbed. This frenzied struggle among the various groups of capitalists is notable in that it includes as an inevitable element imperialist wars, wars for the annexation of foreign territories."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, pages 13, 14.

IMPERIALISM (highest and last stage of Capitalism)

As previously indicated Communists view imperialism as being the highest and last stage of a decaying Capitalism. It is Capitalism in the death throes. This highest and last stage of imperialism is one in which free competition has been crushed by monopolies. It is the highest stage because it has no strength left of its very nature for further creative effort. It is last because stability at a given predatory level is not possible, especially when the contradictions within the system are already paving the way for its extinction and the introduction of new social forms.

"Imperialism is the last stage in the development of capitalism. It is the stage in which free competition between independent capitalists has given way to monopoly. This is the main economic essence of imperialism, that is, of present-day capitalism."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared by
National Education Department,
Communist Party of the United
States of America, page 13.

"Imperialism is the highest and the last stage in the development of capitalism. Highest, because within the framework of capitalism there is no force capable of raising the national economy to a stage higher than 'the transition stage from complete freedom of competition to complete socialization.' Last, because imperialism signifies the progressive development of class contradictions, because in the womb of imperialism are created the economic and organizational prerequisites for converting national economy into a really socialized economy, into economy regulated by society."

Marxist Study Courses,
"Political Economy,"
pamphlet issued by the
International Publishers,
New York, page 26.

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has taken shape; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world by the international trusts has begun, and in which the partition of all the territory of the earth by the greatest capitalist countries has been completed."

Lenin, V. I., "Imperialism:
The Highest Stage of
Capitalism," as contained
in A Handbook of Marxism,
page 690.

IMPERIALISM (is moribund Capitalism)

Communist literature contains frequent references to imperialism as being "moribund Capitalism." By this Communists mean that Capitalism contains within it certain definite contradictions which will eventually destroy it. These contradictory elements are found in their most active and highly developed form in imperialism. Therefore Communists conclude that imperialism is the last stage of a dying Capitalism. It is the point where the revolution will begin.

"It is clear why imperialism is moribund capitalism, capitalism in transition to Socialism; monopoly, which grows out of capitalism, is already capitalism dying out, the beginning of its transition to Socialism. The tremendous socialization of labour by imperialism (what the apologists--the bourgeois economists--call 'interlocking') means the same thing."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 750.

"Lenin called imperialism 'moribund capitalism.' Why? Because imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, page 13.

IMPERIALISM (is exploitation for profit)

Imperialism is ceaselessly condemned by Communists the world over as a system which exploits human beings in order to gather large profits from its various enterprises. This position is, of course, only a slight variation of the original Marxist theme that Capitalism of its very nature is a predatory, exploitative system.

"Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries. The purpose of this exploitation and of this oppression is to squeeze out super-profits."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism,
page 14.

IMPERIALISM (final form of state power which capital uses to enslave labor)

In their analysis of imperialism Communists do not exclude a consideration of the state in relation to imperialism. They not only regard imperialism as the decadent stage of Capitalism but also the final effort of that system's form of state, which they contend has been used by capitalists as an instrument to enslave labor.

"Imperialism is, at the same time, the most prostitute and the ultimate form of the State power which nascent middle-class society had commenced to elaborate as a means of its own emancipation from feudalism, and which full-grown bourgeois society had finally transformed into a means for the enslavement of labor by capital."

Marx, Karl, Capital
and Other Writings,
page 403.

IMPERIALISM (characteristic features)

In repeating the thoughts of V. I. Lenin Communists say that the distinguishing or characteristic feature of imperialism is finance capital and not industrial capital.

"The characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial capital, but finance capital. ... The characteristic feature of imperialism is precisely that it strives to annex not only agricultural regions, but even highly industrialized regions...because an essential feature of imperialism is the rivalry between ... great powers in the striving...for the conquest of territory, not so much directly for themselves, as to weaken the adversary and undermine his hegemony."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume
V, pages 83-84.

IMPERIALISM (a special stage founded upon economic monopoly)

Monopoly as referred to by Communists in discussing imperialism is essentially an economic monopoly. It is this economic monopoly, containing as it does, destructive contradictions, which adds a very special element to imperialism.

"...the most deep-rooted economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly. This is capitalist monopoly, i.e., monopoly which has grown out of capitalism..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 91.

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the partition of all the territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed."

Ibid., page 81.

"Thus we see that imperialism is a special stage, the monopolist stage, in the development of capitalism; that imperialism, which inevitably grows out of pre-monopolist capitalism, out of free competition, gives birth to several peculiarities, which distinguish it qualitatively from the capitalism of free

competition. The clearest expression of this is to be found in: (1) the law of uneven development, (2) the decay of capitalism, (3) the sharpening of all the contradictions of capitalism, and (4) the fact that imperialism is the epoch of wars and proletarian revolutions, the last stage in the development of capitalism."

Marxist Study Courses,
"Political Economy,"
pamphlet issued by the
International Publishers,
New York, page 6.

IMPERIALISM (creates conditions for revolutions and makes revolutions a necessity)

Communists attempt to place the responsibility of the coming revolution on imperialism. They argue that imperialism has created social conditions which make a revolution not only possible but necessary. They seek to convince the laborers that they have only two choices, either submit to the "slavery" and "exploitation" of imperialism or join the Communists in destroying it, thereby freeing themselves from its heavy yoke. They hold forth to the laborers a half promise and a half threat to the effect that the Communist world revolution will be victorious no matter who opposes it.

"In other words, imperialism has not only made revolution a practical necessity; it has created favorable conditions for a direct attack on the citadels of capitalism."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, page 13.

"Either place yourself at the mercy of capital, starve and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon--this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast army of the proletariat. Thus imperialism leads the working class on to revolution."

Ibid., page 11.

IMPERIALISM (and the Communist Party, USA)

The Communist Party of the United States considers this nation to be imperialistic. This Communist Party prides itself on being a relentless foe of imperialism, ipso facto, it is a relentless foe of the United States as it now exists because the Communist conception of "imperialism" is so broad and inclusive that it gathers in about every policy and institution of our present government. The preamble of the Constitution of the Communist Party of the United States declares:

"It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism..."

Constitution of the
Communist Party of The
United States of America,
page 3.

"Our Party can be gratified by the fact that, so far as I know, we were the first Communist Party in the world to outline clearly the expansionist program of American imperialism."

Foster, William Z., stated
at a July meeting of the
National Committee of the
Communist Party, Political
Affairs, September, 1946,
page 773.

IMPERIALISM (threatened in Great Britain and the United States by the rising power of Soviet Russia)

Communists regard Soviet Russia as being a source of inspiration to them as well as a bulwark of strength in their struggle against imperialism. They see in Soviet Russia not only a source of inspiration but also a very real threat to imperialism. They believe this threat is felt much more strongly by the "declining imperialism" of Great Britain than it is by the "rising imperialism" of the United States.

"The mere existence of the Soviet Union is also a continuous source of inspiration to the peoples of the East and to oppressed peoples everywhere. Here again, the rising imperialism of the United States does not feel the threat so intensely as the declining imperialism of Great Britain."

The Communist, Volume
VI, Number 4, June,
1947, page 197.

IMPERIALISM (struggle against it must be international)

In fighting against imperialism the battle front for all Communists is to be international, not national. Communists believe that imperialism cannot be successfully defeated in one country alone. It must be met and conquered in every nation of the world where it exists. Therefore, Communist Parties scattered throughout the world are to keep in close contact with each other and proceed against imperialism according to a consistent pattern of action.

"The struggle against Imperialism, necessarily an international struggle, is the basis of proletarian revolutionary action in this epoch. The Communist Party shall maintain close contact with the Communist International for common action against world Imperialism."

The Communist, Official
organ of the Communist
Party of America, Volume
II, Number 8, August 1,
1920, page 7.

IMPERIALISM (and the partition of the world)

Communists regularly levy against imperialism the charge that it has caused a fierce conflict to be waged for the partitioning of the world. It is their cry that gigantic imperialists have partitioned the world and its goods between themselves for avaricious reasons; that they first divided up the home markets and next the world markets.

"...the transition of capitalism to monopoly capitalism, to finance capitalism, is connected with the intensification of the struggle for the partition of the world."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume V, page 70.

IMPERIALISM (cannot live in peace with Soviet Russia)

We hear frequent statements today from Communists to the effect they are seeking to get rid of imperialism and to establish Communism by peaceful means. These statements do not coincide at all with the historical position which the Communist authorities have taken in this matter. Again and again Communist authorities have clearly pointed out their belief in the necessity of resorting to warfare in order to destroy what they conceive to be imperialism. They insist that Soviet Russia and other Communist nations cannot live in peace with "imperialism."

"International imperialism, with all the might of its capital and its highly organized military technique, which represents a real force, a real fortress of international capital, could under no circumstances, under no possible conditions, live side by side with the Soviet republic, both because of its objective situation and because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which was incorporated in it, it could not do this because of commercial ties and of international financial relationships. A conflict is inevitable. This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian Revolution, its greatest historical problem; the necessity to solve international problems, the necessity to call forth the world revolution."

Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, page 19, quoting from Collected Works of V. I. Lenin, Volume XXII, pages 315, 316, 317. Russian Edition.

Joseph Stalin continues on to discuss the coming "proletarian revolution" and the nature of the basic change from a capitalist society to a Socialist one. He asks this question:

"Can such a radical transformation of the old bourgeois system of society be achieved without a violent revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

Stalin, Joseph,
Problems of Leninism,
page 19.

Stalin answers his own question in these very clear and direct words:

"Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the domination of the bourgeoisie, means one of two things. It means either madness, and the loss of normal human understanding, or else an open and gross repudiation of the proletarian revolution."

Ibid., page 20.

IMPERIALISM (can be ended by overthrowing Capitalism and its government)

In speaking of the overthrow of Capitalism Communists do not intend to spare its government. The one is not separated from the other. Both the economic system and its political forms are to be annihilated.

"...only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the annihilation of the bourgeois parliament, only Soviet rule and proletarian dictatorship can put an end to imperialism and safeguard the victory of Socialism..."

Lenin, V. I., "Letter to the Workers of Europe and America," Young Worker, February, 1929, page 4.

ILLEGALITY (general conception)

Although Communists pretend they are opposed to the thought of illegality and do not engage in illegal activities the whole course of their thinking and the history of their activities do not seem to support their assertion. Communists consider themselves to be unrelenting enemies of all non-Communist social orders. They do not recognize the validity of the legal concepts underlying these social orders or the laws which flow from these concepts. Therefore Communists do not consider they have any obligation to abide by these laws. In fact they consider it their obligation and duty to violate such laws whenever and wherever violations will result in spreading Communism. This general position forms the basis for their recommendation of both legal and illegal activities. It is the *raison d'être* of their far-flung above ground and underground apparatus.

V. I. Lenin insisted that it is

"...absolutely necessary to create illegal forms of agitation and organization."

Lenin, V. I. Selected Works, Volume V, page 129.

Lenin tells how Communists

"...will utilize the organizational habits and connections of the working class to create illegal forms of fighting for socialism that are suitable for an epoch of crisis..."

Ibid., Volume V, page 130.

"...it is necessary to formulate and put forward all these demands, not in a reformist, but in a revolutionary way; not by keeping within the framework of bourgeois loyalty, but by breaking through it..."

Ibid., page 269.

"...legal work must be combined with illegal work."

Ibid.; Volume X,
page 45.

"The party which under the rule of the bourgeoisie has not admitted this to this day and does not carry on systematic, all-sided, illegal work in spite of the laws of the bourgeoisie and of the bourgeois parliaments is a party of traitors and scoundrels, which deceives the people by the verbal recognition of revolution."

Ibid., pages 45, 46.

"Socialists can only come to one conclusion: pure legalism, the legalism of the European parties has outlived its usefulness, and owing to the entrance of Capitalism into its imperialistic stage of development, has become simply a bourgeois labor policy. It must be supplemented by the adoption of an extra legal basis, by extra legal organization, extra legal Social-Democratic action, without however surrendering any of the legal positions occupied."

Lenin, N., (V.I.) statement
in The Proletarian Revolution
in Russia by N. Lenin and Leon
Trotzky, page 132.

"We cannot go back or turn backward the wheels of history, we must and we can go ahead fearlessly, away from artificial, lawful, slavish opportunism and toward the sort of labor organization which will be revolutionary, which will know how to rid itself of the opportunist treachery, the sort of labor organization that will set out to conquer power and to overthrow the bourgeoisie."

Ibid., page 127.

"Vladimir Ilyich listened to us attentively, screwing up his eyes as was his wont, asked a few questions and forth-with gave us the following piece of unexpected advice.

'If you are really anxious to have your attitude towards workers' control realized, you must not rely only upon authority and formal legality. You must act, you must agitate, you must use every possible method of conveying your idea to the masses. If that idea is vital and revolutionary it will force a way for itself and nullify all lifeless, even if legalized, instructions and interpretations of workers' control.'

Kaktyn, A., statement
in Lenin In The October
Revolution, pages 63, 64.

ILLEGAL WORK (very necessary especially in the army, navy and among police)

Communists regard illegal work to be not only helpful and desirable but also as being very necessary to the development and spread of Communism.

"In all countries even the freest, 'legal' and 'peaceful' in the sense that the class struggle is least acute in them, the time has fully matured when it is absolutely necessary for every Communist Party systematically to combine legal with illegal work, legal with illegal organization."

"Only the most reactionary philistinism, no matter what beautiful, 'democratic' and pacifist phrases it may be cloaked in, can deny this fact, or the imperative conclusion that follows from it, viz., that it is necessary, immediately, for all legal Communist Parties to form illegal organizations for the purpose of systematically carrying on illegal work, and of fully preparing for the moment when the bourgeoisie resorts to persecution. Illegal work is particularly necessary in the army, the navy and police..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, pages 172-173.

"What an edifying picture. Men so completely perverted and dulled by bourgeois legalism, that they can no longer understand the necessity of different organizations, of unlawful ones. Men have gone so far that they imagine that lawful organizations, existing with the approval of the police, are the limit which must not be crossed, and that such organizations should be saved at the time of a

crisis. There is the live logic of opportunism. The pure and simple growth of lawful unions, the pure and simple routine of stupid, though well-meaning, philistines keeping their little union books, has led those well-meaning philistines when a crisis arose, to betray, to sell and to strangle the revolutionary energy of the masses. And this is not due to mere chance happenings."

Lenin, V. I., statement
in The Proletarian Revolution In Russia by N. (V.I.)
Lenin and Leon Trotzky,
page 129.

ILLEGAL WORK (within the ranks of labor)

The field of labor is of course a great field of Communist activity. Without gaining the support of large sections of the labor movement the Communists do not believe they can carry on any successful insurrection or revolution. Therefore, they persistently attempt to infiltrate the labor movement by both legal and illegal means for the purpose of misleading and deceiving laborers into supporting Communist designs.

"It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even--if need be-- to resort to all sorts of stratagems, ruses and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 95.

ILLEGAL APPROACH (to combine both legal and illegal means)

Communists, while advocating illegal methods, do not intend to minimize the importance of legal work. Their ideal is to combine both legal and illegal work in every human channel which can be exploited in behalf of Communism. Communists consider the question of combining legal work with illegal to be an immensely important question, one not to be ignored by any genuine Communist.

"...the importance of combining the legal with the illegal struggle. This question is of immense importance in general, and it is of particular importance because in all civilized and advanced countries the time is rapidly approaching when such a combination will become--and partly, has already become--more and more obligatory for the party of the revolutionary proletariat, owing to the fact that civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeois is maturing and approaching, owing to the fierce persecution of the Communists by republican governments and bourgeois governments generally, which are prepared to resort to all sorts of violations of legality (how much is the American example alone worth?). etc."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 102.

"...it is obligatory to combine legal with illegal forms of struggle, that it is obligatory to participate even in the most reactionary parliament and in a number of

other institutions that are restricted by reactionary laws (social insurance organizations, etc.)."

Ibid., pages 74, 75.

"On the other hand, it is also necessary, in all cases without exception, not to restrict oneself to illegal work, but also to carry on legal work, overcoming all obstacles that stand in the way of this, forming legal organs of the press and legal organizations under the most varied titles, which may often be changed in the event of necessity."

Ibid., page 173.

"The absolute necessity in principle of combining illegal with legal work is determined, not only by the sum total of the specific features of the present period, the period of the eve of the proletarian dictatorship, but also by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, a sphere or field of work that cannot be won by the Communists..."

Ibid., page 173.

ILLEGAL ORGANIZATION (required both prior to and during a war)

Communists do not believe in using illegal methods only during armed conflict. They believe in the use of illegal methods prior to an armed conflict as well. In time of peace they pursue illegal methods to help prepare the conditions which will make their illegal apparatus even more effective in time of war.

"Lenin was of the opinion that 'the only possible way of continuing revolutionary work after the outbreak of war is the creation of an illegal organization.' But, an illegal organization is also necessary in the anti-war struggle before war breaks out. There is still considerable confusion of mind concerning this important task in the struggle against war, and serious neglect in its practical fulfilment. In some Communist Parties the definitely opportunist view prevails that the conduct of anti-war activity is the business only of the youth, or of a special organization, while activity within the army is regarded as not being absolutely essential. Such views must be vigorously combated, and the work must be taken up immediately, in the spirit of the instructions given by Lenin. In this connection, we must:

"(1) Enlarge the number of Party factory nuclei which, under given circumstances arising from the persecution of the employers and the police, must go underground. The preparations for the transference to underground conditions when the contingency arises, must be undertaken now.

"(2) Make preparations for guaranteeing the proper functioning of the leading bodies of the Party, of the communications apparatus and of the Party press, in the event of the necessity arising for going strictly underground."

The Struggle
Against Imperialist War and The
Tasks of the Communists, Resolution
of the VI World
Congress of the
Communist International, page 18.

"The Bolsheviks, having a well set up illegal organization, were the only Party able to carry on revolutionary work during the war. Yet even they could no more prevent the masses from responding to the bourgeois call for 'national defense' than they could prevent the outbreak of war, notwithstanding the fact that the proletarian struggle in Russia was at high tide at that period. In fact, only a few weeks before the outbreak of war, barricades were erected in the streets of St. Petersburg."

Ibid., page 15.

ILLEGAL EXISTENCE (when necessary professional Communists to adopt illegal manner of existence)

In erecting their elaborate illegal apparatus Communists provide means not only for illegal plans and actions but also for an "illegal manner of existence" for their leaders. Such leaders are to move about from place to place, becoming familiar with the life of an entire nation and with all the various ramifications of the revolutionary movement. By so doing they become well rounded, educated and trained revolutionists, capable of directing the activities of their Party in both the above ground and below ground channels.

"A working class agitator who in any way shows talent and 'promise' should not work eleven hours a day in a factory. We should see to it that he lives on the funds of the Party, that he is able in good time to adopt an illegal manner of existence, that he has the opportunity of changing his sphere of activities; otherwise he will not gain experience, he will not broaden his outlook, and will not be able to hold out for at most several years in the struggle against the police."

Lenin, V. I., Lenin on Organization, page 95.

ILLEGAL APPROACH IN THE UNITED STATES (both legal and illegal means advocated)

The historical position of the Communist Party of the United States relative to the pursuit of illegal methods appears to fully agree with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Party proclaims the need for both a legal and an "illegal apparatus."

"Is a LEGAL Communist Party in America possible now or not? This is the question which has to be decided. The Executive is of the opinion, unless all signs are misleading, that a legal Party in America is now possible. The Communist Party existing in America now was born during the period of the war, the period when in all the belligerent countries martial law prevailed, which in America, assumed the most stringent forms. During this period a legal Communist Party was certainly not possible in America, and under the conditions then prevailing the Party had to work ILLEGALLY.

"It will be the business of the Communists to get a strong footing in this Labor Party; to build Communist nuclei in all Labor Party organizations, and to influence the Party.

"We do not believe that at this moment the illegal Communist Party must be demobilized. In view of our experience of the period of the 'democratic' martial law, we must by all means have in reserve an illegal apparatus..."

The Communist, January,
1923, Volume I, No. 13,
pages 1, 2.

INEVITABILITY. (Communism is inevitable; an unavoidable outcome of the economic process)

To Communists the final outcome of the struggle between Communists and non-Communists has already been decided in favor of the Communists due to the very nature of the struggle. They consider the victory of Communism to be inevitable because it is a "necessary product of historical development." They view progress to be from slavery to feudalism, to capitalism, to imperialism to Communism. The latter becomes the inevitable final outcome of the economic process. Communists insist that this outcome is written into the very heart of nature. It cannot be otherwise. It is determined.

"...the Communists fight with courage and devotion on all sectors of the international class front, in the firm conviction that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted."

Program of the Communist International, page 85.
See also A Handbook of Marxism, page 1042.

"...Mar deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of motion of contemporary society."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 33.

"The historical service rendered by the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, consisted in their contention that Socialism is a necessary product of historical development, that economic development prepares and makes inevitable the replacement of the capitalist by the socialist system of production. Proceeding from a comprehensive and systematic investigation into the philosophy, the economic theory, and the economic and political history of their epoch, Marx and Engels developed the materialist conception of history."

Marxist Study Courses,
"History of the Working
Class," pamphlet issued
by the International
Publishers, New York,
pages 10, 11.

"But Marx and Engels showed that socialism is not only a desirable system but that it is the necessary outcome of the entire historical process through which humanity has been moving since its origin."

Sparks, Nemmy, What Is
Socialism? pages 25, 26.

INSURRECTION (a necessity)

Communists, while preferring to have opposition surrender to them peacefully, indicate their belief in the necessity of insurrectionary methods and insurrections. They seem to be convinced that in the final conflict of important issues only force can decide the outcome.

"Only insurrection can guarantee the victory of the revolution..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 327.

"It is only in an order of things in which there are no more classes and class antagonisms that social evolutions will cease to be political revolutions. Till then, on the eve of every general reshuffling of society, the last word of social science will always be: 'Le combat ou la mort, la lutte sanguinaire ou le neant. C'est ainsi que la question est invinciblement posee!'--George Sand. ("Combat or death; bloody struggle or extinction. It is thus that the question is inexorably put." --Ed.)

Marx, Karl, The Poverty of Philosophy, page 147.

"...an armed uprising is a most pressing need, prepare yourselves for it immediately and energetically, remember that this is necessary in order to attain decisive victory..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, pages 115-116.

INSURRECTION (an art)

Communists strongly recommend against "playing with insurrection." They point out it is a very serious matter and should therefore be treated in a manner in keeping with its gravity. To Communists an insurrection, though led by individuals, is not to be an individual movement. It is a collective movement. They recommend instructing as many people as possible in all the techniques, tactics and strategy of insurrectionary work. They urge the insurrectionary principles be so carefully studied, mastered and prepared for that it all becomes an art. In fact Communists go so far as to say a person cannot be loyal to Communism unless he regards "insurrection as an art".

"Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. ...

"Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization, discipline, and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy; when the first successful rising has given to you; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse, and which always look out for the safer

side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace & ..."

Engels, Frederick, "Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 132-133.

"The day for the insurrection must be properly chosen. Only in this sense must the resolution be understood."

Stalin, Joseph, statement in The Russian Revolution by V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin, page 226.

"...it was Marx who called insurrection precisely an art, saying that it must be treated as an art, that the first success must be gained and that one must proceed from success to success, never ceasing the offensive against the enemy, taking every advantage of his confusion, etc., etc."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VI, page 218.

"...it is impossible to remain loyal to Marxism and to the revolution without regarding insurrection as an art."

Ibid., page 223.

INSURRECTION (to cover an entire historical period)

Communists on considering the value of an insurrection as an instrument to be used in establishing Communism do not view it as something which takes place within a very restricted period of time. Communists believe that many different insurrections will take place at many different times and in many different ways covering our entire historical period. These individual insurrections will have varying degrees of success and failure but taken together they will ultimately produce victory for the world revolution.

"Marxists have never forgotten that violence will be an inevitable accompaniment of the collapse of capitalism on its full scale and of the birth of a socialist society. And this violence will cover a historical period, a whole era of wars of the most varied kinds--imperialist wars, civil wars within the country, the interweaving of the former with the latter, national wars, the emancipation of the nationalities crushed by the imperialists and by various combinations of imperialist powers which will inevitably form various alliances with each other in the era of vast state-capitalist and military trusts and syndicates. This is an era of tremendous collapses, of wholesale military decisions of a violent nature, of crises. It has already begun, we see it clearly--it is only the beginning."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, pages 315, 316.

INSURRECTION (must annihilate the enemy and suppress all remaining opposition)

Communists do not believe in treating the opposition in any moderate manner. They insist that the opposition must not only be defeated but annihilated as well. Karl Marx established the precedent for this attitude in speaking of the Paris Commune. Marx pointed out that one of the main reasons for the failure of the Paris Commune was the fact that it was not violent and ruthless enough in annihilating its opponents. Marx wrote;

"The two errors robbed the brilliant victory of its fruit. The proletariat stopped half-way; instead of proceeding with the 'expropriation of the expropriators,' it was carried away by dreams of establishing supreme justice in the country... The second error was unnecessary magnanimity of the proletariat; instead of annihilating its enemies, it endeavored to exercise moral influence on them."

Marx, Karl, The Civil War In France, page 80.

INSURRECTION (the willingness to engage in an armed uprising the real test of a true Communist)

A Communist must be a vigorous person of action, a person must willing to engage in an insurrection in behalf of Communism. Participation in peaceful, legal means of bringing about Communism is not considered to be sufficient. In fact the willingness of a Communist to engage in insurrections, in a civil war, is considered to be the real test of a true Communist.

"It is not enough to take sides in the question of political slogans; we must take sides also in the question of an armed uprising. Those who are opposed to armed uprising, those who do not prepare for it, must be ruthlessly cast out of the ranks of the supporters of the revolution and sent back to the ranks of its enemies, of the traitors or cowards; for the day is approaching when the force of events and conditions of the struggle will compel us to separate enemies from friends according to this principle."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume III, page 351.

INSURRECTION (purpose)

The purpose of an insurrection as Communists understand it is not only the defeat of the political rulers but also the seizure of property.

"It is also clear that here the purpose of insurrection must be, not only the complete destruction, or removal, of all local authorities and their replacement by new...but also the expulsion of the landlords and the seizure of their lands."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 377.

INSURRECTION (prepare for it systematically)

Individual and spontaneous outbreaks of violence such as bomb throwing are strongly condemned by Communists. They believe an insurrection should be carefully planned and prepared for as well as being rooted to mass participation.

"The revolution confronts us directly with the problem of armed insurrection. And to speak of this without proper technical preparations, is merely to mouth empty phrases. He who wants the revolution must systematically prepare for it the broad masses, who will, in the process of preparation, create the necessary organs of the struggle."

Losovsky, A., Lenin The Great Strategist Of The Class War, page 17.

"He who refuses technically to prepare for the insurrection ultimately rejects the insurrection itself, and transforms the program of the revolution into an empty phrase."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in Ibid.

INSURRECTION (stages in its development)

Communists explain that through political division, confusion, dissatisfaction, and economic paralysis and want, social conditions are prepared for a successful insurrection. The insurrection itself is to proceed according to specific steps beginning with riots and ending with civil revolt.

"...if the situation is ripe for a popular uprising, in view of the fact that the revolution in social relationships has already taken place, and if we have prepared for it, we can order an uprising."

Lenin, V. I. Selected Works, Volume III, page 298.

"Riots--demonstrations--street battles--detachments of a revolutionary army--such are the stages in the development of the popular uprising."

Ibid., page 312.

V. I. Lenin recommended the

"...combining of a mass political strike with an armed uprising..."

Ibid., page 374.

Lenin stressed the fact that one very important condition in developing the steps of an insurrection

"...is suddenness, the possibility of catching the government unawares."

Ibid., page 375.

INTELLECTUALS

By intellectuals, Communists mean the educated so-called "middle-class" in a capitalist society. This group includes technicians, doctors, lawyers, teachers, artists and the like. They are, according to the Communist version, non-proletarians who have, nevertheless, indicated a preference at times to support the proletarian position in the class struggle. These intellectuals tend to be closer to the capitalist class, normally, than they do to the working class. However, they are uncertain, hesitant and vacillating in their attachments, swinging back and forth from one class to the other. Their allegiance is not a constant thing. Communists believe, therefore, that many of these intellectuals can be won over to the Communist position. Communists hope to so mold and influence the intellectuals that they will become a useful instrument in spreading Communism.

"The American imperialists are able to bribe and buy over certain mental workers. Their stubborn efforts to compel the intellectuals to serve their criminal design of corrupting men and women is facilitated by the lack of self-confidence and political instability which are sometimes to be observed even among progressive intellectuals in the capitalist countries."

New Times, September 1,
1948, published by the
newspaper "Trud"-Moscow,
page 6.

"The intelligentsia in the U.S.S.R. had also undergone a change. It had for the most part become an entirely new intelligentsia. The majority of its members came from the ranks of the workers and peasants. It no longer served capitalism, as the old intelligentsia did; it served Socialism. It

had become an equal member of the Socialist society. Together with the workers and peasants, it was building a new Socialist society. This was a new type of intelligentsia, which served the people and was emancipated from all exploitation. It was an intelligentsia the like of which the history of mankind had never known before."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(Bolsheviks), edited by a
Commission of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U.
(B.), page 344.

INTERNATIONAL (First)

The First International was the commonly accepted name of an international "workingmen's" organization. Its complete name was the International Working Men's Association. This "International" was founded by Karl Marx with the help of Frederick Engels in 1864 at London, England. The organization consisted of a loose grouping of trade unions so designed and directed as to promulgate the socialist viewpoint. The collapse of the Paris Commune in 1871, which members of the First International had supported, contributed to its dissolution. Its dissolution was further hastened by disagreements between the Marxist Socialists and the Bakunin Anarchists so that by 1872 the organization ceased to operate on an effective level. Its last meeting was held in 1876 at Philadelphia.

"This association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end: viz., the protection, advancement and complete emancipation of the working classes.

"The name of the society shall be: 'The Working Men's International Association.'"

Marx, Karl,
"Inaugural Address,"
Founding of The First International: A Documentary Record, published by International Publishers, New York, 1937, page 40.

"The fight for ... a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

"Proletarians of all countries, Unite!"

Ibid., pages 38-39.

It is of some interest to note that Karl Marx in his "Inaugural Address" declared:

"...this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice and morality, as the bases of their conduct toward each other, and towards all men ... They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights."

Ibid., page 40.

This statement was made by Karl Marx on September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London. In a letter to Frederick Engels dated November 4, 1864 at London, Karl Marx, referring to his "Inaugural Address," declared:

"My proposals were all accepted by the sub-committee. Only I was obliged to insert two phrases about 'duty' and 'right' into the preamble to the statutes, ditto 'truth, morality and justice,' but these are placed in such a way that they can do no harm."

Ibid., page 50.

"The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundation of the international organisation of the workers in order to prepare for their revolutionary onslaught on capital."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume X, page 30.

INTERNATIONAL (Second)

The Second International originated in 1889 at Paris. It was established to continue the work of the First International and like the First International it was made up of members who held conflicting socialistic views. Many were strongly opposed to the socialistic ideas of Karl Marx. The leadership was finally taken over by a group of intellectuals who were in favor of revising the doctrines of Karl Marx. The Marxist exponents were bitterly opposed to this policy of "revision and reform" and eventually withdrew from the Second International and in 1919 created their own organization, the Third International. Communists now contend that the Second International is dead. However, efforts were made to revive it in 1923, and some traces still linger on to the irritation of all Communists. The original organization does not exist.

"The Second International (1889-1914) was the international organisation of the proletarian movement which grew in breadth, and this entailed a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary increase in the strength of opportunism, which, in the end, led to the disgraceful collapse of this International."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume X,
page 30.

"The Second International marked the epoch in which the soil was prepared for a broad, mass, widespread movement in a number of countries."

Ibid., page 31.

"The bankrupt Second International is now dying and decomposing alive. Actually, it is playing the role of lackey to the international bourgeoisie. It is a really Yellow International. Its most prominent ideological leaders, like Kautsky, laud bourgeois democracy and call it 'democracy' in general, or - what is still more stupid

and still more crude--'pure democracy.'

"Bourgeois democracy is obsolete, and so also is the
Second International..."

Ibid., page 35.

INTERNATIONAL (Third)

The Third International is also referred to as the Communist International or the Comintern. It was founded under the guidance of V. I. Lenin in 1919 at Moscow, Russia. This International was based wholly upon the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. It revived different theories and practices of the First International. The Third International with which the Communist Parties throughout the world were affiliated, including the Communist Party of the United States, recommended as a method of reaching the desired end, a violent revolution. The desired end was, of course, the establishment of Communism to the total exclusion of all other social orders. It played an important part in the development of world Communism. It served as the General Staff of the coming revolution. The Communist or Third International contained within its vast network such "Communist fractions" as the Red International of Labor Unions, International Labor Defense Workers, International Relief and the like. The Communist Party of the United States withdrew from the Third International in 1940 apparently to avoid the provisions of the Vochris Act. However, it still embraced the "science" of Marxism-Leninism and remained under the influence of the leadership of the Third International. The International itself was dissolved in June, 1943. Its principles have never been dissolved.

"The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the world for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of Communism. The Communist International is a fighting body and assumes the task of combining the revolutionary forces of every country.

"In order to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the Communist Society, the Communist International will use all means at its disposal, including force of arms."

The Communist, Volume
I, Number 1, July,
1921, page 11.

"The Communist International - the International Workers' Association - is a union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives ...for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics..."

"Constitution of the
Communist International,"
Program of the Communist
International, page 87.

"The Third International was actually created in 1918 when the long process of struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, particularly during the war, led to the formation of Communist Parties in a number of countries. Officially the Third International was formed at its first congress, in March 1919 in Moscow. And the most characteristic feature of this International is its mission to carry out, to put into practice, the behests of Marxism, and to achieve the century - old ideals of Socialism and the working class movement - this very characteristic feature of the Third International manifested itself immediately in that the new Third 'International Workingmen's Association' has already begun to coincide, to a certain extent with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume X, page 31.

"The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism."

Program of the Communist
International, page 30.

"The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, closely linked to the masses."

Ibid., page 76.

"While organizing, under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution against imperialism in the so-called civilized states, the Communist International supports every move against imperialist oppression in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies (for example in Latin-America)..."

Ibid., page 78.

"The world-historical significance of the Third, Communist International lies in that it has begun to put into practice Marx's greatest slogan, the slogan which sums up the century-old development of Socialism and the working class movement, the slogan which is expressed by the term: dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 31.

"The Communist International must devote itself especially to ... exposure of social chauvinism, of social-imperialism and of pacifist phrasemongering intended to camouflage the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie; propaganda in favor of the principal slogans of the Communist International; everyday organizational work in connection with this, in the course of which work legal methods must unflinchingly be combined with illegal methods; organized work in the army and navy -- such must

be the activity of the Communist Parties in this connection. The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat 'your own' imperialist government; defend the U.S.S.R. and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them."

Program of the Communist
International, page 84.

INTERNATIONAL-THIRD (all parties affiliated must assist Soviet Russia)

The rules of the Communist International provided for and urged all affiliated Communist parties to give their unqualified assistance to Soviet Russia. These parties and their members were expected to assist Soviet Russia by both legal and illegal means. It did in fact encourage treason against one's country if that country was interfering with the will of Soviet Russia.

"Each party desirous of affiliating to the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc."

The Theses and Statutes
of The Communist Inter-
national as adopted at
the Second World Congress,
July 17 - August 7, 1920,
page 28.

INTERNATIONAL-THIRD (dissolution of)

June 10, 1943 the Communist International was formally dissolved. Joseph Stalin in explaining this course of action said its dissolution facilitated the fight against Germany. In effect it was a practical, tactical move designed to strengthen the Communist position at that given moment and it did not in any way indicate a departure from the principles of Marxism--Leninism. Similarly, it did not in the least affect the methods and aims of the international Communist movement and its parties scattered around the world. Blas Roca, Communist leader in Cuba, quickly pointed out; "The internationalism, cooperation and solidarity of all the workers of the world, were not dissolved with the Third International, as they were not dissolved with the First, but they will now be much stronger and much more extensive..." This statement's validity is established by the conduct of Communist parties since the dissolution of the Third International as well as the creation in 1947 of the Communist Information Bureau of Belgrade (the Cominform).

"The international organization of the proletarian vanguard does not today exist. But its dissolution does not mean a weakening in proletarian internationalism, which it promoted and advanced."

Jerome, V. J., "The
Communist Vanguard,"
The Communist, Volume
XXIII, No. 6, June, 1944,
page 565.

The Communist Party of the United States withdrew from the Communist International in November of 1940, as a tactical movement to prevent legal involvement with the laws of the United States. In view of this the following statement of Gil Green, a member of the National Board of the Communist Party and one who had been active in the Communist International, is of particular significance:

"Since November 1940, our Party has not been an affiliate of the Communist International and has had no organizational ties with it. But who can deny that our Party has nonetheless fulfilled its obligation to the American working class and people and in this way to the working class and people of the world?"

Green, Gil., The
Dissolution of the
Communist Interna-
tional a speech
delivered on May 26,
1943, page 3.

"Nor is the further existence of the Communist International necessary as the living embodiment of the principle of internationalism and international working class solidarity. The fight for internationalism has not disappeared. It has been raised to new and more glorious heights."

Ibid., page 8.

"The dissolution of the Communist International does not, therefore, mark a step backward ... Millions all over the world live, work and fight under the bright banner of Marxism."

Ibid., page 9.

Joseph Stalin in explaining the reasons for the dissolution of the Communist International made it rather clear that the dissolution was a tactical move and in no way did it mean that any of the principles and aims of Communism were being renounced. Stalin in referring to this dissolution declared: "it facilitates the work of the patriots of all countries" in fighting Hitlerism and in uniting all peoples for this end into

"...a single international camp...I feel that the dissolution of the Communist International is perfectly timely."

Stalin, Joseph as quoted in The Communist, Volume XXII, Number 11, November 1943, page 1020.

Hans Berger, writing for the benefit of American Communists, repeated and elaborated upon Stalin's thoughts.

"The dissolution of the Communist International took place therefore to facilitate the annihilation of the main enemy..."

"Since correct strategy consists in uniting and concentrating all forces against the common enemy, necessitating the elimination of everything which makes such unification and concentration difficult, therefore the dissolution of the Communist International, decided upon unanimously by the Communist Parties, was doubtless an act in the interests of facilitating victory over the fascist enemy."

Berger, Hans, "Remarks On The Discussion Concerning The Dissolution of The Communist International," The Communist, Volume XXII, Number 11, November, 1943, page 1020.

"The Communist Parties have thus never sacrificed their Marxist-Leninist principles, which know no boundaries, and which can never be given up by them, but guided by their principles fight on with the utmost consistency..."

Ibid., page 1021.

"Among the reasons which the leaders of the Communist Parties considered in supporting the dissolution of the Communist International was doubtless the question of strengthening the Communist Parties..."

Ibid., page 1028.

INTERNATIONALISM (general Communist view)

Internationalism is repeatedly stressed in all Communist literature. It is not the form of internationalism known to democratic nations. The type of internationalism recommended by Communists is their own peculiar form conducive to spreading the Communist idea throughout the world and uniting Communists around an international ideology and an international party. The very nature of the Communist idea demands that it become international. It cannot enjoy a full and complete expression within a world filled with nationalistic states. It is the foe of all nationalisms except that type which is on the road toward Communism and can be used to further Communist plans for world control (e.g. agitating for national independence in colonial countries assuming it will lead to the internationalism of Communism). The continued development and expansion of Soviet Russia, "the fatherland" of all Communists, is an integral element in the Communist conception of internationalism.

"There is one, and only one kind of internationalism in deed: working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) such, and only such, a struggle and such a line in every country without exception."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 4.

"To be an international programme, our programme must take account of the class factors which are economically characteristic of all countries."

Ibid., Volume VIII, page 360.

"We have brothers in every land. We have a mighty stronghold in this battle, in the land where socialism is being built, where a new culture is blossoming-- the Soviet Union."

Browder, Earl, Communism
In the United States,
page 315.

"But we also have the teachings of Lenin to guide us, and of Lenin's teachers, Marx and Engels and of Lenin's outstanding disciple and successor, Stalin, organized in our American section of the international Communist Party."

Ibid., page 176.

"The formation of the International Soviet Republic is approaching."

Lenin, V. I., The Foundation
of the Communist International,
page 23.

INTERNATIONALISM (proletarian)

By proletarian internationalism Communists mean a working class policy (e.g. Communism) which is predicated on the assumption that workers all over the world, irrespective of race, nationality, creed or color, constitute one single class; one solid bloc. This single class of world-wide workers have common interests, common problems, common solutions to the problems, common objectives, and common responsibilities. In their struggle to destroy capitalism and imperialism they must unite on an international basis and move to the attack as one comprehensive force which knows no national nor geographical boundary lines. They represent one class in one world, seeking to establish one world-wide social order, namely, Communism. Communists point out that in contrast to their desirable proletarian internationalism there stands out bleak, brazen and brutal the nationalism of the detestable bourgeoisie. This nationalism contributes to racial prejudice, class division, excessive patriotism, and exploitation, all of which lays the groundwork for recurrent wars. Proletarian internationalism, on the other hand will eliminate all these negative and destructive forces. It furnishes the basis, maintains Joseph Stalin, for the "future amalgamation of the toilers of all countries into a single world economic system." In the process of development, proletarian internationalism is to be used to defend and advance the interests of the Soviet Union. It is to be subordinated to the objectives of the world struggle for Communism.

"...proletarian internationalism demands, firstly, the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one country to the interests of the struggle on a world scale; and secondly, it calls for the ability and readiness on the part of the nations which are achieving victory over the bourgeoisie to make the greatest national sacrifices for the sake of overthrowing international capital.

"Thus, in states which are already fully capitalistic, which have workers' parties that are really the vanguard

of the proletariat, the struggle against the opportunist and petty-bourgeois pacifist distortions of the concept and policy of internationalism is a primary and very important task."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, pages 235-236.

"Working men of all countries unite!"

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, The Communist Manifesto, page 44.

"...submit to only one discipline, viz., international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship."

Program of the Communist International, page 85.

INTERNATIONALISM (final victory must be on an international scale)

Communists approach the conclusion that the entire world must become Communist from different directions. One of these is from the angle of internationalism. They contend that just so long as independent nationalistic states remain, the Communist portion of the world will always be in danger of intervention. As long as it remains in danger of intervention it cannot proceed to the "higher phase" of the complete victory of Communism - therefore it becomes absolutely necessary to propound proletarian internationalism which is to result in the destruction of all independent nationalistic states.

"A full guarantee against intervention, the final victory of socialism, is only possible on the international scale, as a result of the concerted efforts of the proletariat in a number of lands, or rather, as a result of the victory of the proletariat in several countries."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 242-243.

"Final victory can be achieved only on an international scale, and only by the combined efforts of the workers of all countries."

Lenin, V. I., quoted in
Leninism by Joseph Stalin,
Volume I, page 170.

"Leninism answers these problems in the negative.
Leninism teaches that:

"...The final victory of socialism, in the sense of the complete guarantee against the restoration of

bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale.'

"This means that the serious assistance of the international proletariat is a force without which the problem of the final victory of socialism in one country cannot be solved."

Stalin, Joseph, Letter to Ivanov, page 9, See also: Resolution of the Fourteenth Party Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

INTERNATIONALISM (and the Communist Party, USA)

The Communist Party of the United States has historically taken the position that it is a part of the international Communist movement. It espouses proletarian internationalism. It owes no loyalty to an independent, sovereign nation such as the United States. Embracing proletarian internationalism from the very beginning the Communist Party of the United States has indicated its desire to promote this form of internationalism not only in this nation but in other nations as well.

"Our Party is an international party, our Party fights imperialist wars, our Party joins hands with the workers and toilers of all countries in defense of the exploited and toiling masses everywhere, and we declare that in the event of a war we will utilize the war to mobilize the workers, to mobilize the farmers, to mobilize the masses to make the war the burial-ground for capitalism not only in this country but also in every other country in the world."

Gitlow, Benjamin, Acceptance Speeches, pages 35-36.

"Proletarian internationalism constitutes the very heart of our World Party."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party In Action, page 35.

"The Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands."

The Constitution of the Communist Party of the USA, Preamble adopted July, 1945 Convention, page 4.

"There are various expressions of internationalism, some progressive and revolutionary, others, of all shades of conservative and reactionary character. But there is only one consistent and complete internationalism today, and that is proletarian internationalism, the internationalism founded by Marx and Engels, and brought to its great, historically-decisive victories under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin."

"It was as the inheritor...of the proletarian internationalism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. has from its birth lived and moved in the spirit of internationalism."

Browder, Earl, as quoted in
the Sunday Worker, Volume V,
Number 46, November 17, 1940,
page , column

INTERNATIONALISM (and Soviet Russia)

Communists regard Soviet Russia to be the fatherland of proletarian internationalism. Therefore Soviet Russia expects all Communist Parties the world over who are promulgating proletarian internationalism to recognize this fact at all times and to operate in the interest of this "fatherland." The ties between the proletariat (working class) in Soviet Russia and those in other nations are to be kept very close and strong. The working class in the United States and in other non-Communist nations is to be constantly encouraged to oppose the foreign and domestic policies of its own country and to support those of Soviet Russia. In the event of war between Soviet Russia and non-Communist nations, the working class of countries engaged in a war with Soviet Russia is expected to turn against and sabotage the war efforts of its own nation and assist Russia in every possible way. In return Soviet Russia will aid the proletariat in all non-Communist nations in its struggle for Communism.

"Proletarian internationalism runs through the entire teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the entire theoretical and practical work of Lenin and Stalin ...'The international proletarian ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class of bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country (Russia) must be organized in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organized; our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet and the Chemical and Air Defense Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost.'"

Manuilsky, D. Z., "Lenin and the International Labor Movement" published in The Communist, March, 1939, pages 223-224. See also A Letter to Ivanov, Stalin, Joseph, page 13.

"In view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and defend it against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all the means in its power."

Program of the Communist
International, page 66.

"The international obligations of the working class of Russia are now coming to the forefront with particular force."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume X, page 3.

"...the first proletarian State can retain its position of standard bearer of the international revolutionary movement only on condition that it retains a consistently internationalist outlook and promulgates the foreign policy of the October revolution."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 305.

"The international proletarian ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class in bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organized in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organized...."

Stalin, Joseph, Letter to
Ivanov, page 13.

"The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world proletariat, its vanguard; and our republic is the offspring of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that if it had not been supported by the working class in the capitalist countries it would not have been able to retain power, it would not have secured for itself the conditions for socialist construction, and hence it would not have achieved the successes that it did achieve. International ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of the capitalist countries, the fraternal alliance between the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of all countries--this is one of the cornerstones of the strength and might of the Republic of Soviets. The workers in the West say that the working class of the U.S.S.R. is the shock brigade of the world proletariat. That is very good. It shows that the world proletariat is prepared to continue to render all the support it can to the working class of the U.S.S.R. But this imposes a very serious duty upon us. It means that we must prove worthy of the honourable title of the shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. It imposes upon us the duty to work better, and to fight better, for the final victory of socialism in our country, for the victory of socialism in all countries."

Stalin, Joseph, "Report at Seventeenth Congress of The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1934," as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, pages 955, 956.

"...the revolutionary proletarian, the internationalist... says: 'The character of the war (whether reactionary or revolutionary) is not determined by who the aggressor was, or whose territory the "enemy" has occupied it is determined by the class that is waging the war, and the politics of which this war is a continuation. If the war is a reactionary imperialist war...my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the world proletarian revolution...'"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 177.

"Bolshevism has helped in a practical way to develop the proletarian revolution in Europe and America more powerfully than any party in any country has ever succeeded in doing."

Ibid., page 183.

INTERNATIONALIST (to develop the revolutionary movement)

Every internationalist coming within the Communist definition is expected to strive constantly to develop and carry through the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat led by the Communist Party. "True" internationalists are under obligation to give every possible aid to this revolutionary movement not only in their own country but in foreign countries as well.

"There is only one way of being a genuine internationalist: to strain all our energies in an endeavor to develop the revolutionary movement and speed the revolutionary struggle in our own land, to support that struggle in every way, by propaganda, sympathy, material aid, and support only that struggle, in every country without exception. Everything else is a snare and a delusion."

Lenin, V. I., in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia by (V. I.) N. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, page 145.

INTERNATIONALIST GROUP (only one "true" type)

The only true internationalist group within a nationalistic and imperialistic nation is described by Communists as being that group which breaks completely with social-chauvinism and centrism. It is that group of people which wages a fierce "revolutionary war" against its own government and its own non-Communist economic system. The main principle of such a "true" international group is: "our greatest enemy is at home."

"It is characterized mainly by its complete rupture with both social-chauvinism and 'Centrism', and by its relentless revolutionary war against its own imperialist government and against its own imperialist bourgeoisie. Its principle is: 'Our greatest enemy is at home.' It wages a ruthless struggle against honeyed social-pacifist phrases..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 6.

JUSTICE

The question of "justice" has been a subject to which the best thinkers of many centuries have devoted their keen attention. Plato said that justice was intimately connected with beneficence and effective social harmony. Aristotle related justice to applied virtue in all phases of human relations. Sidgwick described justice as being inseparably linked to the respect of the rights of other people. Many other thinkers have approached the concept of justice from similar angles. To all these men justice was a thing which could not be separated from a love of truth, conformity with facts and an adherence to rational thought. Its task was to serve in the behalf of objective truth. Communists break completely with this approach to justice and for all practical purposes indicate that for them justice consists in the defense of Communism and the application and promulgation of Communist principles. To non-Communists justice is still an open issue to be further explored and perfected. To Communists justice is a closed issue which is not subject to any further thought and free exploration for the sake of perfection. They assume it has reached its perfect state through being identified with the revolutionary nature of matter as interpreted according to the "science" of Marxism-Leninism. Soviet Russia is at present the greatest example of the Communist concept of justice in action.

"In this sense the tasks of socialist justice are defined in Article 2 of the law concerning the judicial system of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics:

'The task of justice in the USSR is to defend from encroachments of every character: (a) the social and state organization of the USSR established by the Constitution..'

'The task of justice in the USSR is to assure the precise and unswerving fulfillment of Soviet laws by all the institutions, organizations, officials, and citizens of the USSR.'

"This the court accomplishes by destroying without pity all the foes of the people in whatsoever form they manifest their criminal encroachments upon socialism."

Vyshinsky, Andrei, Y., The Law of the Soviet State, page 498.

"The court is the organ which administers justice. Dispensing justice is one of the state's most important functions. In the socialist state it consists in resolving matters, transferred to be considered by the court, on the basis of Soviet laws...The task of justice in the USSR is, above all, to safeguard and defend the socialist state from all encroachments whatsoever."

Ibid., page 499.

KEYNESISM

When Communists mention "Keynesism", as they frequently do, they are referring to the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes. These economic theories are for the most part stated in his book: The General Theory of Employment, Money and Interest, published in 1933. Keynes has several suggestions to make for improving the capitalist system. Among these suggestions are: (1) give greater consideration to the "psychological characteristics of human nature" in considering the economic problem; (2) the economic system is not wholly self-adjusting and, according to his "theory of effective demand" there must be "outside interference" or government intervention for the purpose of facilitating economic adjustment; (3) full employment and "real wages" not "nominal wages" are essential to the elimination of under consumption and to the survival of Capitalism, all of which can best be had through government assistance; (4) high prices or "moderate" and "controlled" inflation can be helpful; (5) the financial life of a nation should also be stabilized by government controls. The above in very brief form is "Keynesism" which Communists completely condemn.

"Keynes' economic theories are those of the vulgar economists."

Mindel, J., "The Economic Theories of John Maynard Keynes," Political Affairs, February, 1948, Volume XXVII, Number 2, page 157.

"The eclecticism of Keynes cannot help save capitalism from doom. All its tinkering with a decaying economic system will not prevent the triumph of Socialism."

Ibid., page 166.

"Keynesism is essentially a product of the general crisis of capitalism; more specifically, of the world-wide capitalist crisis of the 1930's. Keynes worked in the general tradition of Malthus, Sismondi, and other bourgeois economists, exponents of the under-consumption theory, who saw the origin of the cyclical crisis primarily in the sphere of distribution."

Foster, William Z., Political Affairs, January, 1948, Volume XXVII, Number 1, page 27.

"Fundamentally, Keynes' system is an attempt to save capitalism and capitalist profits by solving, or at least by seriously mitigating, the growing menace of mass unemployment."

Ibid., page 28.

"As regard theory, Keynesism has nothing whatever to offer to Marxism. Keynesism is pro-capitalist throughout."

Ibid., page 32.

"Keynes was definitely and aggressively anti-Marxist..."

Ibid., page 33.

"In the United States, Keynesism took early root and has played an important political role."

Ibid., page 38.

"Roosevelt's New Deal, although it had its own special aspects, had many characteristic Keynesian features."

Ibid., page 38.

"Many Keynesians, including Chester Bowles, Robert Nathan, Leon Henderson, and the A.D.A. crowd generally, are trotting along in the train of the imperialist, war-minded big capitalists. They are endorsing the Marshall Plan...Unfortunately, this shameful fact is true, not only of many of the Keynesian professors in the colleges, but also of the dominant Keynes-minded trade union leadership in the A.F. of L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods."

Ibid., pages 40-41.

"We Communists must take up the cudgels energetically against all the Keynesian theoretical nonsense... One of the most urgent mass educational tasks we now have before us is precisely to liquidate Keynesian misconceptions..."

Ibid., page 43.

LABOR PROCESS

Communists consider labor to be a process which involves three distinct but related elements: (1) a purpose; (2) subject matter; and (3) instruments. The fusion of these three by the rational action of man makes up the labor process.

"Labour is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and controls the material re-actions between himself and Nature. He opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion arms and legs, head and hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate Nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants. By thus acting on the eternal world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. ...

"The elementary factors of the labour-process are 1, the personal activity of man, i.e., work itself, 2, the subject of that work, and 3, its instruments."

Marx, Karl, Capital,
Volume I, pages 156-157.

LAW

Communists analyse the subject of law from the same perspective from which they view all other aspects of human relations. To Communists law is not rooted in the mind of man per se. On the contrary, it is rooted in the "material conditions of life." All judicial and political concepts and practices are viewed as outgrowths of the "economic structure of society." The methods of production and consumption, the means by which the material goods of life are produced, not only create and determine the nature of law but all other processes of life as well. Law of its very nature is inseparable from the state, and, as the state is an organ of force, law amounts to nothing unless there is force behind it to compel obedience. Therefore, behind the present day legal structure of Communism there must be the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And in view of Lenin's statement that the dictatorship is not based on law but on force the clear inference is: for Communists force is primary and law, secondary. The latter becomes the mere instrument of the former. To paraphrase an old epigram, justice is on the side of the greatest force. This force is rooted in material conditions. The state, as this force, must not be bound by law. This interpretation of law, obviously, is in direct contradiction to the legal concepts of western civilization.

"Marxism - Leninism gives a clear definition (the only scientific definition) of the essence of law. It teaches that legal relationships (and, consequently, law itself) are rooted in the material conditions of life, and that law is merely the will of the dominant class, elevated into a statute. It starts from the proposition that political, legal, philosophical, religious, and literary development is defined by - and is a superstructure over - economics."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet
State, page 13.

"The nature of the state is the most important question in the science of public law. The theory of the state is the basis not only of the science of state law but also of law in general, inasmuch as a scientific understanding of law is impossible without a correct understanding of the state. Law and state cannot be studied separately

and apart from each other. Law draws its force, and obtains its content, from the state."

Ibid., page 5.

"...there never was, and there cannot be, any 'idea' either of justice or of a 'general' law endowed with a content, independent of class."

Ibid., page 31.

"Bergbohm, Gierke, Maier, Gumplowicz, Jellinek, Ihering, Anton Menger, Krabbe, Duguit, Petrazhitzky, Kelsen, Karner, and others define law, each in his own way, but none of them is able to take a single step forward or beyond the pitiful idealistic conception which flutters in the clutches of abstractions--'spirit,' 'idea,' 'will,' 'general will,' 'private will,' 'social solidarity,' 'social function,' and so forth. All the impotence of bourgeois legal science is expressed with particular clarity in the utter inability of bourgeois legal scholars in the matter of explaining the very origin of law."

Ibid., pages 34, 35.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is authority unlimited by any statutes whatever. But the dictatorship of the proletariat, creating its own laws, makes use of them, demands that they be observed, and punishes breach of them."

Ibid., page 48.

"Dictatorship is power based upon force and unrestricted by any laws.

"The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is power won and maintained by the violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, power that is unrestricted by any laws."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 123.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, as a form of proletarian political power, has nothing in common with the power in a bourgeois state (the so-called 'national,' 'universal franchise,' 'nonclass' or 'supraclass' power) about which the bourgeois jurists prate. It is 'the power of one class - the class of proletarians - which does not and cannot share that power with other classes.'"

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet State,
page 40.

"One single Party of Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, directing all the levers of the system of the worker-class dictatorship...therein is the pledge of communism's victory."

Ibid., page 627.

"...only one party, ... the Communist Party, enjoys legality."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
page 367.

LEADERSHIP

Communist leadership means the ability to "sell" Communism to the masses of people. It is the ability to so organize enough of them behind Party programs that definite progress can be made toward overthrowing the existing social order as a preparatory step in building the World Communist Society. Communists do not believe it to be necessary to convince all the laborers relative to Communism before they take revolutionary action.

"What does leadership mean when the Party policy is correct and when the proper relationships between the vanguard and the class remain undisturbed?

"In such circumstances, leadership means the ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the Party policy; the ability to put forward and to carry out such slogans as bring the masses to the Party position, and which make it easier for them on the basis of their own experience to realize the correctness of the Party policy; the ability to raise the masses to the level of Party consciousness, and thus to ensure the support of the masses and their readiness for decisive struggle.

"This does not mean, of course, that the Party must first convince all the workers down to the last man, and only then proceed to action, that only after this may it commence operations. Nothing of the sort."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism,

Volume I, page 290.

LENINISM (summary statement)

As we know, the Communist Party of the United States clearly states it is based upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In summarizing the principles and the program of Leninism, it may be said that its exponents charge that our present economic and social system termed Capitalism is in the process of decay. This situation results in the creation of conditions leading to the destruction of capitalism throughout the world. The destruction of the capitalist system in every country will not come by itself but only through violent revolutionary action inspired and led by a revolutionary party of the working class. Such a party, say the Leninists, can only be a Communist Party with a Leninist program which can judge the proper historical time when to take the offensive against capitalism and make the revolution.

Leninism further provides that the Communist Party must be a centralized, highly disciplined Party. To use Lenin's words, a monolithic party, a party that thinks and acts like one man. A party, that is based on unanimity like a Communist Party is, cannot be a democratic organization. Hence in all Communist Parties, democratic procedure in the running of the organization does not exist. The party is bossed from the top down.

The Leninist program further provides that all Communist Parties become part of an international organization which is dominated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union whose decisions and that of its agents are binding on all other Communist Parties.

Communist Parties with a Leninist program must accept the position that the Soviet Union represents the fatherland of the working class and that loyalty to the Soviet Union supersedes all other loyalties.

Leninism does not conceive that the Communist Party is a Party which includes in its organization a majority of the population or even a majority of the working class. Not a single Communist Party in existence, not even the Russian Communist Party, makes such a claim. What Leninism does claim is that the Communist Party represents the concerted will and highest intelligence of the working class and therefore has the right to speak and act as the leader and vanguard of the working class.

Leninism holds that a Communist revolution does not depend upon the consent of the majority of the population but only on the will of the Communist Party. It stresses that when it is possible for a Communist Party during a grave crisis to seize power in a decisive section or city of the country it should do so and then proceed to extend its power by force and terror to all other sections of the country.

The Leninist program directs the Communist Party immediately upon seizing power to establish a dictatorship, the dictatorship to be based on the rule of one Party, the Communist Party as we have in Soviet Russia today. In these countries where Communist Parties share power with other parties, as in the satellite countries of Europe dominated by Soviet Russia, the situation must be viewed as a temporary one preliminary to the Communists taking over complete power.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, as Leninism calls the dictatorship which the Communists set up, proceeds to confiscate all the resources of the country, all the property under private ownership and to convert it into state property. There are exceptions but they are of minor importance and in no way effect the basic and material wealth of the country. If the small and large business men deprived of their holdings resist the confiscations or oppose the Communists they are either imprisoned or executed. Lenin defines the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist state, as a class state which ruthlessly suppresses all other political parties, all opposition, and all other classes outside of the working class except the poor and middle class farmers who submit to and follow the lead of the Communist Party.

Leninism holds that a Communist Party can be victorious in carrying out a Communist revolution provided it succeeds in neutralizing the farmers by offering them what the Communists call an alliance with the working class. Before the outbreak of the revolution the alliance takes the form of organizing fronts of farmers and workers around the agrarian demands and reforms which the Communists advocate. After the outbreak of the revolution, the alliance is consummated by extending the revolution to the agricultural regions around the order for the seizure of the large agricultural holdings by expropriation without compensation, followed by the splitting up of holdings and their division among the poorer farmers who are land hungry. Once the Communists have firmly established their grip on the country, the Leninist program calls for actually depriving the farmers of all available farm land through the enforcement of agricultural edicts calling for the transformation of private agricultural economy into huge state owned farms and collective farms which are virtually state agricultural enterprises.

The Leninist conception of the Communist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is that of a totalitarian state in which all the economic, cultural and social affairs of the country are monopolized in the hands of the state - hence Communism in this stage is the highest form of absolute statism, for the state ruled by the head of one party, the Communist Party, runs all schools, theaters, newspapers, magazines, public utilities, industries, farms, etc.

Since the Communist Party, according to Leninism, is strictly a class party of the working class, the Leninist program calls for the waging of a ruthless war for the extermination of all other classes by crushing their economic and political power. This war in Communist terminology is called the class war. Leninism stresses that during a revolutionary situation class warfare develops into its highest and most important form when it breaks out in a country into a violent civil war, a war in which the Communist Party destroys the power of capitalism and takes over the power of government.

"Lenin was a Marxist and Marxism is naturally the foundation of his conception of the world. But it does not follow from this in the least that an exposition of Leninism ought to begin with an exposition of the foundations of Marxism. To expound Leninism means to expound that which is distinctive and new in the work of Lenin, which he contributed to the general treasury of Marxism and which is naturally connected with his name. It is only in this sense that I shall speak of the foundations of Leninism in my lectures."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 13.

"Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution. Or, to be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx

and Engels lived and worked in the pre-revolutionary epoch (we have the proletarian revolution in mind) when developed imperialism did not yet exist, in the period of the preparation of the proletarians for the revolution, when the proletarian revolution was not yet a direct, practical inevitability. Lenin, the disciple of Marx and Engels, lived and worked in the epoch of developed imperialism, in the epoch of the developing proletarian revolution, the epoch when the proletarian revolution has triumphed in one country, smashed bourgeois democracy and ushered in the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets."

Ibid., page 14.

"I think that Lenin 'added' no 'new principles' to Marxism nor did Lenin abolish any of the 'old' principles of Marxism. Lenin was and remained a loyal and consistent pupil of Marx and Engels, and wholly and entirely based himself on the principles of Marxism. But Lenin did not merely carry out the doctrines of Marx and Engels. He developed these doctrines further."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 359.

"What does that mean? It means that he developed the doctrines of Marx and Engels in accordance with the new conditions of development, with the new phase of capitalism, with imperialism. This means that in developing further the doctrines of Marx in the new conditions of the class struggle, Lenin contributed to the general treasury of Marxism something new as compared with what was created by Marx and Engels and with what they could create in the pre-imperialist period of capitalism. Moreover, Lenin's contribution to Marxism is based wholly and entirely on the principles laid down by Marx and Engels. In that sense we speak of Leninism as Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Here are a number of questions in the sphere of which Lenin

contributed something new in developing further the doctrines of Marx:"

Ibid., page 359.

"Leninism is not Leninist doctrine minus Marxism. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. In other words, Leninism includes all that Marx taught, plus Lenin's new contribution to the treasury of Marxism, which necessarily follows from all that Marx taught (the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasant question, the national question, the Party, the question of the social roots of reformism, the question of the most important deviations from communism, etc.). It would be better, therefore, to formulate the question in such a way as to speak of Marxism or of Leninism (the two being fundamentally one and the same), and not to speak of Marxism and Leninism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 255, 256.

"But it would be wrong to suppose that Lenin's method was merely the restoration of the teachings of Marx. As a matter of fact, Lenin's method is not only a restoration, but also the concrete presentation and a further development of the critical and revolutionary method of Marx, of his materialist dialectics."

Ibid., page 26.

"We know, however, that Leninism is an international phenomenon, having its roots in international development as a whole, and not only Russian."

Ibid., page 13.

"For, if Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution, while the basic content of the proletarian revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat, then it is clear that the core of Leninism is the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working out of this question and giving a basis and concreteness to it."

Ibid., page 263.

"From this it follows that the fundamental question of Leninism, its starting point, its foundation is the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Ibid., page 263.

"It is twenty years since Lenin died. Today the vast majority of Americans know that the state which Lenin founded and Stalin brought to maturity is that single indispensable force which saved us and the world from Nazi enslavement. We who always treasured the legacy of Lenin for our country have now more than ever the opportunity and the duty to make his full wisdom, which made the Soviet union strong and great, available to all Americans."

Browder, Earl, "Problems of the Organization of Communists," The Worker, January 16, 1944, page 12.

"...the core of Leninism is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in that case Leninism is the international doctrine of the proletarians of all lands..."

Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, page 12.

"...the Leninist doctrine reveals the real trend of development of the productive forces under imperialism, and galvanises the proletariat into action for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism."

Marxist Study Courses,
"Political Economy,"
pamphlet issued by The
International Publishers,
New York, page 18.

"Leninism is the theory and practice of working class struggle. It is the accumulated experience of the battling armies of the proletariat against capitalism reflected by the mind of a genius. It is the century-old hatred of the oppressed against the oppressors embodied in a man of iron will and a great, beautiful heart. It is the proletarian urge to power expressed, formulated and led by the greatest leader the working class ever had."

Losovsky, A., Lenin the
Great Strategist of the
Class War, page 4.

"The revolutionary workers of all countries have still a lot to learn from Lenin's works, particularly from his actions, because Leninism and Communism are one and the same thing."

Ibid., page 40.

"The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat."

Strategy and Tactics of
the Proletarian Revolution,
page 8.

"Lenin will for ever remain our Guide, just the same as Marx. It was Marx who gave us the teaching of the Emancipation of the Proletariat, while Lenin led the proletariat on the path to the victorious realization of this teaching."

International Press
Correspondence, Volume
4, Number 6, January 28,
1924, page 1.

"American efficiency, on the other hand, is an antidote to 'revolutionary' phrase-mongering and fantastic invention. American efficiency is that indomitable spirit that neither knows nor will be deterred by any obstacle, that plugs away with business-like perseverance until every impediment has been removed, that simply must go through with a job once it has been tackled even if it be of minor importance and without which serious constructive work is out of the question. But American efficiency incurs the great risk of degenerating into narrow and unprincipled commercialism unless it is imbued with the wide Russian revolutionary range of action."

"The combination of the wide Russian revolutionary range of action with American efficiency is the quintessence of Leninism in Party and state work."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 101.

"The political and economic theories of Lenin are based on the theories and methods of Marxism."

"Leninism" by V. Adoratsky
as contained in Selected
Works, Volume I, page 116.

"...Lenin advanced and developed the Marxian theory and introduced fresh elements into all its phases. Leninism therefore represents a new stage in the development of Marxism."

Ibid., page 123.

"Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian world revolution as a whole, as well as of the revolutions in different countries, which are the constituent parts and factors in the process of the world revolution. ... It is not a specifically Russian phenomenon, impossible to apply to other countries. It is the theory and tactics of the proletarian dictatorship, for the establishment of which the revolutionary proletariat all over the world is fighting... As such, it is of decisive importance for the entire international revolutionary movement."

Preface to the English edition of Selected Works by V. I. Lenin, Volume I, page 9.

"Leninism alone embodies true Marxism..."

Ibid., page 12.

"Marxism-Leninism is the ideological armory of the rising proletariat in mortal combat with bourgeois society. It is the weapon for the destruction of the principal instrument of the bourgeoisie for the enslavement of the toiling masses; namely, the control over the minds of the toilers, the control over their very methods of thinking, exercised through the press, church, radio, schools and in the last analysis by the various philosophical systems which they seek to impose upon all thinking minds. The fundamental struggle

between Marxism-Leninism and all systems of bourgeois philosophy has the same sharp, deep-going character as the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class for the control of society. It is the class struggle on the philosophical field."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States, page 316.

"This expresses itself also in the fact that many of our workers still do not understand that Marxism-Leninism is a living, creative theory, continuously developing, continuously enriching itself on the basis of the experience of socialist construction and the achievements of contemporary natural science."

Zhdanov, A. A., "On the History of Philosophy,"
National Affairs, Volume 5, Number 6, June, 1948, page 203.

LIBERALISM; LIBERALS (completely condemned)

Communists interpret "liberalism" as being a social trend which develops in a nation where Capitalism has become somewhat progressive and democratic. Some examples of this are: (1) the extending of the franchise to include more and more people; (2) the holding of free, popular elections at regular intervals; (3) wage and hour legislation in behalf of labor; (4) public health services; (5) social security; (6) unemployment insurance; (7) old age pensions; and (8) social welfare agencies. Communists argue that all this has happened under Capitalism not because of any fondness for progress and democracy on the part of capitalists but because they find the trend and its application to be useful and profitable to their business. It is a modification and adaptation of the idea: "It pays to be honest." In developing this line of reasoning, Communists assert that it pays, in one form or the other, to be liberal, hence, the creation of the liberal and liberalism under Capitalism. To Communists the "liberal" is the "summer soldier" of social changes and progress. Once the fight becomes difficult, the liberal deserts to safer ground. With the development of a crisis in Capitalism and the concomitant rise of Communism, the liberal reflects his ersatz character and betrays Communism. Therefore, Karl Marx bitterly denounced all men who propound liberalism as being "liberal scoundrels and dogs of democrats." All Communists since then, in private, and sometimes in public, have said the same.

Communists have utterly no use for a liberal minded person, per se. Communists will, however, "use" a liberal minded person or any other person to support Communist programs, directly or indirectly, whenever possible. Communism of its very nature is irreconcilable with liberalism. Although Communists by divers means will try to gain the approbation, partial or in full, of some liberals and their cooperation in political or social endeavors, at no time will a Communist cooperate with a liberal if this cooperation does not ultimately result in the strengthening of the Communist position. A liberal's relationship to Communism inevitably becomes a one way relationship. The liberal gives something positive but receives nothing in return except a negative response, a slow undermining of his ideological position. The fine words "liberal" and "liberalism" which have represented high social thoughts, ideals and practices, and have contributed generously to the progress of humanity, are to Communists the very antithesis of what they propound. Communism is in every respect a deadly enemy of liberalism.

Communists, on seizing the power of the state, would annihilate liberals just as ruthlessly as they would any other person.

V. I. Lenin, like all Communists, nursed a bitter hatred of liberals. He referred to them as

"... treacherous liberal ..."

"liberal blockheads..."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume III, pages 394, 398.

Lenin repeatedly denounced liberals because of their inclination

"... to growl at the revolution like dogs..."

Ibid., page 388.

Lenin, in rejecting the sincere liberal's tolerance, broad-mindedness, sense of justice, and feeling for all humanity, declared:

"A liberal naturally speaks of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: for what class?"

Ibid., Volume VII, page 121.

"Bourgeois ideologists, liberals and democrats, not understanding Marxism, and not understanding the modern labour movement, are constantly leaping from one futile extreme to another. At one time they explain the whole matter by asserting that evil-minded persons are 'inciting' class against class—at another they console themselves with the assertion that the workers' party is 'a peaceful party of reform.'"

Ibid., Volume XI, page 740.

"The second method is the method of 'liberalism,' which takes steps towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions and so forth."

Ibid., Volume XI, page 741.

"The liberals have always said that bourgeois parliamentarism destroys classes and class divisions, since the right to vote and the right to participate in state affairs are shared by all citizens without distinction."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 708.

Lenin never tired of saying that all liberals were false "friends of the people" whose alleged lack of accomplishments he derided by reference to their

"... broad ideals in words and their stereotyped liberalism in deeds."

Ibid., Volume I, page 400.

Lenin ridiculed, what to him and all other Communists, was

"... the puerile wisdom of official liberalism, which sings, shouts, appeals and exhorts about the vanity of revolutionary vanities, the futility of the revolutionary struggle and the charms of counter-revolutionary 'constitutional' fantasies...."

Ibid., Volume XI, page 737.

Lenin concluded:

"'Pure democracy' is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the working class."

Ibid., Volume VII,
page 129.

American Communist publications have from the very beginning reflected the unrelenting official Communist hostility toward liberals and liberalism.

"We constantly warn the American workers against the illusions of pacifism spread by liberals and Socialists."

The Communist,
September, 1933,
pages 840, 841.

"A wave of liberalism is sweeping over the country, communist political prisoners are being pardoned and the demand for the guaranteeing of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, etc. is becoming more and more insistent. The C.E.C. is not fooled by this wave of liberalism. It knows that the present expression of liberalism is the expression on the part of the lesser bourgeoisie of their opposition to the economic and political dominance of the big bourgeoisie. That the labor sympathy is manifested by the liberals for the purpose of misleading the workers into a petty bourgeois ideology so that the lesser bourgeoisie can utilize the forces of the workers for their own political purposes. The liberals cannot be trusted by the workers."

The Communist,
January, 1923,
Volume I, No. 13, page 7.

The poem taken originally from the Communist Publication, Daily Worker, sums up the derisive, ridiculing and contemptuous attitude which American Communists manifest toward liberals and liberalism.

"March of the Liberals

"We are the liberals,
tried and true;
we read the New Republic
and the Nation, too,
We're not dogmatic
and we keep an open mind:
a conclusion is something
we never can find.

"The world's at the cross-roads!
We're needed! So—
boldly into action
let us go:

"(Chorus) One step forward
and two steps back:
that's the method
of our attack.
We're too superior
to take any side,

we keep our minds
and mouths open wide.
In the class-struggle
we're neutral, too--
so far above it
we're hidden from view
(it's far more convenient
and safer, how true)!
One step forward
and two steps back:
that is our liberal
plan of attack.

"We believe in
sitting on the fence.
Above the battle
the view's immense:
on the one hand
it is very, very true;
but on the other
it's obvious too.
The world's at the cross-roads
We're needed! So--
boldly into action
let us go.

"(Chorus) One step forward
and two steps back:
that's the method
of our attack! "

New Masses, July 16, 1935,
page 32, as taken from the
Daily Worker.

LOYALTY (Communists owe no loyalty to the United States
or any non-Communist government)

The question as to whether or not American Communists are loyal to the United States and its government "of the people, by the people, for the people" has been often debated. In the light of the philosophic nature of Communism and the practices advocated, it is difficult to understand on what logical ground the issue can be debated, because the very essence of Communism makes it impossible for a Communist to give unqualified loyalty to any non-Communist government. There can be no question about it. There is nothing to debate. A Communist by the very fact he is a Communist cannot be unswervingly loyal to the United States Government or any similar government. All American Communists, men and women who all owe their allegiance to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, are disloyal to the government of the United States and the democratic principles on which it is founded and by which it is maintained. It is philosophically and practically impossible for them to be otherwise.

The government of this country is a representative democracy. Democracy is a form of state. All Communists are committed to the principle of a stateless social order. Ipso facto, they are committed to the destruction of the United States Government.

In addition to the above, Communists are opposed to the democratic way of life as we know it. Democracy and the "higher phase" of Communism which all Communists are working toward are not synonymous. They are fundamentally different. In the process of developing world-wide Communism, all Communists owe their loyalty to two forces only: (1) the international revolutionary Communist movement; and (2) Soviet Russia, their sole "fatherland". In view of these additional considerations, it becomes increasingly evident that it is impossible for American Communists to be loyal to the United States Government. In the light of their peculiar Marxist-Leninist convictions they feel they do not owe loyalty to the United States. However, Communists do feel very deeply that they owe the government of the United States their strong and continuous disloyalty.

The strong conviction of disloyalty which American Communists hold relative to the government of the United States is well clarified in the following statement of their highest authority, William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States. This

statement was made under oath.

"THE CHAIRMAN: Now, if I understand you, the workers (meaning Communists) in this country look upon the Soviet Union as their country; is that right?

"MR. FOSTER: The more advanced workers do.

"THE CHAIRMAN: Look upon the Soviet Union as their country?

"MR. FOSTER: Yes.

"THE CHAIRMAN: They look upon the Soviet flag as their flag?

"MR. FOSTER: The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the red flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution...

"THE CHAIRMAN: Do you owe allegiance to the American flag...

"MR. FOSTER: The workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of soviet governments.

"THE CHAIRMAN: Well, they do not claim allegiance, then, to the American flag in this country?

"MR. FOSTER: That is, you mean the support of capitalism in America - no.

"THE CHAIRMAN: I mean if they had to choose between the red flag and the American flag, I take it from you that you would choose the red flag; is that correct? ...

"MR. FOSTER: ...I stated very clearly the red flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class.

"THE CHAIRMAN: I understood that.

"MR. FOSTER: And all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them.

"THE CHAIRMAN: Now, are the Communists in this country opposed to our republican form of government?

"MR. FOSTER: The capitalist democracy - most assuredly. ...

"THE CHAIRMAN: They are opposed to our republican form of government?

"MR. FOSTER: Most assuredly."

William Z. Foster, testifying before the Fish Committee of the 71st Congress, 3rd Session, Report Number 2290, pages 11 and 12.

This, then, is the statement on loyalty of William Z. Foster, highest ranking authority in the Communist Party of the United States. In making this statement he is only carrying out the principles of V. I. Lenin which were established for all Communists.

"Hatred for one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie - the sentiment of all class conscious workers who understand, on the one hand, that war is 'a continuation of the politics' of imperialism, which they counter by 'continuing' their hatred for their class enemy, and, on the other hand, that 'war against war' is a banal phrase if it does not mean revolution against their own governments. It is impossible to rouse hatred against one's own government and one's own bourgeoisie without desiring their defeat, and it is impossible to be a sincere opponent of 'civil' (i.e., class) 'peace' without rousing hatred against one's own government and bourgeoisie !!!"

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume V, page 147.

"A Revolution class in a reactionary war cannot but desire the defeat of its government."

Ibid, page 142.

"And revolutionary action in wartime against one's own government undoubtedly and incontrovertibly means not only desiring its defeat, but really facilitating such defeat."

Ibid., page 142.

"Revolution in wartime is civil war; and the transformation of war between governments into civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ('defeats') of governments; on the other hand, it is impossible really to strive for such a transformation without thereby facilitating defeat."

Ibid., page 143.

"This fact imposes a duty upon every working class militant to study and learn the art and science of social revolution, to familiarize himself with the tactics and methods of Leninism which have been proved to be the only way to the overthrow of capitalism and the complete liberation of the working class."

Bittelman, Alex, in the
"Introduction" to Lenin
the Great Strategist of
the Class War by A.
Losovsky, page 7.

LULL PERIOD

Communists recognize the fact that the revolutionary tide rises and falls rather than constantly swelling to the point of eruption. They are not discouraged therefore when it recedes, due to social factors, and a lull period develops. This lull period is to be used by them to strengthen the Communist Party and to bring about conditions which will cause the revolutionary tide to rise higher than ever on its next cycle of ascendancy. This process is repeated until the revolutionary tide rises to the point of eruption -- open revolution.

"The new and special feature of the present position of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries is the fact that the period of the flow of the revolutionary tide has given way to a period of ebb, to a period of lull. The task is to make the most of this period of lull in order to consolidate the Communist Parties, to bolshevise them, to convert them into genuine mass parties which find support in the trade unions, to rally the working elements belonging to the non-proletarian classes and, primarily, to the peasantry, around the proletariat and, finally, to educate the proletariat in the spirit of the revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 157.

LUMPEN PROLETARIAT

Communists use this phrase as a mark of contempt and disdain to describe laborers who permit themselves to be supported by state or private charities, persons who, because of "innate slum bred viciousness" reject Marxism. Communists refer to such laborers as criminals, chronic paupers, bums, hoboes, beggars and the like. Communists regard these members of the working class or proletariat as being debased, spiritless and lacking in militancy. Such people cannot be used in strikes, demonstrations, riots and revolutions so they are therefore useless to the Communist movement. This phrase is at times used synonymously with "Slum Proletariat." These people, however, are not to be confused with militant, cooperative unemployed workers who support Communist programs.

"The 'dangerous class,' the social scum (Lumpenproletariat), that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 20.

MAJORITY (to be won to Communist banners after the revolution)

When Communists talk about winning over the majority of people to the side of Communism they are apt to be somewhat misleading. The average American would naturally think that "winning over the majority" would be a democratic method of reaching the desired goal. When done under proper conditions and the right time it is. However, the element of time places the Communist procedure of "winning over the majority" outside of the democratic process. Communists would not win over the majority of people and then establish Communism. On the contrary as a militant, highly disciplined minority they would first overthrow the non-Communist social order and then "win over" the majority. For all practical purposes this would result in imposing the will of the minority on the majority.

"In order to win the majority of the population to its side,' Lenin continues, 'the proletariat must first of all overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize state power and, secondly, it must introduce Soviet rule, smash to pieces the old state apparatus, and thus at one blow undermine the rule, authority and influence of the bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois compromisers in the ranks of the non-proletarian toiling masses.'"

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
by Joseph Stalin in Problems
of Leninism, page 21.

MARXISM (summary statement)

Marxism, taken separately from Leninism, is the philosophic system and social views and doctrines of Karl Marx. It is the foundation upon which Lenin built and developed related doctrines. As previously indicated, Marx is referred to as the "originator" of Marxist Scientific Socialism (Communism) and Lenin is referred to as the "developer" of this form of Socialism. Marx's followers describe him as being the thinker who took the three main ideological trends of the nineteenth century and brought them to their logical end, to completion. These three trends are referred to as (1) "classical German philosophy", (2) "classical English economy", and (3) "classical French Socialism." The latter trend was connected with French revolutionary ideas. One of the main principles of Marxism is its explanation of the world-wide historic role to be played by the proletariat (workers) in building the new Communist Society. Communists do not regard Marxism as being complete. On the contrary they think of it as being the foundation on which to build. They are fond of saying that Marxism is "not a dogma but a guide to action."

"Marxism is the system of the views and teachings of Marx."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 13.

"...workers must have Marxist theory, embodied in a Marxist party of socialism--the Communist Party."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 43.

"This is what Lenin said in this connections:

'We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which socialists must further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an independent elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian socialists, for this theory provides only general guiding principles, which in particular, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia.'

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
by Joseph Stalin in
From Socialism To Communism
In The Soviet Union,
page 51.

"'Our teachings are not a dogma, but a guide to action'--
so said Marx and Engels..."

"A Marxist must take into consideration the true facts and living reality of today, and not continue clinging to the theory of yesterday, which, like every other theory, at its best only outlines the fundamental and the general, only approaches a conception of the complexity of life.

"'Theory, my friend, is gray, but green is the eternal tree of life.'

Lenin, N., statement in The
Proletarian Revolution in
Russia by N. Lenin and Leon
Trotzky, pages 42--44.

"The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 3.

"We have more than ever the task to refresh ourselves in the great tradition of Marxism, completely freeing ourselves from the last remnants of the dogmatic and schematic approach. Marxism is the science of the transition to socialism."

Browder, Earl, "Marxism Arms Communists to Meet And Solve Issues Today," The Communist, February 1944, page 102.

"It is often said... that the core of Marx's theory is the class struggle; but it is not true ... The theory of the class struggle was not created by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx ... To limit Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it ... A Marxist is one who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 33.

"...Marxism, could best equip and guide our Party to carry through its historic role of vanguard of the American working class."

Dennis, Eugene, The Red Baiters Menace America, page 3.

"The rise of Marxism was a genuine discovery, a revolution in philosophy."

Zhdanov, A. A., "On the
History of Philosophy",
National Affairs,
Volume 5, Number 6,
June, 1948, page 193.

"The discovery of Marx and Engels represents the end of the old philosophy, i.e., the end of that philosophy which claimed to give a universal explanation of the world."

Ibid., page 194.

"Marxism is not that kind of philosophical school. On the contrary, it supersedes the old philosophy--philosophy that was the property of a small elite, the aristocracy of the intellect. It marked the beginning of a completely new period in the history of philosophy, when it became the scientific weapon in the hands of the proletarian masses in their struggle for emancipation from capitalism.

"Marxist philosophy, as distinguished from preceding philosophical systems, is not a science dominating the other sciences; rather, it is an instrument of scientific investigation, a method, penetrating all natural and social sciences, enriching itself within their attainments in the course of their development. In this sense Marxist philosophy is the most complete and decisive negation of all preceding philosophy."

Ibid., page 195.

MARXISM (center of the struggle in America and England)

Native and foreign Communists stress again and again in their current literature the idea that the very heart of the opposition to Marxism is to be found today in America and in England. It matters not whether the subject discussed is education, economics, politics, literature or sociology, sooner or later the Communists get around to the promulgation of this idea.

"We must now quickly make up for lost time. The problems do not wait. The brilliant victory of Socialism achieved in the Great Patriotic War, which was at the same time a brilliant victory for Marxism, is like a bone in the throat of the imperialists. Today the centre of the struggle against Marxism has shifted to America and England. All the forces of obscurantism and reaction have today been placed at the service of the struggle against Marxism. Brought out anew and placed at the service of bourgeois philosophy are the instruments of atom-dollar democracy, the outworn mor of obscurantism and clericalism; the Vatican and the racist theory, rabid nationalism and decayed idealist philosophy, the mercenary yellow press and depraved bourgeois art. But apparently all these do not suffice. Today under the banner of 'ideological' struggle against Marxism large reserves are being mobilized. Gangsters, pimps, spies and criminal elements are recruited."

Zhdanov, A. A., "On the
History of Philosophy,"
National Affairs,
Volume 5, Number 6,
June, 1948, page 203.

MARXISM-LENINISM

"Marxism" and "Leninism" have been considered separately but now they will be considered together as constituting the "science of Marxism-Leninism." This particular science is referred to by Communists as being the science relating to the changes, growth and development of human society. It is a revolutionary science. It is a science of the proletariat which is to be used to build the Communist World Society. Communist leaders are expected to master this science which means not only understanding it but also giving it practical day to day application in order to advance the proletarian revolution. Further details of this "science" have been previously presented.

"The Marxist-Leninist theory is the science of the development of society, the science of the working-class movement, the science of the proletarian revolution, the science of the building of the Communist society. And as a science it does not and cannot stand still, but develops and perfects itself."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(Bolsheviks), edited by
A Commission of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B),
page 355.

"Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not at all mean learning all its formulas and conclusions by heart and clinging to their every letter. To master the Marxist-Leninist theory we must first of all learn to distinguish between its letter and substance.

"Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory means assimilating the substance of this theory and learning to use it in

the solution of the practical problems of the revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat."

Ibid., page 355.

"The Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma but a guide to action."

Ibid., page 356.

"The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism."

Preamble of the Constitution
of the Communist Party, USA,
Daily Worker, August 7, 1945,
page 2.

"In the present situation and in view of the greater political responsibility which the struggle for victory imposes upon us, as well as in order to meet the new and complex tasks which will arise in the future -- it is especially urgent that our entire party redouble its efforts to master and apply more effectively the science of Marxism-Leninism."

Dennis, Eugene, quoted
in The Communist, July,
1943, page 612.

"In commenting upon the functioning of our Party, I wish to stress the fight for the most systematic and

earnest study of Marxism-Leninism in the Party ranks from top to bottom, in the course of our mass work."

Williamson, John, "New Organizational Problems of the Communist Party," Political Affairs, December, 1945, pages 1121-1122.

"The secret of our strength and dynamic vitality is indeed to be learned from a study of the Marxist-Leninist science by which we live."

Dennis, Eugene, "America Needs the Communist Party," Political Affairs, October, 1945, page 870.

MASSES

In many different ways the Communists make it evident that they do not place any great value on an individual human being per se. They prefer to view humanity in the collective sense speaking not of individuals or people but of classes and masses.

"In this respect the critical, transitional state of our organization may be described by the phrase: There are no people and there are masses of people."

Lenin, V. I., Lenin On Organization, page 88.

"Owing to the peculiar situation I have described, it behooves Marxists to resort to special emergency tactics, for Marxists do not consider personalities but merely objective facts: masses and classes.

"This peculiar situation makes it imperative 'to pour vinegar and bile into the sweetened water of revolutionary democratic eloquence,' to quote the apt words of my fellow-committeeman Teodorovitch at the All-Russian Convention of railroad workers in Petrograd."

Lenin, N., statement in The Proletarian Revolution In Russia by N. Lenin and Leon Trotzky, pages 176, 177.

MASS AGITATION; MASS PRESSURE

The object of all Communist mass agitation is to develop mass pressure which in turn creates mass action. Mass agitation is usually woven around some definite issue. For best results it must be an issue which is timely and being widely discussed. It must be an issue demanding an urgent settlement. Communists strive to build mass agitation and pressure around specific issues which will give them the greatest amount of publicity. They get behind issues which will allow them to develop an ever widening sphere of influence in a given industry or in the fields of education and government.

One example of Communist mass agitation and mass pressure is their campaign to get the United States to rapidly demobilize its armed forces following World War II. This was largely done under the attractive slogan "get the boys home by Christmas." What the Communists actually wanted to accomplish was to hasten the removal of all American troops from foreign territories in order to clear the ground for native Communist propaganda and uprisings and subsequent expansion of Soviet Russia.

Other examples of mass agitation and mass pressure are the demonstrations of the American Peace Mobilization and the action taken by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at the White House in order to develop opposition to the United States entering World War II against Nazi Germany at the time Soviet Russia had a Pact with Hitler. Boycotts, Tom Mooney Committees, demonstrations before foreign embassies, Scotsboro case charges, student strikes against military service and war, letter, telegram and petition campaigns all play a significant part in Communist mass agitation and mass pressure.

These mass agitation and mass pressure activities have their main objective and also some interesting "by-products" of the main objective. Some examples of these by-products are: (1) raising money; (2) the merging of non-Communist mass organizations (e.g. labor unions, etc.) with the Communist efforts creating a favorable atmosphere for duplication around some new issue at a later date; (3) the use of this opportunity to indoctrinate non-Communists with Communist ideas and encourage them to distrust and oppose their own government; (4) the mental preparation of non-Communists for open clashes with the government which "steels and hardens for further class struggles" leading ultimately to Communism.

In applying mass agitation and mass pressure Communists use every means available to them such as the public platform, pamphlets, radio, meetings, demonstrations, dramatics and the like. They strive continually to widen their area of mass agitation and pressure because their aim is not to arouse a few select individuals but to reach millions of people "and set them in motion."

"We must increase our vigilance and fortify our Marxist-Leninist struggle on the ideological and theoretical fronts. We must vastly improve every aspect of our mass agitation--our press, our use of the radio and our meetings--so as to reach and convince millions of workers and progressives and set them in motion."

Dennis, Eugene, Political Affairs, September, 1946, Volume XXV, No. 9, page 809.

MASS ACTION

"Mass action" is a natural outgrowth of "mass agitation." When legal authority is weakened and the civil rulers of a given nation are disorganized and confused Communists are then expected to devote great energy arousing the masses of people, setting them into revolutionary motion against their government. The Communist Party will not only conduct "mass agitation" but will also lead the "mass action." First, there will be wave after wave of revolutionary propaganda, each wave being more inflammatory than the one which preceded it. Following this will be mass strikes, demonstrations and armed riots. The masses will be organized into militant units. All this will culminate in insurrection and seizure of state power.

"In the event of a revolutionary upsurge, if the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment and the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat, if the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois state. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.), and by organizing mass action, upon which all branches of the Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of military science; it presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. An absolutely essential prerequisite for this form of

action is the organization of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (Councils of Workers' Deputies, Soldiers' Councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy."

Program of the Communist
International, pages
80-81.

MASS AWAKENING

This phrase is used by Communists to indicate a basic change which must take place in human nature. This "mass awakening" arouses the masses to the desirability of radical, social transition leading to Communism. It can only reach its full development during the revolution.

"The mass awakening of Communist consciousness, the cause of socialism itself, calls for a mass change of human nature, which can be achieved only in the course of the practical movement, in revolution. Hence revolution is not only necessary because there is no other way of overthrowing the ruling class, but also because only in the process of revolution is the overthrowing class able to purge itself of the dross of the old society and become capable of creating a new society."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 1008.

MASS ORGANIZATION

By "mass organization", Communists mean any non-Communist or non-Party organization of laborers, petty bourgeoisie and poor farmers. These organizations may take the form of labor unions, teachers' federations, scientific societies, cultural groups, disarmament movements, peace societies and the like. Such mass organizations are susceptible to infiltration by Communists, and must be so infiltrated, dominated, and indirectly controlled by them if at all possible. If not completely captured they must at least be influenced by Communists.

These "mass organizations," however, are not to be necessarily identified with "front organizations" or "transmission belts" or "innocents clubs" although Communists do loosely refer to these as "mass organizations." The distinction is this: "mass organizations" are genuine non-Communist organizations, established by non-Communists and maintained by non-Communists, dedicated at the time of their conception to non-Communist objectives. On the other hand, transmission belts, front organizations and innocents clubs are "false" mass organizations because almost always they are established by concealed Communists, fellow travellers, and crypto-Communists who have misleading ulterior motives from the very inception of this organization. These real designs are camouflaged beneath deceptive, tricky, confusing names or labels. They are so arranged as to deliberately deceive people and thereby gain members and supporters which they otherwise would not get. From this point on they seek to further mislead them and induce them to join the Communist Party. By this method Communists win access to people and recruit members who under less deceptive conditions, would not associate themselves with Communism.

"Under capitalism, the mass labour organisations, in which the broad masses of the proletariat were originally organised and trained, i.e., the trade (industrial) unions,

serve as the principal weapons in the struggle against
trustified capital and its State."

"Program of The Communist
International" as contained
in Handbook of Marxism,
page 1005.

MASS PARTY

The Communist Party is to remain in essence a small, carefully directed and well disciplined organization composed of professional revolutionaries. However, this selectivity will not interfere with it developing into a "mass party". It becomes a "mass party" by linking itself to organized labor, by creating transmission belts with the broad masses of people and by establishing innumerable "non-Party mass organizations" or what may be referred to as front groups. As a result of this activity, Communism penetrates into every pore of human relations, and develops a "mass party" and mass influence far out of proportion to its numerical strength.

"The transformation of our Party into a mass Party of the proletariat, in the shortest possible time, is one of our main tasks. In fact, this is the main task because to accomplish it, the Party must carry on a successful struggle for the winning of the majority of the working class. This means the widest activities for the organization of the daily fight of the masses against the capitalist offensive and for the development of the proletarian counter-offensive. This means the building up of powerful transmission belts between the Party and the class, especially the building up of the revolutionary unions and revolutionary oppositions in the reformist unions and the organizations of the unemployed, always remembering that the working women and youth constitute one of the most important parts of the proletariat. In other words, the Party can build itself into a mass Party only by building up the fighting power of the proletariat and its non-Party mass organizations. Consequently, the task of transforming our Party in the shortest possible time into a mass Communist Party includes all the other tasks and in this sense it is the most important and all-inclusive task of our Party."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party In Action,
pages 40-41.

"Consequently, the task of transforming our Party into the mass Party of the American proletariat must be carried out primarily by building our strength in the shops and factories without weakening in any way our work among the unemployed."

Ibid., page 41.

MAY DAY

"May Day" is used by Communists as an international "labor" day to be widely celebrated throughout the world. It is one of the most important holidays in Russia. American Communists place great stress upon the international significance of "May Day" and celebrate it with many expressions of praise for the Soviet Union.

"This May Day we hail the Soviet Union as the great champion of people's rights, people's prosperity, democracy and peace. We hail the peoples of the Soviet Union, their government, the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin. We must build as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin taught us..."

Amter, I., "May Day In
The Struggle For Demo-
cracy and Peace," The
Communist, May, 1939,
page 408.

"May Day is approaching. On that day the working people of London, Paris, Rome, Moscow, Chungking, San Francisco, Chicago and New York will clasp hands around the world in unity for peace and democracy."

Thompson, Robert, as quoted
by the Daily Worker, April 22,
1947, page 4a

"We will be marching today, American workingmen and women the land over, marching on May Day. ...

"And the whole world will be marching."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
May 1, 1947, page 9.

"Class-conscious American workers always feel a special pride when they join with the workers of the world in May Day."

"Editorial," Political Affairs, May, 1948,
Volume XXVII, Number 5,
page 389.

"Throughout the year the workers, first in one place and then in another, continuously present a variety of demands to their employers and fight for these demands. ... But the first of May must be the day on which the workers solemnly declare that they realize this connection and resolutely join in the struggle."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
in Ibid., page 399.

MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD MEASURES (condemned)

Communists condemn all moderate or middle-of-the-road social measures. For example, social trends and practices in the United States during the thirties, commonly referred to as the New Deal, have been interpreted and condemned by Communists as a middle-of-the-road program. Such a program is condemned because it does not develop in the direction of the Communist extreme.

"All solutions that offer a middle path are either an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to deceive the people...or are an expression of the stupidity of the petty-bourgeois democrats..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 337.

"Roosevelt operates with all the arts of 'democratic' rule, with an emphasized liberal and social-demagogic cover, quite in contrast with Hoover who was outspokenly reactionary. Yet behind this smoke screen, Roosevelt is carrying out more thoroughly, more brutally than Hoover, the capitalist attack against the living standards of the masses and the sharpest national chauvinism in foreign relations."

Browder, Earl, Communism In The United States, page 115.

"The 'New Deal' is a policy of slashing the living standards at home and fighting for markets abroad, for the simple purpose of maintaining the profits of finance capital. It is a policy of brutal oppression at home and of imperialist war abroad."

Ibid., page 114.

"...the New Deal is introducing fascism."

Ibid., page 286.

MILITARISM

Soviet Russia never tires of talking about its desire for peace in the world and of its opposition to militarism. Communist Parties all over the world take up this Soviet "line" and repeat it daily. This talk, however, does not prevent Soviet Russia from building up a huge military machine in preparation for the next war which it seems to think is inevitable. This talk does not prevent American Communists and all others from supporting the Russian objective. Their great faith in military organization and in force and violence as a means to the desired end is evident in their references to the Communist Party as being the General Staff of the revolution.

"...our military preparedness must be retained at all costs. We cannot rely on the blows already struck at imperialism, and must preserve our Red Army in a state of military preparedness at all costs and increase its fighting capacity."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, page 249.

"We have passed through one period of war and we must prepare for a second. But we do not know when it will come, and we must see to it that when it does come we shall be prepared for all eventualities. It is for this reason that we must not refuse to resort to measures of compulsion, and not merely for the reason that we are preserving the dictatorship of the proletariat..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, pages 261-262.

"The nearer we get to the complete military suppression of the bourgeoisie, the more dangerous become for us the petty bourgeois anarchic inclinations. And these inclinations cannot be combatted only by propaganda and agitation, by the organization of emulation, by the selection of organizers; they must also be met with force.

"To the extent to which the principal problem of the Soviet Republic changes from military suppression to administration, suppression and compulsion will, as a rule, be manifested in trials, and not in shooting on the spot."

Lenin, N., statement in
The Proletarian Revolution
in Russia by N. Lenin and
Leon Trotsky, page 395.

"Consider the army of today. There is one of the most perfect examples of organization. And that organization is perfect for the simple reason that it is flexible and knows how to inspire one single desire to the millions of which it consists. Today those millions of people are sitting in their homes, in various parts of the country, tomorrow the mobilization orders are sent out, and they all gather at the points designated to them. They stand in the trenches, perhaps months at a time. They charge the enemy. They do wonders under a hail of bullets and shrapnel. Their advanced troops may sink mines into the ground. They may rush ahead several miles under the direction of their flyers.

"This is real organization, through which millions of men, lured to the same goal, moved by one single will, change their form of association and of action, change the scene and the objects of their activity, change their tools and their weapons as the changing necessities of warfare may require.

"This is the way the working class should fight the bourgeois. To-day there may not be a situation favorable to a revolution, we may not see the conditions

that would leaven up the masses and increase their activities. To-day they may give you a ballot at the polls. Cast it so as to beat your enemies and not to secure a nice little job in parliament for some coward afraid of going to jail. Tomorrow they may take that ballot away from you, give you arms and a big quick firing gun of the latest type.... Take those instruments of death and destruction, and don't listen to sentimentalists who are afraid of war. There are too many things left on earth which should be destroyed by fire and steel before the working class can be emancipated. And if bitterness and desperation grow among the masses, if a really revolutionary crisis arises, then be ready to organize in a new way and to use the instruments of death and destruction against your own government and your own bourgeoisie. This is not an easy task. This requires difficult preparations. This requires heavy sacrifices. This is the new view of organization and struggle which we must all take."

Ibid., page 130.

MILITARISM (anti)

Communists have a policy of militarism and anti-militarism. Communist nations are expected to pursue the policy of militarism, building up their strength for the final clash with the non-Communist world. At the same time, Communists in non-Communist nations are expected to do everything within their power to oppose all military preparations which their nations may be engaged in as a matter of national defense against Communist aggression.

"The slogan: Transform imperialist war into civil war, indicates how the Communists must fight against measures for mass militarization (introduction of conscription). By militarizing the workers and training them in the use of arms, imperialism creates the prerequisites for the victory of the proletariat in the civil war. Hence, the revolutionary proletariat must not combat mass militarization with the arguments advanced by the pacifists. In conducting the struggle for revolution and for Socialism, we do not refuse to bear arms. The aim of our struggle is to expose the militarization the imperialists introduce for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

"As against this sort of militarization we advance the slogan: Arm the proletariat. Simultaneously, the Communists must advance and give support to the partial demands of the soldiers which, in a concrete situation, stimulate the class struggle in the armies and strengthen the alliance between the proletarian and peasant soldiers and workers outside the ranks of the army.

"The partial demands are approximately as follows:

"Demands in Connection with the System of Defense

"Dissolution of mercenary forces; dissolution of standing and principal military units;

"Disarming and dissolution of the gendarmerie, police and other special armed forces for civil war;

"Disarming and dissolution of fascist leagues;

"Concrete demands for the reduction of period of military service;

"Introduction of the territorial system military service;

"Abolition of compulsory residence in barracks; soldiers' committees;

"The right of labor organizations to train their members in the use of arms, with the right to the free selection of instructors;"

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and
the Tasks of the Com-
munists, Resolution of
the VI World Congress
of the Communist Inter-
national; pages 40-41.

"Anti-militarist activity; work in the army and navy; work among the recruits and reservists and in bourgeois defense organizations, in which the proletarian element is strongly represented, must constitute an inseparable part of the general revolutionary mass activity of the Party, and must embrace the whole of the working class."

Ibid., page 18.

Lenin speaks of the need for

"...special anti-militarist propaganda..."

"Thus, special anti-militarist activity is not only particularly necessary, but practically expedient and useful."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IV, pages 330, 331.

MILITANT SPIRIT

Communists are never concerned about contradictions. While they write and speak continually about their desire to work and cooperate with all persons they at the same time engage in a systematic effort to instill militancy in the minds of all persons with whom they come in contact. This militant spirit is engendered only for the purpose of deepening and sharpening the differences between humans, making it ever more difficult to work and cooperate together.

"We must work at forming a militant organization and conducting political agitation even in "drab" and peaceful conditions, and even in the period of "declining revolutionary spirit." More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such a period that this work is necessary, because in the moment of outbreaks and outbursts it will be too late to set up an organization. The organization must be ready, in order to be able to develop its activity immediately.' This also applies completely to the Communist Parties of Western Europe and of America."

Lenin, V. I., Lenin On Organization, page 45.

"...Communists...are militant fighters..."

Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley,
Meet The Communists, page 6.

MILITARY SERVICE (and "imperialist" wars)

Communists are not pacifists. They look upon military service in about the same way they look upon all other similar things - from the standpoint of expediency. If military service is contrary to the interests of Russia and the spread of Communism as they believed it was at the time of the Soviet Russia - Nazi Germany Pact, they vigorously oppose it. For example, in this period they opposed the Selective Service system in this nation and all other national defense efforts. On the other hand, when Germany and Russia became engaged in warfare Communists were as vigorously in favor of Selective Service and urged the United States to enter the war at once.

Whenever a war is defined as being "imperialistic" it is the duty of all Communists to fight against military service and organize large mass movements behind this objective. From this point on they would seek to turn the "imperialistic" war into a civil war.

"In the event of a big mass movement arising at the moment of outbreak of war in favor of refusing military service, the Communists must join that movement to give it a revolutionary character; they must put forward concrete demands and slogans of action in the direction of revolutionary mass action against imperialist war and utilize the movement as much as possible for the purpose of revolutionizing the masses. But even in such an event, the Communists must combat the boycott ideology and the pacifist boycott slogan. They must speak out quite frankly about the inadequacy of refusal of military service as a means of combating war, and make it clear to the masses that the only correct way of combating the imperialist war is to transform it into civil war. Strenuous propaganda must be conducted urging the necessity for carrying on revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies.

"If the general situation is favorable for it, Communists must utilize such mass movements for the formation of guerilla forces, and for the immediate development of civil war. This applies especially to countries where strong national-revolutionary movements exist. In such countries the Communists, on the declaration of war-- especially war against the Soviet Union--or in the course of the war, if the situation is favorable, must issue the slogan of national-revolutionary rebellion against the imperialists and for the immediate formation of national-revolutionary guerilla forces.

"In countries where the system of compulsory military service does not exist, the government, at the beginning of the war, will launch a wide recruiting campaign for volunteers, and if it deems it necessary, will introduce compulsory military service. In such countries also, the Communist Parties must set themselves the aim of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. But in pursuing this aim the Communists must also fight against the bourgeois recruiting campaign for volunteers and fight against the introduction of compulsory military service. Under no circumstances, however, must they foster the illusion that the war can be prevented or stopped by refusing to join the army or by opposing the introduction of compulsory military service and that, therefore, revolutionary work in the army is superfluous. It must be made clear to the masses that the struggle against conscription is only of secondary importance compared with the fight against the imperialist war itself. Revolutionary work in the army must be organized and openly advocated."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and the
Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the VI World
Congress of the Communist
International, pages 23 - 24.

"Militarism permeates the whole public life. Militarism becomes supreme. Imperialism means bitter struggle among the world powers to divide and re-divide the world--and this, therefore, militarizes even the small and neutral countries. What will the proletarian women do against this development? Condemn all war and all militarism, and demand disarmament? Never will the women of a revolutionary class accept such a contemptible task. On the contrary, they will urge their sons: 'You will soon be grown up and they will give you a rifle. Take it, and qualify in all military knowledge that is necessary for the workers, not in order to shoot at your comrades, as is done in this war of robbery and as you have been urged to do by the traitors of Socialism, but to fight the bourgeoisie of your own country to put an end to exploitation and the misery of wars, not by pious wishes, but by overpowering and disarming the bourgeoisie.'"

Lenin, N., statement in The Proletarian Revolution In Russia by N. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, pages 140-141.

MINORITY (sufficient for a class conscious party)

Communists consider their Party to be a minority Party in relationship to the masses. Furthermore, they believe it entirely proper for a minority Party to control and "guide" the masses of people. The link between the two is to be very close.

"A political Party can combine only a minority of the class, in the same way as the really class conscious workers throughout the whole of capitalist society represent only a minority of all the workers. For that reason we are compelled to admit that only a class conscious minority can guide the vast masses of the workers and get them to follow it.... If the minority is really class conscious, if it succeeds in getting the masses to follow it, if it is able to reply to every question that comes up on the order of the day, then it is in essence a Party.... If the minority is not able to lead the masses, link itself closely up with them, then it is not a Party and is good for nothing even if it calls itself a Party."

Lenin, V. I., Lenin On Organization, page 38.

"The party seeks to guide ... the activity of the Soviets."

Vyshinsky, Andrei, Y., The Law of the Soviet State, page 159.

MORALITY (origin)

Communists contend that the true origin of morals is not to be found in supernatural concepts but in economic relations. All moral principles, according to the Communists, are the products of economic factors and will vary from one economic period to another.

"...we can only draw the one conclusion, that men, consciously or unconsciously, derive their moral ideas in the last resort from the practical relations on which their class position is based-- from the economic relations in which they carry on production and exchange."

Engels, Frederick, "Anti-Duhring," as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 248.

MORALITY (repudiated)

Communists do not accept the Judaic-Christian moral code on which western civilization was founded. They reject all such moral codes on the basis that they are rooted in supernatural concepts. As Communists do not admit the existence of God or the existence of a supernatural order, they refuse to admit the validity of any morals emerging from this source. In view of this line of reasoning, Communists sweep aside the Ten Commandments, refusing to abide by these eternal moral principles.

"In what sense do we repudiate ethics and morality?"

"In the sense that they were preached by the bourgeoisie, who declared that ethics were God's commandments. We, of course, say that we do not believe in God, and that we know perfectly well that the clergy, the landlords and the bourgeoisie spoke in the name of God in order to pursue their own exploiters' interests. Or, instead of deducing these ethics from the commandments of morality, from the commandments of God, they deduced them from idealistic or semi-idealistic phrases, which were always very similar to God's commandments.

"We repudiate all morality that is taken outside of human, class concepts. We say this is deception, a fraud, which clogs the brains of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists.

"We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is deduced from the class struggle of the proletariat."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 475.

"What morality is preached to us to-day? There is first Christian-feudal morality, inherited from past centuries of faith; and this again has two main subdivisions, Catholic and Protestant moralities, each of which in turn has no lack of further subdivisions from the Jesuit-Catholic and Orthodox-Protestant to loose 'advanced' moralities. Alongside of these we find the modern bourgeois morality and with it too the proletarian morality of the future, so that in the most advanced European countries alone the past, present and future provide three great groups of moral theories which are in force simultaneously and alongside of each other. Which is then the true one? Not one of them, in the sense of having absolute validity; but certainly that morality which contains the maximum of durable elements is the one which, in the present, represents the overthrow of the present, represents the future: that is, the proletarian."

"Thou shalt not steal. Does this law thereby become an eternal moral law? By no means."

Engels, Frederick, "Anti-Duhring" as contained in Handbook of Marxism, pages 247, 248.

"We therefore reject every attempt to impose on us any moral dogma whatsoever as an eternal, ultimate and for ever immutable moral law on the pretext that the moral world too has its permanent principles which transcend history and the differences between nations. We maintain on the contrary that all former moral theories are the product, in the last analysis, of the economic stage which society had reached at that particular epoch. And as society has hitherto moved in class antagonisms, morality was always a class morality; it has either justified the domination and the interests of the ruling class, or, as soon as the oppressed class has become powerful enough, it has represented the revolt against this domination and the future interests of the oppressed."

Ibid., page 249.

"We do not believe in eternal morality, and we expose all the fables about morality."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 478.

According to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, to the proletariat, (hence to the Communists who lead the proletariat)

"Law, morality, religion are ... so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests."

Marx, Karl, and Engels, Frederick, "Communist Manifesto," as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 35.

In the light of the above line of reasoning it is not surprising that William Z. Foster, General-Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States has written of a revolutionary:

"With him the end justifies the means. Whether his tactics be 'legal' and 'moral,' or not, does not concern him, so long as they are effective. He knows that the laws as well as the current code of morals, are made by his mortal enemies, ... Consequently, he ignores them in so far as he is able and it suits his purposes. He proposes to develop, regardless of capitalist conceptions of 'legality,' 'fairness,' 'right,' etc., a greater power than his capitalist enemies have ..."

Foster, William Z., and Ford, Earl C., Syndicalism, page 9.

MORALITY (morals to be subordinated to class struggle; whatever serves to destroy non-Communist social orders and to establish Communism is moral)

If Communists reject all moral principles rooted in supernatural concepts, the question may be raised do they have any moral principles? Do they possess a system of ethics? Their reply to this query is in the affirmative. Communists claim that, though they do reject the Judaic-Christian moral principles of western civilization, they do have a moral code or a system of ethics. It is a moral code rooted in proletarian utility. For practical purposes this means that whatever course of individual or collective behavior which will serve to establish Communism and destroy all opposition to it, is moral. Communist morality is that type of morality which advances the interests of Communism in the class struggle. It is morality completely subordinated to the class struggle. Whatever spreads and maintains Communism is moral. The end justifies the means.

"...is there such a thing as Communist ethics? Is there such a thing as Communist morality? Of course there is."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 47.

"The class struggle is still proceeding, and our task is to subordinate everything to the interests of this struggle. And we subordinate our Communist morality to this task. We say: Morality is that which serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is creating a new Communist society.

"Communist morality is the morality which serves this struggle..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 477.

"The upbringing of Communist youth must not consist of all sorts of sentimental speeches and moral precepts."

Ibid., page 478.

"At the basis of Communist morality lies the struggle for the consolidation and consummation of Communism."

Ibid., page 479.

"Communist morality, of which Lenin spoke in 1920, penetrates into ever broadening strata of our society. The actions, the entire conduct...is dictated by the interests of our socialist revolution..."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet
State, page 645.

MOSCOW (symbol of the new Soviet era) .

Throughout history various eras have been symbolized by various names. We have the Actian Era, Augustan Era and C. sanean Era, Christian Era, and the like. Communists now look forward to an entirely new and different era, namely, the Soviet Era. This new era is to be symbolized by the name Moscow. It is to Moscow as both a symbol and as a fact that all Communists are expected to direct their gaze and their loyalties without exception.

"All really progressive men and women everywhere regard Moscow as the symbol of the new Soviet era..."

Leontyev, A., "The Soviet Union - A Mighty Bulwark of International Peace", New Times, September 17, 1947, page 7.

"Moscow is the center of political, economic and cultural life of the country--made so by the great October Socialist Revolution... Moscow will become the most beautiful and best ordered city in the world. Its center is the ancient and majestic Kremlin where the great leader of the people, Stalin, lives and works. To this center are directed all the thoughts and feelings of the Soviet people and the hopes of the toilers of the whole world."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y., The Law of the Soviet State, pages 307 - 308.

MONEY

Communists consider money to be a commodity. As a commodity it serves "as a measure of value and as a medium of circulation." Karl Marx referred to money as "the universal representative of material wealth." V. I. Lenin referred to money as being the "highest product of the development of exchange and of community production." To Communists all capitalists use money to expand their holdings and "to increase the number of exploited workers." While condemning the capitalistic conception of money Communists at the same time intend to use it to promote Communism.

"Having money, the capitalist buys machines, raw materials, hires laborers, puts them to work and gets rich from this. In the bourgeoisie structure every sum of money can be utilized by the capitalist as capital: if it is a large sum of money - by founding factories, if it is small - by giving it to the bank or to other capitalists who use it to enlarge their enterprises; to increase the number of exploited workers."

Soviet Political
Dictionary, as translated
from Russian.

"When we conquer on a world scale I think we shall use gold for the purpose of building public lavatories in the streets of several of the large cities of the world. ... Meanwhile, we must save the gold in the R.S.F.S.R., sell it at the highest price, buy goods with it at the lowest price. 'When living among wolves, howl like the wolves.'"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IX, pages 299 - 300.

NATION

Communists use the word nation to describe a stable community unified by a common language, economic life, political system and culture, all existing within a specific territorial boundary line. They assume that all modern nations outside of the Communist orbit are the outgrowths of Capitalism. They contend that the dissolution of feudalism and the rise of the French, British, Italian and German nations parallel the rise of Capitalism. When Capitalism collapses they expect these nations to collapse also, being subject to the economic laws of history.

"A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."

Stalin, Joseph, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, page 8.

"It is only when all these characteristics are present that we have a nation."

Ibid., page 9.

"It goes without saying that a nation, like every other historical phenomenon, is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end."

Ibid., page 8.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Communists are not obligated to contribute in any way to the national defense of the nation in which they live, unless by so doing it would aid Communism. Communists regard the phrase "national defense" to be a mere catchword of the capitalists to rationalize war.

"The attitude in principle to a given war determines also the attitude to the question of war. The proletariat has no country until it has captured political power and has taken the means of production from the exploiters. The expression 'national defense' is nothing but a catchword, and mostly a petty-bourgeois catchword to justify war. In wars started by the proletariat itself, or by a proletarian State against imperialism, the proletariat defends its socialist country. In national-revolutionary wars against imperialism, the proletariat defends its country against imperialism. But in imperialist wars the proletariat absolutely rejects 'national defense' as being defense of exploitation and treachery to the cause of Socialism."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the VI
World Congress of the Communist
International, page 11.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

By "national liberation" Communists mean they are in favor of "freeing" or "liberating" all "oppressed and dependent" people from the yoke of capitalism. What they do not say is that they are opposed to "freeing" or "liberating" any people who will not immediately thereafter come under the yoke of Communism, thereby contributing to the weakening of "imperialism."

"Hence the necessity for the proletariat supporting, vigorously and actively supporting, the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples.

"This of course does not mean that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every single, concrete instance. The point is that support must be given to those national movements which tend to weaken imperialism and bring about the overthrow of imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it."

Stalin, Joseph, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, page 193.

"The rights of nations are not an isolated and self-contained question, but part of the general question of the proletarian revolution..."

Ibid., page 193.

"From the ashes of the war have arisen the new democracies and the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples."

Zhdanov, A. A., "On the
History of Philosophy,"
National Affairs, Volume
5, Number 6, June, 1948,
page 204.

"Either we consider that we must create a rear for the vanguard of the socialist revolution in the shape of the peoples which are rising up against national oppression--and in that case we shall build a bridge between the West and the East and shall indeed be steering a course towards the world socialist revolution; or we do not do this--and in that case we shall find ourselves isolated and we shall be abandoning the tactics of utilising every revolutionary movement among the oppressed nationalities for the purpose of destroying imperialism. We must support every movement directed against imperialism."

Stalin, Joseph, Marxism
and the National and
Colonial Question, page
67.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION

By the phrase "national oppression" Communists mean a "system of exploitation" directed against subject people.

"What is national oppression? National oppression is that system of exploitation and plunder of subject peoples, those measures of forcible restriction of the political rights of subject peoples, which are resorted to by imperialist circles. These, taken together, present the policy generally known as a policy of national oppression."

Stalin, Joseph, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, page 62.

"And since by democracy we mean that definite classes are in control of state power, it may be said from this point of view that the closer the old landed aristocracy stands to power...the more severe is the oppression and the more monstrous the forms it assumes."

Ibid., page 63.

"The existence of capitalism without national oppression is just as inconceivable as the existence of socialism without the emancipation of oppressed nations, without national freedom."

Ibid., page 91.

NATIONALISM

Nationalism to Communists means the placing of one's own nation above other nations and colonies. Communists charge that the nationalism of Capitalism is marked by national hatreds, tensions and war as well as by the exploitation of the laboring class.

Stalin insists:

"History shows that the only way to abolish national inequality, the only way to establish a regime of fraternal collaboration among the toiling masses of the oppressed and unoppressed peoples, is to abolish capitalism and to establish a Soviet system."

Stalin, Joseph,
Marxism and the National and
Colonial Question,
pages 102-103.

"Nationalism as the ideology of the bourgeoisie is the enemy of Marxism...Marxism-Leninism cannot reconcile itself with nationalism, or with any nationalist deviation in the Communist Parties; that it must destroy nationalism in whatever form it arises for the sake of the interests of the working people, for the sake of the freedom and friendship of people, for the sake of the victorious building of socialism.

"Lenin says: 'Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism--such are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans corresponding to the two great class camps of the capitalist world and expressing two policies (even more--two world outlooks).'

"In conditions where the power of the bourgeoisie is overthrown, the exploiting classes and their agents try to use the poisoned weapon of nationalism to restore the old order.

"In this connection Stalin says: 'The deviation toward nationalism is the adaption of the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie...The deviation toward nationalism reflects the attempts of "one's own," "national" bourgeoisie...to restore capitalism.'"

For a Lasting Peace, For
a People's Democracy,
September 15, 1948, page 2,
column 2, as taken from
Pravda, September 8, 1948.

NUCLEUS

A Communist "nucleus" refers to a unit of Communists active in any one of a number of different places in the social order. For example a "nucleus" of Communists may exist in a factory, a mill, a mine, an office, a college, a labor union, a teachers federation, a military organization, public utilities and the like. It has been of considerable importance in their organizational history. At one time this same group was referred to as a "party unit," later changing to "nucleus." A "nucleus" cuts across all occupational lines and forms on a vertical basis. By this is meant, in a shoe factory a "nucleus" would draw its members from all segments of the industry. It would include the edge trimmer, the janitor, the truck driver, the office worker and the like. They operate as one well coordinated bloc in that business. If unionized they meet in their respective unions and serve there as militant members of the Communist Party "Fraction" operating with the different labor unions. The word "nucleus" is no longer in common use (this is also true of the word "cell"). The words "club" and "branch" now serve a similar purpose.

"The Shop Unit (Nucleus) is the basic organization of our Party in the place of employment (factory, shop, mine, dock, ship, office, store, etc.). Shop Units should be organized in every factory, shop, mine, etc., where there are three or more members of the Party.

"The main strength of our movement is in the Units (Nuclei) in large factories because:

- "1. The large factories and railroads are the nerve centers of the economic and political life of the country.
- "2. In the large factories the workers are concentrated in large numbers.
- "3. Workers in these large factories have great influence on the workers in smaller shops.
- "4. The workers in large factories are better trained and disciplined by the process of large-scale production.

"5. Workers in large factories are generally more militant because, concentrated in large numbers in one enterprise, they feel their strength.

"Comrade Lenin, in 'A Letter to a Comrade on Our Problems of Organization,' states that:

'...The main strength of our movement lies in the workers' organizations in large factories, because in the large factories are concentrated that section of the working class which is not only predominant in numbers, but still more predominant in influence, development and fighting capacities. Every factory must be our stronghold.'

"Why is the Shop Unit (Nucleus) the best form of basic Party organization?

- "1. Workers feel the pressure of exploitation most in the factory where they are employed. There they have common interests and problems (wages, working conditions, etc.).
- "2. A properly working, well-trained, politically developed Shop Unit, although it may have to work under the most difficult conditions, because of the highly developed spy system, etc., cannot be found out and gotten rid of by the boss. In order to stop the work of such a Unit, the boss must close the factory. That means stopping production--shutting off the profits.
- "3. The Shop Unit is trained to work in a conspirative manner, in order to organize and lead the other workers, to safeguard the organization and prevent its members from being fired. Because of this method of work the Shop Unit will remain the most solid link with the masses under any conditions (terror, illegality).
- "4. The Shop Unit registers the reaction of the most decisive elements of the proletariat to every issue.

"The reaction, sentiment, opinion of the workers brought by the Shop Unit to the higher committee of the party makes it possible to formulate the best policy or to correct and improve decisions. Through the Shop Units, Party Committees are in daily contact with the most important strata of the working class.

- "5. The leadership of the Party gets its strength from the Shop Units by drawing the most developed comrades into the leading Party committees. In this way direct contact with factory workers is established.
- "6. The Shop Units, through their daily activities in leading and organizing struggles in the factories, gain the confidence of the workers and spread the influence of the Party to wider and wider circles. At the same time the Shop Units bring into the Party the best elements of this decisive stratum of the proletariat, thus improving the social composition of the Party.
- "7. The Shop Unit is very effective in building real united fronts of workers on immediate issues (Grievance Committee, Shop Committee) and also on broader political issues (terror, election, war).
- "8. The Shop Units are instrumental in building and strengthening well-functioning fractions in the A. F. of L. and other unions.
- "9. The Shop Unit brings the Daily Worker, this mighty weapon of our Party, directly to the most important strata of the working class.

"These are the main arguments for the necessity of building the Party in the factories. These arguments prove that in order to win the majority of the decisive strata of the proletariat, the Party must be rooted in the factories, mines, ships, docks, offices, etc.

"The working class will be in a position to fulfill its role as the most decisive class in the struggle against finance capital, as the leader of all toiling masses, only if it is headed by a Communist Party which is closely bound up with the decisive strata of the workers. But a Communist Party with a very weak and inadequately functioning organization in the big factories and among the decisive sections of the American industrial workers, a Communist Party whose entire policy, whose entire agitation and propaganda, whose entire daily work is not concentrated on winning over and mobilizing these workers and winning the factories, a Communist Party which, through its revolutionary trade union work, does not build highways to the broadest masses of workers, cannot lay claim to a policy capable of making it the leader of the working class within the shortest possible time.' (Open Letter, page 12.)"

Peters, J.,
The Communist Party, A Manual on
Organization, pages 44-47.

OBSTRUCTIVE - DESTRUCTIVE TECHNIQUES

All the many and varied techniques of the Communists are employed in the behalf of one single ultimate aim, namely, the overthrow of the non-Communist social orders. This is their real aim and not the immediate improvement of social conditions. To achieve this end they will use every obstructive and destructive techniques available to them. An appeasement, or compromise policy is of no avail because Communists will not be satisfied with anything short of Communism.

"The democrats will furthermore either work directly for a federative republic or at least, if they cannot avoid the republic one and indivisible, strive to cripple the central government by giving the greatest possible autonomy and independence to the municipalities and provinces. The workers must strive against this plan not only for a German republic one and indivisible, but within it for a most decided centralization of power in the hands of the state government. They must not let themselves be misled by democratic talk about freedom of municipalities, self-government, etc.

"... is not to be tolerated under any circumstances that every village, every town, every province should put a new obstacle in the path of the revolutionary activity which can emanate in full strength only from the center.

"It will be asked, what measures shall the workers propose in opposition? The workers naturally cannot as yet, at the commencement of the movement, propose any directly communistic measures. They can however;

"1. Compel the democrats to entrench upon the old social order on as many sides as possible, obstruct the regularity of its course and compromise themselves, besides concentrating as many as possible of the productive forces, means of transportation, factories, railways, etc., in the hands of the state.

"2. They must push to extreme lengths the proposals of the democrats, which will in no case be revolutionary but only reformist, converting them into direct attacks upon private property. For example, when the petty bourgeoisie propose to buy up the railways and factories, the workers must demand that these railways and factories, as the property of the reactionaries, be confiscated by the state simply and without compensation. If the democrats propose proportional, the workers must demand progressive taxation; if the democrats themselves move for a moderated progressive taxation, the workers must insist upon a tax whose rates are so steeply graduated as to bring ruin to big capital; if the democrats demand a regulation of the state debts, the workers must demand state bankruptcy. The demands of the workers will thus everywhere have to be guided by the concessions and measures of the democrats."

Mar , Karl, Capital and Other Writings, pages 364, 365, 366.

OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The "October Revolution" refers to the Bolshevik or Communist revolution which took place in Russia in 1917. Although it is called the "October Revolution" the date of capture of the main government buildings of what was then the capital, Petrograd, (now called Leningrad) was November 6, 1917. Communist led soldiers and sailors formed the major fighting forces. The Russian calendar indicates that the dates of the uprising were October 24 and 25, therefore it is referred to as the "October Revolution". Communists attach tremendous significance to this Revolution saying it was the real beginning of the world revolution to establish Communism.

"And, in truth, the October Revolution is the first revolution in the history of the world that has broken the sleep of centuries of the toiling masses of the oppressed nations of the East and drawn them into the struggle against world imperialism."

"The October Revolution is the first revolution in the world that provided the workers and peasants of the West with a living and salutary example and urged them on to the path of real liberation from the yoke of war and imperialism."

"Thus the October Revolution, by establishing ties between the nations of the backward East and the advanced West, draws them together into the joint camp of the struggle against imperialism."

Stalin, Joseph, The October Revolution, page 16.

"The victory of socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. In the country where it is victorious the revolution must regard itself, not as a self-sufficient quantity, but as a support, a means for hastening the

victory of the proletariat in all countries. For the victory of the revolution in one single country, in this case Russia, is not only a product of the uneven development and progressive decay of imperialism. It constitutes at the same time the beginning and premise of the world revolution."

Ibid., pages 125, 126.

"The world significance of the October Revolution lies not only in its constituting a great start made by one country in the work of breaking through the system of imperialism and the creation of the first land of socialism in the ocean of imperialist countries, but likewise in its constituting the first stage in the world revolution and a mighty basis for its further development.

"Therefore, those who, forgetting the international character of the October Revolution, declare the victory of socialism in one country to be purely national and only a national phenomenon, are wrong. And those too who, although bearing in mind the international character of the October Revolution, are inclined to regard this revolution as something passive, merely destined to accept help from without, are equally wrong. As a matter of fact not only does the October Revolution need support from the revolutionary movement of other countries, but revolution in those countries needs the support of the October Revolution in order to accelerate and advance the cause of overthrowing world imperialism."

Ibid., page 129.

"...the October Socialist Revolution has made the final destruction of the entire capitalist system a practical issue."

World News and Views,
November 11, 1939, page
1077.

"The history of nations knows not a few revolutions. But those revolutions differ from the October Revolution in that they were one-sided revolutions. One form of exploitation of the working people was replaced by another form of exploitation; but exploitation, as such, remained. One set of exploiters and oppressors was replaced by another set of exploiters and oppressors; but exploiters and oppressors, as such, remained.

"...It was only our Soviet Revolution, only our October Revolution that dealt with the quest on, not of substituting one set of exploiters for another, not of substituting one form of exploitation for another, but of eradicating all exploitation, of eradicating all exploiters, all rich and oppressors, old and new."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Selected Writings, page 286.

"By sowing the seeds of revolution, both in the centres of imperialism and in its rear, by weakening the power of imperialism in the 'mother countries' and undermining its domination in the colonies, the October Revolution has jeopardized the very existence of world capitalism as a whole."

Stalin, Joseph, The October
Revolution, pages 160, 161.

OPPORTUNISM

Communists consider people to be "opportunists," (1) if they seek to change the Communist Party lines contrary to the wishes of the leaders or (2) if they show any signs of favoring Capitalism. Opportunism is regarded as "a political detachment of the bourgeoisie" and opportunists are the agents, the propagandists, the transmitters of this "odious" doctrine within the labor movement even though they may be members and labor union leaders. The economic foundation of "opportunism" is said to be imperialism whose exploitation profits are used to pay higher wages at home thereby bribing the laborers and labor union leaders of their own nation--the "labor aristocracy." (Phillip Murray of C.I.O., William Green of A.F.L. and all other labor leaders and members who oppose Communism would be lumped together as "opportunists" and members of the American "labor aristocracy.")

"The essence of opportunism is most amply expressed in Lenin's words:

'Opportunism means sacrificing to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers the fundamental interests of the masses, or, in other words, an alliance of a part of the workers with the bourgeoisie against the mass of the proletariat.'

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in Marxist Study Courses, "Political Economy," pamphlet issued by the International Publishers, New York, page 20.

"Bolshevism is highly intolerant towards opportunism and opportunist deviations because opportunism in the labor movement constitutes the influence of the capitalist ideology upon the working class. It is an established historic fact that Bolshevism became what it is, the guide of the world revolutionary movement

and the builder of Socialism in the Soviet Union, because of the merciless and highly intolerant struggle against opportunism — right and 'left' — of all shades and varieties. Stalin puts it this way:

'Leninism arose, grew, and became strong in a relentless struggle against opportunism of every shade, including centrism in the west (Kautsky) and centrism among us (Trotsky and others).'"

Bittleman, Alex, The Communist Party In Action, page 45.

"We observe, however, among certain Party members, a tendency to be easy going, tolerant and conciliatory towards opportunist deviations. This is a dangerous attitude which is very harmful to the interests of the working class and to the growth of our Party. It is this attitude that Comrade Stalin attacked so sharply, branding it as 'rotten liberalism' and calling upon every communist to demonstrate in practice in his everyday revolutionary work true Bolshevik intolerance of and irreconcilability with all opportunist deviations from the Leninist line."

Ibid., page 48.

"Thirdly, unswerving and ruthless war must be waged for the complete expulsion from the labour movement of those opportunist leaders who earned their reputations both before the war and particularly during the war, in the sphere of politics as well as, and particularly, in the trade unions and the co-operative societies."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 46.

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES

The organizational principles established by V. I. Lenin are still acceptable today to all American Communists. Among other things these principles stress the need for "professional revolutionaries."

"Lenin left to us the fundamental organizational principles of Party organization which have remained in force to this day and which should be learned thoroughly by all the Sections of the Communist International.

"These fundamental principles are as follows:

"1) The doctrine that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working class. This doctrine, taken from Marx and Engels, was emphasized by Lenin, developed and excellently applied in modern conditions.

"2) The old doctrine, but one which has not yet been carried out by the overwhelming majority of the Communist Parties, namely: the formation of the principle cadres of the Party, so-called professional revolutionaries.

"3) Activity of all the members of the Party, their direct participation in the work of the organization.

"4) The basis of the Party organization, its 'fortresses,' are the factory nuclei.

"5) The Communist Party, through Communist fractions in non-Party workers' and peasants' organizations, must link up closely with the masses of the workers and peasants and take an active part in all their struggles against their exploiters and oppressors and lead the struggles

through the Communist nuclei and Communist fractions.

"6) Democratic centralism in the Party and in the Communist International.

"7) Iron discipline for the proletarian Party."

Lenin, V. I., Lenin On
Organization, pages 43,
44.

OVERTHROW OF GOVERNMENT OR STATE POWER

As previously indicated under various captions, the Communists firmly believe that it is necessary in the final crisis to overthrow the government or state power. This final revolutionary act is to grow out of the everyday struggles. Among other things parliamentary procedure is to be mastered and used as an end in overthrowing the government.

"The overthrow of the State power, and with it, of the capitalist system, grows out of the everyday struggles of the workers. One is historically inseparable from the other."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?,
page 74.

"Under the leadership of the Communist party and following out its class struggle policy, the workers can defend their interests here and now and they will ultimately traverse fully the revolutionary way out of the crisis by overthrowing capitalism and establishing a Soviet system."

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, page 259.

"...But the revolution is thorough. It is still on its way through purgatory. It is completing its task methodically. By December 2nd, 1851 (the day of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'etat), it had completed one-half of its preparatory work; now it is completing the other half. First, it perfected parliamentary power, so that it could overthrow it."

Marx, Karl, "The Eighteenth
Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,"
as contained in State and
Revolution by V. I. Lenin,
page 24.

"Hence the necessity for all bourgeois parties,
even for the most democratic and 'revolutionary-
democratic' among them, to increase their re-
pressive measures against the revolutionary pro-
letariat, to strengthen the apparatus of repres-
sion, i.e., the same state machinery. Such a
course of events compels the revolution 'to con-
centrate all its forces of destruction' against
the state power, and to regard the problem as
one, not of perfecting the machinery of the state,
but of breaking up and annihilating it."

Lenin, V. I., State and
Revolution, page 27.

PACIFISM

Communists do talk loudly and incessantly about peace but they are not pacifists. They are strongly opposed to pacifism. Communists condemn pacifism because it does not distinguish between "just and unjust wars." To pacifists all wars without exception are unjust. To Communists all wars are not unjust. Communists regard all wars which spread and strengthen Communism to be wholly just and desirable. Communists regard all wars which do not spread and strengthen Communism to be wholly unjust and undesirable and must therefore be as relentlessly opposed by every Communist as a war favoring Communist interests is to be supported. V. I. Lenin said the phrase "boycott war" is a most stupid one and laid down the principle that all Communists should take part in war, "even in the most reactionary war" if such action will benefit the spread of Communism.

"The aim of the Soviet proposals is not to spread pacifist illusions, but to destroy them..."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, Resolution of the VI World Congress of the Communist International, page 54.

"No revolutionary class can forswear revolutionary war without dooming itself to a ludicrous pacifism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VI, page 160.

"When necessary, we shall not refuse to wage a revolutionary war. We are not pacifists..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 311.

"We must not preach passivity..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 351.

"In the struggle against pacifism, however, the Communists must draw a distinction between the anti-war sentiments of large masses of the toilers, who are ready to fight against war, but do not as yet understand that the revolutionary way is the only proper way of combating war, and therefore, become a prey to pacifist swindlers, and the swindlers themselves, the pacifists of various shades. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated."

"It is therefore necessary:

"(a) To combat all high-sounding phrases like 'we shall never permit another war,' 'no more war', etc. The Communists must not be content merely to 'correct' these slogans theoretically, but must wage an active fight against this kind of propaganda by unmasking those who conduct it, and denounce this phrase mongering as a screen to conceal the preparations being made for war. The same thing applies in many cases today of the slogan: 'War against war' that is advanced by the Social Democrats as a hypocritical means of raising unfounded expectations among the masses."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the VI World Congress of the Communist International,
pages 13, 14.

"...social-pacifists are, to a large extent, hypocrites, who by gentle admonitions strive to divert the people from the revolutionary struggle..."

Lenin, V.I. Selected Works, Volume III, page 2.

"...every attempt to idealise Tolstoy's teachings, to justify or palliate his 'non-resistance,' his appeals to the 'Spirit,' his calls for 'moral self-perfection,' his doctrine of 'conscience' and universal 'love,' his preaching of asceticism and quietism and so forth, causes the most direct and most profound damage."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 691.

"The Bolsheviks were not pacifists who sighed for peace and confined themselves to the propaganda of peace...The Bolsheviks advocated an active revolutionary struggle for peace, to the point of overthrowing the rule of the bellicose imperialist bourgeoisie."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), page 167.

"However, the crisis of capitalism---the sharpest expression of which is war---may give rise to broad revolutionary mass movements, even before the open conflict breaks out. In such a movement, as in the daily struggles, the Communists must strive to rally, organize and lead the masses, with the aim of fighting, by means of revolutionary action, for the conquest of power, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship."

"For this reason, Leninism combats all pacifist theories concerning the abolition of war and points out to the masses of the workers and to all the exploited people the only way leading to this goal: the overthrow of capitalism."

"But the overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and the
Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the VI
World Congress of the
Communist International,
pages 7, 8, 9.

PARIS COMMUNE

Frequent references are made in Communist literature to the Paris Commune which emerged from the Parisian insurrection of March 18 to May 29, 1871. The Paris Commune, a semi-socialist regime, enjoyed a brief existence, nevertheless, Communists do attach considerable significance to it. The Paris Commune is referred to as the first "workers republic" and the embryo form of a Soviet state, or the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The Paris Commune was the embryo of this form; the Soviet power is its development and culmination."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 51.

"On the 1st of April it was decided that the highest salary of a functionary of the Commune, whether a member or otherwise, was not to exceed 6,000 francs (\$1,200) a year. On the following day was decreed the separation of Church and State, the abolition of all State payments for religious purposes, and the transformation of all ecclesiastical wealth into national property. As a consequence of this, all religious symbols, dogmas, prayers--in short, 'all things appertaining to the sphere of the individual conscience'--were on the 8th of April ordered to be banished from the schools, an order which was carried out as soon as possible. ...there was enacted a decree for the arrest of hostages, but it was never carried out."

Marx, Karl, Capital and
Other Writings, pages 373-
374.

"Well, gentle sirs, would you like to know how this dictatorship looks? Then look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Engels, Frederick, state-
ment in Capital and Other
Writings by Karl Marx,
page 381.

"...Our proletarian revolution is the only revolution in the world which had the opportunity of showing the people not only its political results but also material results. Of all workers' revolutions we know only one which achieved some measure of power. That was the Paris Commune. But it did not last long. True, it endeavored to smash the fetters of capitalism, but it did not have time enough to smash them, and still less time to show the people the beneficial material results of revolution. Our revolution is the only one which not only smashed the fetters of capitalism and brought people freedom, but also succeeded in creating for the people the material conditions for a prosperous life... In order to live well and joyously, the benefits of political freedom must be supplemented by material benefits. The distinctive feature of our revolution is that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life."

Stalin, Joseph,
The Stakhanov Movement
in the Soviet Union,
page 12.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

The primary interest which Communists have in parliamentary procedure in non-Communist nations is to use this procedure for the purpose of capturing and overthrowing the government. They would utilize constitutional rights for the purpose of destroying these rights. They would pursue both legal and illegal means to achieve their end.

"Parliamentarism is 'historically obsolete' in a world-historical sense, that is to say, the epoch of bourgeois parliamentarism has come to an end, the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat has begun."

Lenin, V. I., "Left-Wing
Communism: An Infantile
Disorder, page 39.

"Take any parliamentary country, from America to Switzerland, from France to England, Norway and so forth -- the actual work of the 'state' there is done behind the scenes and is carried out by the departments, the offices and the staffs. Parliament itself is given up to talk for the special purpose of fooling the 'common people.'"

Lenin, V. I., State and
Revolution, page 40.

"The venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society is replaced in the Commune by institutions..."

Ibid., page 41

"In this connection Lenin wrote in his famous pamphlet, 'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder:

'The Bolshevik boycott of "parliament" in 1905 enriched the revolutionary proletariat with highly valuable political experience and showed that in combining legal

"with illegal, parliamentary with extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, it is sometimes useful and even essential to reject parliamentary forms..."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted
in History of the Communist
Party of The Soviet Union
(Bolsheviks), Edited by a
Commission of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U.
(B.), page 89.

"In carrying out its class struggle program the Communist party practices revolutionary parliamentarism. It places candidates during elections and makes every effort to elect them. It combines its parliamentary action inside legislative bodies with its mass action outside and fights to force all possible concessions from the government. ... Where the Party elects its candidates to legislative bodies they make use of these public forums to expose the capitalist character of the government and to bring forward the Communist program in its various phases. In all its parliamentary activities the Communist Party makes it clear to the workers that the capitalist democracy is a sham and that there must be no illusions about peacefully capturing the State for the working class."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 255.

"The parliament...can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform...Therefore it is the immediate historical task...to tear this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling classes, to break and destroy it, and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus. At the same time however, the revolutionary general staff...is vitally concerned in having its scouting parties in the parliamentary institutions of the bourgeoisie, in order to facilitate this task of destruction."

The Theses and Statutes
of the Communist Inter-
national, page 40.

PARTY (membership requirement)

Communists endorse the very important "Leninist formula" for Party membership. This formula requires a person to first accept without question the entire program of the Party. Next he must pay his dues and be an active worker in the behalf of Communism. Communists are not primarily concerned with whether or not a prospective member fully understands Communism. The important thing is that he accepts it without question.

"A large number are expelled for so-called passivity. What is passivity? It is considered, we discover, that if a member of the Party has not mastered the Party program, he is 'passive,' and due for expulsion. But this is not right, comrades. The statutes of our Party cannot be interpreted so pedantically. To master the Party program one needs to be a real Marxist, a tested and theoretically trained Marxist. I do not know whether many Party members will be found by us in the Party who have already mastered our program, have become genuine Marxists, theoretically trained and tried. If we were to go further along this path, we should have to leave only intellectuals and learned people in general in the Party. Who wants such a Party? We have the Leninist formula about Party membership which is verified, has stood all tests. According to this formula, a Party member is one who accepts the Party program, pays membership dues and works in one of its organizations.

"Note that Lenin's formula does not speak about mastering the program, but of accepting the program. These are two entirely different things."

Stalin, Joseph,
Mastering Bolshevism,
page 47.

"If the Party took the standpoint that Party members can be only those comrades who have already mastered the program and have become theoretically trained Marxists, it would not have formed thousands of Party

"circles in the Party, hundreds of Party schools where the Party members are taught Marxism and are helped to master our program. It is quite clear that if the Party organizes schools and circles among the Party members, it is because it knows that the Party members have not yet succeeded in mastering the Party program, have not yet succeeded in becoming theoretically trained Marxists."

Ibid., pages 47-48.

"Section 1. Any resident of the United States, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, color, national origin, sex or religious belief, who subscribes to the principles and purposes of the Communist Party, shall be eligible for membership.

"Section 2. An applicant for membership shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Such application is subject to discussion and decision by the Club to which it is presented.

"Section 3. A Party member is one who accepts the aims, principles and program of the Party as determined by its Constitution and Conventions, who belongs to a Club and attends its meetings, who is active in behalf of the Party program, who reads and circulates the Party Press and literature and who pays dues regularly."

Constitution of the
Communist Party of the
United States of America,
published by the Communist Party, U.S.A.,
National Office, 35 East
12th Street, New York 3,
New York, October, 1948,
pages 6-7.

PARTY (making of decisions)

Communists place considerable emphasis on the desirability of carrying decisions through to fulfillment once they have been made. It will be recalled that Marxism is said to be a guide to action and any idea or decision is considered to be relatively valueless until it has been put into effective action. Much control is placed over a decision until it has been executed.

"If we make a decision we have to organize the execution of that decision, control its execution, control its carrying out, and unless we do that, it is better not to make the decision in the first place, because a decision which is not carried through has a demoralizing effect in the life of the Party."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States, page 213.

"It appals me sometimes when I sit in on committee meetings to see the light-hearted way they make the most far-reaching decisions. Why do they make so many excellent decisions on paper? Because they have no intention of carrying them out; because they are interested only in expressing their excellent intentions. There is such a light-hearted approach to the question of whether a decision is to be carried out or not. These are remnants from a non-Bolshevik past. This is the enemy of Bolshevism, the enemy of the Bolshevization of our Party, and we must guard ourselves and make a rule against it.

"We must demand that every decision be carried out, and if it is not, a formal explanation why, and a registration of our failure. Only if we approach our problems with this strict Bolshevik standard can we seriously expect to meet the tremendous burdens and difficulties that are going to fall upon us. It is true that we are expanding and growing, and strengthening ourselves. This not only multiplies our problems, but it requires a higher degree of organization and responsibility."

Ibid., 213-214.

PARTY (a part of a class)

Communists consider a political party to be a party of a class. It is the foremost representative of a particular class. Where there are different classes in a nation there will be different parties. However, in a Communist nation where it is alleged there are no antagonistic classes but one party will be found - the Communist Party.

"A party is a part of a class, its foremost part. Several parties, and, consequently, freedom for parties, can exist only in a society in which there are antagonistic classes whose interests are mutually hostile and irreconcilable, in which there are, say, capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, kulaks and poor peasants, etc. But in the U.S.S.R. there are no longer such classes as capitalists, landlords, kulaks, etc. In the U.S.S.R. there are only two classes, workers and peasants, whose interests are not only not mutually hostile, but, on the contrary, are friendly. Consequently, in the U.S.S.R. there is no ground for the existence of several parties, and, consequently, for freedom for these parties. In the U.S.S.R. there is ground only for one party, the Communist Party. In the U.S.S.R. only one party can exist, the Communist Party, which courageously defends the interests of the workers and peasants to the very end."

Stalin, Joseph, On the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R., page 29.

"The Communist Party sets itself the task of winning decisive influence ... Particularly does it aim to promote its program and its complete dominance in contemporary state organizations such as the Soviets."

"Undivided direction of state and all other organizations of the toilers in the USSR by the Communist Party is a logical consequence of the fact that the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), as an advance detachment of the worker class, is for that very reason an advance detachment of all toilers."

Vyshinsky, Andrei, Y., The Law of The Soviet State, page 628.

PARTY LINE

The "Party Line" relates to the policy decisions and program formation made within the Communist Party. These decisions which shape the course of action, the strategy and tactics, of the Communist Party are ostensibly made at Conventions, and at District and National committee meetings. It is said they are "ostensibly" made there because actually the small group of men at the apex of the Party make the decisions and the rest take orders under the pretense that they made the orders which they meekly accept. In effect, this "Party Line" is formulated by a very few top ranking Communists. The rest agree to it. Once the decision on the "Line" is made the issue is closed. From there on Communists accept and apply this "Line" (e.g. policies and programs) without exception in the day to day activities of the class struggle.

"It may be said to be a change in the growing understanding of Party members on the meaning of Party line, but in the authoritative expressions of this line there is no change. Our standard text-book is the writings of Lenin on these questions---writings that extend over many years, mostly before the revolution in Russia."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 348.

"Acceptance of program and policies is only the will to become a Communist. The first condition for carrying out the program is participation of all the members in the daily work of the Party. ... Every member must find his or her place... Our Constitution...correctly restates a traditional Communist concept that the highest authority of the Party is the national convention and that its decisions are binding on every member."

Williamson, John, "The Reconstitution of the Communist Party," Political Affairs, Volume XXIV, Number 9, September, 1945, pages 806, 807.

PARTY (only one allowed to exist)

Although American Communists loudly cry for the right of their Party to exist and compete with other parties, once in power they would refuse this same right to all others. All Communists believe that the Communist Party and only the Communist Party should be allowed to exist. Every other party is to be destroyed. They argue that the Communist Party is the only party which represents the working class. Other parties represent different interests. They are the parties of classes. As Communism is to be a classless society the need for a multiplicity of parties disappears. Therefore, the Communist Party representing the proletariat is justified in prohibiting the existence of all other parties.

"In a Socialist society, based upon the workers and farmers and where the aim of the government is to advance solely the interests of these toiling masses, there is room for only one Party, the Communist Party. Of course, in the capitalist countries the Socialists and other defenders of the pseudo-democracy of capitalism protest against this situation and demand the right of political organization for the remnants of the old exploiting classes. But what stupidity it would be for the victorious workers, whose aim it is to liquidate all classes, to permit these counter-revolutionary elements to organize themselves into political parties and thus enable them to sabotage the new regime, to fight for the reestablishment of their system of robbing the workers and generally to act as a barrier to the progress of the new society."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pp. 140-141

"Question 3. Since there is legality for one political party only in Russia, how do you know that the masses favour communism?"

"Answer: It is true that in the U.S.S.R. there are no legal bourgeois parties, that only one party, the party of the workers, the Communist Party, enjoys

legality. Have we the ways and means, however, of convincing ourselves that the majority of the workers, the majority of the masses of the toilers sympathize with the Communists? We speak of course of the masses of the workers and peasants and not of the new bourgeoisie, or of the remnants of the old exploiting classes which have been already defeated by the proletariat. Yes, it is possible. We have the ways and means of knowing whether the masses of the workers and peasants sympathize with the Communists or not."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
page 367.

"You speak of a conflict of opinion among the workers and peasants at the present time, under the proletarian dictatorship. I have said already that conflict of opinion exists and will exist in the future, that no progress is possible without this, but conflict of opinion among the workers under present conditions centres, not around the question of the overthrow of the Soviet system in principle, but around practical questions like the improvement of the soviets, the rectification of errors committed by the Soviet organs and, consequently, of consolidating Soviet rule. Such a conflict of opinion can only serve to strengthen and perfect the Communist Party. Such a conflict of opinion can only serve to strengthen the monopoly of the Communist Party. Such a conflict of opinion cannot provide nourishment for other parties within the working class and among the toiling peasantry."

Ibid., pages
376-377.

"The essential difference between the existence of parties in the western world and with us Communists is that the sole possibility with Communism is the following: one party is in power and all the others in jail."

Trud, November
13, 1927, official
Russian publication.

Joseph Stalin in stressing this fact said that when Lenin spoke of the need for a "dictatorship of the Party," he

"...referred to the 'dictatorship of one party,' i.e., to the fact that our Party holds power alone, that it does not share power with other parties."

Stalin, Joseph,
Problems of Leninism,
page 57.

"One single Party of Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, directing all the levers of the system of the worker-class dictatorship....therein is the pledge of Communism's victory."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet State,
page 627.

"The Soviet state...does not include freedom of political parties...."

Ibid., page 627.

"Accordingly, there is in the USSR no ground for the existence of several parties, and so none for freedom for these parties either. In the USSR there is ground for one Party only -- the Communist Party; and in the USSR only one Party can exist -- the Communist Party...."

Stalin, Joseph, as quoted in
Ibid., pages 627-628.

PARTIES (Democratic and Republican)

American Communists, in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, state that both the Democratic and the Republican Parties in the United States are class Parties. Both represent the capitalist class and are therefore to be placed in the same derogatory category. In view of this alleged situation, Communists claim the American people never have any real choice at election time. Their choice is limited to choosing either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. In either case, they will be choosing an exploiter. The only preference the people have, according to Communist reasoning, is a choice between exploiters. Communists propose to remedy this matter on coming into power by destroying both the Republican and Democratic Parties as well as all other parties or organizations which support them. This would leave the Communist Party of the United States with a complete monopoly of political freedom and power. It alone would exist and rule.

"You have undoubtedly observed that the Republican and Democratic parties, notwithstanding their apparent disagreements and 'opposition' to each other, really belong into one and the same category. This category is the so-called two-party system of the capitalist class of the United States. This has been the strategy of American finance capital, that controls both the Republican and Democratic parties, which aimed to prevent the crystalization of any serious third parties, even a third party of the small bourgeoisie."

Bittelman, Alex,
The Communist Party in
Action, page 18.

"The Republican party is the party of finance capital, of the great bankers and industrialists of Wall Street, of which the Morgan interests stand at the head.

"The Democratic party is no less the party of the big capitalists."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 235.

"Therefore, it is the task of the Democratic party, with a flood of demagogy, to delude these masses, and to prevent their taking serious steps against the capitalists, by keeping them fettered with the two capitalist party system. This is the menace of the Roosevelts, Garners, Murrays, Bakers, etc."

Ibid., page 237.

"Every phase of the struggle for the political leadership of the masses now breaking away from the Democratic and Republican parties is dependent upon the constant growth and strengthening of the Communist Party as an independent revolutionary force, with its full program made familiar to ever broader masses."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States, page 204.

"Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties -- Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc. -- will be liquidated, the Communist party functioning alone as the Party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, rotary clubs, American Legion, Y.M.C.A., and such fraternal orders as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 275.

PEACE

As previously indicated under other captions, Communists frequently refer to their interest in world peace but by this they mean something considerably different from what is meant by the average person. The average person believes it is possible for different people and different nations to reconcile their conflicts and to live in peace with each other. Communists do not believe this. When they say they desire world peace what they are really saying is they desire world Communism because they proceed from the assumption that world peace and world Communism are identical. It is impossible to have peace without also having Communism which allegedly removes all the causes which disturb the peace of the world.

"We are living, not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic would continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove it also by military organization."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted by Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, page 66.

"The question as to whether you will get a speedy peace will be determined solely by the process of development of the revolution. No matter what sentimental things may be said, no matter how much you may be told: let us put an end to the war immediately, it cannot be done without the development of the revolution."

Lenin, V. I., War and the Workers, page 32.

PHILISTINE

To Communists any person who "believes in" and "hopes for" the establishment of Communism but is timid, afraid and shrinks from the necessity of class conflict and warfare is a despicable "philistine." In the United States Communists may refer to a "fair-weather fellow-traveller" as a "philistine." They describe such a person as being one who supports Communism when it is popular and easy to do so; when he may gain thereby, but one who will desert Communism when it is unpopular and unpleasant to support; when he stands to lose by so doing. In the words of Tom Paine a "philistine" is the "summer soldier" of the Communist movement and when the "going gets rough" he will desert to the reactionaries. The term "philistine" in the United States is also being applied by Communists to such "liberal" publications as "The Nation," "The New Republic," "New Statesman," the former "PM Newspaper" and the like. To the Communists the leaders of these publications though they claim to be working for social progress, are actually working against progress. When the crucial test arrives on vital issues, (e.g. war, labor, Negro rights, etc.) these publications, according to the Communist version, are always to be found on the side of the reactionaries to some degree or other.

"What is a philistine? A hollow gut, full of fear and hope, that God have mercy! What is the Russian liberal-democratic philistine of the Cadet and near-Cadet camp? A hollow gut, full of fear and hope, that the counter-revolutionary landlord have mercy!"

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 699.

PHILOSOPHICAL FRONT

Communists fight on many different fronts, political, economic, social, military and the like. One of the "fronts" which is being mentioned in current literature is the Communist "philosophical front." This phrase is used to describe a "detachment of militant philosophers" (it will be observed that even in philosophy military terms and spirit are emphasized) whose task it is to wage a fighting offensive against all non-Communist philosophy and philosophers. Their efforts will be directed mainly against the opposition in non-Communist nations for within Communist nations all opposition has been crushed.

"We have often used in our discussion the term 'philosophical front.' But where, in actuality, is this front? When we speak of the philosophical front, it immediately suggests an organized detachment of militant philosophers, perfectly equipped with Marxist theory, waging a determined offensive against hostile ideology abroad and against the survivals of bourgeois ideology in the consciousness of Soviet people within our country -- a detachment ceaselessly advancing our science, arming the toilers of our Socialist society with the consciousness of the correctness of our path, and with confidence, scientifically grounded, in the ultimate victory of our cause."

Zhdanov, A. A.,
"On the History of Philosophy,"
National Affairs, Volume 5,
Number 6, June, 1948,
pages 201 - 202.

POLICE (secret)

While bitterly condemning the existence of all police in non-Communist nations, Communist nations consider police (secret police in particular) to be a necessity. In the early years of the Soviet regime in Russia the secret police were referred to as G.P.U. Today they exist under other names but their function is the same, "to live and strike terror into the hearts of the enemies."

"The G.P.U. or the Cheka is a punitive organ of the Soviet government. It is more or less similar to the Committee of Public Safety which existed during the great French Revolution. It punishes primarily spies, plotters, terrorists, bandits, speculators and forgers. It is something in the nature of a military political tribunal set up for the purpose of protecting the interests of the revolution from attacks on the part of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and their agents.

"It must be admitted that the G.P.U. aimed at the enemies of the revolution without missing. By the way, this quality of the G.P.U. still holds good. It has been, ever since, the terror of the bourgeoisie, the indefatigable guard of the revolution, the unsheathed sword of the proletariat.

"It is not surprising, therefore, that the bourgeoisie of all countries hate the G.P.U. All sorts of legends have been invented about the G.P.U.

"The slander which has been circulated about the G.P.U. knows no bounds. And what does that mean? It means that the G.P.U. is properly defending the interests of the revolution. The sworn enemies of the revolution curse the G.P.U. Hence, it follows that the G.P.U. is doing the right thing.

"No, comrades, we do not want to repeat the errors of the Paris Communards. The Communards of Paris were too lenient in dealing with Versailles, for which Marx rightly reproved them at the time.

"No, comrades, we do not want to repeat the mistakes of the

"Paris Communards. The G.P.U. is necessary for the revolution and it will continue to live and strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
pages 419, 420, 421.

"From the moment of its emergence and down to the present time, the Soviet state has clashed--and still constantly clashes--in fierce conflict with the overthrown exploiter classes and their toadies."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet
State, page 153.

"Guided by Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet state always started from the position that the perishing classes would resist with all their powers until the last moment, and that their pitiless repression would therefore always constitute an imprescriptible and necessary task of the proletarian dictatorship. Accordingly, as early as the Declaration of Rights, the pitiless repression of exploiters was openly proclaimed as one of the basic tasks of Soviet authority. In conformity with this principle of the proletarian dictatorship, Soviet authority takes substantial and definitive measures to crush the resistance of exploiter classes and their elements. It expelled them from all organs of state authority and cut off from them any access thereto. The Declaration of Rights frankly established that exploiters can have no place in any organ of authority. Their organizations were prohibited and liquidated, and attempts to reestablish them were--and are--pitilessly crushed by Soviet authority. This is one of the basic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, wielding the drawn sword of retribution created by the revolution--the Cheka, the OGPU, and the NKVD."

Ibid., pages 153-154.

POLITICS AND THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Aristotle long ago defined man as "a political animal" and though Communists are unalterably opposed to Aristotelianism they do seem to place the very same stress on the relationship of man to politics. They do not seem to believe man can divorce himself from politics and remain a man. Were they to paraphrase Aristotle they might say that "man is an economic animal" though actually the meaning would not change. As a theory they conceive of "politics" as being the perspective and practice of a given class so shaped as to improve their economic status. Karl Marx established the line for all Communists who followed him saying the political struggle is in reality a class struggle. It is one class against another. When the classless Communist society develops political struggles will no longer exist for there will be no more social antagonisms and no need for "politics", political struggle and political power. Until that "ideal" stage is reached the Communists intend to "use" politics and the political struggle as an influential lever directed against government for the purpose of bringing about the desired end. In justifying their action they argue that political power is nothing more than the organized power of one class used to oppress another class. Therefore, they are free to use such power to end this "oppression."

"What do we mean when we say that the struggle of the working class is a political struggle? We mean that the workers cannot wage the struggle for their emancipation without striving to influence affairs of state, to influence the administration of the state, the passing of laws."

"Thus we see that the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class must necessarily be a political struggle..."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume I, pages 490,
491.

"Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick,
The Communist Manifesto,
page 31.

POLITICALIZATION

When using this term Communists have in mind increasing the political demands of the "workers" in the direction of mass action. Among other things it signifies "educating" the masses in militant procedures. The idea behind the term relates to making laborers and their labor unions class conscious, political minded, militant and revolutionary. In the general sense it is similar to the terms "radicalize" and "revolutionize."

"This politicalization is brought about by the raising of political demands which grow out of the very struggle itself, not merely by the active propagation of the ultimate revolutionary program of the Communist Party. Thus during a strike demands are made for the right to meet, to picket, to strike, for the release of political prisoners, for the adoption, enforcement or repeal of labor legislation, against government arbitration, for the withdrawal of troops, etc., and the workers are mobilized in various ways for mass action in support of these demands. In this way, not only are the workers educated to the class character of the State, but the broadest class front and most militant action is secured in the struggle. In acute conditions of class struggle this line of strategy leads to the development of the mass political strike, during which the more fundamental political demands may be raised. In the question of political demands, as well as of economic demands, the central Communist strategy always turns around the winning of the immediate struggle in hand."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pages 244 - 245.

POWER (seizure of)

Power, physical might, force, and all similar terms play an important part in the Communist language. The "seizure of power" is of vital importance to them. Communists do not believe it to be possible to establish Communism unless they seize the power of the non-Communist state. To do this they believe it absolutely necessary to have the Communist Party serve as the "General Staff" which will skillfully direct the militant forces that will seize power. When power is seized it must remain only in the hands of the Communists and not be shared with any other group. It is to be their exclusive possession. Having accomplished this the next step taken is one which will enable the Communists to retain and perpetuate their power.

"The proletariat needs the Party first of all as its General Staff, which it must have for the successful seizure of power."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume 1,
page 95.

"The art of politics (and the Communist's correct understanding of his tasks) lies in correctly gauging the conditions and the moment when the vanguard of the proletariat can successfully seize power, when it will be able, during and after this seizure of power, to obtain adequate support from sufficiently broad strata of the working class and of the non-proletarian toiling masses, and when, thereafter, it will be able to maintain, consolidate and extend its rule, educating, training and attracting ever broader masses of the toilers."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume X, pages 91-92.

"Lenin states:

"The class that has seized political power has done so conscious of the fact that it has seized power alone. This is implicit in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This concept has meaning only when one class knows that it alone takes political power into its own hands, and does not deceive either itself or others by talk about, "popular, elected government, sanctified by the whole people.""

Lenin, V. I., as
quoted in Leninism
by Joseph Stalin,
Volume I, page 270.

"The seizure of power is only the beginning. ...
Therefore, the important thing is to retain power..."

Stalin, Joseph,
Foundations of
Leninism, page 45.

"The task is to reduce the state apparatus as far as possible, systematically drive all elements of bureaucracy and bourgeois degeneration out of it, to assign the leading forces of the Party to the key positions in the state apparatus, and thus make sure of its keeping under Party leadership."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
page 236.

"There is no way out except by seizing from the capitalists the industries, the banks and all of the economic institutions, and transforming them into the common property of all under the direction of the revolutionary government. There is no way out, in short, except by the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a socialist society."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the
United States, page 18.

POWER (conquest of)

As indicated under other captions the conquest of power by Communists means the violent overthrow of non-Communist governments followed by the destruction of their state apparatus.

"The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist State apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.) and the substitution in its place of new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters."

"Program of the Communist International," as contained in Handbook of Marxism, page 991.

"What is the dictatorship of the proletariat? Lenin defined it as the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie--unlimited by law and resting on force... The task of that dominance is completely and finally to crush the shattered exploiters' resistance to socialism."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet State, page 155.

"The proletarian dictatorship excludes bourgeois democracy..."

Ibid., page 161.

PREDICTIONS (in general)

Communists are not lacking in self-confidence or what could at times be referred to as arrogant boastfulness, self-praise and sweeping predictions as to what will happen in the future. In all these predictions Communism plays the vital role. In essence, the general prediction of Communists resolves itself into the statement that (1) the world cannot continue to exist half Communist and half non-Communist; (2) Communists in the coming years will utterly destroy for all time the non-Communist half of the world; (3) Communists will then build the World Communist Society which will be a new and endless era for the human race.

"...the proletarian revolution is growing all over the world."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 475.

"Communism will inaugurate a new era for the human race, the building of a new world."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 339.

PREDICTIONS (revolutionary crisis developing in Europe)

For many years Communists have contended that a revolutionary crisis has been developing in Europe. They predict it will finally envelop all of Europe and result in establishing Communism throughout that whole area. From Europe they predict the Communist revolution has and is continuing to spread to China, India and to North and South America.

"I think that elements of a profound capitalist crisis are growing and will continue to grow in Europe. Capitalism can be partly stabilised, it can rationalise its production, it can temporarily stifle the working class. Capitalism is still able to do these things, but it will never return to that 'stability' and that 'equilibrium' which existed prior to the war and before the October Revolution. It will never again return to that 'stability' and 'equilibrium.' And that this is so can be seen from the fact that in the European countries, as well as in the colonial countries, which are the source of life of European capitalism, we see one revolutionary outburst after another. Today we see a revolutionary outburst in Austria, tomorrow in England, and the day after somewhere in France or Germany, and then in China, Indonesia, India, etc. And what is Europe and its colonies? It is the centre of capitalism and its periphery. There is 'unrest' in the centres of European capitalism. There is still greater 'unrest' in its periphery. Conditions are ripening for new revolutionary events."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 407.

PREDICTIONS (revolutionaries undefeatable)

The very essence of the Communist Party of every country consists of a well trained corps of professional revolutionaries. They are considered to be absolutely vital to the success of the world Communist revolution. It is the assumption of Communists that once they have adequate "detachments" of such revolutionaries they will be unbeatable for no force will be able to contend against them.

"When we have detachments of specially trained working class revolutionaries who have gone through long years of preparation (and, of course, revolutionaries 'of all arms'), no political police in the world will be able to contend against them.."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume II, pages 117-118.

PREDICTIONS (a war with Soviet Russia will bring to Russia's
defense the workers of various nations)

Communists predict that if any non-Communist nation or nations should become involved in a war with Russia these nations will be struck a severe "blow in the rear" by their own citizen workers (e.g. Communists) who would consider any war against Russia to be "a criminal war" against their fatherland.

"The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and in Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries. And let not, Messieurs, the bourgeoisie blame us if on the morrow of the outbreak of such a war they will miss certain of the governments that are...harply ruling 'by the grace of god.'"

Stalin, Joseph, Stalin Reports,
pages 20 - 21.

Communists predict and threaten a war with Soviet Russia

"...will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and in Asia, and to the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord governments in these countries."

Ibid., page 21.

PREDICTIONS (world-wide revolution will spread victoriously)

Communists are today gloating over the fact that their revolution is spreading rather rapidly throughout the world. The prediction has been made that it will continue to spread and will ultimately be victorious in every country.

"The workers' revolution is growing all over the world."

Lenin, V. I.,
War and the Workers,
page 26.

"The bourgeoisie is mad with fear in face of the growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat. This will become understandable if we take into consideration the fact that the progress of events since the imperialist war is inevitably facilitating the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, that the international world revolution is beginning and gaining strength in all countries."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume X, page 26.

"The proletarian revolution, the overthrow of the yoke of capitalism, is advancing and will be achieved in all countries of the world."

Ibid., page 161.

"Let the bourgeoisie continue to rage, let it slaughter more thousands of workers--victory is ours; the victory of the world Communist revolution is assured."

Ibid., page 27.

"The victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world is assured. The foundation of the international Soviet Republic is impending."

Ibid., page 28.

PREDICTIONS (World War II will result in a Communist Europe)

Communists point out that World War I contributed heavily to the creation of a Communist Russia. Using this as the basis of their reasoning they predict that the results of World War II will produce a Communist Europe.

"The World War of 1914-18 resulted in the formation of the first Soviet Republic; another great war can well produce a Soviet Europe.

"Capitalism will run no less a danger for its existence when it launches its eventual attack upon the Soviet Union."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 64-65.

"Europe is charged with revolution.

"Just as in Russia...so, in Europe, the coming years, ...will lead to popular uprisings under the leadership of the proletariat..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 19.

"...the Russian revolution...was the prologue to the coming European revolution. ... This coming revolution will show to an even greater degree,...that only stern battles, only civil wars, can free humanity from the yoke of capital..."

Ibid., pages 18, 19.

"It is quite probable that the revolution will come ...in many West European countries...Then our victory will be assured and no power on earth will be able to do anything against the Communist revolution."

Ibid., Volume VII, page 240.

PREDICTIONS (Russia has and will continue to play
the vital role in world revolution)

Communists point to the Russian Revolution of 1917 as the first real, practical beginning of world revolution. Further, Russia stands in the vanguard of this world revolution and should not and will not relinquish its effective leadership until Communism is firmly established throughout the world.

"...no force on earth can prevent the Bolsheviks, if they do not allow themselves to be intimidated and are capable of seizing power, from retaining that power until the triumph of the world socialist revolution."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VI, pages 290-291.

"Of all the workers' parties of the world, however, the Russian Bolsheviks alone, headed by Lenin, proved to be actually prepared to assume the leadership of the proletarian revolution."

Adoratsky, V., "The International Significance of Leninism," Selected Works of Lenin, V. I., Volume I, page 119.

"The correspondent of the New York Times only voices an almost universal opinion when he says: 'The Soviet leaders know precisely what they want and are doing it, in sharp contrast to the rest of the world where leadership seems to be a lost art.'"

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 73.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (and the Communist Party)

To the Communists "professional revolutionaries" are those men of the Communist Party who are absolutely loyal, devoted, well trained, able, courageous, possessed of leadership talents, and highly disciplined. They are men who are thoroughly versed and skilled in the knowledge and application of all revolutionary arts, practices and techniques. This includes evading the police, keeping their own ranks free of spies, placing spies in the ranks of the opposition, agitating, propagandizing, sabotaging, rioting, military tactics and general underground work. They are expected to devote "the whole of their lives" to the Communist revolution. The Communist leaders of the United States presently under trial are considered by Communists to be professional revolutionaries.

According to Lenin, it is very essential for any revolutionary Communist party to be made up of two distinct parts. These are:

1. A very small group, making up the experienced, active, reliable leadership. These individuals are to have without exception the rigid, undivided control of the Party in their undisputed possession. This very small group are the "professional revolutionists" as described above. They are specialists in the illegal work of the Party. They make all important decisions, give all important orders.
2. A very large group, forming the broad base of the Party. This second group is made up of general members of the Party, active fellow travellers, sympathizers and the like. It is this second group that works close to the masses of people which the Communists seek to win over and use for revolutionary purposes; they carry out the "day to day" programs and class struggles. It is this second group that carries on the open, legal activities of the Communist Party. They "take orders" and submissively carry out all the decisions of the "professional revolutionists."

The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization, to the question "who are the professional revolutionists?" gives this answer:

"Comrade Lenin in his writings always stressed the necessity of developing a core of comrades from among the best, tested mass leaders, to such a point that they would be able to serve the proletariat as trained, skilled revolutionary leaders. There is a misconception in the ranks of the Party as to what a professional revolutionist, in the Leninist sense, is. Some are of the opinion that a professional revolutionist is a comrade whom the Party takes out of the factory and assigns as full-time functionary; in other words, that the Party organization (Section--District--Center) supports him while he spends all his time on Party work. This notion is wrong.

"A professional revolutionist is a highly developed comrade, trained in revolutionary theory and practice, tested in struggles, who gives his whole life to the fight for the interests of his own class. A professional revolutionist is ready to go whenever and wherever the Party sends him. Today he may be working in a mine, organizing the Party, the trade unions, leading struggles; tomorrow, if the Party so decides, he may be in a steel mill; the day after tomorrow, he may be a leader and organizer of the unemployed. Naturally, these professional revolutionists are supported by the Party organization if their assignment doesn't send them to work in shops or mines. From these comrades the Party demands everything. They accept Party assignments--the matter of family associations and other personal problems are considered, but are not decisive. If the class struggle demands it, he will leave his family for months, even years. The professional revolutionist cannot be demoralized; he is steeled, stable. Nothing can shake him. Our task is to make every Party member a professional revolutionist in this sense."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization, pages 112-113.

"The party must develop a continuous leadership of professional revolutionaries giving their full time

"to the movement. 'The organization of revolutionaries (Communist Party) must before all and principally consist of those who make revolutionary activity their profession.' (Lenin: 'What is to be done?') These are the 'vanguard of the vanguard'. Whether they are intellectuals or workers does not matter. 'In the face of these general characteristics of the members of such an organization all differences between workers and intellectuals must completely disappear (emphasis Lenin's) not to speak of the differences of trade and occupation.'"

The Workers Monthly,
February, 1926,
pages 159 and 160.

"... the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat will not become a genuine 'class struggle' until it is led by a strong organisation of revolutionaries."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 149.

"When we have companies of specially trained worker revolutionaries who have passed through a long course of schooling (revolutionaries, of course, of 'all arms') no police in the world will be able to cope with them, because such companies of men who are unreservedly devoted to the revolution will enjoy the unreserved confidence of the wide masses of the workers."

Lenin V. I.,
Lenin On Organization,
Volume I, pages 95-96.

On referring to a revolutionary organization such as the Communist Party, V. I. Lenin wrote:

"...the organization must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession... the more we restrict the membership of this organization to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organization..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume II, page 139.

"We must work at forming a militant organization and conducting political agitation even in "drab" and peaceful conditions, and even in the period of "declining revolutionary spirit." More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such a period that this work is necessary, because in the moment of outbreaks and outbursts it will be too late to set up an organization. The organization must be ready, in order to be able to develop its activity immediately." (Lenin) This also applies completely to the Communist Parties of Western Europe and of America.

"The Communist Parties of Western Europe and America will be able to fulfill Lenin's will in the sphere of organization only when they have set up proletarian Parties closely linked up with the masses of the workers..."

"We must train men and women who will devote to the revolution, not merely their spare evenings, but the whole of their lives" (Lenin).

Lenin On Organization, pages 44-45.

Communists are convinced that the following epigram which V. I. Lenin prophetically paraphrased and applied to Russia can be

reparaphrased and as prophetically applied to the United States and to every other non-Communist nation:

"Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn the whole of Russia!"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume II, page 141.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (and conspiracy)

Though Communists will vigorously deny for public consumption that the Communist Party is a conspiratorial one, the clear cut evidence from their own authoritative sources indicates that it is a conspiratorial organization and that all professional Communist revolutionaries are engaged in an international conspiracy for the purpose of completely annihilating all non-Communist social orders. When Communists say they are opposed to conspiracy, what they mean is that they are opposed to limiting the revolutionary process to conspiratorial methods alone. They use both conspiratorial and open methods. They combine the two and when charged with being guilty of the former they point with indignation to the latter. Conspiracy is considered to be absolutely essential to the Communist movement.

"We have always protested, and will, of course, continue to protest against restricting the political struggle to conspiracies. But this does not, of course, mean that we deny the need for a strong revolutionary organisation."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 150.

"According to its form a strong revolutionary organisation ... may also be described as a 'conspirative' organisation, because the French word 'conspiration' means in Russian 'conspiracy', and we must have the utmost conspiracy for an organisation of that kind. Secrecy is such a necessary condition for such an organisation that all the other conditions (number and selection of members, functions, etc.) must all be subordinated to it."

Ibid., page 150.

"A conspiracy of the socialist proletariat against world capitalism is unquestionably now at hand ...

"Not in a dark cellar with artificial lighting but ~~in~~ the clear light of day with full publicity on an international tribune, in the face of all mankind, the international proletariat through its best representatives now discusses the plan and tactics for the overthrow of the bourgeois governments of Europe and America. The oppressed masses of all countries are taking part in this conspiracy. ...

"Yes; this is a conspiracy. But it is a conspiracy that cannot be crushed ..."

Kamenev, L., "The
General Staff of World
Revolution", The Second
Congress of the Communist
International, July -
August, 1920, pages 111, 112.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (and the police)

One of the most important functions of the professional Communist revolutionaries is to evade, outmaneuver and combat the police in every possible manner. Communists say that opposing the police "requires professional revolutionaries." Professional Communist revolutionaries are expected to conduct skillful campaigns so as to discredit all police in the eyes of the people. They are expected to evade the law whenever necessary and to openly fight the police if such action would react favorably in their behalf.

"... the struggle against the political police requires special qualities; it requires professional revolutionaries."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 124.

"When we have detachments of specially trained working class revolutionaries who have gone through long years of preparation (and, of course, revolutionaries 'of all arms'), no political police in the world will be able to contend against them, for these detachments of men absolutely devoted and loyal to the revolution will themselves enjoy the absolute confidence and devotion of the broad masses of the workers."

Ibid., pages 147-148.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (and the armed forces)

As indicated elsewhere, Communists consider the infiltration and influencing of the armed forces to be essential to revolutionary development. The professional revolutionaries of the Party are to organize and direct this infiltration of the armed forces which is to result in the creation of "military organisations affiliated to our Party." In the United States, the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, with headquarters in New York is an example of an organization which developed from Communist Party, USA support given to a military unit, The Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which fought in a foreign nation for foreign objectives.

"And as soon as our available forces permit, we must without fail devote serious attention to propoganda and agitation among soldiers and officers, and to the creation of 'military organisations' affiliated to our Party."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 143.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (and the infiltration of government service)

Professional revolutionaries of the Communist Party are urged to infiltrate the government service themselves when possible and when not possible they are expected to develop informants and helpers who are working in the government service. Clerks, stenographers and government officials who will not become Communists or who would not make good revolutionaries are nevertheless considered to be very valuable to the Communist Party as aiders and abettors.

"And these services, each 'small' in itself, but incalculable when taken together, could be rendered to us by office employees and officials, not only in factories, but in the postal service, on the railways, in the Customs, among the nobility, among the clergy and every other walk of life, including even the police service and the Court! Had we a real party, a real militant organisation of revolutionaries, we would not put the question bluntly to every one of these 'abettors', we would not hasten in every single case to bring them right into the very heart of our 'illegality', but, on the contrary, we would husband them very carefully and would train people especially for such functions, bearing in mind the fact that many students could be of much greater service to the Party as 'abettors'--officials--than as 'short-term' revolutionaries. But, I repeat, only an organisation that is already established and has no lack of active forces would have the right to apply such tactics."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume II, page 1111.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (and trade unions)

Communists or professional revolutionaries urge the formation of open mass trade unions of the workers. They are to be, however, trade unions which Communists can lead, direct and control. The trade unions are to be wide, all inclusive workers organizations whereas the organization of the professional revolutionaries (e.g. Communist Party) which dominate them, is to be small, restricted, selective and secret. Within the vast, open mass trade unions there must be "responsible agents" whose task it is to link organized strength of these trade unions with the Communist Party.

"A workers' organisation must in the first place be a trade organisation; secondly, it must be as wide as possible; and thirdly, it must be as public as conditions allow ... On the other hand, the organisations of revolutionaries" (meaning Communist Parties) "must consist first and foremost of people whose profession is that of a revolutionary ... Such an organisation must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 127.

"A small, compact core, consisting of reliable, experienced and hardened workers, with responsible agents in the principal districts and connected by all the rules of strict secrecy with the organisations of revolutionaries, can, with the wide support of the masses and without any elaborate organisation, perform all the functions of a trade union organisation..."

Ibid., page 133.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (not to merge with trade unions)

While extolling the qualities of the laboring man and urging the formation of labor or trade unions, the professional Communist revolutionary has no intention of merging either himself or his Party with the labor movement. He strongly condemns the slightest suggestion or move in this direction. The professional Communist revolutionary and the Communist Party of which he is a member insist upon organizing, leading, directing and controlling the mass labor movement but always apart from it and never merged with it to the point of losing their identity. The professional revolutionary and his Party maintain a very close link with the labor movement but only as in the vanguard role and never as a submerged part. Communists reason that the existence of an organization of professional revolutionaries, apart from the labor movement, is absolutely vital to the success of Communism. It is this small, hard core of professional revolutionaries working in secrecy who will organize and direct the illegal, conspiratorial, subversive work designed to destroy the established social order, clearing the road for the march of Communism. The mass trade union movement remains in the open and is manipulated by the professional revolutionaries to this end.

"We can never give a mass organisation that degree of secrecy which is essential for the persistent and continuous struggle against the government."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume II, page 139.

"We must have as large a number as possible of such organisations having the widest possible variety of functions, but it is absurd and dangerous to confuse these with organisations of revolutionaries, to erase the line of demarcation between them, to dim still more the masses' already incredibly hazy appreciation of the fact that in order to 'serve' the mass movement we must have people who will....train themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries."

Ibid., page 140, 141.

"The smaller each separate 'operation' in our common cause will be, the more people we shall find capable of carrying out such operations (people, who, in the majority of cases, are not capable of becoming professional revolutionaries), the more difficult will it be for the police to 'catch' all these 'detail workers'.... On the other hand, in order to unite all these tiny fractions into one whole, in order, in breaking up functions, to avoid breaking up the movement, and in order to imbue those who carry out these minute functions with the conviction that their work is necessary and important, for without this they will never do the work, it is necessary to have a strong organisation of tried revolutionaries. The more secret such an organisation would be, the stronger and more widespread would be the confidence of the masses in the Party, and, as we know, in time of war, it is not only of great importance to imbue one's own army with confidence in its own strength, it is important also to convince the enemy and all neutral elements of this strength; friendly neutrality may sometimes decide the issue."

Ibid., page 14. 144.

PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES (and working class recruitment)

Communists place particular stress on the need for recruiting and developing professional revolutionaries from the working class. Revolutionaries from the intellectual and other classes are acceptable but revolutionaries from the working class are considered to be vital to the success of the Communist movement. At the same time accent is placed not only on recruiting for and "lifting" laborers to the professional revolutionary level but also on discouraging Communists from settling down to the labor class level per se.

"In order to be fully prepared for his task, the working class revolutionary must also become a professional revolutionary."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 146.

"... assist every capable worker to become a professional agitator, organiser, propagandist, literature distributor, etc., etc."

Ibid., page 146.

"This fact proves that our very first and most imperative duty is to help to train working class revolutionaries ... Therefore, attention must be devoted principally to the task of raising the workers to the level of revolutionaries, and not to degrading ourselves to the level of the 'labour masses' ..."

Ibid., page 145.

"And we must not only see to it that the masses 'advance' concrete demands, but also that the masses of the workers 'advance' an increasing number of such professional revolutionaries from their own ranks. Thus we have reached the question of the relation between an organisation of professional revolutionaries and the pure and simple labour movement."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 124.

"...our task is not to degrade the revolutionary to the level of an amateur, but to exalt the amateur to the level of a revolutionary."

Lenin On Organi-
zation, page 86.

PROLETARIAT

It has been said before that this word originally meant, to be without property - propertyless. It has become a key word in all Communist literature. The Communists apply this word to the workers or the working class who sell their "labor power" in exchange for wages. These wages make up the sole income of the proletariat. It is the wage earning class which is referred to as being the "child of capitalism". Most everything done by the Communist Party is done in the name of the proletariat. Even when the Communist Party is in control of a nation and directing its life all this is done under the caption, "dictatorship of the proletariat." The proletariat is extolled by Communists to the highest verbal peaks. They realize they need the cooperation of the proletariat to start and carry through to completion the Communist revolution.

"By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live."

A Handbook of Marxism,
See footnote, page 22.

"The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a Socialist society."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume XI,
page 49.

"The proletariat is the real master, tomorrow's master of the world. And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of the government in every country all over the world."

Dimitroff, George,
The United Front, page 141.

"The proletariat is the child of capitalism--of world capitalism, and not only of European capitalism, not only of imperialist capitalism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 753.

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority."

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, Communist Manifesto, page 20.

"Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie."

Ibid, page 20.

"Marxism teaches the proletariat not to keep aloof from the bourgeois revolution, not to refuse to take part in it, ...but on the contrary, to take a most energetic part in it...to fight to carry the revolution to its completion."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 77.

"Only after the proletariat has achieved victory and consolidated its power all over the world will a prolonged period of the intensive construction of

"socialist world economy set in."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 989.

"The conquest of power by the proletariat is a necessary condition precedent to the growth of socialist forms of economy."

Ibid, pages 989-990.

"In view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and defend it against the attacks of the capitalist Powers by all the means in its power."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 1022.

"The immediate aim of the Communists is ... formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat."

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, "Communist Manifesto," Ibid, page 37.

"The international proletarian revolution represents a combination of processes which vary in time and character; purely proletarian revolutions; revolutions of a bourgeois-democratic type which grow into proletarian revolutions; wars for national liberation; colonial revolutions. The world dictatorship of the proletariat comes

"only as the final result of the revolutionary process."

"Program of the Communist International," Ibid., page 1010.

PROLETARIAT (allies of)

When Communists use the phrase "allies of the proletariat" they are referring to (1) the poor farmers; (2) the small farmers; (3) the negroes; and (4) the petty bourgeoisie. It is expected that these "allies" will cooperate with and assist in every respect the proletariat (led by the Communist Party) in its onward, historic march to dominate the world.

"The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historic mission of the working class. But the workers cannot fulfill their mission if they fail to win over the wide sections of the toiling masses. It is essential that the proletariat wins to its cause all its allies, without whom there cannot be a successful revolution."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization, p. 14. See also The Open Letter approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in July 1933.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product."

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick, The Communist Manifesto, page 19.

"The lower strata of the middle class - the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants - all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition

with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population."

Ibid., page 17.

PROLETARIAT (arming the workers)

The phrase "arming the proletariat", is not, as yet, used in a practical sense by American Communists. It means that the workers (e.g. Communists and their supporters) must be armed by the Communist Party immediately prior to an insurrection on the assumption that force and violence is necessary to accomplish the desired objective. This phrase is not used in the United States today because the "revolutionary situation" is not right for any acts of violence, hence all such talk is avoided. Should the right moment arrive the phrase will be put into use as it was in Italy prior to the 1948 election. The arming of workers (Communists, etc.), street fighting, rioting, guerrilla warfare is all a part of the Communist plan of revolution.

"But in order to be able energetically and threateningly to oppose this party, whose betrayal of the workers will begin with the first hour of victory, the workers must be armed and organized. The arming of the whole proletariat with muskets, rifles, cannon and ammunition must be carried out at once, and the revival of the old bourgeois militia, directed against the workers, resisted. Where this cannot be effected, the workers must endeavor to organize themselves independently as a proletarian guard with chiefs and a general staff elected by themselves, and put themselves under orders not of the state but of the revolutionary municipal councils established by the workers. Where workers are employed in state service, they must arm and organize in a separate corps or as a part of the proletarian guard with chiefs elected by themselves. Arms and munitions must not be given up under any pretext; every attempt at disarmament must if necessary be thwarted with force. Destruction of the influence of the bourgeois democrats upon the workers, immediate independent and armed organization of the workers, creation of the most difficult and compromising possible conditions for the momentarily unavoidable rule of the bourgeois democracy--these are the main points which the proletariat, and consequently the League, must have in mind during and after the coming uprising."

Marx, Karl,
Capital and Other Writings,
pages 362-363.

"The arming of the proletariat assumes various forms at various stages of the revolution. In the period prior to the seizure of power, and in the first period after the seizure of power, it takes the form of a proletarian militia--a militia of the toilers, the Red Guard, and also Red Guerilla detachments. The Red Army is the form of military organization of the Soviet Government, i.e., it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War And The
Tasks Of The Communists,
Resolution of the VI World
Congress of the Communist
International, July-August,
1928, page 44.

"The Red Guard is an organ of the rebellion. It is the duty of the Communists to agitate for the establishment of such a Red Guard and to organize it when an immediate revolutionary situation arises.

"Under no circumstances must it be forgotten that the existence of a proletarian militia, or a Red Guard, in imperialist countries, under a bourgeois State and in a state of 'peace' is absolutely impossible.

"The proletarian militia is the armed organization of the proletariat fighting for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or, an organ of the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of suppressing the exploiters. This distinguishes our slogan of proletarian militia from the reformist plans for establishing yellow 'workers' defence corps,' consisting of specially selected, ignorant, or bribed proletarian elements."

Ibid., page 45.

PROPAGANDA

By the word "propaganda" Communists mean the formulating and propounding of various ideas and programs designed to give an appealing explanation to current social problems. They distinguish propaganda from agitation by saying that agitation explains and stirs up political action relating to one well known event. Propaganda on the other hand covers a wide area including many different kinds of social problems which may or may not be well known to all the people. Also propaganda may or may not lead to political action. A Communist propagandist who is assigned the subject of unemployment must be able to give a plausible explanation of how the very nature of Capitalism has produced this unemployment. From that point he develops the idea of Communism as a panacea of all human ills and how it will inevitably follow and supplant Capitalism. In doing this the propagandist will present many ideas which he does not expect all to understand and accept at that time. He assumes, however, these ideas will prepare the ground for future acceptance. The means employed by the Communist propagandist includes the spoken word; the written word in all their forms.

"We must 'go among all classes of the people' as theoreticians, as propagandists, as agitators and as organizers."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 101.

"The new literature must help to create a new society in America--that is its main function--giving it firm roots in our own traditional cultural life, holding fast to all that is of value in the old, saving it from the destruction threatened by the modern vandals brought forth by a rotting capitalism, the fascists, combining the new with the best of the old world heritage."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 312.

"Yes, the Communist Party is a force, in every phase of life of the masses, even that of poets, dramatists, novelists and critics."

Ibid., page 312.

"It is with these thoughts that the Communist Party greets this historic Congress of American Writers. We are all soldiers, each in our own place, in a common cause. Let our efforts be united in fraternal solidarity."

Ibid., page 315.

"The overwhelming number of writers who are producing living literature have become conscious, in one degree or another, that the class struggle between capitalists and workers--the two basic forces in modern society--is forcing novelist, dramatist, poet, critic, to choose on which side he shall stand."

Ibid., page 311.

"We probably circulate more literature per member of our organization by ten times than any other organization in existence."

Ibid., page 344.

PROPERTY (private)

The very core of Communist theory is rooted to the abolition of private property. Special stress is placed on freeing society at once from private property which is used as a means of production or what Communists have referred to as "bourgeois property." To prepare the way for this abolition of private property Communists propagandize the idea that people have lived successfully in society for thousands of years before private property was introduced into their lives. The inference is that with Communist destruction of the private property system the world will merely revert to a pleasant stage it once knew in the golden ages of the past.

"All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

"The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

"The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

"In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, The Communist
Manifesto, page 23.

"As a matter of fact, private property, like the division of society into classes, appears only at a comparatively late stage of social development. People lived for many thousands of years without the least conception of private property."

Leontiev, A.,
Political Economy, page 38.

"In other words, it is the task of the Soviets to abolish private property in the means of production and to establish Socialist production and distribution."

- Olgin, M. J.,
Why Communism?, page 81.

"...Historically, private property by no means makes its appearance as the result of robbery or violence. On the contrary. It already existed, even though it was limited to certain objects, in the ancient primitive communes of all civilised peoples."

Engels, Frederick,
"Anti-Duhring," as con-
tained in Handbook of
Marxism, page 267.

"Private property, as the antithesis to social, collective property, exists only where the means of labour and the external conditions of labour belong to private individuals."

Marx, Karl,
"Capital" as contained
in A Handbook of Marx-
ism, page 401.

PURGES

Communists believe that purging undesirable persons from their Party is a very correct procedure. By purging, Communists mean expelling, prosecuting and jailing or executing all members of the Party or persons who in any manner come under its control and have failed to conform completely and obediently to established Party principles and practices. No deviation from the rigid Communist formula is allowed. To deviate means to be purged. To be purged quite frequently means to be executed. Communists feel that though purging may cause fewer Communists to exist at a given time, those remaining will be "better" Communists.

"The fact that we shall purge the Party of a couple of hundred thousand will be useful, but this is only a tiny fraction of what we must do."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume IX, page 27 .

"If we really succeed in this manner in purging our Party from top to bottom, 'without respect for persons,' the gains for the revolution will really be enormous."

Ibid., page 253:

"Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists. The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements."

Stalin, Joseph as quoted
in History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(Bolshevik), Edited by a
Commission of the Central
Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B),
page 361.

"A strategic move of great importance was Stalin's bold
purge of spies and wreckers from Soviet life ..."

Foster, William Z., "Lenin
and Stalin As Mass Leaders",
The Communist, Volume XVIII,
Number 2, December, 1939,
page 1123.

RED ARMY

The Red Army of Soviet Russia is regarded by Communists to be the Army of "liberation" for the masses of people in all non-Communist nations. Communists do not believe the Red Army of Soviet Russia should confine itself only to protecting that nation. On the contrary, they believe it should be an Army of the offensive which has the right to invade and conquer other nations, all in the name of "liberating" its people. It is the international military instrument of an international ideology - Communism.

"The heroic Red Army is the pride not only of the Soviet people, but also of the entire international proletariat. It is deservedly loved not only by the working people of the Soviet, but also by the working people of all lands.

"In the shape of the Red Army, the Soviet and international working class possesses the first Socialist army in the world, the defender of the rule of the working people liberated from exploitation.

"The international working class knows that the Red Army is trained in the spirit of the unity of the interests of the workers of all lands, that it is strong in the Socialist consciousness of its men and commanders. That is why it is the army of the workers of all lands.

"The guarantee of the victory of the working people over capitalist reaction is ... the boundless devotion of the Red Army to the cause of proletarian internationalism."

Daily Worker, February 24,
1938, page 3.

"...you are ready to defend the proletarian revolution in every country, ... you are an army of the international proletariat. The oppressed workers of all countries utter your name with great love and reverence; the oppressed peoples of all countries hope that the day will come when columns of red warriors will arise and overthrow the power of capital all over the world...

"Long live the armed force of the Communist World Revolution, the Red Army!"

International Press
Correspondence,
February 27, 1923,
page 158.

"The Red Army ... will come to Finland ...
as the liberator of our people ..."

Daily Worker,
December 2, 1939, page 2.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party of Finland welcoming the Red Army (as the Communist Party of the United States would also do) referred to it in the following language:

"The Red Army is an invincible army ..."

Daily Worker,
December 2, 1939,
page 2.

"...Red Army as an army of liberation, an army of a fraternal people ..."

Article from "Pravda",
September 19, 1939, as
quoted in Daily Worker,
September 20, 1939,
page 2.

"The Red Army is an army of liberation not only for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. but for all enslaved peoples and democratic nations."

Mindel, J., Outline For
The Study Of The Economic
System, Political Structure
And Foreign Policy Of The
Soviet Union And American-
Soviet Collaboration,
published by the Education
Department, Communist Party,
USA, page 49.

"The Soviet Army is the invincible stronghold of
democracy and socialism. Basking in the deep love of the
Soviet nation and the millions of workers in all countries,
it firmly stands guard over the world."

"Thirty Years of the Soviet
Army," editorial in
Bolshevik, February 15, 1948,
page 8.

"The strengthening of the might of the Soviet Government
and its armed forces - the renowned Soviet Army - is the
paramount stipulation which guarantees security to our
Homeland and peace to all the world."

Ibid., page 9.

REFORMISM; REFORMS; REFORMISTS

Communists interpret these words to mean the policy and practice of diverting the laborers from their only true, fundamental interest and class goal, namely, Communism. Communists do not approve of any efforts to solve the social problems through reform because this would not necessarily destroy Capitalism (though it might greatly modify it). Communists insist the capitalistic system must be destroyed and any measure which would interfere with its destruction must be swept aside. Communists further insist that "reformism" is no more than a social illusion and therefore nothing beneficial can come from such an illusion because its economic roots are embedded in imperialism.

Communists admit, though, they will lead reform movements but for totally different reasons than do reformists. Reformists lead such a movement to improve conditions; as an end in itself. Communists lead reform movements as a means of achieving revolutionary Communism; as a step along the way. For example the immediate demands for higher wages, shorter hours, better social services are to the Communists merely instruments of the revolutionary process and not good in themselves. They are good only in so far as they lead to the revolution and Communism. Whereas reformists would keep the present foundation of the social order while eliminating the abuses prevalent, Communists would destroy the very foundation of the social order and build an entirely new and different social structure from the ground on up to the highest level. Reformism is irreconcilable with Communism.

"This reformism is absolutely irreconcilable with revolutionary Marxism, the duty of which is to take the utmost possible advantage of the present revolutionary situation in Europe in order openly to preach revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeois governments, the conquest of power by the armed proletariat, while at the same time not renouncing and not refusing to utilize reforms for the purpose of developing the revolutionary struggle and in the course of that struggle."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 264.

"The mighty social power of the imperialist state, with its auxiliary apparatus--schools, press, theatre and church--is primarily reflected in the existence of confessional and reformist tendencies among the working class, which represent the main obstacles on the road towards the proletarian social revolution."

Program of the Communist International, page 68.

"Attempts are made to recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat in words in order secretly to drag in alongside of it the 'will of the majority,' 'universal suffrage' (this is exactly what Kautsky does), bourgeois parliamentarism, rejection of the complete destruction, blowing up, complete breaking up of the whole of the bourgeois state apparatus. These new evasions, new loopholes of reformism must be feared more than anything else."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 51.

"The Social Reformists are in reality, as Lenin called them, 'agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers.'"

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 175.

"To a reformist, reforms are everything while revolutionary work is just something to talk about, a diversion.

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms, to him reforms are by-products of the revolution. Therefore, with revolutionary tactics under the existing bourgeois regime reforms inevitably serve as instruments that disintegrate the regime, instruments that strengthen the revolution--a stronghold for the further development of the revolutionary movement.

"The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal

"activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified.

"This is what the revolutionary utilisation of reforms and agreements in an imperialist environment means.

"The reformist, on the other hand, will accept reforms as a pretext for renouncing all illegal work, to thwart the preparation of the masses for the revolution and to 'rest in the shade' of reforms that have been 'bestowed'.

"This is what reformist tactics mean."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 85.

"With reformists and Mensheviks in our ranks--says Lenin --we cannot be victorious in the proletarian revolution nor can we defend it against attack."

Ibid., page 99.

"It is an illusion to think that the conservative American workers must first pass through the stage of social reformism before they will accept the Communist program. Doubtless, large numbers of them will fall victims to social reformism, hence, the great danger of the Socialist party and the A.F. of L. leadership. But experience already amply demonstrates that the Communist party, with its program of partial demands and united front policy, coupled with its ultimate revolutionary objectives, can and does successfully mobilize masses of these workers just breaking from the influence of the two old parties."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 266.

RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION

Communists list five main forms of "relations of production." These are in order of development: (1) primitive communal, (2) slave, (3) feudal, (4) capitalist, and (5) socialist. The relations of production of each old form were abolished as each new form rose to power. It is therefore the historical mission of the proletariat, led by the Communist Party, to utterly destroy by force and violence the relations of production of Capitalism which will be followed by the rise to power of Socialism. On the point of what new forms of relations of production will destroy and supplant those of Socialism, Communists remain rather silent. They blandly assert that inevitable social changes recurring throughout history will produce Communism, the inference being that when this time arrives the very nature of the historical process will be fundamentally changed. There will be no more movement or evolution resulting in the passing of old relations of production and the creation of new ones. Communism will remain as a relatively static system.

"Five main types of relations of production are known to history: primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist."

Stalin, Joseph,
Dialectical and
Historical Materialism,
page 34.

"Here there stands out in bold relief the tremendous role of new social ideas, of new political institutions, of a new political power, whose mission it is to abolish by force the old relations of production. Out of the conflict between the new productive forces and the old relations of production, out of the new economic demands of society there arise new social ideas; the new ideas organize and mobilize the masses; the masses become welded into a new political army, create a new revolutionary power, and make use of it to abolish by force the old system of relations of production, and firmly to establish the new system. The spontaneous process of development yields place to the conscious actions of men, peaceful development

to violent upheaval, evolution to revolution."

Ibid., pages 43-44.

RELIGION (general Communist conception)

Communists are especially bitter and emotional in their relentless denouncement of religion. Their fanatical opposition to religion seems to be at times almost an obsession with them. Communists completely reject a belief in God, morals derived from religious principles, and the immortality of the soul. Communists begin and end with the premise of dialectical materialism which arbitrarily excludes all convictions based on faith in God and the theistic interpretation of life. They erroneously seek to explain religion as being merely the result of superstitious, timid, fearful reactions and distorted imaginings of primitive man, related to his desire to explain nature and the principles underlying it. According to the Communists, as religion developed, it took on certain refinements, growing out of the modes of production. It became a part of the superstructure resting on the economic factor. Subsequently, it served as an instrument of the ruling and exploiting classes. It is still used, say the Communists, by the predatory capitalists to hold the masses in abject subjection. As such, it is another sign of decaying Capitalism. Communists contend that as religion stresses peace and tranquillity in the social order and advocates the willing cooperation of classes instead of class struggle, it therefore serves as an "opiate" of the people. To sum up: Communists vigorously reject religion for two basic reasons: (1) religion does not fit into total reality as conceived by dialectical materialism; (2) religion teaches humility, meekness, kindness, charity, peace, the Golden Rule, progress in the perfection of the individual soul, and the Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God. All this interferes with the Communist development of the class struggle; it interferes with engendering militancy and hatred into the minds of the people which is so necessary for the success of the Communist revolution. Religion, ipso facto, must be abolished.

Communists completely ignore, in their evaluation of religion, the findings of the noted scientist A. S. Eddington who says, "Materialism...is long since dead," and that "the stuff of the world is mind-stuff." Similarly, another equally noted scientist Sir James Jeans described the world as a "huge thought" with reality being rooted in the Eternal Spirit or God. As Communists ignore the findings of these scientists so too do they ignore the origin and nature of religion which proceeds not from the imagination of man but from the Reality of God. This fact is implied in the word "religion." The word "religion" relates to the Latin word "religare" meaning to bind or fasten. When used in this sense it represents the bond with Reality; the bond between man and God. Contrary to the Communist explanation of the origin of religion, authorities in this field conclude that religion is a universal truth which is inseparable from human nature, proceeding from the premise: "This world's no blot for us, Nor blank --- it means intensely, and means good: To find its meaning is my meat and drink."

"...the criticism of religion is the basis of all criticism."

Marx, Karl, Selected Essays, page 11.

"Religion is the moan of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people."

Ibid., page 12.

"Religion is a kind of spiritual intoxicant, in which the slaves of capital drown their humanity and their desires for some sort of decent human existence."

Lenin, V. I., Religion, page 7.

"All religion, however, is nothing but the phantastic reflection in men's minds of those external forces which control their daily life, a reflection in which the terrestrial forces assume the form of supernatural forces. In the beginnings of history it was the forces of Nature which were at first so reflected, and in the course of further evolution they underwent the most manifold and varied personifications among various peoples."

Engels, Frederick, Anti-Duhring, page 346.

"At a still further stage of evolution, all the natural and social attributes of the innumerable gods are transferred to one almighty god, who himself once more is only the reflex of the abstract man. Such was the origin of monotheism, which was historically the last product of the vulgarised philosophy of the later Greeks and found its incarnation in the ex-

clusively national god of the Jews, Jehovah."

Ibid., page 347.

"From the very early times when men, still completely ignorant of the structure of their own bodies, under the stimulus of dream apparitions came to believe that their thinking and sensation were not activities of their bodies, but of a distinct soul which inhabits the body and leaves it at death—from this time, men have been driven to reflect about the relation between this soul and the outside world. If in death it took leave of the body and lived on, there was no occasion to invent yet another distinct death for it. Thus arose the idea of its immortality... Not religious desire for consolation, but the quandary arising from the common universal ignorance of what to do with this soul (once its existence had been accepted) after the death of the body—led in a general way to the tedious notion of personal immortality. In an exactly similar manner the first gods arose through the personification of natural forces. And these gods in the further development of religions assumed more and more an extramundane form, until finally by a process of abstraction, I might almost say of distillation, occurring naturally in the course of man's intellectual development, out of the many more or less limited and mutually limiting gods there arose in the minds of men the idea of the one exclusive god of the monotheistic religions."

Engels, Frederick, Ludwig Feuerbach, pages 30-31.

"In the freest countries...(America, Switzerland, and so on) the minds of the people and the workers are most assiduously blunted precisely by ideas of a pure and spiritual god, a god in the making. Every religious idea, every idea of god, even every flirtation with the idea of god, is unutterable vileness, vileness that is greeted very tolerantly (and often even favourably) by the democratic bourgeoisie—and for that very reason it is vileness of the most dangerous kind, 'contagion' of the most abominable kind. Millions of sins, filthy deeds, acts of violence and physical contagions are far

more easily exposed by the crowd, and are therefore far less dangerous, than the subtle, spiritual ideas of a god decked out in the smartest 'ideological' costumes."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, pages 675-676.

"The roots of modern religion are deeply embedded in the social oppression of the working masses, and in their apparently complete helplessness before the blind forces of capitalism..."

Lenin, V. I., Religion, page 14.

"...Religion is opium for the people--this Marxist fundamental principle is the pivot of the whole Marxist world conception in questions of religion. Marxism regards all present-day religions and churches, each and every religious organization without exception, as instruments of bourgeois reaction, which serves as a shield for the exploitation and deception of the working class."

The Workers Monthly-Official Organ of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, February, 1927, pages 743-745.

"...the growth of ideological, mystical and religious superstition, are all phenomena signaling the approach of the historical end of the capitalist system."

Program of the Communist International, page 13.

"The confessional, religiously tinged, tendency among the working class finds expression in the confessional trade unions, which frequently are directly connected with corresponding bourgeois political organizations

and are affiliated with one or other of the church organizations of the dominant class (Catholic trade unions, Young Men's Christian Association, Jewish Zionist organizations, etc.)."

Ibid., page 68.

"The Communist Party takes the position that the social function of religion and religious institutions is to act as an opiate to keep the lower classes passive, to make them accept the bad conditions under which they have to live in the hope of a reward after death. From this estimate of the social role of religion it is quite clear that the Communist Party is the enemy of religion."

Browder, Earl, Communism in the United States, page 334.

"Complete separation of the church and state--this is the demand made on the present-day state and church by the socialist proletariat."

Lenin, V. I., Religion, page 8.

"We demand entire separation of the state from the church, in order to disperse the fog of religion..."

Ibid., page 9.

"The atheist movement has made giant strides in many countries.... The growth of godlessness in the United States, the closing of churches in other countries, are inevitable accompaniments of the decay of capitalism.... But the exposure of the role of the church and of religion will proceed at a growing pace in the countries of capitalism and create a mighty army of militant atheists throughout the world.

"The only country in which the anti-religious movement

is able to develop openly, broadly, unhindered is the U.S.S.R. Our experience is of the greatest importance to every nation. We must never forget that by our work we are rendering assistance to our foreign comrades. We must deeply internationalize our work so that every atheist should regard his work as part of our international struggle against religion and the church. ...

"It is our duty to do even more than we have done to make the anti-religious movement, not only in the U.S.S.R., but in the capitalist countries as well, a movement of vast millions. ...

"The banner of militant atheism must be raised still higher. Propaganda in favor of militant atheism must be carried on more widely, must become deeper and more serious. The ranks of the militant atheists must be increased to include millions.

"Remember that the struggle against religion is a struggle for socialism!"

Yaroslavsky, E., Religion
In The USSR, pages 63-64.

RELIGION (practical action against religion necessary in order to destroy it)

Communists do not believe religion will "wither away" or simply vanish in the face of rising Communism. They believe it must be destroyed. This makes necessary, on the part of all Communists, systematic anti-religious propaganda. However, they do not believe that propaganda alone is sufficient to destroy religion. Systematic action of an all inclusive nature is also imperative. Communists recognize that religion is a very stubborn thing. At times it seems that they uneasily surmise it is not only a stubborn thing but an immovable fact, an imperishable truth. Communists appear to be fearfully conscious of the significance of the lines: "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again: Th' eternal years of God are hers; But Error, wounded, writhes in pain, And dies among his worshippers." Being conscious of the significance of these lines Communists, in an almost alarmist fashion, seek to systematically enlist every form of action, economic, political, legal, psychological and educational in their fanatical efforts to obliterate religion.

"The fight against religion must not be limited nor reduced to abstract, ideological preaching. This struggle must be linked up with the concrete practical class movement; its aim must be to eliminate the social roots of religion."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 14.

"We must fight religion. That is the ABC of all materialism, consequently also of Marxism. Marxism goes further. It says: we must know how to fight religion, and for this purpose we must explain on materialistic lines the origin of faith and religion to the masses."

The Workers Monthly-Official
Organ of the Workers (Com-
munist) Party of America,
February, 1927, pages 743-
745.

"From what has been indicated it will be clear that a magazine which desires to be an organ of militant

materialism must be an aggressive organ...

"Secondly, such a magazine must be an organ of militant atheism..."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 30.

"The Marxist must be able to judge the concrete situation as a whole. He must always be able to determine the boundary between anarchism and opportunism (this boundary is relative, mobile and ever-changing; but it exists), not to fall either into the abstract, wordy and in fact futile 'revolutionism' of the anarchist, or into the philistinism and opportunism of the petty bourgeois, or liberal intellectual, who shirks the fight against religion, forgets his tasks reconciles himself to a belief in god, and who is guided, not by the interests of the class-struggle, but by petty mean calculations such as: not to offend, not to repel, not to frighten; and who is governed by... 'Live and let live,' etc., etc."

Ibid., page 16.

"At the same time, the Communist Party, which is the government Party, carries on an active anti-religious campaign."

Browder, Earl, Communism
in the United States,
page 335.

"In the U.S.S.R., as part of the general cultural revolution, religion is being liquidated."

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, page 113.

"Our propaganda necessarily includes the propaganda of atheism..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 661.

"It would be absurd to think that in a society which is based on the endless oppression and stultification of the working class masses religious prejudices can be dispelled merely by preaching."

Ibid., page 661.

"Every Leninist, every Communist, every class-conscious worker and peasant must be able to explain why a Communist cannot support religion; why Communists fight against religion..."

Yaroslavsky, E., Religion In The USSR, page 20.

"In our work among religious people we must bear in mind Lenin's advice to utilize every method available to us, or, as he said, we must 'approach them this way and that way' in order to stimulate them to criticize religion themselves."

Ibid., page 61.

"...it would be a great mistake to believe that religion will die out of itself. We have repeatedly emphasized Lenin's opinion that the Communist Party cannot depend upon the spontaneous development of anti-religious ideas--that these ideas are molded by organized action."

Ibid., page 61.

RELIGION (opposition to it a closed issue and not to be reopened)

Communists do a great amount of talking about science, the scientific method, academic freedom and the desirability of maintaining an open mind. As so often is the case what they say and what they do have very little relation to each other. This is particularly true in the field of religion. Communists consider the religious issue to be completely closed as far as they are concerned. No matter what evidence may be presented to them in the future they have no intention of modifying their conclusions on religion. This is a prime example of what Communists mean when they say they are in favor of the "scientific method" of inquiry. It is a method which no reputable scientist could recognize.

"I would not want to hold out any hopes that the Communists will be converted to religion. For us as Communists the question is answered and, while we always examine all evidence that is brought forward scientifically, we have no reason in our experience to believe that any future evidence will modify our conclusions. We would not want to give the slightest indication that there is any prospect of a rapprochement between communism and religion as such."

Browder, Earl, Communism
in the United States,
page 337.

"While we always examine every bit of evidence that comes forward, we consider the question as settled for us. We do not expect to have to reopen it."

Ibid., page 337.

"After the question has been faced and answered, we do not consider it necessary that it shall forever continue to be an open question. There are many questions which are closed for us."

Ibid., page 344.

RELIGION (fight against it must be semiconcealed and not pushed into the foreground)

Communists frequently point out that their fight to destroy all religions must not be pushed into the "foreground." They do not want to single out religion as the first and only line of attack. By this they mean that their attack against religion and their many and diverse efforts to exterminate it must often be subtle, devious, indirect and kept in the shadows of the fight. The "class-struggle" is placed on the front line and the fight against religion is subordinated to it. Secularism is supported. All other indirect movements which weaken religion are extolled. They do not wish to make an open frontal assault on the fortress of religion. On the contrary, they believe it can be best abolished through a slow but persistent undermining, particularly in the early phases of the struggle. Later, when Communists have seized power in a nation more direct and brutal methods can be used. When not in power Communists attempt to be restrained in their attacks on religion so as not to stir up too much opposition. They seek to enlist the support of religious people for their programs and go so far as to say they expect religious people to take part in the Communist revolution. The economic factor hides all. The class-struggle is the deceptive cloak which hides all other struggles. Once economic and political power is in the hands of the Communists it is assumed religion will collapse, hastened by more direct action methods.

"...the religious question must not be pushed into the foreground where it does not belong."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 10.

"We shall always preach a scientific outlook, it is essential for us to combat the inconsistency of 'Christians'; but this does not mean that the religious question must be given a prominence which it does not deserve, that we must consent to a division of the forces of the truly revolutionary economic and political struggle for the sake of unimportant opinions or ravings which are rapidly losing all political significance and are being rapidly cast on to the scrap heap by the very course of economic development."

Lenin, V. I., Selected

Works, Volume XI, pages
661-662.

"...the propagation of atheism...must be subordinated to a more basic task—the development of the class-struggle of the exploited masses against the exploiters."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 15.

"The struggle with religion is there carried on...by the socialist refashioning of the entire national economy which eradicates religion..."

"Great work in the matter of antireligious propaganda is carried on by the mass society of the toilers, the Union of Militant Atheists."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet
State, pages 609-610.

"Let us suppose, further, that the economic struggle in such a locality has resulted in a strike. A Marxist must place the success of the strike movement above all else, must definitely oppose the division of the workers in this struggle into atheists and Christians, must fight resolutely against such a division.

"In such circumstances the preaching of atheism is superfluous and harmful... To preach atheism at such a time, and in such circumstances, would only be playing into the hands of the church..."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 16.

RELIGION (not a private affair for Communists)

In attempting to defend themselves against the charge that Communism is opposed to religion, Communists use the very misleading approach that religion is a "private affair" and they do not concern themselves with religion as a "private affair." In the first place Communists regard religion as being in essence a social affair and not one which is exclusively private. And as they concern themselves with all social matters their concern with religion becomes unavoidable. In the second place, their use of the phrase "private affair" relative to religion does not apply at all to Communist Party members. They are not permitted to be religious. This is significant in view of the fact that the Communist Party and its members do not share power with any other group in a nation. They are supreme--the dictatorship. The will of the dictatorship is law. Hence, such law would work to the detriment of religion, making the phrase "private affair" a grim farce.

"The Communists do not consider religion a private matter when it concerns revolutionists."

Browder, Earl, Communism
in the United States,
page 334.

"We do not consider this religious belief a private matter among revolutionaries; for those who join the revolutionary movement will have to submit all their beliefs to criticism."

Ibid., page 336.

"To the party of the Socialist proletariat, however, religion is not a private matter."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 9.

"It is not possible to be a Communist and at the same time believe in religion..."

Yaroslavsky, E., Religion
In The USSR, page 19.

"It is impossible to be a Communist--Leninist and at the same time go to church..."

Ibid., page 31.

RELIGION (must be suppressed and destroyed)

The sole objective of anti-religious activities on the part of Communists is, of course, the suppression and destruction of religion. All religious concepts are to be torn out of the human mind and banished from human society. All religious institutions are to be abolished. Force and violence, economic pressure, political control and Communist "education" (indoctrination) are the means to this end. Communist society is to be not only classless and stateless but Godless as well.

"Religious schools will be abolished and organized religious training for minors prohibited. Freedom will be established for anti-religious propaganda."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 316.

"...God will be banished from the laboratories as well as from the schools."

Ibid., page 317.

"We expect religion to be eliminated only in the course of a few generations of the new society, the socialist society."

Browder, Earl, Communism
in the United States,
page 336.

"Marxism is materialism. As such it is as relentlessly opposed to religion as was the materialism of the Encyclopaedists..."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 14.

"We must combat religion--this is the A.B.C. of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism."

Ibid., page 14.

"One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating religion--the opium of the people. The proletarian government must withdraw all state support from the church, which is the agency of the former ruling class; it must prevent all church interference in...educational affairs, and ruthlessly suppress the counter-revolutionary activity of the ecclesiastical organizations. At the same time, the proletarian state...carries on anti-religious propaganda with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism."

Program of The Communist
International, pages 53-
54.

"Have we suppressed the reactionary clergy? Yes, we have. The unfortunate thing is that it has not been completely liquidated. Anti-religious propaganda is a means by which the complete liquidation of the reactionary clergy must be brought about. Cases occur when certain members of the Party hamper the complete development of anti-religious propaganda. If such members are expelled it is a good thing because there is no room for such 'Communists' in the ranks of the Party."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 387.

"There can be no doubt that the fact that the new state of the U.S.S.R. is led by the Communist Party, with a program permeated by the spirit of militant atheism."

Yaroslavsky, E., Religion
In The USSR, page 59.

RELIGION (Judaism)

The principles of Communism result in the direction of an especially vicious and scurrilous attack against the Jewish religion and the Jewish race. In recognizing Judaism to be the parent of Christianity, Communists seem to assume that a killing blow struck the parent will also have a devastating effect upon the offspring. Judaism is an interpretation of life which seeks to transform all human actions into ways and means of communion with God. Therefore, the Communist deliver their most malicious blows at the Jewish concept of God. Apropos to this point, Judaism gave to the world: (1) the lofty concept of One, living, vital God who rules life and the universe through love and law; (2) the related concept of man created in the image of God and possessed of an immortal spirit; (3) the view that God has revealed himself in nature and in the ceaseless strivings of the human spirit after moral perfection; (4) sovereignty of the individual human being; (5) freedom of the human personality; (6) the Messianic goal - toward which men should work together in order to establish a universal brotherhood permeated with truth, justice and peace. It is against this set of great ideals that Communists launch their malevolent attack in their attempt to utterly destroy Judaism.

"What was the foundation of the Jewish religion?
Practical needs, egoism. Consequently the monotheism
of the Jew is in reality the polytheism of many needs...
The God of practical needs and egoism is money....

"Money is the jealous God of Israel, by the side of
which no other God may exist....

"The God of the Jews has secularized himself and become
the universal God. Exchange is the Jew's real God."

Marx, Karl,
Selected Essays,
pages 92 -93.

"It is now perfectly clear to me that the so-called
sacred writings of the Jews are nothing more than
the record of the old Arabian religious and tribal
tradition, modified by the early separation of the

Jews from their tribally related but nomadic neighbours."

Engels, Frederick,
Selected Correspondence,
page 64.

"We will not look for the secret of the Jew in his religion, but we will look for the secret of religion in the real Jew.

"What is the secular basis of Judaism? Practical needs, egoism.

"What is the secular cult of the Jew? Huckstering. What is his secular God? Money."

Marx, Karl,
Selected Essays,
page 88.

"We therefore perceive in Judaism a general pervading anti-social element..."

Ibid, page 89.

"The Jew has emancipated himself in Jewish fashion, not only by taking himself financial power, but by virtue of the fact that with and without his co-operation, money has become a world power, and the practical Jewish spirit has become the practical spirit of Christian nations. The Jews have emancipated themselves in so far as Christians have become Jews."

Ibid, pages 89-90.

"The emancipation of the Jews in its last significance is the emancipation of mankind from Judaism."

Ibid, page 89.

"The practical domination of Judaism over the Christian world has reached such a point in North America that the preaching of the Gospel itself, the Christian ministry, has become an article of commerce...."

Ibid, page 96

"What about the Jewish religion? It is of very great value to the Jewish capitalists, who, with the help of the rabbis, and the ancient 'sacred' Hebrew tongue (which throws glamour over their innumerable mummeries) hold the people in bondage."

Yaroslovsky, E.,
Religion In the USSR,
page 37

"The chimerical nationality of the Jew is the nationality of the merchant, of the monied man generally."

"The baseless law of the Jew is only the religious caricature of the baseless morality and of right generally, of the merely formal ceremonies which pervade the world of egoism."

Marx, Karl,
Selected Essays,
page 93

"As soon as society succeeds in abolishing the empirical essence of Judaism, the huckster and the conditions which produce him, the Jew will become impossible...."

"The social emancipation of the Jew is the emancipation of society from Judaism."

Ibid, page 97.

RELIGION (Christianity)

All forms of Christianity are vigorously condemned by Communists. They completely ignore the evidence advanced relative to the validity of Christian principles. They refuse to face the challenge of Christian philosophy. They deny the Christian contribution to a lasting Western civilization; to world progress. They even ignore the historical characters of the Judaic-Christian tradition saying it is not important per se whether or not the Hebrew Prophets and Jesus Christ actually existed. Communists prefer to talk about the social significance of Christianity charging that it has become identified with Capitalism. By this they mean that Christianity is a religious instrument in the hands of the capitalist rulers and is used by them to exploit the great masses of people. Further, Communists argue that the Christian State is a State in name only, being permeated and dominated by secularism and agnosticism. Completely rejected by Communists are such vital Christian ideas as: (1) God, Virtue and Immortality; (2) law of love; (3) sovereignty, dignity and eternal worth of the individual; (4) unalienable rights of the free individual; (5) charity and life of service to others; (6) forgiveness; (7) social justice; (8) universal brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God, for all without exception, and marked by peace, tranquillity, order, and progress in the perfection of every human being.

"The new world religion, Christianity, had already quietly come into being, out of a mixture of generalised Oriental, particularly Jewish, theology and vulgarised Greek, particularly Stoic, philosophy. ..."

Engels, Frederick,
Karl Marx; Selected Works,
Volume I, pages 465-466.

"Do you regard the Hebrew prophets and Jesus as historical figures, and if so, have they social significance?"

"They are historical figures at least in the sense that they have played quite a role in the historical development of the human mind. Whether they were the product of the human mind or whether they had some more direct material basis is not important to us."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 349.

"The Middle Ages were regarded as a mere interruption of history by a thousand years of universal barbarism. The great progress made in the Middle Ages - the extension of the area of European culture, the bringing into existence there of great nations, capable of survival, and finally the enormous technical progress of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries - all this was not seen."

Engels, Frederick,
Ludwig Feuerbach, page 38.

"While the Lutheran reformation in Germany degenerated and reduced the country to rack and ruin, the Calvinist reformation served as a banner for the republicans in Geneva, in Holland and in Scotland, freed Holland from Spain and from the German empire and provided the ideological costume for the second act of the bourgeois revolution which took place in England. Here Calvinism justified itself as the true religious disguise of the interests of the bourgeoisie of that time, and on this account did not reach full acceptance, as the revolution was completed in 1689 by a compromise between one part of the nobility and the bourgeoisie. The English state church was re-established; but not in its earlier form of a Catholicism which had the king for its pope, being, instead, strongly Calvinised."

Ibid., page

"The forcible measures of Louis XIV only made it easier for the French bourgeoisie to carry through its revolution in the irreligious and exclusively political form which alone was suited to the developed bourgeoisie. Instead of Protestants, free-thinkers took their seats in the national assemblies. Thereby Christianity entered into its final stage. It had become incapable for the future of serving any progressive class as the ideological garb of its aspirations. It became more and more the exclusive possession of the ruling classes and these apply it as a mere means of government, to keep the

"lower classes within limits. For this each of the different classes uses its own appropriate religion: the landowning class--Catholic Jesuitism or Protestant orthodoxy; the liberal and radical bourgeoisie--rationalism; and it makes little difference whether these gentlemen themselves believe in their respective religions or not."

Ibid., page 20.

"The religious world is but the reflex of the real world. And for a society based upon the production of commodities, in which the producers in general enter into social relations with one another by treating their products as commodities and values, whereby they reduce their individual private labour to the standard of homogeneous human labour - for such a society, Christianity with its cultus of abstract man, more especially in its bourgeois developments, Protestantism, Deism, etc., is the most fitting form of religion."

Marx, Karl,
Capital, page 91.

"The ineradicability of the Protestant heresy corresponded to the invincibility of the rising bourgeoisie."

Engels, Frederick,
Karl Marx: Selected Works,
Volume I, pages 466-477.

"Why not even the so-called Christian State which acknowledges Christianity as its basis ... is the completed Christian State. The latter is rather the atheistic State, the democratic State, the State which consigns religion among the other elements of bourgeois society. ... The so-called Christian State is simply no State at all because it is not Christianity as a religion, but only the

"human background of the Christian religion which can realize itself in actual human creations."

Marx, Karl,
Selected Essays, page 61.

"The so-called Christian State is the incomplete State, and the Christian religion is regarded by it as the complement and the redemption of its imperfection. Consequently religion becomes its instrument and it is the State of hypocrisy. The so-called Christian State needs the Christian religion in order to complete itself as a State."

Ibid., page 62.

"The political democracy is Christian to the extent that it regards every individual as the sovereign ...

"The sovereignty of the individual ... is the chimera, the dream, and the postulate of Christianity ..."

Ibid., page 67.

"The Catholic Church, with the pope in its van, is now an important bulwark of all counter-revolutionary organizations and forces. ...

"But the Catholic Church does not stand alone. Every ecclesiastical organization - Lutheran, Anglican, Jewish ... and others, likewise helps the capitalists and landowners of its country to exploit and stupefy the masses ..."

Yaroslavsky, E.,
Religion In The USSR,
pages 36-37.

"Thus the priests of every cult have their own way of deluding the masses: the Jewish rabbi, the Roman Catholic priest, the Russian Orthodox priest ...

"the Evangelist, Baptist and other ministers of religion, each has his own way of fooling the people. With their silly tales they stupefy their brains as opium stupefies and poisons the unfortunate opium smoker. ... religion is a sort of alcohol which beclouds the minds of people, who stop seeing the world as it is, and see it as it appears to the befogged, stupefied, poisoned minds of a drunkard or opium smoker."

Ibid., page 30.

"As to differences between one religion and another, they are of little, if any, consequence."

Ibid., page 53.

RELIGION (completely irreconcilable with the principles of Communism-Marxism-Leninism)

In concluding these comments relative to Communism and religion it must be stated, in view of the available evidence, that the principles of Communism (Marxism-Leninism) and religion are wholly irreconcilable. They are fundamentally different. In view of this fact Communist treachery and trickery in trying to enlist the aid of religious people behind their programs become at once apparent. Further, in view of this same transparent fact, the susceptibility of some religious people to the deceptive appeals of Communists and Communist "front organizations" is difficult to understand.

Communism and religion are irreconcilable.

Communism points to matter saying, it is all you can know. It is all there is to know. Measured in terms of eternity, the origin, purpose and destiny of human life have no enduring meaning---ultimately "life is a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

Religion points to the mind and spirit of man saying, taken together they constitute reality. Through this reality we can know (apprehend) far more than mere matter. There is much more to know. Life transcends matter. Measured in terms of eternity the origin, purpose and destiny of human life does have enduring meaning---ultimately life is eternal. "In the Beginning was the Thought... In the Beginning was the Power... In the Beginning was the Act." "Beauty, devotion and moral perfection are inseparable." "In each soul is born the pleasure---of yearning onward, upward and away." Man "is too mighty to be at home in this world; too tumultuous to be at rest." "One yearns the rivers of existence, the very founts of Life, to reach." God is truth and "through the love of truth the soul is filled with wisdom, and when it has arrived at the perfection of love (e.g. good will) it also arrives at the perfection of liberty." The perfection of liberty and dynamic progress of mind and soul through all Eternity is endless. This, then, is the positive answer of life which religion gives to the Communist static negation and note of despair. They are irreconcilable in essence.

"Atheism is a natural and inseparable part of Marxism, of the theory and practice of scientific Socialism."

"Atheism is an integral part of Marxism. Consequently a class-conscious Marxist party must carry on propaganda in favor of atheism."

"We said at the beginning of this introduction that Marxism cannot be conceived without atheism. We would add here that atheism without Marxism is incomplete and inconsistent."

"Introduction" to Religion
by V. I. Lenin, pages 3,
5, 6.

"The Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of religion."

Lenin, V. I., Religion,
page 16.

"Marx said 'Religion is the opium of the people'--- and this postulate is the cornerstone of the whole philosophy of Marxism with regard to religion."

Ibid., page 12.

"Dialectical materialism is completely materialist and excludes religion, but, of course, it includes the explanation of religion."

Browder, Earl, Communism,
in the United States,
page 339.

"Religion does not fit into a dialectical materialist system of thought. It is the enemy of it. One cannot be a thorough materialist, that is, a dialectical materialist, and have any remnants of religious beliefs."

Ibid., page 339.

"It is true, communism differs basically in its philosophy from all religions."

Ibid., page 339.

REVISIONISM; REVISIONIST

Communists originally used these terms in referring to leaders of reformism of Social-Democracy in Europe. During the 1890's, Edward Bernstein, a theorist of the German Social-Democratic movement, took the position that rigid Marxism was not valid. He believed there was a real need for "revising Marxism". According to the Communist version, Bernstein advocated modifying or rejecting entirely the revolutionary elements in Marxism. Communists therefore consider "revisionism" to be a terrible insult to Marx. To them it is an irrational drift to the "right". It is a totally false and dangerous doctrine which must be stamped out wherever it appears. For all practical purposes a "revisionist" to a Communist is either a concealed or open promulgator of imperialism. Revisionism is a heresy. Communists point to Browderism as a recent example of "revisionism" in the direction of the "right". They have condemned it with unrelenting vigor.

"The forms and motives of the struggle changed, but the struggle continued. And the second half-century in the existence of Marxism began (in the 'nineties) with the struggle of a trend hostile to Marxism within Marxism.

"Ber , a one-time orthodox Marxist, gave his name to this current by making the most noise and advancing the most consistent expression of the amendments to Marx, the revision of Marx, revisionism."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 704.

"In the domain of politics, revisionism tried to revise the very foundation of Marxism, namely, the doctrine of the class struggle. Political freedom, democracy and universal suffrage remove the ground for the class struggle -- we were told -- and render untrue the old proposition of the Communist Manifesto that the workers have no country. For, they said, since the 'will of the majority' prevails under democracy, one must neither regard the state as an organ of class rule, nor reject alliances with the progressive, social-reformist bourgeoisie against the reactionaries."

Ibid., page 708.

"The principal tactical differences in the present labour movement of Europe and America reduce themselves to a struggle against two big trends that are departing from Marxism, which has in fact become the dominant theory in this movement. These two trends are revisionism (opportunism, reformism) and anarchism (anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-socialism)."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 718.

"Bourgeois ideologists, liberals and democrats, not understanding Marxism, and not understanding the modern labour movement, are constantly leaping from one futile extreme to another."

Ibid., page 740

"The revisionists declare the doctrine of the class struggle to be 'antiquated', or begin to conduct a policy which in fact amounts to a renunciation of the class struggle."

Ibid., page 742.

"The policy of revisionism consists in determining its conduct from case to case, in adapting itself to the events of the day and to the chops and changes of petty politics; it consists in forgetting the basic interests of the proletariat, the main features of the capitalist system as a whole and of capitalist evolution as a whole, and in sacrificing these basic interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment."

Ibid., page 709.

"Revisionism devitalizes the workers, destroys their militancy, and renders them helpless before the attacks of the class enemy. The ideas of the class enemy must be eliminated from the ranks of the Party and of the working class."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared
by National Education
Department, Communist Party
of the United States of
America, page 12.

"Comrade Browder's revisionist ideas violate the most
fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism."

Foster, William Z., "On
The Question of Revisionism,"
as contained in Marxism--
Leninism vs. Revisionism,
page 41.

"Browder, with his revisionism, was trying to fasten a
system of Right-wing bourgeois liberalism upon our
Party..."

Foster, William Z., "The
Struggle Against Revisionism,"
as contained in Ibid., page
65.

REVOLUTION (general conception)

Revolution means to all Communists the seizure of the government by force and violence wherever necessary. It is the forcible conquest of state power. They divide all revolutions into three main types. These are:

1. National Revolution

- a. This is a revolutionary struggle of a colonial or subjected country against a foreign nation for the purpose of securing or regaining its own independence. The American Revolution and revolutions in Ireland are given as examples of "national revolutions."

2. Bourgeois Revolution

- a. This is the revolution of a rising capitalist class which overthrows feudalism with its feudal lords, nobility, monarchy, and the like. This bourgeois revolution clears the road for the full development of Capitalism in all its stages. Serfdom is abolished and wage labor takes its place. Home markets are created. Part of the peasantry changes into the proletariat. Many inventions take place. Modern industry unfolds. Parliamentary or bourgeois democracy comes into existence. This pseudo-democracy is used as a weapon by capitalists first against the feudalists and next against the working class. Thus conditions are created for the proletarian struggle (e.g. working class) against Capitalism and for Socialism, thence, onward to Communism. As a means to a greater end (e.g. Communism) Communists have supported, where expedient, bourgeois revolutions. The Revolution in France in 1789 is given as an example of a "bourgeois revolution."

3. Proletarian Revolution

- a. This is the seizure, by force and violence whenever necessary, of the government or state political power by the proletarians or working-class led by the Communist Party - the vanguard of the proletariat. This revolution is followed by the establishment of

a Soviet government. It is a radical break with the past. This Soviet government will at first assume the form of a dictatorship of the proletariat for an indefinite period. From this point on the workers will commence to transform society; to build the new Socialist order, moving on eventually to the world-wide Communist society. V. I. Lenin claimed that the driving backbone of this revolutionary transformation is the proletariat, "the physical carrier trained by capitalism itself." The Russian Revolution of 1917 is given as an example of the "proletarian revolution."

Communists consider all revolutions good if they strengthen the Communist position, and very bad if they do not.

During the course of a revolution all Communists must work to defeat their own government by all possible means.

"In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

Marx, Karl and Engels, Frederick,
Communist Manifesto, page 44.

"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

"A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but desire the defeat of its government.

"This is an axiom. . . ."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 142.

"Revolutions are the locomotives of history, said Marx. Revolutions are the festivals of the oppressed and the exploited."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 122.

"Every revolution means a sudden break in the lives of great masses of people. Unless such a break matures, no real revolution can take place. And, just as every break in the life of an individual teaches him something, causes him new experiences and new sensations, so a revolution imparts to the whole people in a short time lessons of great import and value.

"In revolutionary epochs, millions and tens of millions of people learn more in a week than in a year of ordinary, every-day somnolent existence."

Lenin, V. I., as stated in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, by Lenin, N. (V.I.), and Trotsky, Leon, page 223.

"In a word, we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible."

Lenin, V. I., A Letter to American Workers, page 3.

"A revolt is an excellent thing when it is the advanced elements that revolt against the reactionary elements. It is a good thing when the revolutionary wing revolts against the opportunist wing. But it is a bad thing when the opportunist wing revolts against the revolutionary wing."

Rochester, Anna, The Nature of Capitalism, page 42.

"The fate of our revolution, the fate of the world revolution in general will be decided in a series of merciless battles, in a series of wars"

"He who, in all the ramified world situation, does not see, does not feel, the approach of a new revolutionary upheaval, he has indeed lost all feeling of a Bolshevik-revolutionary; he has become atrophied.

"New revolutions are possible without war. But new wars must become impossible without revolutions. So Bolshevism places the question."

The Communist, February, 1930,
pages 130, 131.

"Very appropriately, Browder's book opens with the famous Manifesto of the Communist Party of the United States adopted at its 8th National Convention, held in April, 1934. In a concrete and convincing way, this historic document shows that there is only one way out of the present state of insecurity, unemployment, mass misery and untold suffering, oppression, capitalist reaction, fascism and war. It is the revolutionary way, the Bolshevik way, the way of the Socialist Revolution and Soviet Power in the United States."

Bittelman, Alex, in the
"Introduction" to
Communism in the United States,
by EARL BROWDER, page 104.

"There is no road toward socialism except the road of building up of the revolutionary forces within capitalistic society, which will overthrow the system."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
pages 105, 106.

"The capitalists will not give up of their own accord; nor can they be talked, bought or voted out of power. To believe otherwise would be a deadly fatalism, disarming and paralyzing the workers in their struggle. No ruling class ever surrendered to a rising subject class without a last ditch open fight. To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act by the great toiling masses, led by the Communist Party; that is, the conquest of the State machine created by the ruling class, and the organization of the proletarian dictatorship. The lessons of history allow no other conclusion."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America, page 213.

"That truth is, that there can be no successful revolution without crushing the resistance..."

Lenin, V. I., A Letter
To American Workers, page
18.

REVOLUTION (proletarian)

The "proletarian revolution" is the revolution of the "workers" organized and led by the Communist Party. It includes the application of force and violence and the seizure of private property. The main content of this revolution is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its scope is world-wide.

"The proletarian revolution is the most profound of all revolutions in history. It initiates changes more rapid and far-reaching than any in the whole experience of mankind."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 338.

"Proletarian revolution, however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of property relationships of bourgeois society, the expropriation of the expropriating classes, and the transference of power to a class that aims at the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man."

"Program of the Communist
International" as contained
in A Handbook of Marxism, page 989.

"Now the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as the result of the snapping of the chain of the imperialist world front in one country or another."

Stalin, Joseph, The
Foundations of Leninism,
page 36.

"It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat

from the Socialist revolution, or obscure, or overshadow it, et cetera."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 268.

"The question of the proletarian dictatorship is above all a question of the main content of the proletarian revolution."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, page 47.

"The international proletarian revolution represents a combination of processes which vary in time and character; purely proletarian revolutions; revolutions of a bourgeois-democratic type which grow into proletarian revolutions; wars for national liberation; colonial revolutions. The world dictatorship of the proletariat comes only as the final result of the revolutionary process.

"The uneven development of capitalism, which became more accentuated in the period of imperialism, has given rise to a variety of types of capitalism, to different stages of ripeness of capitalism in different countries, and to a variety of specific conditions of the revolutionary process. These circumstances make it historically inevitable that the proletariat will come to power by a variety of ways and degrees of rapidity; that a number of countries must pass through certain transition stages leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and must adopt varied forms of socialist construction.

"The variety of conditions and ways by which the proletariat will achieve its dictatorship in the various countries may be divided schematically into three main types.

"Countries of highly developed capitalism (United States of America, Germany, Great Britain, etc.),

having powerful productive forces, highly centralized production, with small-scale production reduced to relative insignificance, and a long established bourgeois-democratic political system. In such countries the fundamental political demand of the program is direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat..."

Program of the Communist
International - Together
With Its Constitution, page 54.

"The violent seizure of authority by the proletariat, the demolition of the exploiting society's machinery of state, and the organization (in lieu of the old state machinery, now reduced to fragments) of a new state is the most important thesis of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of proletarian revolution."

Vyshinsky, Andrei ".,
The Law of the Soviet
State, page 1.

REVOLUTION (proletarian distinguished from bourgeois)

The proletarian and bourgeois revolutions are to be distinguished from one another on five points relating to (1) origins; (2) seizure of power; (3) purpose to which this power is put; (4) destruction of the old state apparatus; and (5) permanent alliance with the proletariat.

"What are the characteristic features that distinguish the proletarian revolution from the bourgeois revolution?"

"The differences between the two may be reduced to five basic points.

"1. The bourgeois revolution usually begins when more or less finished forms of the capitalist order already exist, forms which have grown and ripened within the womb of feudal society prior to the open revolution; whereas the proletarian revolution begins at a time when finished forms of the socialist order are either absent, or almost completely absent.

"2. The fundamental task of the bourgeois revolution reduces itself to seizing power and operating that power in conformity with the already existing bourgeois economy; whereas the main task of the proletarian revolution reduces itself to building up the new socialist economy after having seized power.

"3. The bourgeois revolution is usually completed with the seizure of power; whereas for the proletarian revolution the seizure of power is only its beginning, while power is used as a lever for the transformation of the old economy and for the organization of the new one.

"4. The bourgeois revolution limits itself to substituting one group of exploiters by another in the seat of power, and therefore has no need to destroy the old state machine; whereas the proletarian revolution removes all groups of exploiters from power, and places in power the leader of all the toilers and exploited, the class of proletarians,

and therefore it cannot avoid destroying the old state machine and replacing it by a new one.

"5. The bourgeois revolution cannot for any length of time rally the millions of the toiling and exploited masses around the bourgeoisie, for the very reason that they are toilers and exploited; whereas the proletarian revolution can and must link them up precisely as toilers and exploited in a durable alliance with the proletariat, if it wishes to carry out its fundamental task of consolidating the power of the proletariat and building the new socialist economy."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I, pages 266-267.

REVOLUTION (a necessity)

Although Communists do soft-pedal and at times deny, in countries like the United States where they are not popular and relatively weak as an immediate threat to the government, that they consider open revolutionary warfare to be a necessity their authoritative works invalidate their claim. Communists have historically taken the position that in the final conflict between the Communist and non-Communist world, revolution is absolutely necessary. While here and there they may manage through trickery, deception and conspiracy to capture a nation without open revolution they do not believe it is possible to capture the entire world without a bloody, violent, devastating revolution.

"As a practical politician, a Marxist should have made it clear that only traitors to socialism can evade the task of explaining the need for a proletarian revolution...of explaining the necessity of preparing for it, of preaching revolution among the masses..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 213.

"Although the world capitalist system constantly plunges deeper into crisis we cannot therefore conclude that it will collapse of its own weight. On the contrary, as Lenin has stated, no matter how difficult the capitalist crisis becomes, 'there is no complete absence of a way out' for the bourgeoisie until it faces the revolutionary proletariat in arms."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 212.

"The capitalists will never voluntarily give up control of society and abdicate their system of exploiting the masses. Regardless of the devastating effects of their decaying capitalism; let there be famine, war, pestilence, terrorism, they will hang on to their wealth and power until

it is snatched from their hands by the revolutionary proletariat.

"The capitalists will not give up of their own accord; nor can they be talked, bought or voted out of power. To believe otherwise would be a deadly fatalism, disarming and paralyzing the workers in their struggle. No ruling class ever surrendered to a rising subject class without a last ditch open fight. To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act by the great toiling masses, led by the Communist party; that is, the conquest of the State power, the destruction of the State machine created by the ruling class, and the organization of the proletarian dictatorship. The lessons of history allow of no other conclusion."

Ibid, page 213.

"Why is it necessary to recognize the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power?"

"Because the experience of the victory of the great October Revolution on the one hand, and on the other, the bitter lessons learned in Germany, Austria and Spain during the entire postwar period have confirmed once more that the victory of the proletariat is possible only by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the bourgeoisie would rather drown the labor movement in a sea of blood than allow the proletariat to establish Socialism by peaceful means."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front
Against War and Fascism, pages 87-88.

"For socialism to triumph, the rule of the bourgeoisie must be overthrown, the bourgeois state must be destroyed and the dictatorship of

the proletariat must be substituted in its place. The transition from capitalism to socialism is possible only by means of an unremitting class struggle of the proletariat against the capitalists, by means of a proletarian revolution and the establishment of a proletarian state."

Leontiev, A.,
Political Economy,
page 27.

"Lenin also shattered the reformist contention that the modern bourgeois state is a people's state which the workers can peacefully capture by votes and then utilize for the building of Socialism. He demonstrated with crushing logic what Marx and Engels had long before proved, that the capitalist state is the but slightly disguised organized dictatorship of the capitalist class; that no ruling class in history has ever given up its control without a violent struggle, and that, consequently, the revolutionary workers, in alliance with the peasantry and other exploited masses, must destroy the capitalist state in open struggle and set up their own state, a Soviet government, which is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Foster, William Z., From
Bryan to Stalin, 1927
153.

REVOLUTION (inevitable)

Communists insist that the proletarian revolution is inevitable. It cannot be avoided. The day of reckoning must arrive. It is written into the very heart of evolving nature that this will be so. There is a certain natural determinism to it all.

"Marx proclaimed the inevitability of the proletarian revolution..."

Adoratsky, A., a
statement in Selected
Works of V.I. Lenin,
Volume I, page 117.

V. I. Lenin emphasizes the value of a:

"...clear conviction of the inevitability of the social revolution, firm determination to fight to the end, readiness to adopt the most revolutionary methods of struggle..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume IV, page
322.

REVOLUTION (world-wide)

Communism, in order to reach its "higher phase" and develop to the highest and most complete degree, must be world-wide. It must encompass the entire globe as one World-Wide Communist Society. It precludes the right of any non-Communist society to exist. Therefore, it is necessary to have a world-wide revolution in order to accomplish this objective. Revolution in one, two, or three nations is not sufficient. The revolution must be global because of the very expansive and compulsive nature of the Communist idea. Hence, all Communists are obligated to create revolutions in every country they inhabit.

"Lenin has tersely expressed this thought by saying that the task of the victorious revolution is to do the 'utmost possible in one country for the development, support and stirring up of the revolution in all countries.'"

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 44. Quoted from Lenin's work, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky."

"It is therefore the essential task of the victorious revolution in one country to develop and support the revolution in others. So the revolution in a victorious country ought not to be considered as a self-contained unit, but as an auxiliary and a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries."

Stalin, Joseph,
Ibid., page 43.

"...the revolution cannot be limited to national boundaries...capitalist imperialism is world-wide in scope...the revolutionary working-class must be organized on a world scale for world revolution."

The Communist, No. 14, page 6.

"Most probably, the world revolution will develop along the line of a series of new countries dropping out of the system of the imperialist countries as a result of revolution, while the proletarians of these countries will be supported by the proletariat of the imperialist states. We see that the first

country to break away, the first country to win is already supported by the workers and toiling masses of other countries. Without this support it could not maintain itself. Beyond a doubt, this support will grow and become stronger and stronger. But it is likewise beyond a doubt that the very development of the world revolution, the very process of the breaking away of a number of new countries from imperialism will be more rapid and more thorough, the more thoroughly socialism fortifies itself in the first victorious country, the faster this country is transformed into the basis for the further unfolding of the world revolution, into the lever for the further disintegration of imperialism.

"If the postulate that the final victory of socialism in the first country to emancipate itself is impossible without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries is true, then it is equally true that the more effective the assistance rendered by the first socialist country to the workers and toiling masses of all other countries, the more rapid and thorough will be the development of the world revolution.

"By what should this assistance be expressed?"

"It should be expressed, first, by the victorious country achieving the 'utmost possible in one country for the development, support and stirring up of the revolution in all countries.'

"Second, it should be expressed in that the 'victorious proletariat' of one country, 'having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own socialist production, would rise . . . against the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states.'

"The characteristic feature of the assistance given by the victorious country is that it not only hastens the victory of the proletarians of other countries, but likewise guarantees, by facilitating this victory, the final victory of socialism in the first victorious country.

"The most probable thing is that, side by side with the centres of imperialism in separate capitalist countries and the systems of these countries throughout the world, centres of socialism will be created, in the course of the world revolution, in separate Soviet countries and systems of these centres throughout the world, and the struggle between these two systems will constitute the history of the development of the revolution."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 135-136.

"At the First Congress we were really only propagandists, we only sowed among the proletariat of the whole world the main idea, we only issued the call for the struggle, we only asked—where are the people who are capable of taking this path? Now, however, we have an advanced proletariat everywhere. Everywhere we have a proletarian army, although sometimes badly organised, needing reorganisation; and if our international comrades now help us to organise a united army, no shortcomings will hinder us in the pursuit of our cause. And this cause is the world proletarian revolution, the cause of creating a world-wide Soviet Republic."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume X, page 199.

REVOLUTION (where it begins)

Communists believe that revolution will break out first in those countries where the chain of imperialism is weakest. Whether or not the country is progressive or backward is not necessarily decisive. The revolution can break out in a backward country or in a well developed nation like the United States. The decisive point is the weak link. The revolution will occur at the weakest links in the imperialist chain.

"Where will the revolution begin? Where in what country, can the front of capital be pierced first?"

"Formerly, the reply used to be--where industry is most perfected, where the proletariat forms the majority, where civilization is most advanced, where democracy is most developed.

"The Leninist theory of the revolution says--no! The front of capital will not necessarily be pierced where industry is most developed, and so forth; it will be broken where the chain of imperialism is weakest, for the proletarian revolution is the result of the breaking of the chain of the imperialist world front at its weakest point."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, pages 33, 34.

"To put it briefly, the chain of the imperialist front should break, as a rule, where the links are most fragile and in any event not necessarily where capitalism is most developed or where there is a considerable percentage of proletarians and relatively few peasants, and so on."

Ibid., page 35.

REVOLUTION (its fundamental law)

When Communists speak of the "fundamental law of revolution" they have in mind the idea that a revolution cannot take place with any real degree of success unless there is a national crisis seriously affecting the two main classes, workers and capitalists or in Communist language, "the exploited and the exploiters."

"The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed by all revolutions...is as follows: It is not sufficient for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the 'lower classes' do not want the old, and when the 'upper classes' cannot continue in the old way then only can the revolution be victorious. This truth may be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without a national crisis affecting both the exploited and the exploiters. It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes be in a state of governmental crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics... weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly."

Lenin, V. I.,
Left-Wing Communism:
An Infantile Disorder,
page 65.

REVOLUTION (preparation)

Communists admit that their proletarian revolution, in spite of its "inevitable" nature does not of itself develop victoriously in the precise direction desired by them. Therefore, all Communists are expected to be busy about their tasks relating to its preparation. Revolutions don't just happen, they must be made, and made to order. It is not only necessary for Communists to prepare the revolution but they also must prepare themselves so they will be ready to act effectively when the revolution does arrive.

"The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory."

Stalin, Joseph, Stalin Reports, page 22. See also: Leontiev, A., Political Economy, page 282.

"A party which does not prepare for the revolution must be considered a discussion club rather than the leader of a revolutionary class."

Losovsky, A., Lenin the Great Strategist of the Class War, page 17.

"Lenin conceived of the revolution as of something that was moving right upon us, and not as something lying in the far-off distance. Because of this he never tired of insisting that we must prepare ourselves daily for the revolution, even politically and technically. ...

"The revolution confronts us directly with the problem of armed insurrection. And to speak of this without proper technical preparations, is merely to mouth empty phrases. He who wants the revolution must systematically prepare for it the broad masses, who will, in the process of preparation, create the necessary organs of the struggle."

Ibid., page 17.

"The revolution does not simply happen; it must be made."

Browder, Earl, What Is Communism?, page 163.

REVOLUTION (organization of)

The Communist revolution is organized around the work and leadership of professional revolutionaries and their organization, the Communist Party. These men organize the revolution according to secret, conspiratorial principles and practices. Power is centralized in their hands. In the process they enlist the aid of as many members of the masses of people as is possible to deceive, prod or entice into furthering the Communist program. However, the secret functions are limited to the professional revolutionaries and their Communist Party while the masses perform for them the open foot service and relatively menial tasks.

" . . . the organisation must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession; . . . in a country with an autocratic government the more we restrict the membership of this organisation to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organisation. . ."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume II, page 139.

"The question as to whether it is easier to catch 'ten wise men' than 'a hundred fools' amounts in the end to the question we have considered above, namely, whether it is possible to have a mass organisation when the maintenance of strict conspiracy is essential. We can never place a wide organisation on that conspiratorial level without which the stability and continuity of the struggle against the government is unthinkable. To concentrate all conspiratorial functions in the hands of as small a number of professional revolutionaries as possible, does not mean that the latter will 'think for all' and that the crowd will put forward increasing numbers of such professional revolutionaries, for it will know that it is not enough to collect together the few students and workers who are leading the economic struggle in order to create a 'committee,' but that professional revolutionaries must be trained for years from out of its own midst; the crowd will 'think' not of amateurishness but of training professional revolutionaries. The centralization of the conspiratorial functions of the organisation does not mean the concentration

of all the functions of the movement. Because ten professional revolutionaries concentrate in their hands the conspiratorial part of the work, the active participation of the wide masses in the dissemination of illegal literature will not diminish, but on the contrary increase tenfold. Thus, and only thus, can we bring it about that the reading of illegal literature, the contribution to illegal literature, and to some extent even the distribution of illegal literature, shall cease to be conspiratorial work, for the police will soon come to realize the folly and futility of bringing the whole judicial and administrative machine to bear upon every copy of a publication which is being broadcasted in thousands."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in
Lenin On Organization, pages
83-84: See also Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume II,
pages 139-140.

REVOLUTION (and a revolutionary situation)

By "revolutionary situation", Communists mean a situation that is developing within a nation which is conducive to the outbreak of a revolution. Among the factors making up a "revolutionary situation" are unemployment, poverty, suffering, division, strife and turmoil over conflicting national policies, bank failures, strikes, angry mood on the part of masses of people and a strong Communist Party capable of utilizing all these factors of the "revolutionary situation" in behalf of the Communist revolution. It is one of the duties of all Communists to develop a "revolutionary situation" when one does not exist and to exploit it when it does exist. When the "revolutionary situation" reaches its peak, it becomes identified with the "revolutionary crisis."

"...Today there is no revolutionary situation, the conditions that cause ferment among the masses or heighten their activities do not exist; today you are given a ballot paper - take it. Learn how to organize in order to be able to use it as a weapon against your enemies and not as a means of getting soft parliamentary jobs for men who cling to their seats in fear of having to go to prison. Tomorrow, you are deprived of the ballot paper, you are given a rifle and a splendid quick-firing gun constructed according to the last word of engineering technique - take this weapon of death and destruction, do not listen to the sentimental whiners who are afraid of war. Much has been left in the world that must be destroyed by fire and iron in order that the emancipation of the working class may be achieved. And if anger and desperation grow among the masses, if a revolutionary situation arises, prepare to create new organisations and utilize these useful weapons of death and destruction against your government and your bourgeoisie."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume V, page 215.

"When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily

"needs and struggles of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilise these minor everyday needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power.

"When the revolutionary tide is rising, when the ruling classes are disorganised, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment, the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat and the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois State. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favour of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees, for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.), and by organising mass action, upon which, all branches of Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: strikes; a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the State power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of war; it pre-supposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting...An absolutely essential condition precedent for this form of action is the organisation of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (Councils of Workers' Deputies, Soldiers' Councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy."

"Program of the Communist International," as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, pages 1036-1037.

"Failure to take advantage of the culminating point in the development of the revolutionary situation, when the Party of the proletariat is called upon to conduct a bold and determined attack upon the enemy, is not less dangerous. To allow that opportunity to slip by and to fail to start

"rebellion at that point, means to allow the initiative to pass to the enemy and to doom the revolution to defeat."

Ibid., page 1037.

"When the revolutionary tide is not rising, the Communist Parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday needs of the toilers, and combine them with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. The Communist Parties must not, however, at such a time, advance transitional slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example workers' control of industry, etc.) To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favour merging with the capitalist system of organisation. Partial demands and slogans form generally an essential part of correct tactics; but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation. Repudiation of partial demands and transitional slogans 'on principle', however, is incompatible with the tactical principles of Communism, for in effect, such repudiation condemns the Party to inaction and isolates it from the masses."

Ibid., page 1038.

"The question of the revolution is not merely one of a ripe objective situation. Such is, of course, a first requisite for the revolution. But the subjective factor is no less decisive. Capitalism will not grow into Socialism. The great masses of toilers must be in a revolutionary mood; they must have the necessary organization and revolutionary program; they must smash capitalism. This all means that they must be under the general leadership of the only revolutionary party, the Communist Party. The real measure of a revolutionary situation in any given country is the strength of the Communist Party."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 219.

REVOLUTION (necessary conditions)

Under the previous caption the nature of a "revolutionary situation" was discussed. For the sake of clarity it may be said that the phrase "necessary conditions" is used in connection with a "revolutionary situation." As a practical matter they mean approximately the same thing although the phrase "necessary conditions" could be used in a broader, more all-inclusive sense than the phrase "revolutionary situation." The important point is, a serious crisis must prevail immediately prior to the outbreak of the Communist rebellion. The great masses of people must be seriously affected and susceptible to the leadership of the Communist Party.

"In regard to the necessary conditions precedent for rebellion. A revolutionary situation must prevail, i.e., the ruling class must be in a state for crisis, for example, as the result of military defeat. The misery and oppression of the masses must be intensified to an extraordinary degree, and the masses must be active and ready to overthrow the government by revolutionary mass action. A tried and tested Communist Party, having influence over the decisive masses of the proletariat, must exist.

"In regard to the preparations for rebellion. The rebellion cannot be based solely on the Party; it must be based upon the broad masses of the working class. Of decisive importance is the preparatory work in the proletarian mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions; to secure their active participation in the work of preparing for the rebellion, and the creation of special organizations for rebellion, which shall unite the masses. The question of rebellion must be put openly to the masses.

"The rebellion must be based on the rising revolutionary temper of the entire working population, particularly of the semi-proletarians and poor peasantry.

"Persistent and intensified work must be conducted for the purpose of disintegrating the bourgeois armies, which work at the moment of the uprising, will assume the character of a struggle for the army.

"Activities for organizing rebellion and military preparation must both occupy a prominent place in the work among the proletarian masses and among the toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies.

"The time for launching the rebellion will be determined by the state of maturity of the objective and subjective prerequisites for it. The time can be fixed definitely only if the closest contact exists between the Party and the masses of the revolutionary proletariat."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the VI World Congress
of the Communist International,
page 26.

REVOLUTION (initial steps)

Among the initial steps of a Communist revolution are the formation of revolutionary committees in neighborhoods, city wards and blocks, villages and in the factories of all industries. Discipline and extensive organization are stressed, all of which comes under the leadership and coordination of the Communist Party. When the government has been so weakened and demoralized as to make it safe, the workers are then to be armed immediately prior to calling for the uprising. Once the revolution begins, it must continue to advance in the most rapid and ruthless manner possible. It must not be allowed to slow down or come to a stop. Once the initial steps in the actual uprising are taken, there is no turning back. The Communist Party is the leader throughout the revolution.

"Revolutionary committees will be formed in every factory, in every city ward, in every village. The people in revolt will overthrow all the government institutions...

"The immediate arming of the workers and of all citizens in general, the preparation and organization of the revolutionary forces for overthrowing the government authorities and institutions -- this is the practical basis on which all revolutionaries can and must unite to strike a common blow."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume III, page 291.

"In the early stages of the revolution, even before the seizure of power, the workers will organize the Red Guard. Later on this loosely constructed body becomes developed into a firmly-knit well disciplined Red Army.

"The leader of the revolution in all its stages is the Communist Party."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pages 274, 275.

"...revolutionary army and a revolutionary government are two sides of the same medal. They are two institutions equally necessary for the success of the uprising and for the consolidation of its results."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 317.

"...there is no advance for a revolution that has come to a standstill..."

Ibid., Volume VI, page 51.

V. I. Lenin states that a profound conviction of Karl Marx was:

"...rebellion is an art, and that the principal rule of this art is that a desperately bold and irrevocably determined offensive must be waged."

Ibid., Volume III, page 351.

"In regard to carrying out the rebellion. The rule must be; no playing with rebellion. The rebellion once launched must be vigorously prosecuted until the enemy is utterly crushed. Hesitation and lack of determination will cause the utter defeat of the revolutionary armed uprising. The main forces must be thrown against the main forces of the enemy. Efforts must be made to secure the superiority of the proletarian forces at the decisive moment at the decisive place, and without delay the rebellion must be carried over the widest possible territory. There is an art in rebellion; but rebellion is not purely a military problem, it is primarily a political problem. Only a revolutionary Party can lead a rebellion. On the outbreak of the rebellion the Party must subordinate the

whole of its activity to the requirements of the
armed struggle."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and the
Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the VI
World Congress of the
Communist International,
pages 26 - 27.

REVOLUTION (and state power)

To Communists the very essence of a revolution relates to state power. It is the basic issue. Whoever seizes and retains state power is the victor. For Communists, the steps leading up to the seizure of state power include creating a power of their own within the state, namely the Communist Party and the movement of the masses which this Party has set into motion. As two powers cannot exist within a state or nation one or the other must eventually conquer. Hence, V. I. Lenin's statement that one of the most significant aspects of the Communist development of revolution is that it creates a "dual power" within a nation specifically designed to grow so as it may one day challenge and capture state power. In a sense the Communist Party becomes a government within a government whose purpose is to establish a dictatorship.

"The basic question in any revolution is that of state power. Unless this question is understood, there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution, let alone guidance of the revolution."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VI, page 27.

"Two powers cannot exist in a state. One of them is bound to give way..."

Ibid., page 49.

"The most important problem in every revolution is the problem of state power. In whose hands is this power--that is decisive in all things. ..."

"The problem of power can not be set aside or evaded, as that is precisely the fundamental question determining all conditions in the

development of the Revolution, in its external and internal policies."

Lenin, N., statement
in The Proletarian
Revolution in Russia
by N. Lenin and Leon
Trotsky, page 210.

In speaking of the rival power of the Communist Party within a state, or a government within a government V. I. Lenin writes;

"What is the class composition of this other government? It consists of the proletariat and the peasantry...What is the political nature of this government? It is a revolutionary dictatorship, i.e., a power based on outright revolutionary seizure, on the direct initiative of the masses from below, and not on a law made by a centralised government. It is an entirely different power from that of the ordinary type of parliamentary bourgeois-democratic republic which has hitherto prevailed in the advanced countries of Europe and America. This circumstance is often forgotten, often not reflected on, yet it is the crux of the matter."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume VI, page 27.

REVOLUTION (purpose)

The purpose of all Communist revolutions is to seize political power. American Communists, like those of other nations, have this same purpose in mind.

"The central purpose of the revolution is to conquer political power..."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 280.

REVOLUTION (its reserves)

Communists describe the reserves of the proletarian revolution as being both direct and indirect. The direct reserves are (1) the peasantry and the intermediate strata of the population; (2) the proletariat of neighboring nations; (3) the revolutionary movements in backward areas; and (4) the achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The indirect reserves are the contradictions and conflicts within the heart of the non-Communist social orders.

"The reserves of the revolution can be:

Direct: a) the peasantry and in general the intermediate strata of the population within the country; b) the proletariat of the neighbouring countries; c) the revolutionary movement in the colonies and the dependent countries; d) the gains and achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat--part of which the proletariat may renounce temporarily, while retaining superiority of forces, in order to buy off a powerful enemy and thus gain a respite; and

Indirect: a) the contradictions and conflicts between the nonproletarian classes within the country that can be utilised by the proletariat to weaken the enemy or to strengthen its own reserves; b) contradictions, conflicts and wars (the imperialist war, for instance) between bourgeois states inimical to the proletarian state which can be utilised by the proletariat in its offensive or in manoeuvring in the event of a forced retreat."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
pages, 76, 77.

REVOLUTION (need for ruthless tactics)

Communists advocate ruthless, brutal tactics in overcoming all opposition. They strongly condemn tolerance, kindness and moderation.

"...I should tell them, the ignorant, what Communism is in two or three words. I gave them an extremely simple definition. It covered no more than the particular points at issue and, by positing community of goods, ruled out peaceableness, tenderness or consideration towards the bourgeoisie..."

Engels, Frederick,
Marx and Engels Selected
Correspondence, page 2.

"In the whole of Lenin's activities the following passes like a red thread: Initiative, determination, ruthlessness, the pursuit of the enemy until he is destroyed, quick action and the concentration of the proletarian forces at the weakest spot of the enemy's front."

Losovsky, A., Lenin The
Great Strategist of the Class
War, page 30.

"There never was a great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively feel this and did not display salutary firmness, shooting down thieves on the spot. The trouble with previous revolutions was this--that the revolutionary zeal of the masses, which kept them vigilant and gave them strength to mercilessly suppress the elements of decay, did not last long."

"This historical experience of all revolutions, this universal historical--economic and political--lesson was summed up by Marx in his brief, sharp, exact and vivid formula: the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"But 'dictatorship' is a great word. And great words must not be used lightly. A dictatorship is an iron rule, with revolutionary daring, and swift and merciless in the suppression of the exploiters as well as of the hooligans. And our rule is too mild, quite frequently resembling jam rather than iron."

Lenin, N. (V. I.) as stated
in The Proletarian Revolution
in Russia, Lenin, N., and
Trotsky, Leon, pages 394-395.

V. I. Lenin in advocating ruthlessness condemned the masses of people for not being ruthless and brutal enough.

"The broad masses, however, were still too naive, their mood was too passive, too god-natured, too Christian."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume III, page 10.

REVOLUTION (authoritative in essence)

American Communists never cease criticizing authority. They delight in condemning the authority of government, the authority of the economic system and the authority of religion. In doing this they are merely repeating what other Communists throughout the world are saying. Communists at times create the impression that they are very opposed to authoritarianism. This is a false impression for Communists are rigid authoritarians and one authority which they accept and advocate without hesitancy is the authority of the revolution.

"A revolution is undoubtedly the most authoritarian thing there is. It is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon, which are authoritarian means if ever there were any. And the victorious party, if it does not wish to have fought in vain, must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 58.

REVOLUTION (not to be premature)

Communists in countries which are not yet ready for the revolution, which are not going through a "revolutionary crisis" (e.g. United States), are advised to proceed with relative moderation and caution. V. I. Lenin told such Communists "not to accept battle against the giants of imperialism" if they stood no chance of being victorious; for example, to postpone the decisive fight until they are in a sufficiently strong position to win it once it begins. When it does begin American Communists can expect help from foreign Communists, all participants in different sectors in the international revolutionary pattern of operations.

"For, until the international socialist revolution breaks out, embraces several countries and is strong enough to overcome international imperialism, it is the bounden duty of the Socialists, who have conquered in one country (especially a backward one), not to accept battle against the giants of imperialism. Their duty is to try to avoid war, to wait until the conflicts between the imperialists weaken them still more, and bring the revolution in other countries still nearer."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 353.

"It is in our interest to do all that is possible to take advantage of the slightest opportunity to postpone the decisive battle until the moment (or 'till after!') the revolutionary ranks of the single, great international army have been united."

Ibid., page 358.

V. I. Lenin presents this thought to Communists of all non-Communist nations:

"...calculate with the utmost accuracy the different forces involved, to weigh with the utmost care the chances of our ally (the international proletariat) being able to come to our aid."

Ibid., page 358.

REVOLUTION (time element)

Although Communists are repeatedly predicting the continued spread of world revolution they are not specific about the time element for the outbreak of revolution in different countries or the duration of this revolutionary epoch.

"The revolutionary epoch may last for years and tens of years."

The Communist Combined With
'The Revolutionary Age,' a
Manifesto adopted at a Con-
vention of the Communist
Party of America, held
September 1-5, 1919, page 27.

"...we have learned to understand that banking on an international revolution does not mean calculating on a definite date..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume IX, page 94.

REVOLUTION (development)

Just as Communists do not believe, because of uneven economic development, that their revolution can break out at the same time in all countries throughout the world, so too do they believe that when their revolution does break out in different countries it will not follow the same specific pattern in each country. The progress it assumes and the forms it takes will vary according to racial characteristics, traditional mores and general economic, political and social conditions.

"We know that help from you, comrades American workers, will probably not come soon, for the development of the revolution proceeds with a different tempo and in different forms in different countries (and it cannot be otherwise)...We stake our chances on the inevitability of the international revolution, but this in no way means that we are so foolish as to stake our chances on the inevitability of the revolution within a stated short period."

Lenin, V. I., A Letter to American Workers, pages 21-22.

REVOLUTION (mass character affecting the armed forces)

Great stress is placed by Communists on making any public action started by them a mass action. This is particularly true when they plan any activities relating to force and violence. Communists realize they are in the small minority in all non-Communist nations (as well as some Communist dominated nations) therefore it is quite essential to deceive as large a mass following as possible into supporting their course of action. They are keenly aware that mass action affecting the armed forces of a nation is necessary to the success of any widespread revolution.

V. I. Lenin in speaking of the masses of people said:

"... ey will play a very important revolutionary part in the coming phas of the world revolution."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 229.

"Of course, unless the revolution assumes a mass character and also affects the troops, serious fighting is out of the question. Work among the troops is, of course, necessary."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IV, page 349.

"We have carried on work in the army, and we will redouble our efforts in the future to 'convert' the army ideologically... a physical fight for the army is also necessary."

Ibid, pages 349-350.

"One of the biggest and most dangerous mistakes of Communists (as generally of revolutionaries who have successfully accomplished the beginning of a great revolution) is the idea that a revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone. On the contrary, to be successful every serious revolutionary work requires the understanding and translation into action of the idea that revolutionaries are

capable of playing the part only of the vanguard of the truly virile and advanced class. A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid becoming divorced from the masses it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most varied spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful Communist constructive work."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 71.

REVOLUTION ("permanent" type)

Leon Trotsky's name is usually linked to the phrase "permanent revolution" in the sense that he advocated uninterrupted revolution on a world-wide scale in contradiction to Joseph Stalin's position that Socialism should first be developed up to a certain level in one country (e. g. Russia) before spreading it throughout the world. Communists claim that the real "permanent revolution" could only be conducted along the lines indicated by Stalin; that it was impossible to carry out Trotsky's policy to a successful conclusion. Karl Marx had propounded the idea of a "permanent revolution" and the Communists charge that Trotsky had distorted and misinterpreted Marx's idea in this matter, whereas Lenin and Stalin gave it the correct interpretation. The latter two are credited with having been fully opposed to stopping the revolution halfway or placing it in an impermanent status but on the other hand they refused to indulge in "adventurism" which Communists identify with Trotsky's understanding of "permanent revolution."

"The idea of 'permanent' revolution is not new. It was propounded for the first time by Marx in 1850 in his well-known 'Address to the Communist League.' This document was the source from which the 'permanentists' derived the idea of uninterrupted revolution."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 40.

"While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, ... it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been displaced from domination, until the proletariat has conquered state power and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians."

Marx, Karl as quoted by Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 40. See also Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, page 360.

"On the contrary, Lenin was the only Marxist who correctly understood and developed the idea of permanent revolution. What distinguishes Lenin from the 'permanentists' on this question is that these latter distorted Marx's idea of permanent revolution and transformed it into lifeless, bookish wisdom, whereas Lenin took it in its pure form and made it one of the bases of his own theory of revolution. It should be remembered that the idea of the bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into the socialist revolution, propounded by Lenin as long ago as 1905, is one of the forms of the embodiment of the Marxist theory of permanent revolution. Here is what Lenin wrote about this in 1905: '...from the democratic revolution we shall immediately begin to pass over, and that in proportion to our strength, to the strength of the class conscious and organised proletariat, we shall begin to pass over to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution, we will not halt halfway.... Without dropping into adventurism, without betraying our scientific conscience, without chasing after cheap popularity, we can and do say one thing: we will exert every effort to help the whole of the peasantry to make the democratic revolution in order that it may be easier for us, the party of the proletariat, to pass over as quickly as possible to the new and higher tasks, viz., the socialist revolution.'"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 265-266.

"There can be no doubt about it. 'Permanent revolution' is not a mere underestimation of the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant movement. 'Permanent revolution' is an underestimation of the peasant movement which leads to the repudiation of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Trotsky's 'permanent revolution' is a variety of Menshevism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism:
Selected Writings, page
16.

"But they themselves must do the most for their own ultimate victory, by enlightening themselves about their class interests, by adopting as quickly as possible an independent party position and by refusing for a single instant to be diverted by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeoisie

from the independent organization of the party of the proletariat. Their battle cry must be: The Permanent Revolution."

Marx, Karl, Capital and
Other Writings, page 367.

REVOLUTION (in the United States)

In developing the revolution in the United States Communists are expected to combine "illegal forms of the struggle with every form of legal struggle". American Communists are expected to always be on the search for and to find the correct policy and procedure which will bring the American masses "right up to the real, decisive, last great revolutionary struggle". They are to reach all the American people by all means available to them. American Communists are expected to secure seats in state legislatures and in Congress where they are to use democratic freedom and constitutional procedures for the purpose of destroying the United States government, upplanting it with a Soviet government erected along the lines of the government of Soviet Russia.

"But revolutionaries who are unable to combine illegal forms of struggle with every form of legal struggle are very poor revolutionaries. It is not difficult to be a revolutionary when the revolution has already flared up and is raging, when everybody joins the revolution simply because he is carried away by it, because it is the fashion, and sometimes even because it might open the way for a career. After the victory, the proletariat has to exert extreme effort, to suffer pain and one might say martyrdom to 'liberate' itself from such sorry revolutionaries. It is much more difficult--and much more useful--to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle do not yet exist, to be able to defend the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organisation) in non-revolutionary bodies and even in downright reactionary bodies, in non-revolutionary circumstances, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action. The main task of contemporary Communism in Western Europe and America is to acquire the ability to seek, to find, to determine correctly the concrete path or the particular turn of events that will bring the masses right up to the real, decisive, last, great revolutionary struggle."

"The Communists in Western Europe and America must learn to create a new, unusual, non-opportunist, non-careerist parliamentarism; the Communist Parties must issue their slogans; real proletarians, with the help of the unorganized and very poorest people, should scatter and distribute leaflets, canvass the workers' houses and the cottages of the rural proletarians and peasants in the remote villages (fortunately there are not nearly so many remote villages in Europe as there in Russia, and in England there are very few); they should go into the most common taverns, penetrate into the unions, societies and casual meetings where the common people gather, and talk to the people, not in scientific (and not very parliamentary) language, not in the least to strive to 'get seats' in parliament, but everywhere to rouse the thoughts of the masses and draw them into the struggle, to take the bourgeoisie at their word, to utilise the apparatus they have set up, the elections they have called for, the appeal to the country that they have made, and to tell the people what Bolshevism is in a way that has not been possible (under bourgeois rule) outside of election times (not counting, of course, times of big strikes, when in Russia a similar apparatus for widespread popular agitation worked even more intensively). It is very difficult to do this in Western Europe and America, very, very difficult; but it can and must be done, because the tasks of Communism cannot be fulfilled without effort; and every effort must be made to fulfill the practical tasks, ever more varied, ever more connected with all branches of social life, winning branch after branch, sphere after sphere, from the bourgeoisie."

Ibid., pages 141-142.

REVOLUTION (Russian -1917)

Communists view the Russian Revolution of 1917 (previously referred to under the caption of the "October Revolution") as being the first stage of the world Communist revolution. It is considered to be of tremendous significance in Communist theory. Professional Communists the world over are expected to study all the various aspects of this Revolution, drawing lessons from it which can be applied in their countries. The Revolution was successful in Russia, hence, from that time on Russia has been regarded by Communists as being the base of operations from which to spread Communism in all parts of the globe.

"Every breath of the Russian revolution is a breath of life of the working class of the world."

The Workers Monthly,
November 1926, page 584.

"From this it follows that in Russia the revolution could not but become a proletarian revolution, that it could not but assume an international character from the very first days of its development and that, therefore, it could not but shake the very foundations of world imperialism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 18.

"Is it surprising after all this that a country which has accomplished such a revolution and possesses such a proletariat should be the fatherland of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution?"

Ibid., page 20.

"...has not the revolution in Russia shown that the political general strike is the greatest school for the proletarian revolution as well as an indispensable means of mobilising and organising the proletarian masses on the eve of an attack on the citadel of capitalism?"

Ibid., page 24.

"The world significance of the October Revolution lies not only in its constituting a great start made by one country in the work of breaking through the system of imperialism and the creation of the first land of socialism in the ocean of imperialist countries, but likewise in its constituting the first stage in the world revolution and a mighty basis for its further development."

Ibid., page 137.

REVOLUTION (and Soviet Russia's contribution)

It has already been indicated that Soviet Russia is regarded by Communists to be the base of operations in spreading Communism throughout the world. While admitting that Soviet Russia cannot alone complete the world-wide revolution, Communists do give credit to Russia for having to date contributed much to this cause.

"The Russian proletariat single-handed cannot successfully complete the socialist revolution. But it can lend such a sweep to the Russian revolution as would create the most favourable conditions for a socialist revolution, and, in a sense, start that revolution. It can render more favourable the conditions under which its most important, most trustworthy, and most reliable coadjutor, the European and the American socialist proletariat, will undertake its decisive battles."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VI, page 18.

"...without the support the revolution in Russia gave to the revolutionary movement in the West the latter could not have developed at the pace at which it has begun to develop since the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Selected Writings, page 20.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Communists insist that it is not enough to have just a method of action. A theory of action is just as necessary and should precede the methodology and its application. Theory is not to be underestimated. This fact, they say "cannot be insisted upon too strongly".

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement...the role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by an advanced theory."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume II, pages 47-48.

"We must be on our guard against every underestimation of the importance of revolutionary theory. Especially so in the United States where the influence of the capitalist class ideology upon the working class tends to create within it a contempt for revolutionary theory."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party In Action, page 31.

"Theory is the experience of the labour movement in all countries, taken in its general form."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 27.

Stalin elsewhere indicates the need for all capable Communists to become "...theoretically trained Marxists."

Stalin, Joseph, Mastering Bolshevism, page 48.

"...ur revolutionary theory develops right out of and is a part of our revolutionary practice in the class struggle."

Browder, Earl, Communism in the United States, page 308.

"Theory is our guide to action. Theory grows out of action. Theory for us is the instrument of revolutionary action, and it can be the instrument of revolutionary action only insofar as it is theory which is drawn from international experience of the class struggle and the development of human society."

Ibid, page 308.

"We do not create theory out of our heads. Our theory grows organically out of the development and maturing of the revolutionary class, the working class. It is a historic product. It has the same objective character as all scientific principle."

Ibid, page 308.

"But in the field of revolutionary theory, to accomplish our main task of winning the broad masses, the majority of the working class for the proletarian revolution, we must be resolutely intolerant with every deviation in theory, with every effort to revise Marxism and Leninism."

Ibid, page 309.

"In this connection, Marx says:

'Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses.'"

Marx, Karl, as quoted in
Dialectical and Historical
Materialism by Joseph Stalin,
page 23.

REVOLUTIONARY CLASS (and the defeat of one's government)

Obviously, the revolutionary class in time of war which serves in the interests of Communism, is not expected to remain loyal to its own government. For example, the revolutionary class in the United States (e.g. Communists and their supporters, sympathizers, aiders and abettors) did all it could to work against the interest of the United States government and its people when Soviet Russia held a Pact with Nazi Germany. At the time this course of action was the official Communist line. American Communists did everything possible to interfere with the national defense efforts of this country. They condemned all aid sent to Europe for the defeat of Nazism. There is every reason to believe that if the Pact between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany had not been broken, American Communists would have worked steadily, stubbornly and surreptitiously to sabotage all war efforts of the United States in its struggle against Nazism and the militarism of Japan.

"A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but desire the defeat of its government."

"...A 'revolutionary struggle against the war', is an empty and meaningless exclamation,...unless it means revolutionary action against one's own government even in time of war...And revolutionary action in wartime against one's own government undoubtedly and incontrovertibly means not only desiring its defeat, but really facilitating such defeat."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume V, page 142.

REVOLUTIONARIES (and strikes)

Communists recognize the fact that a mass strike must be an open thing. Obviously, it cannot be conducted in secret. Furthermore, a strike instead of being small or restricted should be as large and general as possible. Hence, it necessarily becomes a vast, open public matter. This does not mean that the entire nature of a strike should be open and free from secrecy. On the contrary it may be desirable that certain things about the strike remain a secret from the masses themselves. Also, it is essential that certain aspects of a strike remain a secret from the police. This is the point where professional Communist revolutionaries enter the strike picture. Their sphere is the sphere of secret operations. It is the duty of professional Communist revolutionaries to create, organize and direct strikes under the cloak of secrecy.

"Can we conceive of a secret strike?... Secret strikes are impossible - for those who take a direct and immediate part in them, but a strike may remain ... a secret to the masses ... Now here indeed is a special 'struggle with the political police' required, a struggle that can never be conducted by such large masses as usually take part in strikes. Such a struggle must be organized according to 'all the rules of the art,' by people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume II, page 125.

Lenin points out it may at times be necessary to

"...secretly prepare every strike and every demonstration."

Ibid., page 126.

REVOLUTIONISTS; REVOLUTIONARY (mass action type)

A Communist revolutionist is not to be confused with the type of revolutionist who engages in individual acts of violence. The Communist revolutionist is not an individual bomb thrower. On the contrary, he is a revolutionist who operates through mass organizations, mass demonstrations, mass pressure and mass action of every conceivable form. The Communist revolutionist does not seek to take the life of an individual capitalist. He seeks to take the life of an entire nation. The Communist revolutionist does not want to capture the individual mind. He wants to capture the mass mind. And when the time for force and violence arrives, it will be directed by the Communist revolutionist but actually carried through in the physical sense by the mass strength of the deceived and misled masses.

"We are revolutionists and not bomb throwers. We want to destroy the whole building of capitalist society and not the building of some railway station.

"We are after the life of the political and economic rule of the bourgeoisie and not after the life of this banker or that governmental official."

The Communist - Official
Organ of the Communist Party
of America (Section of the
Communist International),
Volume I, No. 10, August -
September 1922, page 16.

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SCIENCE (subordinated to Marxism - Leninism)

Communists believe that all science and scientists should be subordinated to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Environmental influences would be stressed. All scientists and their research would become an integral part of the Communist process. Their projects would be under the control of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Independent research and the promulgation of scientific information which did not conform to the principles of Marxism-Leninism would not be permitted. Scientific work would be financed by the dictatorship as well as controlled by it. Private gifts for the advancement of science would not be either possible or tolerated. Communists charge that this method of financing science is "planless and anarchic." The results of scientific work would be directed toward one end only, expressly, the revolutionizing of society in the direction of the highest form of Communism. Science would become a "revolutionary force" organized for specific revolutionary goals. As Communism is materialistic all science coming within its purview would have to conform to the dictates of dialectical materialism.

"Materialism is the philosophy of the Communists who believe in science and its application. Science" (meaning the Communist version) "alone can explain the world..."

Cachin, Marcel, Science and Religion, page 30.

"Materialism...considers matter to be primary, and 'spirit' secondary. Matter is not the product of spirit, but on the contrary spirit or consciousness is the product of matter and cannot exist independently of matter."

Belyaev, M. M., First Principles of the Science of Evolution, page 3.

"In contemporary bourgeois science, under the circumstances of sharpened class struggle, together with the most valuable discoveries in the field of actual knowledge, we have the most varied forms of struggle against the real scientific materialistic conceptions in the interests of the ruling class."

Ibid., page 4.

"Mastering all the valuable knowledge accumulated by mankind during the long period of its history, utilizing all the concrete achievements of bourgeois science, we must rework them on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Lenin."

Ibid., page 4.

"In addition, this teaching arms us for the anti-religious struggle, by giving us the materialistic interpretation of the appearance of purpose in the organic world, and at the same time proving the origin of man from lower animals, and thus depriving the church of its myth about the creation of man."

Ibid., page 4.

"In order to hold its own in this struggle and to carry it to a victorious finish, the natural scientist must be a modern materialist, a conscious adherent of the materialism which is represented by Marx, i.e., he must be a dialectical materialist."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 77.

"Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force."

Engels, Frederick,
Karl Marx Selected Works,
page 17.

"Capitalist science is planless and anarchic, the hit-or-miss task of whoever may be. But Socialism organizes science."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 112.

"Under capitalism science is a slave to the class interests of the bourgeoisie."

Ibid., page 111.

"Capitalist science sets up a metaphysical separation of theory and practice, and a corresponding arbitrary division of intellectual from manual labor. ... But Socialism liquidates this reactionary system."

Ibid., page 112.

"In the U.S.S.R., as part of the general cultural revolution, religion is being liquidated... but capitalism grown decrepit and in crisis, tries to preserve religion in order to check the rebellion of the workers. This is why Einstein, ... Millikan, Eddington, and other bourgeois scientists now are trying so diligently to 'harmonize science and religion'."

Ibid., page 113, 114.

Communists following the lead of Soviet Russia are expected to do what they can in the behalf of:

"...the strengthening and development of the Michurinian trend in our science, for the removal of all obstacles to its further progress."

"The Michurinian teaching flatly rejects the fundamental principle of Mendalism-Morganism that heredity is completely independent of the plants' or animals' conditions of life. The Michurinian teaching does not recognize the existence in the organism of a separate hereditary substance which is independent of the body...Changes in heredity, acquisition of new characters and their augmentation, and accumulation in successive generations are always determined by the organism's conditions of life."

"His studies and investigations led I.V. Michurin to the following important conclusion; 'It is possible with man's intervention, to force any form of animal or plant to change more quickly and in a direction desirable to man.'"

Lysenko, Trofin, The Science of Biology Today, pages 32, 33, 61.

"Long live the party of Lenin and Stalin, which discovered Michurin for the world..."

Ibid., page 62.

"Contemporary bourgeois science supplies clericalism, supplies fideism, with new arguments which must be mercilessly exposed. We can take as an example the English astronomer Eddington's theory of the physical constants of the world, which leads directly to the Pythagorean mysticism of numbers and, from mathematical formulae, deduces such 'essential constants' of the world as the apocalyptic number 666, etc. Many followers of Einstein, in their failure to understand the dialectical process of knowledge, the relationship of absolute and relative truth, transpose the results of the study of the laws of motion of the finite, limited sphere of the universe to the whole infinite universe and arrive at the idea of the finite nature of the world, its limitedness in time and space."

Zhdanov, A. A., "On the History of Philosophy," National Affairs, Volume 5, Number 6, June, 1948, page 204.

"In like measure, the Kantian subterfuge of latter-day bourgeois atomic physicists leads them to deductions of the 'free will' of the electron and to attempts to represent matter as only some combination of waves and other such nonsense."

Ibid., page 204.

"On the other hand, philosophical systems and ideas still current, which, notwithstanding their reactionary character, are being utilized today by the enemies of Marxism, demand especially sharp criticism. This includes particularly neo-Kantianism, theology, old and new editions of agnosticism, the attempts to smuggle God into modern natural science, and every other cookery that has for its aim the freshening up of stale idealist merchandise for the market. That is the arsenal which the philosopher lackeys of imperialism make use of at the present time in order to bolster their frightened masters."

Ibid., page 197.

SECESSION

In the usual Communist fashion Communists urge that all non-Communist nations have the right to secede from any political union; however Communist nations do not have this unqualified right. The word is used in relation to the question of "self-determination of nations." In effect Communists reason that secession is wholly permissible for non-Communist nations providing, of course, that it is a step in the direction of Communism. By the same token they reason it is not at all permissible for Communist nations to secede from a Communist union. The right of secession is contingent upon the interests "of the proletarian revolution."

"The question of the right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the question that a nation must necessarily secede at any given moment. This latter question must be settled by the party of the proletariat in each particular case independently, according to circumstances. When we recognize the right of oppressed peoples to secede, the right to determine their political destiny, we do not thereby settle the question of whether particular nations should secede . . . at the given moment. . . . A people has a right to secede, but it may or may not exercise that right, according to circumstances. Thus we are at liberty to agitate for or against secession, according to the interests of the proletariat, of the proletarian revolution."

Stalin, Joseph,
Marxism and the National
and Colonial Question,
page 64. See also: The
Russian Revolution by
Lenin, V. I., Stalin,
Joseph, page 48.

"The right of self-determination means that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will... It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession."

Stalin, Joseph, Marxism
and the National and
Colonial Question, page 19.

SECRECY (secret conspiratorial work necessary for Communists)

Although Communists tell the world they are members of an open revolutionary party this is only a half truth. They do operate in the open as do many other parties but they also operate in secret. This part of their program is not for public consumption. The Communists not only advocate secret, conspiratorial work they insist that it is absolutely necessary and so vital to spreading Communism that other essential considerations "must all be subordinated to it." Realizing that such secret and conspiratorial work is contrary to democratic principles the Communist reject with disdain democratic organizational principles admitting to each other that democracy is "scientifically incorrect when applied to the Communist Party."

"...we must have the utmost conspiracy for an organization of that kind. Secrecy is such a necessary condition for such an organization that all the other conditions (number and selection of members, functions, etc.) must all be subordinated to it."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume II, pages 150, 151.

Lenin pointed out the great need for:

"...a powerful and strictly secret organization which concentrates in its hands all the threads of secret activities, an organization which of necessity must be a centralized organization..."

Ibid., page 151.

Lenin complained:

"Everyone knows how great is the lack of secrecy among the 'broad' masses of revolutionaries."

Ibid., page 153.

Lenin admitted:

"...no revolutionary organization has ever practiced broad democracy, nor could it, however much it desired to do so. It is a harmful toy because any attempt to practice the 'broad democratic principles' will simply facilitate the work of the police in making big raids, it will perpetuate the prevailing primitiveness, divert the thoughts of the practical workers from the serious and imperative task of training themselves to become professional revolutionaries to that of drawing up detailed 'paper' rules for election systems."

Ibid., page 154.

"Lenin said that Communist revolutionaries have no time to play at the 'game of democracy'."

Ibid., page 154.

Lenin in rejecting democratic principles declared:

"The only serious organizational principle the active workers of our movement can accept is strict secrecy, strict selection of members and the training of professional revolutionaries. If we possessed these qualities, something even more than 'democracy' would be guaranteed to us,

namely, complete, comradely, mutual confidence among revolutionaries...it is useless thinking that democratic control can serve as a substitute for it."

Ibid., page 155.

"The term democracy is not only scientifically incorrect when applied to a Communist Party; it has---simply become a blinker covering the eyes of the revolutionary people..."

Ibid., Volume VI,
page 74.

SECRECY (secret, conspiratorial work to be done by small Communist groups)

Secret, conspiratorial work is not to be carried on by the broad masses of people. Communists contend that because of its very nature secret work must be carried on only by very small groups of trusted Communists or "professional revolutionists." These small groups are to be in the vanguard of all underground work. However, the masses of people will be urged to engage in certain surreptitious endeavors such as the distribution of illegal literature whenever necessary.

"In all organisations without exception--unions and associations, primarily proletarian, and also organisations of the nonproletarian, toiling and exploited masses (political, industrial, military, co-operative, educational, sports, etc., etc.), groups or nuclei of Communists should be formed -- mainly open groups, but also secret groups, which should be obligatory in every case when their suppression, or the arrest or deportation of their members by the bourgeoisie may be expected--and these nuclei, closely connected with each other and with the Party centre, interchanging their experiences, carrying on work of agitation, propaganda and organisation, adapting themselves to absolutely all spheres of public life; absolutely to all varieties and subdivisions of the toiling masses, must systematically train themselves, and the Party, and the class, and the masses, by means of this diversified work."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume X,
pages 169-170.

"We can never give a mass organization that degree of secrecy which is essential for the persistent and continuous struggle against the government."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume II,
page 139.

"...concentrate all secret functions in the hands of as small a number of professional revolutionaries as possible."

Ibid., page 139.

"The active participation of the broad masses in the dissemination of illegal literature will not diminish because a dozen professional revolutionaries centralise the secret part of the work; on the contrary, it will increase tenfold."

Ibid., page 140.

SELF-DETERMINATION

When Communists speak of "self-determination" as they frequently do, they mean the "political separation" of nations (in accordance with their definition of a "nation") from other national states. The purpose of this separation is to establish a free "independent national state" not subjected to the power or oppression of any similar body. This does not mean, however that any nation has the right to become independent of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For example, not one of the Republics of the Soviet Union has the right to secede and become independent. This would be "self-determination" directed against the interests of the "working-class" which is not allowed. Similarly, none of the states now coming within the Soviet sphere of influence, such as Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and others are free to pursue an independent course even though they are not yet actually a part of the Soviet Union for even this would be considered contrary to the "interests of the working-class."

"Consequently, if we want to understand the meaning of self-determination of nations without juggling with legal definitions, without 'inventing' abstract definitions, but examining the historical and economic conditions of the national movements, we shall inevitably reach the conclusion that self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from other national bodies, the formation of an independent national state."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume IV, page 251.

Lenin refers elsewhere to the right of self-determination as being:

"...the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, i.e., the right to free political secession..."

Ibid., Volume V, page 267.

"The right of nations to self-determination means only the right to independence in a political sense, the right to free, political secession from the oppressing nation."

Ibid., page 270.

"It should be borne in mind that besides the right of nations to self-determination there is also the right of the working class to consolidate its power, and to this latter right the right of self-determination is subordinate. There are occasions when the right of self-determination conflicts with the other, the higher right--the right of a working class that has assumed power to consolidate its power. In such cases--this must be said bluntly--the right to self-determination cannot and must not serve as an obstacle to the exercise by the working class of its right to dictatorship. The former must give way to the latter."

Stalin, Joseph, "Report to Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party, April 23, 1923," Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, page 168.

SLAVERY

According to the Communist view there have been various shades or forms of slavery all down through history. Pure or unqualified slavery is regarded by them to be "the most ancient form of exploitation." The most recent form of slavery, according to the Communists, is "wage-slavery" of the capitalistic system. They consider it to be an "economic category" which can be only abolished, both in its open and disguised forms, under Communism. Communists describe the order of progress as being from slavery to feudalism, to capitalism, to Communism.

"Slavery is the most ancient form of exploitation. It occurs upon the very threshold of the written history of human society."

Leontiev, A., Political Economy, page 41.

"Slaveowners and slaves were the first important class divisions. The former group not only owned all the means of production--the land and tools...but also owned people."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 644.

"You have only to wipe North America off the map of the nations and you get anarchy, the total decay of trade and of modern civilisation. But to let slavery disappear is to wipe North America off the map of the nations. And therefore, because it is an economic category, we find slavery in every nation since the world began. Modern nations have merely known how to disguise the slavery of their own countries while they openly imported it into the New World."

Marx, Karl, The Poverty of Philosophy, page 159.

"Throughout the civilised world the teachings of Marx evoke the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science (both official and liberal), which regards Marxism as a kind of 'pernicious sect.' And no other attitude is to be expected, for there can be no 'impartial' social science in a society based on class struggle. In one way or another, all official and liberal science defends wage-slavery, whereas Marxism has declared relentless war on wage-slavery."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 3.

SLOGANS

In creating their propaganda Communists give considerable thought to obtaining effective slogans. They consider this aspect of propaganda to be quite important. Their slogans strive to be timely; clear and directly related to some fundamental issue. They seek to appeal to the more primitive elements of human nature. The type of slogan Communists advance is contingent upon the prevailing social conditions. For example, in a social order such as exists in the United States today, Communists would not think of propagandizing some militant, revolutionary slogan demanding the immediate overthrow of the government. They realize this would be foolish, impractical and not capable of being realized. Instead they would present slogans demanding higher wages for the workers, condemning "fascism", and defending the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. As conditions become more favorable over the years for revolution Communists would make corresponding changes in their slogans. Some Communist slogans used with success in the revolutionary struggle in Russia are set forth below:

"Down with the tsar!"

"Down with the war!"

"We want bread!"

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
(B), Edited by a Commission
of the Central Committee of
the C.P.S.U.(B), page 175.

"No support for the Provisional Government!"

Ibid., page 185.

"Publish the secret treaties!"

"All power to the Soviets!"

Ibid., page 187.

"Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!"

Ibid., page 193.

"Prepare for an offensive on private capital."

Ibid., page 257.

"Freedom, Peace and Bread."

Seventh World Congress of the
Communist International report
of Wilhelm Pieck, page 1.

"Class against class! That is the expression of the class alignment which the workers must fight for and secure in the elections."

Browder, Earl, Communism in
the United States, page 98.

"All power to the Soviets--such is the slogan of the new movement."

Stalin, Joseph, The Russian
Revolution by Stalin, Joseph
and Lenin, V. I., page 196.

"Basic slogans are correct slogans only if they are built on the basis of a Marxian analysis of class forces, only if they indicate the correct plan of disposition of the revolutionary forces along the

front of the class struggle, only if they assist in bringing the masses up to the front of the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and for the seizure of power by the new class, and only if they assist the party in forming a large and powerful political army from among the broad masses of the people, which is essential for the fulfilment of this task."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 333.

SLOGANS (transitional or fundamental evolutionary)

This phrase is also used interchangeably with the phrase "fundamental revolutionary slogans." Communists explain that these slogans are to be formulated in modern style and given wide publicity only at that precise time when the revolutionary crisis is mounting and rushing along toward the climax, namely, the overthrow of the government. These "transitional slogans" will take the place of the "immediate demands" and "partial demands" slogans used prior to the development of the revolutionary crisis, which, having served their purpose, can be quickly dropped as the revolutionary tempo increases and the need for inciting revolutionary slogans grows. Whereas once, during the period of relative peace and stability, mild slogans, disguising the real aims were most effective, now, in the crisis stage, violent undisguised slogans advocating openly revolutionary methods and objectives (once concealed) will be most effective. These "transitional" or "revolutionary" slogans will recommend: (1) destruction of police power; (2) committees for transferring the power of the government from the hands of capitalists to the workers (in effect to the Communists); (3) closing of churches; (4) creation of soviets; (5) seizure of the factories; (6) seizure of the armories where guns and ammunitions are stored; (7) seizure of all transportation facilities; (8) seizure of the communications system; (9) demobilization of the old army and navy whose function is to be served by armed units of workers (meaning Communists) which are to form the new Communist Red Army.

"In the circumstances of a political crisis, when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement, the Communists must advance fundamental revolutionary slogans (such as, for instance, control of production and the banks, disbandments of the police force and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.), which are directed toward still further shaking the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and increasing the strength of the working class, toward isolating the parties of compromise, and which lead the working masses right up to the point of the revolutionary seizure of power."

Dimitroff, George, as quoted in
Strategy and Tactics of the
Proletarian Revolution, page 75.

SOCIALISM (non-Marxist)

Communists have nothing but disdain and contempt for socialists who do not accept the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist version. Communists are bitter enemies of all non-Marxist socialists and their parties and oppose them at every turn. They call the socialist parties the "third parties of capitalism." Communists reflect without variation the spirit of their "idol" Karl Marx, who in condemning socialists who would not accept his own theories, wrote:

"One can only get rid of such duffers by being exceptionally rough with them. Characteristic of these old women is that they try to slur over and sugar any really party struggle, and present the old German habit of squabbling and whispering as revolutionary activity! Miserable creatures!"

Marx, Karl, quoted in The History of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels by V. Adoratsky, page 19.

"The Socialist parties of the world are the third parties of capitalism. They do not fight for even the most elementary demands of the workers. They are a part of the capitalist machinery for taking the bread out of the mouths of the workers and their families, the principal barrier to the revolution. That is why in Great Britain, Germany and other countries the capitalists have supported Social Fascists to head their governments. In every case their record has been one of subservience to the program of the exploiters. In practice their policy of the gradual building of Socialism has resolved itself simply into a desperate effort to keep the breath of life in capitalism. Their so-called nationalization of industry is only a covert aid to capitalist trustification. In no country have they achieved the slightest

progress towards Socialism, or even made serious proposals looking in that direction."

... William Z., Toward
Soviet America, pages ~~189~~ 190.

"The record of the Socialist Party of the United States is altogether in line with that of its brother parties in Europe. It has undergone the same ideological degeneration in the direction of Fascism."

Ibid., page 192.

"Wherever it is to be found, the Socialist party, under its false-face of working class phrases, is a maid-of-all-work for the capitalist class."

Ibid., page 193.

SOCIALISM, MARXIST (and Communism)

As previously stated in Volume I of this Glossary, Socialism is not the final goal of the Communists, who interpret the word "Socialism" in the general sense to mean the new social order which will be established following the revolution of the working-class and its allies, led by the Communist Party, the "engineer of the revolution." Karl Marx described Socialism as being "the first phase of Communist society, as it is when it has emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society." Communists argue that under this form of Socialism exploitation of man by man will cease. There will be no private ownership of property which causes exploitation. On the contrary, there will be only common ownership by all the people, by the great masses. In short, the means of production will not be owned privately but in common. They will not be used for private gain but to fill common needs. The government or "state power" will be in the possession of the workers, represented, guided and controlled by the Communist Party. This period of Socialism was considered by Karl Marx to be the "period of the revolutionary transformation" from Capitalism into Socialism. When Communists say of this Socialist society that it is a classless society they do not mean that no classes exist within it. At this point in development they interpret "classless" to mean there will be no "exploiting" nor "exploited" classes. Under Socialism there will be two fundamental classes as under Capitalism but with a real difference. Under Capitalism there is the capitalist (exploiting) class and the workers (exploited class). Under Socialism there will be the working-class (industrial) and the peasant (farming class) who will not exploit each other but work together steadily for common goals. Socialist society, in theory, will then consist of "two friendly classes--the workers and peasants--class distinctions between the two still remaining." Ultimately Communists intend to arrive at the "higher phase" which will supplant Socialism with Communism. It is this final social stage which will be truly classless.

"What is generally called Socialism was termed by Marx the 'first' or lower phase of Communist society. In so far as the means of production become public property, the word 'Communism' is also applicable here, providing we do not forget that it is not full Communism."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 81.

"Consequently, for a certain time not only bourgeois rights, but even the bourgeois state remains under Communism, without the bourgeoisie!"

Ibid., page 82.

"Until the 'higher' phase of communism arrives, the Socialists demand the strictest control, by society and by the state, of the amount of labour and the amount of consumption; but this control must start with the expropriation of the capitalists..."

"The political difference between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of communism will in time, no doubt, be tremendous..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 89.

"The socialist revolution is not one single act, not one single battle on a single front, but a whole epoch of intensified class conflicts, a long series of battles on all fronts, i.e., battles around all the problems of economics and politics, which can culminate only in the expropriation of the bourgeoisie."

Ibid., Volume V, page 268.

"Socialism will be achieved by the united action of the proletarians, not of all countries, but a minority of countries, namely, of the countries that have reached the stage of development of advanced capitalism."

Ibid., page 295.

"My pamphlet, Foundations of Leninism (April 1924, first edition), contains two formulations on the question of the victory of socialism in a single country. The first of

these runs as follows:

"Formerly, the victory of the revolution in a single country was considered impossible, on the assumption that the combined action of the proletarians of all, or at least of a majority, of the advanced countries was necessary in order to achieve victory over the bourgeoisie. This point of view no longer corresponds with reality. Now we must start out from the possibility of such a victory, because the uneven and spasmodic character of the development of the various capitalist countries in the conditions of imperialism, the development of catastrophic contradictions within imperialism, leading inevitably to wars, the growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries of the world--all these lead, not only to the possibility, but also to the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in individual countries."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 296-297.

"The victory of Socialism (as the first stage of Communism) over capitalism requires that the proletariat, as the only really revolutionary class, shall fulfill the three following tasks. First,--overthrow the exploiters, primarily the bourgeoisie as the principal economic and political representatives of the latter; utterly rout them; suppress their resistance; make it utterly impossible for them to attempt to restore the yoke of capital and wage slavery. Second--win over and bring under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, of its Communist Party, not only the whole of the proletariat, or the overwhelming, the enormous majority of the latter, but also the whole mass of toilers and those exploited by capital; educate, organize, train and discipline them in the very process of the supremely bold and ruthlessly firm struggle against the exploiters; tear this overwhelming majority of the population in

all capitalist countries from its dependence on the bourgeoisie; imbue it by means of its practical experience with confidence in the leading role of the proletariat and of its revolutionary vanguard. Third--neutralize, or render harmless, the inevitable vacillation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and Soviet power, of the class of small proprietors in agriculture, industry and commerce--which is still fairly numerous in nearly all advanced countries, although it comprises the minority of the population--as well as the stratum of intellectuals, office employees, etc., which corresponds to this class."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, pages 163, 164.

"Socialism is a planned system of economy where the means of production are owned by society as a whole. Contrary to common misconceptions, socialism cannot be achieved by some attempt just to change the system of distribution in society."

"Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, showed that the system of distribution of goods in society depends inescapably on the system of production. Socialist distribution can be attained only under the socialist system of production--where the means of production are owned by Society as a whole."

"Socialism is, therefore, not a system of sharing-out."

Sparks, Nenny, What Is Socialism?, page 13.

"Features of the Socialist System of Economy

- "1. '...the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class.'...
- "2. Production is for use and not for profit. The product of social labor is appropriated by society.
- "3. The working class is the leader of the country. It works for society and not for exploiters. The exploiting class is abolished.
- "4. Political power in the country rests in the hands of the people under the leadership of the working class supported by the poor and middle farmers."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared by
National Education Department,
Communist Party, U.S.A., page
35.

"Anarchy in social production is replaced by systematic, definite organization. The struggle for individual existence disappears. Then for the first time, Man, in a certain sense, is finally marked off from the rest of the animal kingdom, and emerges from mere animal conditions of existence into real human ones. The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ Man, and which have hitherto ruled Man, now comes under the dominion and control of Man, who for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of Nature, because he has now become master of his own social organization. The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with Man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man's own social organization, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action. The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass

under the control of Man himself. Only from that time will Man himself, more and more consciously, make his own history--only from that time will the social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in a constantly growing measure, the results intended by him. It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

Engels, Frederick, as quoted
by Sparks, Nemyy, What Is
Socialism?, page 32.

"Communism represents a higher stage of development. The principle of communism is that in a communist society each works according to his abilities and receives articles of consumption, not according to the work he performs, but according to his needs as a culturally developed individual. This means that the cultural and technical level of the working class has become high enough to undermine the basis of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor; that the distinction between mental labor and manual labor has already disappeared, while productivity of labor has reached such a high level that it is able to ensure an absolute abundance of articles of consumption, and as a result society is able to distribute these articles according to the needs of its members."

Stalin, Joseph, The Stakhanov
Movement in the Soviet Union,
page 6.

SOCIETY

Communists define "society" as being the "product of men's reciprocal action." They do not believe men are free to choose (apart from the "development" of Communism) the type of society they may prefer. On the contrary "productive forces" ultimately determine the nature of society. For greater detail see the references to historical materialism.

"What is society, whatever its form may be? The product of men's reciprocal action. Are men free to choose this or that form of society for themselves? By no means. Assume a particular state of development in the productive forces of man and you will get a particular form of commerce and consumption. Assume particular stages of development in production, commerce and consumption and you will have a corresponding social structure, a corresponding organization of the family, of orders or of classes, in a word, a corresponding civil society. Presuppose a particular civil society and you will get particular political conditions which are only the official expression of civil society...."

"It is superfluous to add that men are not free to choose their productive forces--which are the basis of all their history--for every productive force is an acquired force, the product of former activity."

"The productive forces are therefore the result of practical human energy; but this energy is itself conditioned by the circumstances in which men find themselves, by the productive forces already won, by the social form which exists before they do, which they do not create, which is the product of the former generation."

Marx, Karl, Poverty of
Philosophy, pages 152, 153.

SOVIET

This word is one of the more important words in the Communist terminology. It is a Russian word meaning "council". It is a basic unit of the Communist state. The soviet or council is the main instrument or form of power of the proletariat. It is through these "soviets" that the proletariat or working class theoretically operates its own government. The soviets in a sense, are the local organizations having their roots directly in the masses.

They are referred to as "an all embracing organisation of the masses." The soviets come under the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat which in turn is "guided" by the Communist Party. The Party proceeds on the basis of "democratic centralism" which, for all practical purposes, leaves the decisive power of the government in the hands of a few men.

"The Soviets are the Russian form of the proletarian dictatorship."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII; page 145.

"On November 7, (October 25), 1917, the workers, soldiers and sailors of Petrograd (now Leningrad) deposed the bourgeois-landlord government.

"The Second Congress of Soviets (Councils) of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, on November 7-8, proclaimed: Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets."

Mindel, J., Outline for the Economic System, Political Structure and Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union and American-Soviet Collaboration, page

"...the Soviets are the most powerful organs of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, of the political actions of the masses, of the insurrection of the masses--organs capable of breaking the omnipotence of finance capital and of its political appendages."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 57.

It will be recalled that William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, has written:

"The building of Soviets is begun not after the revolution but before."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 271.

"The American Soviet government will be organized along the broad lines of the Russian Soviets. Local Soviets, the base of the whole Soviet State, will be established in all cities, towns and villages."

Ibid., pages 271-272.

"The American Soviet government will join with the other Soviet governments in a world Soviet Union."

Ibid., page 272.

SOVIET (distinguished from capitalist society)

The distinguishing feature, according to the Communists, between a capitalist society and a Soviet society is the abolition of "antagonistic classes" in the latter type of society. It is to be noted that no claim is made that classes per se have been abolished. The stress is placed on the abolition of "antagonistic classes" and this claim, naturally, is subject to different interpretations.

"The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration. While capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable contradictions between workers and capitalists and between peasants and landlords--resulting in its internal instability--Soviet society, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, knows no such contradictions, is free of class conflicts, and presents a picture of friendly collaboration between workers, peasants and intellectuals."

Stalin, Joseph, From
Socialism to Communism
In The Soviet Union,
page 35.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDE

The broad sweep of Soviet foreign policy seems to be identified with whatever course of action benefits Soviet Russia and the spread of Communism in other nations. What basically benefits Soviet Russia and world Communism will, ipso facto, do harm to all non-Communist nations. Underlying the flexible foreign policy of Soviet Russia with all its twists and turns appears to be the ever conscious conviction that Soviet Russia and the non-Communist nations cannot live in peace with each other; that sooner or later the last great conflict will break forth. Therefore, Soviet foreign policy is often molded by this conviction and shaped to meet this anticipated end.

"What then is Soviet foreign policy? I have thus far tried to show something of its historic and economic roots, without which there can be no effective understanding of what the Soviets have done, are doing and will continue to do in the foreign sphere. Soviet policy is, above all, a very active and very flexible policy resting on socialist principles. The aim of Soviet diplomacy is to prevent dangers by anticipating them. In the pursuit of peace it takes advantage of every situation by estimating trends and currents among states and their inter-class relations. Soviet policy is also based on its national needs and national interests, and because it is a workers' state, those interests and needs never collide with those of the working masses any here."

Stuart, John, "The Aim of
Soviet Foreign Policy,"
New Masses, April 16,
1946, page 13.

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for

a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable. That means that if the ruling class, the proletariat, wants to hold sway, it must prove its capacity to do so by its military organization..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, page 33.
Quoted elsewhere in full approval by Joseph Stalin.

SOVIET POWER

In using this phrase Communists mean that it is the power which is the "expression of the Lenin-Stalin national policy." In essence, this power rests in the masses. It aims to remove class division in society and to establish Communism. This is the theory of Soviet power, not its application.

"... Soviet power is the expression of the Lenin-Stalin national policy."

"Editorial from 'Pravda',
July 23, 1940, as quoted
in Daily Worker, July 24,
1940, page 2.

"The Soviet power is the amalgamation and formation of the local Soviets into one common state organization, into the state organization of the proletariat as the vanguard of the oppressed and exploited masses and as the ruling class-their amalgamation into the republic of Soviets."

Stalin, Joseph,
Foundations of Leninism,
page 58.

"The Soviet power is the most internationalist of all state organizations in class society, for, since it destroys every kind of national oppression and rests on the collaboration of the labouring masses of the various nationalities, it facilitates, by virtue of this, the amalgamation of these masses into a single state union."

Ibid., page 59.

"The essence of the Soviet power is contained in the fact that these organizations of a most pronounced mass character, these most revolutionary organizations of precisely those classes that were oppressed by the capitalists and landlords are now the 'permanent and sole basis of the whole power of the state, of the whole state apparatus...'"

Ibid., page 58.

SOVIET UNION (fatherland of world workers)

All Communists consider the Soviet Union to be their "fatherland." It was the first country in which the Communist revolution was successful. It was the first country to place its resources at the disposal of Communist principles. It is the "fatherland" and the only nation to which Communists owe unqualified loyalty. And this concept of the "fatherland" is not confined to Party members for Communists seek to spread the fiction that the Soviet Union is the true "fatherland" of all working people throughout the world.

, 1940, "Pravda" newspaper, official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, referred to the U.S.S.R., as;

"...the fatherland of working people the world over."

Daily Worker, August 8, 1940,
page 2.

At the Seventeenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January, 1934, Stalin boldly proclaimed the international character of the Soviet Union by referring to it as:

"...the fatherland of the working class of all countries."

Stalin, Joseph, Stalin Reports, page 20.

The American Communist J. Peters repeats not only these thoughts but similar phraseology.

"The Soviet Union is the only fatherland of workers all over the world."

Peters, J., The Communist Party, A Manual On Organization, pages 16, 17.

Alexander Bittelman high ranking American Communist leader clinches the "fatherland" question with these strong words.

"...the Soviet Union is the only fatherland of the workers and all toilers the world over, whose major international task is to seek the defeat of the enemies of the Soviet Union."

Bittelman, Alexander, in the "Introduction" to Communism In The United States by Earl Browder, page xii.

SOVIET UNION (a dictatorship of the proletariat)

Communists admit that the Soviet Union is a dictatorship of the proletariat. A dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamentally based on force and not on law. For greater detail see caption "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in Volume I of this Glossary.

"The government of the Soviet Union is a dictatorship of the proletariat, or rule of the workers."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 137.

It established the dictatorship of the proletariat and turned over the government of the vast country to the working class, thus making it the ruling class."

History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
Edited by a Commission of the
Central Committee of the
C.P.S.U. (B), page 224.

SOVIET UNION (center of a new world system and fortress of working class strength)

American Communists as well as all others look upon the Soviet Union as "the center of a new world system." This new world system is steadily undermining the non-Communist world which will eventually collapse as a result of its own weaknesses made worse by this undermining. The Soviet Union, now the "center" and "chief fortress" of the Communist world will continue its pioneering to revolutionize the "whole world situation."

"...the Soviet Union, by its historical successes in the building of socialism and by the tremendous growth of its economic, political and military strength, has come to be the center of a new world system, the system of socialism, undermining the decaying capitalist system and revolutionizing by its very existence the whole world situation."

Bittelman, Alex, in the
"Introduction" to
Communism In The United States by Earl Browder,
page xi.

"...the Soviet Union stands out as the chief fortress of international working class strength..."

Ibid., page xii.

SOVIET UNION (not an end in itself)

The Soviet Union is not an end in itself like other nations. It never considered itself to be an end but rather a means to an end. The end is progressive world revolution and a world Communist Society. The Soviet Union is a "necessary link" in developing and strengthening the Communist movement in all nations of the world.

"Lenin never regarded the republic of Soviets as an end in itself. He always regarded it as a necessary link for strengthening the revolutionary movements in the lands of the West and the East, as a necessary link for facilitating the victory of the toilers of the whole world over capital."

"We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the whole world..."

Stalin, Joseph, The Lenin Heritage, pages 13, 15.

"Lenin knew that only such an interpretation is the correct one, not only from the international point of view, but also from the point of view of preserving the Republic of Soviets itself. Lenin knew that only in this way is it possible to inflame the hearts of the toilers of all countries for the decisive battles for emancipation. That is why this genius among the great leaders of the proletariat, on the very morrow of the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, laid the foundation of the workers' International. That is why he never tired of expanding and consolidating the union of the toilers of the whole world, the Communist International."

Stalin, Joseph, Lenin, page 50.

SOVIET UNION (training ground of the world proletariat)

Communists consider the Soviet Union to be the "training ground" of the proletariat of the world. It is there the future rulers of the world, according to Communists, are to be instructed, trained and prepared in all things which will aid in the destruction of the non-Communist world.

"The world-historic significance of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. lies in the enormous strengthening of the position not only of the Soviet but of the world proletariat and the weakening of the front of world imperialism; for the U.S.S.R. is the socialist training-ground of the world proletariat in its struggle against imperialism."

Marxist Study Courses,
"Political Economy,"
pamphlet issued by the
International Publishers,
New York, page 11.

SOVIET UNION (inspirer of world revolution)

The Soviet Union is an inspirer of world revolution. This fact the Communists not only admit but proudly proclaim.

"...The struggle is between the capitalist nations of the world and the international proletariat, inspired by Soviet Russia..."

The Communist Combined With
Revolutionary Age, a Manifesto
adopted by the Communist Party
of America, 1919, pages 6, 7.

"The eyes of the proletariat of the whole world are anxiously turned toward the proletariat of the whole of Russia. The overthrow of tsarism in Russia, begun so valiantly by our working class, will be the turning point in the history of all countries, will facilitate the task of the workers of all nations in all states in all parts of the globe."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume III, page 292.

"The proof of the effectiveness of the Russian Communist party and its program stands amply demonstrated by life itself. It is the Communist Party that has led and organized the toiling masses to the accomplishment of all the 'impossibilities' of building Socialism in the Soviet Union. It is the Communist parties in the other countries, led by the Communist International and supported by the masses, that will strike the death-blow to world capitalism and build Socialism universally.

The Soviet Union, the crystallization of the Communist program in life, and the shock-brigade of the world proletariat, rising and flourishing with its great revolutionary strength in the midst of a decaying, declining capitalist system, is the hope and guarantee of a new life for the starved and exploited of the earth."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 144, 145.

"The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union--a victory of world-historic significance--gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement toward socialism. This victory strengthens the cause of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers, who are turning more and more to Communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of hard-working small townfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals and the enslaved peoples of the colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their devotion to the great fatherland of all the toilers and strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front, page 130.

SOVIET UNION (base of operations for world revolution)

The Soviet Union is regarded by Communists to be the base for world revolution. All the resources of the Soviet Union, all its political sagacity and all its military might, if necessary, are to be used for its own benefit and that of foreign Communists in spreading the revolution on a world-wide scale. It may take many years but throughout this fateful period the Soviet Union will be used as the base of operations in the battle for the world, for the mind of man, by all Communist nations and all Communist parties.

"As the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction...the U.S.S.R. becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the U.S.S.R., the world proletariat for the first time has acquired a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the U.S.S.R. becomes a powerful center of attraction."

Program of the Communist International, page 27.

As early as June 9, 1925, Stalin asserted:

"Either our country must be looked upon as the base of operations for the world revolution...or our country cannot be considered the base of operations for the world revolution...Make your choice!"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, page 303.

On January 25, 19 6, Stalin declared:

"For what else is our country...if not the base of the world revolution?"

Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, page 75.

Elsewhere the fact that Stalin scarcely overlooked world revolution is shown by the following statement:

"The workers in the West say that the working class of the U.S.S.R. is the shock brigade of the world proletariat. It means that we must prove worthy of the honorable title of the shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. It imposes upon us the duty to work better, and to fight better, for the final victory of socialism in our country, for the victory of socialism in all countries."

Stalin, Joseph, Stalin Reports, page 95.

"Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction, the land of great working-class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism, the USSR, inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the centre of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history."

"Program of The Communist International" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 1020.

"Thus the U.S.S.R. is an extremely important factor in the general crisis of capitalism, not only because it has dropped out of the world capitalist system and has created a basis for a new socialist system of production, but also because it plays an exceptionally great revolutionary role generally; it is the international driving force of proletarian revolution that impels the proletariat of all countries to seize power; it is the living example proving that the working class is not only capable of destroying capitalism, but of building up socialism as well; it is the prototype of the fraternity of nationalities in all lands united in the World Union of Socialist Republics and of the economic unity of the toilers of all countries in a single world socialist economic system that the world proletariat must establish when it has captured political power."

Ibid., page 1020.

SOVIET UNION (prototype for world union)

The Soviet Union is to be the prototype of the future union of nations. Sovietism, contrary to what some Communists deceptively say, is for export to foreign nations. It is not to be confined to the boundary lines of Russia.

It is this very fact which the undisputed authority Joseph Stalin had in mind when he referred to:

"...that remarkable organization for the collaboration of nations which is called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the living prototype of the future union of nations in a single world economic system."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 84.

William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, repeats Stalin's views:

"...the Soviet Union now forecasts the general outlines of the new social order that the world is approaching."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 268.

"Thus, for the United States as well as other countries, the Soviet Union is a plain indicator.

of the society that is to be..."

Ibid., pages 268-269.

"The American Soviet government will be organized along the broad lines of the Russian Soviets."

Ibid., pages 271-272.

"The American Soviet government will join with other Soviet governments in a world Soviet Union."

Ibid., page 272.

SOVIET UNION (spokesman of world workers)

Communists in accepting the model leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) look to the Soviet Union itself as the spokesman for all the "workers" (e.g. Communists, etc.,) of the world.

No less a person than V. Molotov stated on January 28, 1935:

"The Soviet Union has become the spokesman of the vital interests of the toilers of all countries in the sphere of international relations."

Molotov, V., quoted in
The Soviet Union and the
Cause of Peace, a collection
of excerpts of speeches of
Soviet leaders, page 50.

SOVIET UNION (loyalty to)

American Communists as well as all others owe their unqualified loyalty only to one country, namely, the Soviet Union. In fact, Communists go so far as to say that the real test of a true Communist rests in his complete and lasting loyalty to the Soviet Union.

"In the present international situation there is not, nor can there be any other, more certain criterion, than one's attitude toward the Soviet Union, in determining who is the friend and who the enemy of the cause of the working class and socialism, of determining who is a supporter and who an opponent of democracy and peace. The touchstone is checking the sincerity and honesty of every individual active in the working class movement, of every working class party and organization of the working people, and of every democrat in the capitalist countries, is their attitude toward the great land of socialism. You cannot carry on a real struggle against fascism if you do not render all possible assistance in strengthening the most important buttress of this struggle, the Soviet Union. You cannot carry on a serious struggle against the fascist instigators of a new world blood bath, if you do not render undivided support to the U.S.S.R., a most important factor in the maintenance of international peace. You cannot carry on a real struggle for socialism in your own country, if you do not oppose the enemies of the Soviet State, where this socialism is being fulfilled by the heroic efforts of the working people."

Dimitroff, George, The United Front, pages 279-280.

"The historical dividing line between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the attitude toward the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude toward Soviet power and socialism in general, but the attitude to the Soviet Union, which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years already, with its untiring struggle against enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin and Stalin."

Ibid., page 280.

"One cannot be a Socialist or even an honest democrat if one is not resolutely and entirely on the side of the Soviet Union..."

Dimitroff, George,
"Communists and the
United Front", The
Communist, June 1937,
page 513.

SOVIET UNION (defense of)

The idea conveyed by this phrase is the keystone in the practical Communist arch of today; it represents a conviction for which true Communists are willing to live and die. The Soviet Union of Russia is the "mother country" or the "fatherland" of Communism and as previously said, it is the only nation to which Communists feel they owe their loyalty. They must defend it at all costs. Soviet Russia is the magnetic pole around which all Communist Parties, policies, programs and aspirations are woven the world over. The Soviet Union is the master mind, the genius of Communism which encourages, counsels and directs all subsidiary Communist movements throughout the world. D. Z. Manuilsky, now a Ukraine representative to the United Nations and Soviet apologist has stated: "Today the defense of the U.S.S.R., determines the main line of policy of the world proletariat relation to war." George Dimitroff clearly stated that the dividing line between a good Communist and a bad one was the willingness or lack of it to defend the Soviet Union at all costs. This means that in time of peace American Communists and all others must do everything in their power to defend the peace time interests of the Soviet Union at the expense of the welfare of their own nations. In time of war it means sabotaging ones own nation in every possible way in order that the Soviet Union will win.

"We are now brought to a question which is of decisive importance in the present epoch. It is the question of the struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union."

Bittelman, Alex, in the
"Introduction" to
Communism in the United
States by Earl Browder,
page xi.

"...It is the duty of all class-conscious workers to throw themselves unreservedly on the side of Soviet Russia."

International Press Correspondence, April 19, 1923,
page 272.

"...if the imperialist unite in their murder march against the Soviet Union, we must be prepared to wage relentless struggle, using every weapon at our command for the Defense of the Soviet Union."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 14, 1936, page 8.

"The Communist Party rallies the American working class and all the toiling masses to defend the Soviet Union..."

The Communist, September,
1933, pages 840, 841.

"It is one of the most important tasks of all revolutionary and militant working class organizations to support Soviet Russia..."

The Worker, January 6,
1923, page 1.

"In the event of an attack upon the Soviet Union the Communists in oppressed nations, as well as those in imperialist countries, must exert all their efforts to rouse rebellion or wars of national liberation among the national minorities in Europe and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against the imperialist enemies of the

Soviet State."

"The proletariat in the imperialist countries must not only fight for the defeat of their own governments in this war, but must actively strive to secure victory for the Soviet Union."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and the
Tasks of the Communists,
a resolution adopted at
the Sixth World Congress
of the Communist Inter-
national, page 29.

"Especially...must we undertake to mobilize the masses of workers in defense of the Soviet Union. Today the Soviet Union advances with giant strides. It is making tremendous progress in building its industries, in establishing a socialist commonwealth in the face of the most tremendous difficulties. The very existence of the Soviet Union is a menace to the capitalist order the world over."

~~Poster: Wainwright~~
Acceptance Speeches,
page 17.

"The Red Army was victorious because the Soviet Republic was not alone in its struggle against Whiteguard counter-revolution and foreign intervention, because the struggle of the Soviet Government and its successes enlisted the sympathy and support of the proletarians of the whole world. While the imperialists were trying to stifle the Soviet Republic by intervention and blockade, the workers of the imperialist countries sided with the Soviets and helped them.

Their struggle against the capitalists of the countries hostile to the Soviet Republic helped in the end to force the imperialists to call off the intervention. The workers of Great Britain, France and the other intervening powers called strikes, refused to load munitions consigned to the invaders and the Whiteguard generals, and set up Councils of Action whose work was guided by the slogan--'Hands off Russia!'

"The International bourgeoisie has only to raise its hand against us to have it used by its own workers,' Lenin said..."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), Edited by A Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B), page 246.

"In view of the fact that the U.S.S.R., is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must do its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and defend it against the attacks of the capitalist Powers by all the means in its power."

"Program of the Communist international" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 1002.

"In the colonies, and particularly the colonies of any imperialist attacking the U.S.S.R., the international proletariat must retaliate by

organizing bold and determined mass action and struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist governments with the slogan of: Dictatorship of the proletariat and alliance with the U.S.S.R."

Ibid., page 1002.

"In the last few years, in all the important countries, revolutionary Communist parties have been built up. They have sunk their roots deep among the masses....Under the leadership of the Communist International they are mobilizing their forces. The power of this great movement constantly grows. When the international capitalist class, when the imperialists of the world, assisted by their social-democratic lackeys, deem the time opportune and strike at the Soviet Union the blow they are now preparing, they will wake up to a crushing defeat. When that war begins, the Communist International and the millions of workers throughout Europe and other countries that follow its lead will not simply adopt a defensive policy, they will not merely seek to stop their governments from attacking the Soviet Union. On the contrary, they will put into effect the great Leninist strategy. They will turn the imperialist war against the Soviet Union into a civil war of the workers against capitalism. They will destroy the capitalist order and begin the building of the proletarian society."

Foster, William Z.,
Acceptance Speeches,
page 18.

"The world political situation has made the dictatorship of the proletariat an immediate issue, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, namely, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must inevitably group around itself the Soviet movements of the advanced workers of all countries on the one hand, and all the national liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed nationalities on the other."
(Lenin.)

"In the event of the imperialist states declaring war upon and attacking the U.S.S.R., the international proletariat must retaliate by organizing bold and determined mass action and struggling for the overthrow of the imperialist governments with the slogan of: Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Alliance with the U.S.S.R..."

Program of the Communist
International - Together
With Its Constitution,
page 66.

"The workers and peasants of the whole world want to preserve the Republic of Soviets as an arrow shot by the sure hand of Comrade Lenin into the camp of the enemy, as a bulwark of their hope for emancipation from oppression and exploitation, as an unfailing lighthouse lighting up their path to liberation. They want to preserve it and they will not permit the landlords and the capitalists to destroy it. Herein lies our strength. Herein lies the strength of the toilers of all countries. And herein lies the weakness of the bourgeoisie of the whole world."

Stalin, Joseph, Lenin,
pages 49 -50.

"...render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics...The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc."

The Thesis and Statutes
of the Third Communist
International, page 30.

SOVIET UNION (methods of defending in the United States)

In describing action taken in the past in support of the Soviet Union during the revolution and as an example of what can be expected of all American Communists in the future, Robert F. Hall, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, has written:

"Dock workers in the United States and Britain struck to prevent the shipment of arms to be used against their fellow workers" (meaning Communists) "in Russia. French soldiers of the Black Sea Fleet under the leadership of Andre Marty rebelled rather than open fire on the Russian workers."

Hall, Robert F., "The Soviet Union -- Force For World Peace and Democracy", Political Affairs, November, 1945, page 982.

SOVIET UNION (relationship to Communist Party, USA)

American Communists not only look to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) as a leader to be followed and as a model to be emulated but they also consider themselves to be an integral part of a world pattern of Communism guided by this Russian Party. The path pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) is the path which American Communists intend to pursue.

"Certainly, when we understand that the program of our Party is worked out on the solid foundation of the teachings of Lenin, upon the same foundation which has produced that marvelous revolutionary organization that has brought about the tremendous achievements of the building of a socialist society in the Soviet Union, when we understand that our Party is a part of the same world Party as the Soviet Union Communist Party, then we can feel real confidence in the ability of our Party, in the determination of our Party, to boldly, fearlessly, ruthlessly carry through the line laid down in the Open Letter of this conference."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 160.

"The experience of the victorious workers of the Soviet Union before, during and after the seizure of power, throw a brilliant light showing the path which must be following in every land, the path of Bolshevism, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

Ibid., page 17.

SOVIET UNION (and Bolshevizing the Party)

By "bolshevizing the Party" Communists mean the mastering of all the lessons taught by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B). These lessons stress linking the Party to the masses and infiltrating and controlling the life of the people.

"What is meant by Bolshevizing the Party?"

"It means to master all the lessons taught us by that first Communist Party, the most successful one, created and led to victory by Lenin, and now successfully building socialism under the leadership of Stalin. It means to become a party of the masses; to be a Party with its strongest roots among the decisive workers in the basic industries; it means to be a Party whose stronghold is in the shops, mines and factories, and especially in the biggest and most important ones; it means to be a Party that leads and organizes the struggles of all the oppressed people, brings them into firm alliance with the working class; it means to be a Party that answers every question of the struggle, that can solve every problem; it means to be a Party that never shrinks from difficulties, that never turns aside to find the easiest way; that learns how to overcome all deviations in its own ranks - fight on two fronts; it means to become a Party that knows how to take difficulties and dangers and transform them into advantages and victories."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
pages 69-70.

SOVIET UNION (no reconciliation possible with non-Communist world)

In the light of the not too successful effort of the non-Communist nations to reconcile their differences with Soviet Russia since World War II in the hope of working together to reconstruct a peaceful society, it is well to recall that Communists do not believe reconciliation is possible. They do not want to reconcile these difference. In fact they believe that the very nature of things makes such a reconciliation impossible. The only acceptable form of contact with Communist nations is that of agreements. They will agree to temporary agreements (if beneficial to Communist nations) with the non-Communist world but not to reconciliation.

"...Between the capitalist world and the Soviet republic there can be only agreements, but not reconciliation."

"Anti-War Manifesto" issued
by the Communist International,
The Daily Worker, August 30, 1924,
Magazine Supplement, page 12.

STALIN, JOSEPH (directive to Communist Party, USA)

In fulfilling his responsibilities as the leader of the world Communist movement Joseph Stalin issues broad directives applicable to Communists all over the world. These directives are given serious attention by American Communists. Likewise they are expected to heed the written works of Joseph Stalin.

"It is not sufficient to have a correct Party line. On this point I can't do better than to read what Comrade Stalin said at the recent Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. These words of Comrade Stalin must become a directive for our daily work. They are meant for us just as much as they are meant for the Bolsheviki in the Soviet Union."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
Pages 91-92.

"The work of Lenin and Stalin, so graphically portrayed in the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is full of urgent and vital lessons for the Communist Party of the United States ..."

Foster, William Z.,
"Lenin and Stalin as Mass Leaders",
The Communist, Volume XVIII,
Number 2, December, 1939,
page 1120.

"...the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--headed by Comrade Stalin, gave us the guidance that helped the American Communists to find the way to the masses and to the position of vanguard."

Bittelman, Alex, Milestones In the History of the Communist Party, page 8.

STALIN, JOSEPH (leader of world Communism)

Joseph Stalin, Russian leader, is looked upon by American Communists as well as all others as being their leader and the leader of world Communism today. It is to Joseph Stalin they give their individual loyalty and not to the President of the United States nor to the leader of any other non-Communist nation.

Alexander Bittelman, a recognized Communist authority and high ranking American Communist and leader within the Communist Party of the United States, declares:

"...such a leader as Stalin is the source of the greatest strength and inspiration to the revolutionary movement in each capitalist country."

Bittelman, Alexander in the
"Introduction" to Communism
In The United States, by Earl
Browder, page xi.

"Comrade Stalin, the standard bearer of Leninism and the leader of the world Communist vanguard..."

"Preface to the English Edition,"
Selected Works of V. I. Lenin,
Volume I, page 10.

"We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great leaders.

"With Stalin at their head the millions of our political army, overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers, must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve

the victory of socialism throughout the whole world!"

Dimitroff, George,
The United Front,
page 141.

"The workers of all lands naturally see in the leader of Bolshevism, in the leader of the U.S.S.R.'s peoples, the leader of world Communism also."

Molotov, M. V. as quoted in
World News and Views,
December 30, 1939,
page 1175.

"Millions of working people all over the world look upon Stalin, upon his teachings and his leadership as the embodiment of the all-conquering power of the Bolshevik Party..."

Dimitroff, George,
"Stalin and the World
Proletariat," as contained
in Stalin, page 171.

"The working class in the capitalist countries are learning and will learn from Stalin the Bolshevik art of fighting and vanquishing the class enemy."

Ibid., page 171.

"The cause of the international Communist movement is indissolubly associated with the name of Comrade Stalin."

Ibid., page 184.

"The heartfelt wish of the working people of the Soviet Union and of the whole world is: Long life and health to our own Stalin!"

Stalin, Joseph, A Short
Biography prepared by the
Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute,
page 94

STATE (general conception - Communist and non-Communist)

Communists regard all states to be organs of force and suppression in the hands of the rulers. The crux of the issue relates to which group possesses state power and against whom it is directed. Communists argue that the non-Communist state is an instrument of force and suppression in the hands of a ruling minority, capitalist class, directed against the exploited majority, the masses. They claim the Communist state is an instrument of force and suppression in the hands of a ruling majority, workers class (proletariat), directed against the exploiting minority. In either case the state as Engels said, "is a particular power of suppression."

The apparatus of state power Communist or non-Communist, includes the police, navy, army, air force, legislative, judiciary, and executive branches. This gigantic apparatus is at the disposal of which ever group is in power.

Communists consider the state to have two basic functions; relating to domestic responsibilities on the one hand, and to foreign responsibilities on the other. With the former it is to control and dominate that group not in power and with the latter it is to secure territory for the benefit of the group in power and to protect from foreign aggression.

Communists are prone to think of all states in terms of dictatorship. With them a state is either a dictatorship of the capitalists or a dictatorship of the workers. In either case it is a dictatorship. However, here the similarity ends for the Communists claim that eventually their form of dictatorship will disappear, will "wither away", whereas the dictatorship of capitalists would not.

According to Communist theorists the development of their concept of state means that under Communism the state, as just indicated, (after the need for dictatorship has vanished) "withers away". It will do this because the "dictatorship of the proletariat" will destroy the exploiting, reactionary minority. When this minority has been eliminated the Communist society will no longer be threatened from within. When it is no longer threatened from within, one of the two basic functions of the state has been abolished. The second function of the state is to protect society from being threatened from without; from being imperiled by hostile, foreign, capitalist nations. When the revolution occurs and the whole world is under Communism there will no longer be any threat from without by hostile nations

as there was no longer any threat from within when the hostile exploiting minority was destroyed. When there is no longer any threat from either within or from without, then, both functions of the State are abolished. When both functions are abolished it will have no reason to exist. Having no reason to exist the State "withers away." A stateless society has been reached.

Of the non-Communist state Communists write:

"Two basic functions characterize the activity of the state: at home, to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad, to extend the territory of its class, at the expense of the territory of other states, or to defend the territory of its own state from attack by other states. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism."

Stalin, Joseph, From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union, page 54.

"What is, for instance, the State in the present structure? Unavoidably nothing else than 'an organization of the exploiting class for the forcible holding down of the exploited class in the condition of oppression determined by the existing mode of production'."

Engels, Friedrich, Anti-Duhring, page 306.

Of the Communist state they write:

"Our new state, now in the process of being born, is also a state, for we too need detachments of

armed men; we too need the strictest order, and must ruthlessly and forcibly crush all attempts at...counter-revolution.

"But our new state, now in the process of being born, is no longer a state in the true sense of the term, for...these detachments of armed men are the masses themselves..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VI, page 74.

"Suppression and the use of force by the state are still essential... The Soviet state is the particular apparatus, the special machinery, to crush enemies and all elements hostile to socialism."

"The theory of Marx and Engels on the revolutionary overthrow and annihilation of the bourgeois machinery of state power is organically connected with the entire Marxist theory of the state."

Vyshinsky, Andrei, Y.,
The Law of the Soviet
State, page 3.

STATE (non-Communist form defined)

Communists view the non-Communist form of state as being "a product of society at a certain stage of evolution" which tends inevitably in the direction of Communism. It is a stage in which antagonistic classes exist and society is divided against itself. Contradictions prevail. The state becomes an organ of power in the possession of big bankers, industrialists, landlords and the like. They use this state to exploit the masses. Its laws, armed forces, courts, legislatures and jails all serve the rulers in exploiting and oppressing the masses of people. This, then, is the nature of the non-Communist state as viewed by Communists. To them it is perishable and prevails merely in a given stage along the road of evolution and revolution ending in a world-wide, stateless Communist Society.

"The State, then, is ...simply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradictions which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these classes with conflicting economic interests, may not annihilate themselves and society in a useless struggle, a power becomes necessary that stands apparently above society and has the function of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order.' And this power, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it and becoming more and more divorced from it, is the State."

Engels, Frederick, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State, page

"The State is an instrument of power in the hands of the big industrialists, bankers and landlords, who by this token are the ruling class. The State is there

to effect the exploitation and oppression of the workers and the poor and small farmers, and also of the subjugated colonial peoples, by the ruling class. The Constitution, the government, its laws, its agencies: the army, the militia, the police, the courts, the jails, the legislatures--all are there to effect the exploitation and oppression of you and millions like you."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?, pages 32-33.

"The State presents itself to us the first ideological power over mankind. Society creates for itself an organ for the safeguarding of its general interests against internal and external attacks. This organ is the state power."

Engels, Frederick, Ludwig Feuerbach, page 64.

"The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine...The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national Capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit."

Engels, Frederick, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, page 67.

"The State is a special organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the suppression of some class."

Lenin, V. I., The State and Revolution, page 22.

"The state is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume XI, page 647.

"In reality the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy."

Engels, Frederick, as quoted
by Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 130.

"The state was always, and still is, an apparatus of constraint-- of violence--with whose aid the dominant classes ensured the obedience of their 'subjects'."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y., The Law of
the Soviet State, page 11

"The form of state may vary: capital manifests its force in one way where there is one form of domination and in another way where there is a different form. Power remains essentially in the hands of capital, however, whether a right is based on some qualification or otherwise, and whether or not the state is a democratic republic. Actually, the more democratic it is, the more crude and cynical in this domination of capital."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in The Law
of the Soviet State, Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
page 11.

"The state is a machine to sustain the domination of one class over another."

Ibid., page 11.

STATE (Communist form defined)

The transition Communist, Proletarian or Soviet state - the dictatorship of the proletariat - is also an instrument of force and violence. Its function is to destroy its enemies both in the domestic and in the foreign spheres.

"The State is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class to break the resistance of its class enemies. In this respect the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in essence, from the dictatorship of any other class, for the proletarian state is an instrument for the suppression of the bourgeoisie."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, pages 49, 50.

"Not only the ancient and feudal but also the 'contemporary representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital.' 'As therefore the "state" is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down ... one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a "free people's state"; so long as the proletariat still uses the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state, as such, ceases to exist.'"

Engels, Frederick, as quoted by Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 130.

"The state belongs to the sphere of coercion. It would be madness to renounce coercion, particularly in the

epoch of the dictatorship..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 70.

"...Soviet Government, the Soviet type of state; a state of the type of the Paris Commune. This must find expansion in the programme."

Ibid., Volume VIII, page 321.

"The state is an apparatus of repression."

Ibid., page 319.

"...We are not going to let ourselves be deceived by such high sounding slogans like freedom, equality, and the will of the majority and those who call themselves democrats..."

Lenin, V. I., Collected Works, Volume XIV, pages 80-81.

STATE (a class weapon)

As indicated elsewhere, Communists consider every state to be a weapon, a forceful organ of a specific class. Hence, Communists erroneously reason that a state necessarily is an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class and mercilessly directed against the class which is ruled. It is from this premise Communists seek to justify the brutal rule of the dictatorship of the proletariat, assuming that this dictatorship consists of the majority (proletariat) and coerces only the exploiting minority (capitalists).

"Every State, including the Soviet State, is the weapon of a definite class. The State as such is an organ of oppression of one class by the other. In this definition is contained the idea of the transitory nature of the State from a historic point of view. By the abolition of classes and the class struggle, the State will disappear, but as a result of many years of historical development and not as a result of one single act, as in the conception of the Anarchists. To bring about the situation where there are no classes in society, is possible only by means of a firm dictatorship of the working class, because it is only by means of such a dictatorship that we can break the resistance of the classes that are opposed to the proletariat. Lenin also knew that the establishment of the proletarian power is impossible without a violent revolution, and that the maintenance of this proletarian power would be impossible without a merciless suppression of the exploiting classes."

Losovsky, A., Lenin
The Great Strategist
of the Class War, page
28.

STATE (product of class antagonisms)

Communists view the state as being the product of class antagonisms. It is an outgrowth of conflict. It is the result of tension and irreconcilable elements. In a social order where such conflicting elements (e.g. classes) did not exist there would be no state nor would there be any need for one.

"The state is the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises when, where and to the extent that class antagonisms cannot be objectively reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable.

"It is precisely on this most important and fundamental point that distortions of Marxism...begin."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, pages 8-9.

"At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensified the class-antagonism between capital and labor, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labor, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism. After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, page 401.

"According to Marx, the state could neither arise nor maintain itself if a reconciliation of classes were possible."

"...if the State is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing above society and 'increasingly separating itself from it,' then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power, which was created by the ruling class and in which this 'separation' is embodied."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 9-10.

STATE (did not always exist)

Having in mind that they are working toward a stateless society Communists like to remark from time to time that a state has not always existed. They point to early social orders which did not know the state and state power as we understand these concepts.

"The state...did not exist from all eternity. There have been societies without it, that had no idea of any state or public power. At a certain stage of economic development, which was of necessity accompanied by a division of society into classes, the State became the inevitable result of this division."

Engels, Frederick, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, page 211.

STATE (destruction of apparatus of state power necessary)

According to Communist convictions it is necessary to destroy the apparatus of the old state power which preceded the Communist rise to victory. It is not enough for them to simply seize say, the United States Government and carry on from there in channels previously established. They must destroy both the content and form of the presently existing state. The state is an instrument of the ruling class, argue the Communists, and when this ruling class is destroyed so too must be its state.

"Theoretically, it is not denied that the state is the organ of class rule, or that class antagonisms are irreconcilable. But what is lost sight of or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of irreconcilable class antagonisms ... it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible, not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class ... Marx very definitely drew this theoretically self-evident conclusion from a concrete historical analysis of the tasks of the revolution."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 10.

"Marx's idea is that the working class must break up, smash the 'ready-made state machinery', and not confine itself merely to laying hold of it."

"The words, 'to smash' 'the bureaucratic-military state machine', briefly express the principal lesson of Marxism on the tasks of the proletariat in relation to the state during the revolution."

Ibid., pages 36-37.

"The working class must shatter the capitalist state. It must build a new state, a new government, a workers' and farmers' government, the Soviet Government of the United States."

Foster, William Z., Acceptance
Speeches, page 12.

STATE (non-Communist form to be overthrown by force and violence growing out of daily class struggles)

In the final conflict the state is to be overthrown by Communists through the use of force and violence. They do not, however, accept the responsibility for this use of force and violence charging that it is the ruling class and its instrument the state which first engages in force and violence. It is the state resisting the advances of Communism which results in the use of force and violence. By a curious line of sophistry the Communists attempt to establish the point that when they attack the state and the state takes measures to defend itself what actually is happening is that the state is launching a brutal offense and the Communists are waging a heroic defense. However, it is a defense which necessarily must go forward to the offense and destroy all opposition.

"We Communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist State, and that is to smash it by force. To make Communism possible the workers must take hold of the State machinery of capitalism and destroy it."

Olgin, M. J.,
Why Communism?, page 45.

"The overthrow of the State power, and with it, of the capitalist system, grows out of the everyday struggles of the workers. One is historically inseparable from the other.

"It is not necessary that this final blow, i.e., the revolution, should come in connection with an imperialist war, although this is most likely....

"A time comes when there is demoralization above, a growing revolt below; the morale of the army is

also undermined. The old structure of society is tottering. There are actual insurrections; the army wavers. Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins.

"Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before as the struggles sharpened. Street fights become frequent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organize Revolutionary Committees to be in command of the uprising. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The workers' fighting has a decisive influence with the soldiers. Army units begin to join the revolutionary fighters; there is fraternization between the workers and the soldiers, the workers and the marines. The movement among the soldiers and marine spreads. Capitalism is losing its strongest weapon, the army. The police as a rule continue fighting, but they are soon silenced and made to flee by the united revolutionary forces of workers and soldiers. The revolution is victorious."

"'But this is force and violence,' somebody will contend. 'Don't you Communists know that the use of force and violence is wrong?' We reply to this, first, that if being a 'red-blooded American' means anything, it means that you must not take punishment lying down, that you must offer resistance; secondly, that it is not the workers but the capitalists and their State that start the use of force and violence. When you wish to stay on in your place of work and the employer who wants you 'fired' sends for the watchmen and has you thrown out, it is he that uses force. When you wish to stay on in the apartment of a house you and the like of you have built, and the landlord calls the sheriff to evict you, it is he that uses force. When you go out on a demonstration in the open in front of a governmental office and the government sends the police and armed thugs to beat you up and disperse you, it is the government that

is using force. When you are thrown in jail for refusing to transport ammunition in time of war, it is the government that is using violence against you. Force and violence are the daily bread of the exploiters and their government in dealing with the exploited. Force and violence are the very essence of the State. When the warehouses are bulging with foodstuffs you and the like of you have produced while you, the hungry, are kept from them by the armed force of watchmen and police, force and violence are used against you. How can you live and breathe if you do not resist? How can you defend your fundamental interests if you do not defy boss restrictions? To defy boss restrictions, to resist the attacks of the enemy class is just as natural for the working class as it is for a red-blooded human being not to take punishment lying down."

Ibid., pages 74, 75, 78.

STATE (Communist form will not be destroyed; it will eventually "wither away")

Although Communists consider it is necessary to destroy non-Communist states by intrigue, conspiracy, deception and open and direct force and violence, they do not consider such action will be necessary to remove the Communist or Soviet form of state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. They assume that the Communist form of state will "wither away" quietly when there is no longer any use for it. There will no longer be any use for it when there is no remaining opposition left to Communism in the world and when a classless society has been reached (e.g. "higher phase" Communism). Just when this will come about they do not say, nor do they comment upon the fact that at no time in history has a naïve dictatorship voluntarily dissolved itself.

"The proletariat seizes the state power and transforms the means of production in the first instance into state property....When ultimately it becomes really representative of society as a whole, it makes itself superfluous. As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination, and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed, which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. ...The government of persons is replaced by the administrations of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not 'abolished,' it withers away.

Engels, Frederick, as
quoted by Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume
VII, page 17.

"The door will then be wide open for the transition from the first phase of Communist society to its higher phase, and along with it to the complete withering away of the state."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 85.

"Now, the Marxist doctrine of the state says that there is to be no state under communism."

Stalin, Joseph, From Socialism to Communism In The Soviet Union, page 49.

"It is clear that there can be no question of defining the exact moment of the future withering away -- the more so as it must obviously be a rather lengthy process."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 69.

STATE (rendered unnecessary only under Communism)

Communists claim that it is only under their social system that the state becomes unnecessary. It becomes unnecessary for it will be a classless society which will need no organ of force such as the state to suppress any class. There will be no class to suppress.

"Finally, only Communism renders the state absolutely unnecessary, for there is no one to be suppressed--'no one' in the sense of a class, in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 75.

"For the complete extinction of the state, complete Communism is necessary."

Ibid., page 78.

STATE (democratic form)

Communists in giving their version of the democratic state describe it as being an organ of force, a machine used by the ruling class to suppress and exploit the masses of people, the working class.

"In reality, however, the State is nothing more than a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy."

Engels, Frederick, Introduction to Marx's Civil War In France, page 19.

"Take the fundamental laws of contemporary states, take their administration, take the right of assembly, freedom of the press, and 'equality of all citizens before the law', and you will see at every step evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 131.

"The more highly developed democracy is, the more imminent is the danger of pogroms or civil war..."

Ibid., page 132.

"The state, even in a democratic republic, is nothing more nor less than a machine for the suppression of one class by another."

Ibid., page 214.

"This does not derogate, however, from the significance of characterizing every type of bourgeois state - even the most 'democratic' - as a machine to crush and to repress the toilers, as a bludgeon in the hands of the exploiters as against the exploited."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of the Soviet State, page 12.

"Take the bourgeois parliament...only a liberal can forget the limited and conditional character of bourgeois parliamentarism in history-as Kautsky does. At each step in the most democratic bourgeois state, the oppressed masses encounter lamentable contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by capitalist 'democracy' and the thousands of factual limitations and complications making hired slaves of the proletarians. Just this contradiction opens the eyes of the masses to capitalism's rottenness, falsity, and hypocrisy."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted by
Vyshinsky, Andrei Y., The Law of the Soviet State,
page 71.

STATE (democratic form condemned)

Communists condemn the democratic state as an end. Communists would completely destroy the democratic state such as we have in the United States. However, they do talk loudly about democracy and how they are in favor of a democratic state. This Communist propaganda is most seductive, deceptive and false. They favor a democratic state as a means to an end -- that end is Communism. They favor a democratic state as a wide open road over which they may travel more rapidly and with less opposition toward their Communist destination. They favor a democratic state because it gives them great freedom to propagandize, spread and strengthen Communism. They favor a democratic state as a passing expedient, as a stage along the way which gives them democratic freedom to be used to destroy both democracy and freedom. To Communists democracy is a form of state and they intend to smash all states. Any statement made by them which purports to place them behind an enduring democratic state and way of life brands them as vicious falsifiers.

Frederick Engels clearly pointed out that with all Communists the:

"...ultimate political aim is to overcome the whole state, and therefore democracy as well."

Engels, Frederick, as
quoted by Lenin, V. I.,
State and Revolution,
page 67.

"...the destruction of the state means also the
destruction of democracy..."

Lenin, V. I., State
and Revolution, page 50.

"Democracy is a state recognizing the subordination of the minority to the majority, i.e., an organization for the systematic use of violence by one class against the other, by one part of the population against another.

"We set ourselves the ultimate aim of destroying the state..."

"In order to emphasize this... Engels speaks of a new generation...which will be able to throw on the scrap heap all this state rubbish... every kind of state, including even the democratic - republican state."

Ibid., page 68.

"Bourgeois democracy...remains narrow, curtailed, formal, and hypocritical - 'a paradise for the rich, a snare and delusion for the exploited poor.'

"In a bourgeois democracy capitalists employ tricks by the thousand, artifices, outright swindles, forgeries, and violence to discourage the masses from taking part in government..."

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y.,
The Law of The Soviet State,
pages 41-42.

"The state is an organization of the class of 'haves' to defend itself from the class of the 'have-nots.' Political power, in the exact sense of the words, is organized force of one class to repress another."

Marx, Karl and Engels,
Frederick, as quoted
in Ibid., page 10.

STATE (both in England and America to be smashed)

In all Communist literature of today it is either explicitly or implicitly indicated that the essential thing for all Communists to achieve at this time is the smashing or destroying of state power in England and in America. In working toward this end they are merely carrying out the thoughts of V. I. Lenin expressed many years ago.

"Today, both in England and America, the 'essential' thing for 'every real people's revolution' is the smashing, the destruction of the 'ready-made state machinery' (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 37.

"Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government..."

The Revolutionary Age,
Volume 1, Number 31,
May 17, 1919, page 5.

STATE (soviet)

The soviet, proletarian or Communist state is a dictatorship. It crushes and disarms the opposition. It is used by the Communist Party as an instrument to build a socialistic society within a nation. It is used by the Communist Party to spread the Communist revolution to other nations.

"The Soviet State is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class--the proletariat."

"Program of the Communist International" as contained in A Handbook of Marxism, page 991.

"The Soviet State completely disarms the bourgeoisie and concentrates all arms in the hands of the proletariat; it is the armed proletarian State."

Ibid., page 993.

"We say that we have arrived at the dictatorship. That is clear."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, page 339.

"The Soviet Socialist Democracy is in no way inconsistent with the rule and dictatorship of one person; that the will of a class is at times best realized by a dictator who sometimes will accomplish more by himself ..."

Lenin, V. I., Collected Works, Volume XVII, page 89.

STATE (soviet and capitalist distinguished)

Communists distinguish the soviet state from the capitalist state by saying the former is a part of the masses of people and the latter is separated -- stands apart, above and alien.

"What distinguishes the Soviet state apparatus from the bourgeois state apparatus? First of all, the fact that the bourgeois state apparatus stands above the masses; it is therefore separated from the population by an impenetrable barrier, and its whole spirit is alien to the broad masses of the population. On the other hand, the Soviet state apparatus merges with the masses; for it cannot and must not stand over the masses if it wants to maintain itself as a Soviet state apparatus; for it cannot be alien to the masses if it really wants to embrace the vast masses of the toilers. This represents one of the fundamental differences between the Soviet state apparatus and the bourgeois state apparatus."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 201, 202.

STATE (soviet proletarian form transitional)

The Communist or soviet form of state is said to be only a transitional one so designed as an organ of force to serve its function in destroying the opposition to Communism, laying the foundation for complete Communism and then disappearing (e.g. "withers away") from the scene, having served its purpose. When an organ such as the state no longer has any function it atrophies and vanishes. When opposition to Communism no longer exists, when classes are abolished, the state's function as an organ of force will no longer need to exist. On this premise, then, rests the Communist concept of the transitional nature of their state.

Frédéric Engels speaks of the:

"...Necessity of political action of the proletariat, and of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the transitional stage to the abolition of classes and, with them, of the state..."

Engels, Frederick, as
quoted by Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume
VII, page 56.

"...the 'state' is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force..."

Ibid., page 60.

STATE POWER (most important element in every revolution)

The element of state power is considered by Communists to be the most important element in any revolution. It must be seized at all costs and by any means available.

"Lenin says that 'the main question of every revolution is, undoubtedly, the question of state power.' (Collected Works, Vol. XXI, Book I, page 164.) In the hands of which class, or which classes, is power concentrated; which class, or which classes, must be overthrown; which class, or which classes, must take power--such is 'the main question of every revolution.'"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 333.

"The most important problem in every revolution is the problem of state power. In whose hands is this power -- that is decisive in all things."

Lenin, N. (V.I.) in The Proletarian Revolution in Russia by V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, page 210.

STATE POWER (needed by proletariat)

When Communists overcome the opposition in a given nation and seize power they have no intention of relinquishing this power or decentralizing it. Though they may "smash" the old state apparatus they will retain power under new forms claiming that the developing proletariat needs state power to crush the resistance. However, though it is purported that the "proletariat needs state power" it is the Communist Party who wields it for its own revolutionary and freedom stifling purposes.

"The proletariat needs state power, the centralized organization of force, the organization of violence, both for the purpose of crushing the resistance of the exploiters and for the purpose of guiding the great mass of the population--the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, the semi-proletarians---in the work of organizing Socialist economy."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 23.

STATE POWER (non-Communist state power corrupt and above the masses)

The power of non-Communist states is considered to be corrupt, detached from and above the masses of people. It is power over which they have no control.

"The Empire, with the coup d'etat for its certificate of birth, universal suffrage for its sanction, and the sword for its sceptre, professed to rest upon the peasantry, the large mass of producers not directly involved in the struggle of capital and labor. It professed to save the working class by breaking down parliamentarism, and, with it, the undisguised subserviency of Government to the propertied classes. It professed to save the propertied classes by upholding their economic supremacy over the working class; and, finally, it professed to unite all classes by reviving for all the chimera of national glory. In reality, it was the only form of government possible at a time when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not yet acquired, the faculty of ruling the nation. It was acclaimed throughout the world as the saviour of society. Under its sway, bourgeois society, freed from political cares, attained a development unexpected even by itself. Its industry and commerce expanded to colossal dimensions; financial swindling celebrated cosmopolitan orgies; the misery of the masses was set off by a shameless display of gorgeous, meretricious, and debased luxury. The State power, apparently soaring high above society, was at the same time itself the greatest scandal of that Society and the very hotbed of all its corruptions."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other Writings, pages 402, 403.

STRATEGIC TASKS (of Communist Party, USA)

As we know the objective of the Communist Party of the United States is to overthrow the capitalist system. The final goal is a World Communist Society. The strategic tasks in this revolutionary process as applied to the Communist Party in this country have been well summed up by Earl Browder. Though Browder fell from his place of leadership in the Communist Party it appears that he is still a Marxist and a loyal supporter of Soviet Russia. Therefore, his words still have value and the weight of authority.

"What are the main strategic tasks of the Communist Party, that flow from this analysis of the situation?

"First, to help the masses of workers, who are coming to realize that they must halt their mutually destructive competition and begin to act unitedly against a hostile ruling system, to find the road to independent class organization and class struggle in the fight for their daily bread.

"Second, to organize every possible form of resistance and counterstruggle against the attacks of reaction, against every reduction of living standards, for wage increases, for more relief, for jobs, for unemployment insurance, against cultural reaction, against Negro oppression, for civil rights, for the right to organize and strike.

"Third, to find the broadest possible forms of organization of the struggle, to apply, with Bolshevik flexibility, the tactic of the united front from below.

"Fourth, to expose the true role of every hidden agent of capitalist reaction in the ranks of the working class - the leaders of the A.F. of L., of the Socialist Party, the "uste group, the renegades, by concrete analysis of their actions and policies.

"Fifth, to raise the political consciousness of the

struggling workers, to bring to them an understanding of the class structure of society, of the fact that two main classes are fighting for control, that Roosevelt, leading the present ruling class, finance capital, stands for degradation, hunger, misery, oppression, fascism, war - that only the working class exercising state power, can open up a new era of peace, progress, and prosperity for the entire human race."

"Sixth, to imbue the broadest masses with the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, to arm them with the lessons of successful revolution, against the treacherous slogans and ideas of social-fascism.

"Seventh, to create strongholds of revolutionary mass organizations in the most important industries, localities, and factories.

"Eighth, to consolidate everything that is most active, intelligent, fearless and loyal in the working class into a compact, monolithic leadership in the mass struggle, into the Communist Party, organically united with the revolutionary workers and oppressed peoples of the world in our Communist International."

Browder, Earl, Communism
In The United States, pages
37, 38.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS

This phrase is of great importance to all Communists. It occurs regularly in all their literature. It is the subject of their constant attention.

By strategy Communists mean the decisions relating to the "determination of the direction" the main efforts of organized Communism should take at a given stage in the extended revolutionary process. It is the general pattern of action pursued in the class struggle. It is the long view. It involves a very careful and complete consideration of politics, economics, propaganda and military science. In brief, strategy represents a detailed analysis of all possible forces available in the struggle for a World Communist Society. It is the grand, over-all blueprint of the conflict. It takes all the known pertinent facts and fits them into this blueprint in the most effective manner possible. In Communist strategy the assumption is that a clash with the non-Communist world is inevitable, therefore, all Communist sources of strength (political, economic, propagandistic, military, etc.) are to be used where they are strongest and most productive of desirable results. By the same token non-Communist sources of strength are to be hit and destroyed where they are the weakest and least productive. Strategy maps out the broad campaign and outlines the far-flung battle line directed against the non-Communist world.

By tactics Communists mean the immediate decisions, measures and action which must be taken. The tactical approach takes a comparatively short view of the operations. Tactics are a part of strategy. Whereas strategy is concerned with the total war (economic, political, military, etc.) tactics are concerned with a particular engagement or battle within that total war. Tactics are the responses which are given quickly to many different and urgent issues. Tactics vary rapidly in keeping with rapidly changing conditions but the broad essential outlines of strategy remain unchanged.

Strategy

"Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the

the disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, page 90.

"The strategy and tactics of Leninism constitute the science of leadership of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat."

Ibid., page 89.

"Strategy deals with the main forces of the revolution and their reserves. It changes with the passing of the revolution from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout a given stage."

Ibid., page 91.

"The object of this strategy is to gain time, to demoralize the enemy, and to accumulate forces in order later to assume the offensive.

"The signing of the Brest-Litovsk Peace may be taken as a model of this strategy, for it enabled the Party to gain time, to make use of the clashes in the camps of the imperialists, to disintegrate the forces of the enemy..."

Ibid., page 98.

"...we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the whole world, we used the

justified practise of manoeuvring, necessary in every war, of shifting and waiting for the moment when the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in a number of advanced countries had ripened."

Lenin, V. I., A Letter To American Workers, page 14.

"It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of socialism or of communism in general--says Lenin.--What is needed is the ability to find at any moment that particular link in the chain which must be grasped with all one's might in order to gain control of the whole chain and prepare thoroughly for the passing on to the next link..."

Lenin, V. I., statement in Leninism by Joseph Stalin, Volume I, page 84.

"The revolutionary parties--says Lenin--must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they must understand that it is necessary to supplement this knowledge with the knowledge of how to retreat properly. They must understand--and the revolutionary class by its own bitter experience learns to understand--that victory is impossible without having learned both how to attack and how to retreat correctly."

Ibid., page 80.

Tactics

"Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct of the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the flow or ebb of the movement,

of the rise or decline of the revolution, the fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle and organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc. While the object of strategy is to win the war against tsarism, let us say, or against the bourgeoisie, to carry the struggle against tsarism or against the bourgeoisie to its end, tactics concern themselves with less important objects, for they aim not at winning the war as a whole, but at winning a particular engagement, or a particular battle, at carrying through successfully a particular campaign or a particular action corresponding to the concrete circumstances in the given period of rise or decline of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate to it and serving it."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, page 92. See also Leninism, Volume I, by the same author, pages 75, 76.

"By Party tactics we mean the political behaviour of the Party, or the character, tendency or methods of its political activity."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 45.

"Tactics deal with the forms of struggle and the forms of organisation of the proletariat, with their changes and correlations."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 76.

"What does the correct utilisation of the forms of struggle and of organisation of the proletariat mean?

"It means fulfilling several necessary conditions of which the following may be considered the principal ones:

"First: to bring to the forefront those forms of struggle and of organisation which are best suited to the conditions prevailing during the ebb or flow of the movement..."

"Second: to locate at any given moment that single link in the chain of events which, if seized upon, will enable us to keep hold of the whole chain and prepare the ground for the achievement of strategic success."

Ibid., pages 81, 83.

"Tactics may have to be changed several times in the period of a given stage of the revolution according to the flow and ebb, the rise and fall of the revolution."

Ibid., page 76.

"...matters will be far more complex and proceed far more rapidly, the speed of development will be more furious, and the twists will be more complicated when the revolution becomes converted into a European revolution..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, page 315.

"This fact imposes a duty upon every working class militant to study and learn the art and science of social revolution, to familiarize himself with the tactics and methods of Leninism which have been proved to be the only way to the overthrow of capitalism and the complete liberation of the working class."

Bittelman, Alex, "Introduction"
to Lenin the Great Strategist of
the Class War by A. Losovsky,
page 7.

STRIKES (general conception)

Communists consider a strike, any strike to be a "minor crisis in capitalist society." As such they wish to exploit it to the greatest possible extent. To a Communist every strike reveals latent revolutionary strength. The more strikes that they can create in a capitalist society the sooner they will be able to weaken this society to the point where armed uprisings can take place. It matters not whether the strikes are labor, political, consumer, religious, or educational strikes, they can all be made to serve the purpose of Communism. Of particular interest to Communists are strikes in the heavy industries, those of war character and in the transportation services of a country. The more violent a strike is and the more it disrupts the country the more it can serve the interests of Communism.

"What else for instance, is a strike if not a minor crisis in capitalist society?"

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume III, page 12.

Lenin continues on to say that Herr von Pultkamer was correct when he declared:

"Every strike discloses the hydra-head of revolution."

Ibid., page 12.

Speaking of some of the strikes in old Russia Lenin says:

"...it should have been explained to the masses that peaceful strikes by themselves are useless, and that fearless and ruthless armed fighting was required."

Ibid., page 348.

"If the railways stop running--the strike has every chance of becoming general...A strike under such conditions may mean--in the majority of cases it must mean--direct and immediate conflict with the armed forces.

"A railway strike is an uprising..."

Ibid., page 375.

STRIKES (relationship to Communist Party)

The "strike" as a weapon of the class struggle bears a very close relationship to the Communist Party. It is one of their main weapons to be wielded repeatedly in laying the foundation for the revolutionary crisis and in developing this crisis. Although Communists release reams of literature telling how much they are interested in improving the condition of the laborers and how unselfish and socially minded they are in creating and supporting various strikes, the truth of the matter is the very reverse. They use the "strike" weapon for purely selfish reasons, primarily for the spread of Communism and not for the welfare of the laborers. Communists do not recommend that strikes be used incorrectly as an end but always as a means. Strikes are not to be used as isolated acts of violence but as mass acts of violence related closely to the over-all operations of the Communist Party. They must fit the pattern of the battle taking place on different fronts. They must be considered to be not the only means of fighting but rather one of the means. To Communists strikes are a fight, as Marx said, "against effects and not against causes."

"The revolutionary way out of the crisis begins with the fight for unemployment insurance, against wage-cuts, for wage increases, for relief to the farmers - through demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, leading up to the seizure of power, to the destruction of capitalism by a revolutionary workers' government."

Browder, Earl, Communism
In The United States, page 20.

"...to the utmost their Bolshevik work, by hastening the revolutionization of the broad masses, developing and leading the class struggles of the toilers on the basis of the united front from below, by leading the working class to mass political strikes, winning over the majority of the working class and directing the whole movement of the exploited classes and the oppressed peoples along

the channel of the World Socialist Revolution."

"Thesis of the Twelfth Plenum
of the E.C.C.I.," The Communist,
November, 1932, page 988.

"Both Marx and Engels considered the strike a
powerful weapon of struggle for the immediate
and ultimate aims of the working class."

Lozovsky, A., Marx and The
Trade Unions, page 120.

"We have already seen that Marx and Engels referred
to strikes as 'social war' as 'economic revolt,'
'real civil war', 'guerilla war', 'school of war',
'advance guard collisions'..."

Ibid., page 134.

"The growth of the trade union movement connected
with the Communist Party; the electoral successes
of the Communist Parties; the wave of strikes taking
place under the leadership of the communists; the
development of economic strikes into political
protest organized by the communists; the mass dem-
onstrations of workers sympathetic to communism,
which arouse a very lively response among the working
class--all this shows that the masses of workers are
regarding the Communist Party as the only Party
capable of fighting capitalism, the only Party worthy
of the confidence of the workers, the only Party
which one can follow, and which it is worth while
following in the struggle for emancipation from
capitalism. This is the turning of the masses towards
communism. This is the guarantee that our brother

Communist Parties will be transformed into large mass parties of the working class."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, page 259.

"Marx, basing himself on the subordination of the economic struggle to the political struggle of the working class came to the conclusion that the strike was one of the important and effective forms of the struggle."

Lozovsky, A., Marx and the Trade Unions, page 136.

"...strike tactics are not something divorced from general lines of principle."

Ibid., page 137.

"Life and struggle have confirmed the correctness of the Marxian positions concerning the organic connection and close interweaving of the economic and the political struggle of the working class."

Ibid., page 137.

STRIKES (mass political or general strikes)

This type of strike consists of all the workers, or a very large majority of them, being willing and able to use the "strike" as a powerful weapon, as an instrument contributing to the forceful overthrow of Capitalism and the State. It is a "strike" directed primarily not into economic channels (but linked to the economic struggle) but into political channels--revolutionary political channels. Communists say this type of strike is possible only (1) when all or a vast majority of the workers are in favor of it; (2) when the government, in fact, the entire nation is in a state of "crisis" involving all classes or is rapidly approaching such a crisis under Communist Party guidance; (3) when the workers under the direct leadership of the Communist Party are ready to wage a vigorous offensive against Capitalism and the government in order to "end the chaos," caused by the inadequacy of Capitalism. This "mass political strike" would paralyze the entire nation. All transportation comes to a stop. Communications are thoroughly disrupted. Food supplies are cut off. Cities only a few miles from each other are isolated. Police departments run out of equipment and become helpless. The Army and Navy become snarled up, flounders and also becomes relatively helpless. The economic system totters. The Government collapses. The Communists seize power. The revolution has come. The revolution has gone. The "mass political strike" has served its purpose in connection with other revolutionary activity. There will be no more strikes. There will be no more strikes because laborers in a Communist nation are not allowed to "strike against their own interests."

In viewing the future, Communists presume to see a wave of mass political strikes approaching in the United States and elsewhere. In the event of an "imperialist war" or a war against Communist nations, Communists are expected to turn the "imperialist war" into a civil war against their own governments. One weapon used would be the "mass political strike."

"The Russian revolution was the first, though certainly not the last, great revolution in history in which the mass political strike played an extraordinarily great role."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume III, page 4.

"Mass strikes and armed uprisings automatically placed on the order of the day the question of revolutionary power and of dictatorship, for those methods of struggle inevitably give rise--at first on a local scale--to the expulsion of the old government authorities, to the seizure of power by the proletariat and the revolutionary classes, to the expulsion of the landlords, sometimes to the seizure of factories, etc. etc."

Ibid., Volume VII,
page 242.

"But while Communists repudiate the slogan of 'reply to war with a general strike,' and warn the workers against harboring such illusions, which can only injure the real struggle against war, they do not by any means abandon the weapon of the general strike in the struggle against war, and sharply condemn any suggestion to do so as an opportunist deviation. Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munition works, transport strikes, etc.), the general strike--as the supreme form of the mass strike movement--is an extremely important weapon; and as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. This transformation, however, does not depend upon the will of the Party alone. It presupposes the existence of a revolutionary situation, the capacity of the proletariat for mass action, etc. These conditions do not as a rule prevail at the very beginning of the war; they develop in the course of the war. But even in war time the general strike does not come like a bolt from the blue. It comes on the rising tide of revolutionary mass action (demonstrations, partial strikes, etc.) and as a result of the persistent preparation, which the Communists must make, and which may entail heavy sacrifices. Of course, a general strike in war time will lead to revolutionary results much more rapidly than in peace time; but it is by no means easier to prepare for and organize it in war time than in peace time. On the contrary, in war time the bourgeoisie will take determined counter-measures to prevent it. They will call the strikers to the colors, militarize the factories, etc. Communists, therefore, cannot, in war time, confine themselves to abstract general strike propaganda. As in peace time, they

must carry on daily revolutionary work in the factories and trade unions. They must champion the economic demands of the workers and link up these demands with anti-war propaganda; organize revolutionary factory councils; capture the subordinate trade union organizations; eliminate the social-patriotic elements from these organizations, and, when they have been captured, elect new executives parallel with the reformist executives, and despite the will of the latter, organize, lead and extend partial strikes, etc. The general strike must not be an abstract watchword. It must be the aim and the outcome of our general practical activity. That being the case, the revolutionary proletariat must be ready, in the event of a general strike, firmly to steer a course towards transforming the strike into an armed rebellion, if conditions are propitious for that."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Communists,
pages 21-22.

"The intensification of the struggle for markets and raw materials, the increase of armaments, the growing antagonism between America and England, the growth of socialism in the USSR, the radicalisation of the working class in the capitalist countries, the wave of strikes and class conflicts in the European countries, the growing revolutionary movement in the colonies, including India, the growth of communism in every country of the world--all these are facts that indicate beyond a doubt that the elements of a new revolutionary upsurge are accumulating in the capitalist countries."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, page III.

STRIKES (political strikes insufficient

By "political strikes", Communists mean strikes which are used to gain political ends rather than economic ends. They do not believe political strikes alone are to establish Communism. They urge making every possible use of political strikes and also urge such strikes be backed by revolutionary action at the proper time, so designed as to gain both political and economic ends.

"...political strikes are insufficient; we must carry on the widest agitation among the masses in favor of an armed uprising and make no attempt to obscure this question by talk about 'preliminary stages,' or by throwing a veil over it. To conceal from the masses the necessity for a desperate, sanguinary war of extermination as the immediate task of future revolutionary action means deceiving both ourselves and our people."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works, Volume III,
pages 348-349.

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMON FOE

By this phrase Communists mean that it is quite permissible to unite with non-Communist forces as a temporary measure, as a tactic to overcome a "common foe". A recent example of this would be the working together of Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the United States to defeat Nazi Germany. The same tactic is used on much more restricted levels extending down to local group alignments in communities. An example of the latter would be the "cooperation" of a Communist group within a labor union against some common "opponent". Or it could take place in local, state, and national elections. The reason behind it all is always the same, namely, pursue that course of action which is most beneficial to Communism at a given time. When the common foe has been defeated the Communists then consider it imperative to turn against their former allies and defeat them in turn, leaving the field clear and undisputed for Communist conquest. The question of traditional ethics is wholly ignored in this course of action.

"In the event of a struggle against a common foe there is no need of any special fusion. As soon as such a foe is to be directly fought, the interests of both parties coincide for the moment, and as in the past so in the future this union, intended for the moment only, will form of its own accord. It goes without saying that in the impending bloody conflicts just as in all past ones, the workers, by their courage, their resoluteness and their self-sacrifice will play the main part in winning the victory. As heretofore, so in this struggle the mass of the petty bourgeoisie will maintain as long as possible an attitude of temporizing, irresolution and inactivity, and then as soon as the victory is decided take it in charge, summon the workers to be peaceful and return to work in order to avert so-called excesses, and so cut off the proletariat from the fruits of the victory."

Marx, Karl, Capital and Other
Writings, page 361.

"Above all things, during the conflict and right after the battle, the workers must to the fullest extent possible work against the bourgeois measures of pacification, and compel the democrats to carry into action their present terroristic phrases. They must work to prevent the immediate revolutionary excitement from being promptly suppressed after the victory. They must keep it going as long as possible. Far from setting themselves against so-called excesses, examples of popular revenge against hated individuals or public buildings with only hateful memories attached to them, they must not only tolerate these examples but take in hand their very leadership. During the struggle and after the struggle the workers must at every opportunity put forth their own demands alongside those of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers the moment the democratic citizens set about taking over the government. They must if necessary extort these guarantees, and in general see to it that the new rulers pledge themselves to every conceivable concession and promise--the surest way to compromise them. In general they must restrain in every way to the extent of their power the jubilation and enthusiasm for the new order which follows every victorious street battle, by a calm and cold-blooded conception of the situation and by open distrust of the new government. Side by side with the new official governments, they must simultaneously set up their own revolutionary workers' governments, whether in the form of municipal committees, municipal councils or workers' club or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois democratic governments not only immediately lose the support of the workers, but find themselves from the very beginning supervised and threatened by authorities behind which stand the whole mass of the workers. In a word; from the first moment of victory our distrust must no longer be directed against the vanquished reactionary party, but against our previous ally, against the party which seeks to exploit the common victory for itself alone."

Ibid., page 362.

SUPPRESSION (advocated)

American Communists and all others claim they are strongly in favor of freedom and are against the suppression of freedom. Like so many other statements by Communists on crucial issues this statement is misleading. It does not tell the whole story. Communists are in favor of freedom--for Communists and Communists only. They are also in favor of the suppression of freedom of all non-Communists without exception who might oppose them. The history of Communism in countries which have been forced to accept this ideology gives no little indication of this fact. In the United States today Communists are continually clamoring for more and more freedom which they presumably intend to use to destroy the freedom of others. Communists object to what they interpret as being the "suppression" of civil rights, yet the principles of Communism advocate the denial of civil rights to all non-Communists and the complete suppression of freedom of thought, speech, worship and action.

V. I. Lenin recommended

"...the ruthless suppression of the uncultured capitalists..."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 369.

Lenin went on to urge greater

"...ruthlessness which is indispensable for the success of socialism..."

Ibid., page 369.

"The state is a special organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the suppression of some class. What class must the proletariat suppress? Naturally, only the exploiting class, i.e., the bourgeoisie."

Ibid., page 24.

"...during the transition from capitalism to communism suppression is still necessary... A special apparatus, a special machine for suppression, the 'state' is still necessary..."

Ibid., page 82.

"...the dictatorship of the proletariat produces a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force; it is clear that where there is suppression there is also violence, there is no liberty, no democracy.

"Engels expressed this splendidly in his letter to Bebel when he said, as the reader will remember, that 'as long as the proletariat still needs the state, it needs it not in the interests of freedom, but for the purpose of crushing its antagonists.'"

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 73.

"In order to consolidate the Soviet power, the old, bourgeois state machine had to be shattered and destroyed and a new, Soviet state machine set up in its place. Further, it was necessary... to suppress the counter-revolutionary press and counter-revolutionary organizations of all kinds..."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), page 214.

"The organs of suppression, the army and other organisations are necessary now in the period of construction as they were during the civil war period."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 274.

"...we do not promise any freedom or any democracy."

Lenin, V. I., Collected Works, Volume XVIII, page 336.

"Ideological talk and phrasemongering about political liberties should be dispersed with; all that is just mere chatter and phrasemongering. We should get away from those phrases."

"Propaganda to be carried on among workers and peasants should be only of the following kind: The 'freer,' or more 'democratic', a bourgeois country is, the more fiercely does the capitalist gang rage against workers' revolution; this is exemplified by the democratic republic of the United States."

Ibid., XVIII, pages 100,375.

SURPLUS VALUE

By the often referred to phrase "surplus value" Communists apparently mean this: it is the difference between what the laboring employee actually receives from the employer as his wages (e.g. "value of labor power") and what he actually produces (e.g. "value created by him") for his employer as a part of the process of production. For example, a laborer receives \$10.00 a day (e.g. "value of labor power") but he actually produces (e.g. "value created by him") \$25.00 a day, the \$15.00 difference is "surplus value." This \$15.00 does not go to the wage earner but to the employer or capitalist. It is "appropriated" by the capitalist. To Communists this is precisely what is meant by economic exploitation. The laborer has created value over and above the cost of production and it should go to him. On the contrary, it does go to the capitalist. This, to Communists, is the essence; the root of exploitation under the capitalist system.

Surplus value may be in the form of (1) profit (e.g. in industry) or (2) in rent, (e.g. to landowners) or (3) in interest (e.g. bankers, etc.).

Karl Marx contended that the capitalist who produces surplus value is the "first appropriator" but not the only one or the last one because he shares this surplus value with different capitalists, landowners and the like, who fill other and varied functions in the complicated social production system of Capitalism.

"But can surplus value possibly originate anywhere else than in circulation, which is the sum total of all the mutual relations of commodity-owners, as far as they are determined by their commodities?"

Marx, Karl, "Capital"
as contained in A Handbook
of Marxism, page 449.

"This increment or excess over the original value I call 'surplus-value.'"

Ibid., page 435.

"The designation 'surplus value' is given by Marx to the increase over the original value of money that is put into circulation."

Lenin, V. I., The Teachings of Karl Marx, pages 20, 21.

"The workers, so as not to die of hunger, must hire themselves out to the factories and the plants, go into slavery to the capitalists. Having hired a worker, the capitalist exploits him; makes him work, e.g., ten to twelve hours out of twenty-four, however, he pays the worker a sum of money for the whole days work which really corresponds to five to six hours work or even less. The unpaid for labor executed by the worker is the source of the capitalists increased wealth, his gain. In this manner the means of production belonging to the capitalist are--the means of exploitation by capital."

Soviet Political Dictionary
as translated from Russian.

"Landlords, merchants, peasant-landlords, bankers, all sap the poor and middle class peasant masses, fated to poverty, hunger and exhausting labor."

Ibid.

"The doctrine of surplus value is the corner-stone
of Marx's economic theory."

Lenin, V. I., Selected
Works, Volume XI, page 6.

TACTICAL LEADERSHIP

By "tactical leadership" Communists mean expert direction and application of tactics as "a part of strategic leadership" and subordinated to it. The significance of this description of "tactical leadership" rests in the fact that strategy is the complete, world-wide, course of action of Communist leadership directed against the non-Communist world. Therefore, when the American Communists engage in tactical procedures, as they admit they do, and when they follow American tactical leadership, even then they can show no real independence because "tactical leadership" must be subjected to "strategical leadership" which is not determined within the United States. Because of the very nature of the strategy and tactics of Communism it is impossible for American Communists to be independent of foreign influence and direction. They unavoidably become a subordinated part in a world-wide pattern of action.

"Tactical leadership is a part of strategic leadership, subordinated to the tasks and the requirements of the latter. The task of tactical leadership is to master all forms of struggle and organization of the proletariat and to ensure that they are used properly so as to achieve, with the given alignment of forces, the maximum results necessary to prepare for strategic success."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations Of Leninism,
page 99.

TACTICS (revolutionary tactics as distinguished from reformist tactics)

Communists regularly denounce reformists and reforms while at the same time they are always extremely eager to "use" both reformists and reforms as instruments to establish Communism. A sincere liberal or progressive may strive very correctly and rightly to eliminate some social abuse in the political and economic systems or elsewhere. He has no ulterior motive. He acts openly and honestly. The elimination of the abuse, the reform made effective, is his end. This is not true of the Communists. When they support any reform it is always with an ulterior motive, a hidden purpose. They support any reform which they can twist, and distort into an instrument to spread Communism and hasten the revolution. Communists refer to reforms as "instruments" to "disintegrate" the non-Communist social order and to "strengthen the revolution." Their objective is not to improve the social order by reforms but to destroy it.

"What is the difference between revolutionary tactics and reformist tactics? Some are of the opinion that Leninism is opposed to reforms, opposed to compromises and to agreements in general. That is absolutely untrue. Bolsheviks know as well as anybody else that 'every little bit helps,' that under certain conditions reforms in general, and compromises and agreements in particular, are necessary and useful.

"To a reformist, reforms are everything while revolutionary work is just something to talk about, a diversion. Therefore, with reformist tactics under the existing bourgeois system, reforms inevitably serve as an instrument for strengthening that regime, an instrument that disintegrates the revolution.

"To a revolutionary the opposite is the case; the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms, for reforms are mere by-products of the revolution. Therefore, with revolutionary tactics under the existing bourgeois system, reforms inevitably serve as instruments that disintegrate this system, instruments that

strengthen the revolution—a stronghold for the further development of the revolutionary movement.

"The revolutionist will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified.

"This is what the revolutionary utilisation of reforms and agreements in an imperialist environment means.

"The reformist on the other hand will accept reforms as a pretext for renouncing all illegal work, to thwart the preparation of the masses for the revolution and to 'rest in the shade' of these reforms that have been 'so graciously bestowed.'

"This is what reformist tactics means.

"This is the position in regard to reforms and agreements under imperialism."

Stalin, Joseph, The Foundations of Leninism, pages 100, 101, 102.

"Under no circumstances to refrain (except in special cases, as an exception) from utilising parliamentarism and all the 'liberties' of bourgeois democracy; not to reject reforms, but to regard them only as a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 45.

THEORY OF THE WEAKEST LINK

When Communists speak of the "theory of the weakest link" they simply mean that Capitalism does not exist with the same strength in all nations. It is stronger in some than in others. Communists compare this to a chain with weaker and stronger links. They conclude therefore that the best way to destroy Capitalism is not to try to break the entire chain at once but to attack and break the weaker links first. Each link broken will weaken the others until there are really no strong links left. When that stage is reached Communism, ever aggressive, will launch the final assault en masse, against the weakened remnants of Capitalism.

"The second is Lenin's theory of the 'weakest link.' The world capitalist system, as Marx has taught us, is not of uniform strength in all its parts. Hence, because of its uneven development in point of time, extent, etc., in the several countries, it is like a chain of stronger and weaker links. The revolution advances, not by breaking the chain simultaneously everywhere, but by beginning the break at the weakest links. Old Russia was such a weak link and the Russian revolution was such a break."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pages 63-64.

THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT (in the United States)

When Communists in the United States talk today about a "third party" and the "third party movement" they are not introducing any new idea into their theory. The idea of a "third party" can be traced to Karl Marx who recommended that an "independent organization" consisting of laborers be formed and given a political character. He proceeded on the assumption that the general run of political parties were class parties representing the capitalists. Hence, the workers were given no real choice at election time. Whichever party they supported represented not their own interests but those of the capitalists with whom they were in constant conflict. Marx recommended forming a workers' party which would represent exclusively the interests of the workers.

In pursuing the principles set by Karl Marx and other leading Communist authorities the American Communists have been for some years in favor of creating a "third party." It need not be known as a "third party" in all countries but in the United States, where there are traditionally two major parties, it was natural to refer to this new organization as a "third party." The important point is that such a party is an independent mass political organization seeking to sweep into its orbit the proletariat as a base and as many petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals as possible, in the capacity of allies. Such a party has the full support and guidance of the Communist Party (which, however, does not merge with it) and directs its main assault against various aspects of the capitalistic system. It becomes a coalition group. It is not to be a Communist movement per se. On the other hand it is not to be against Communism. It is to be skillfully camouflaged and must work indirectly for the ultimate benefits of Communism.

"Instead of stooping once more to serve the bourgeois democrats as an applauding chorus, the workers, and especially the League, must strive to establish, by the side of the official democrats, an independent organization, both secret and public, of the workers' party and to make every municipality the central point and nucleus of workmen's associations in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat shall be discussed independently of bourgeois influences."

Marx, Karl,
Capital and Other Writings,
page 361.

"That everywhere beside the bourgeois democratic candidates, worker candidates shall be put forward, to be members of the League where possible and their campaigns to be pushed by every means possible. Even in those places where there is no prospect at all for their election, the workers must put forward their own candidates in order to preserve their independence, count their forces, and bring before the public their revolutionary position and party standpoint. Here they must not let themselves be taken in by the phrases of the democrats--as for example that this will split the democratic party and give the reaction a chance to win. All these phrases come to nothing in the last analysis but a swindle upon the proletariat."

Ibid., page 364

Lenin developed this same idea recommending:

"The organisation of an independent party of the proletariat which, through all democratic changes, will strive for a complete socialist revolution..."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume XII, page 303.

"It is perfectly obvious that the interests of the American proletariat demand that all its forces dissociate themselves from the capitalist parties without delay. It must at the proper time find ways and suitable forms of preventing fascism from winning over the broad discontented masses of the toilers. And here it must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of toilers, a 'Workers' and 'Farmers' Party,' might serve as such a suitable form. Such a party would be a specific form of the mass people's front in America that should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be neither Socialist nor Communist. But it must be an anti-fascist party and must not be an anti-Communist party.

"The program of this party must be directed against the banks, trusts and monopolies, against the principal enemies of the people who are gambling on its misfortunes. Such a party will be equal to its task only if it defends the urgent demands of the working class, only if it fights for genuine social legislation, for unemployment insurance; only if it fights for land for the white and black sharecroppers and for their liberation from the burden of debt; only if it works for the cancellation of the farmers' indebtedness; only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes; only if it fights for the demands of the war veterans, and for the interests of the members of the liberal professions, the small business men, the artisans. And so on.

"It goes without saying that such a party will fight for the election of its own candidates to local offices, to the state legislatures, to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

"Our comrades in the United States acted rightly in taking the initiative for the creation of such a party. ... We should develop the most widespread movement for the creation of such a party, and take the lead in it. In no case must the initiative of organizing the party be allowed to pass to elements desirous of utilizing the discontent of the masses which have become disillusioned in both the bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, in order to create a 'third party' in the United States, as an anti-Communist party, a party directed against the revolutionary movement."

Dimitroff, Georgi,
The United Front Against War
and Fascism, pages 40-41.

"The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that there be a single party of the proletariat in each country."

Ibid., page 86.

"While seeking to build the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the Communists have also tirelessly fought against 'no-politics-in-the-unions' fallacies and urged the masses to organize a broad party, composed of the labor movement, farmers, Negro people, professionals, small businessmen, and other democratic elements."

Foster, William Z.,
American Trade Unionism,
page 368.

THOUGHT (dialectical)

In restricting their discussion of dialectical materialism to "dialectical thought" Communists refer to it as a "growing awareness" of the mind relative to the "process of change and development" which permeates the universe and all life in the universe. It is to them an "understanding" of the "correct" interpretation of the material world. In explaining "dialectical thought" Communists often assume the wholly untenable position that they have made a discovery, an original contribution to the field of philosophy in bringing forth the factor of dynamic motion and the apparently ceaseless ebb and flow of all elements making up life, the universe and human relations. Various thinkers long before the existence of Marxist theorists have recognized this fact of motion and change in life. Furthermore, these non-Communist thinkers saw the changing forms of life from the perspective of a rational pattern founded upon an intelligible origin, purpose and destiny for all human beings, whereas the Marxists relate all changes and their particular dialectics to the irrationality of blind forces and the unknowability in essence of the origin, purpose and destiny of human beings.

"According to our understanding, dialectical thought is the growing awareness of the human mind of the natural processes that go on outside of it, and human action upon nature guided by this understanding. It is not an invention of the human mind which is imposed upon the world, as Sidney Hook maintains it is. It is not merely an instrument of the mind which happens to be useful for the moment by an accident. Dialectics is this growing understanding in the human mind of the process of change and development that goes on throughout the universe. We do not limit it merely to the social sphere or to the class struggle going on now. Dialectics is universal. There is a dialectics of nature, there will always be a dialectics for every phase of life. Since life changes its forms, dialectics will never be eliminated. The dialectical process will not be eliminated in the future society. It will take new forms; it will no longer assume the form of the basic antagonisms of class society."

Browder, Earl, Communism in the United States, page 342.

TRADE OR LABOR UNION MOVEMENT (general conception)

This movement is of tremendous importance to Communists. They are relatively helpless without its support. It is here the main body of the proletariat is found. Communists consider the trade or labor union movement to consist of all kinds of organizations made up of laborers and controlled by them. These worker organizations may be labor unions, cultural societies, political parties, educational units and the like, just so long as they militantly represent the whole working class or proletariat and its many interests. Also, these organizations must move in the direction of revolutionary Communism or they are not considered to be true to labor. Karl Marx stated that "the working class is revolutionary or it is nothing." And where it is not revolutionary the Communists intend to make it so. It is their expressed intention to capture the labor union movement by hook or by crook.

According to Communists, the trade or labor union movement is marked by three distinct stages:

1. Early Historical

This stage includes the beginnings and development of guilds, trade associations and labor unions. At first they were confined to local, state and later, national levels.

2. Qualitative Strength

This stage covers the spread of the labor movement to an international level. Its strength becomes increased as a result of united action of a world-wide trade or labor union movement. It embraces all nations.

3. Communist Party as Leader

This is the last stage of trade union development and one which is headed by the Communist Party in the vanguard role. The Communist Party consisting of selective, highly trained, rigidly disciplined professional revolutionaries will activate, motivate, direct, control and harness the tremendous forces of the internationally organized labor movement. The tremendous forces will be harnessed to the Communist Chariot which will lead the labor movement into the promised land of Communism where labor unions will no longer be necessary.

On narrowing the labor movement to include only labor unions, Communists mean the basic organization of the laborers; a mass organization, having for its immediate objective the improvement of working conditions. However, trade unions, as indicated above, are much more than this to Communists. They see them as pliable instruments which they can infiltrate and control and use to develop the Communist revolution and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. After this has been done, free labor unions will be dissolved.

"The fight begins in factory, mine, and mill. It is first of all a fight for higher wages, for shorter labor hours, for better working conditions. It is a fight for unemployment insurance, for social insurance generally, by which is understood that the State pays a minimum wage to those out of work, to the sick, the injured, and the aged. Capitalists love to indulge in humanitarian phrases. History has proved, however, that they never grant anything to the working class unless forced to do so by the fight of the workers. This is why the very existence of the working class is under the sign, Fight."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?, pages 46-47.

"The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a merciless struggle against opportunism, to utilise the experiences of the war for the purpose of exposing all the vileness of national-liberal labour politics, and not of concealing it."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XI, page 763.

"Our concentration is to win a strategic point precisely because a success there will move the entire industry, or move at least the entire locality, whereas if we concentrate on the whole locality and the whole industry, it will take us so long to move it that the workers will be somewhere else by the time we get anything done."

"The whole principle of concentration is to throw all the forces into one point, and win a success there, and by that success you double your forces, and can go on to move the entire mass. The very example of a success in a strategic locality, in a shop or organization, will very often set the whole mass into motion, bring them either under our leadership, or in the direction moving towards us."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 152.

"As the organization of the workers grows, as their struggles become fiercer, while many non-proletarian elements like farmers, intellectuals, and exploited members of the lower middle class join the revolutionary movement, the final onslaught on the fortress of capitalism draws nearer."

Olgin, M. J.,
Why Communism?, page 74.

"The problem of penetration of the shops and the problem of the development of the strike movement, the problem of building the trade unions, is the problem of how to develop confidence among the masses in our leadership, by showing them we know how to do things, by winning one thing here and winning one thing there, always make one thing lead to another, to a higher stage of struggle, or broadening out the struggle, or deepening the political character of it. Moving from success to success, making of every success the foundation of immediately moving forward to another one."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 152.

"The Party's main policy for winning the workers in the shops is to take the initiative for the organization of the daily struggles of the workers against the employers."

Bittelman, Alex,
The Communist Party in Action,
page 29.

"Initiate and support all efforts of the workers to organize in shops, mines, stores, and offices; strengthen the existing class unions to carry on the class struggle of the workers against the bosses and boss-controlled government agencies; immediate conferences of all genuinely militant elements in steel, in mining, textile and other industries to unite the masses for struggle.

"Agitate and organize in all unions and other economic organizations for the adoption of a fighting policy in line with the program here set forth and against those who follow the dangerous and deceptive policy of 'cooperating harmoniously' with the bosses.

"Intensify the struggle against autocratic, corrupt and racketeering elements in the unions and against the A.F. of L. officialdom which supports or tolerates such evils.

"Build up the mass organizations of unemployed workers, bring them into close cooperation with the employed; promote the unification of all mass organizations of the unemployed, locally, state-wide and nationally.

"Organize and support strikes and demonstrations of employed and unemployed workers..

"Organize a broad campaign for federal social insurance through conferences, meetings, collection of signatures, etc."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 133.

"The workers of the world are marching forward to Socialism. The American labor movement must take its proper place in their invincible ranks."

Foster, William Z.,
Problems of Organized
Labor Today, page 48.

TRADE OR LABOR UNION MOVEMENT (and the Communist Party)

As previously indicated the Communists consider the field of labor to be their most important sphere of activity. It is vital to the success of Communism. They intend at all costs to worm and squirm their way into labor unions and stay in them and completely capture these labor unions. They shape all their important Party policies to this end. Once captured they intend to make labor unions the "schools for Communism".

"It is necessary to be able to withstand all of this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even - if need be - to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

Lenin, V. I., "Left-Wing
Communism, An Infantile
Disorder, page 38.

"The Communist party bases its work directly upon the mills, mines, and factories. Its principle is to make every shop a fortress for Communism. It follows closely the life of the workers in the industries, adapting its immediate program of struggle to their needs. It concentrates its work upon the heavy industries and those of a war character "

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, page 254.

"Our slogan is: Every shop must become a fortress of Communism, and every member of the Party an organizer and leader of the daily struggles of the masses."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist
Party In Action, page 29.

"Your employers try to prevent you from organizing: organize. They will try to fire your organizers: stand pat, defend them! They will try to discharge more: answer by calling a strike: picket the plant! They will send policemen and hired deputies to break up your picket line: stand firm, don't yield! They will send a reformist union leader to persuade you to accept boss arbitration: drive him out like a yellow cur! They will put some of your leaders in jail: demonstrate, protest, fill the court room with hundreds of workers, demand the release of your comrade, picket the court house, picket the judge's house, call other workers to help you in your struggle; make your struggle the struggle of great numbers of class conscious workers!"

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?,
page 70.

"We must declare that just as it is the duty of every employed Communist to be a leader in his trade unions, so also is it the duty of an unemployed Communist to become the leader of 10 or 100 other unemployed workers in block committees and neighborhood councils."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United States,
page 70.

"The next central point in Party building after the shop and street nuclei is the Party Section Committee, Section bureau. This is the real cadre of the Party's mass leadership."

Ibid., page 71.

"All of this work must be orientated around the central problems of building trade unions in all those industries where we are building the Red unions now."

Ibid., pages 144-145.

"The building up of our forces in the basic industries is our first and central concentration

not because we do not want workers in light industry, or because it is not important, but because we can more quickly win the masses and can consolidate the revolutionary organizations among the masses by making our base the heavy industry. Precisely the importance of heavy industry is that a little organization there will swing into action a broad number of workers in light industry, but a little organization in light industry will not swing heavy industry into motion. That is, we concentrate on heavy industry because it is a lever by which we can move the whole mass."

Ibid., page 154.

"To bring the best fighters from the ranks of the strikers into the Party is the task of every individual comrade. It is a task of honor of every revolutionary."

Ibid., page 221.

"The unit, the section, the district, the Central Committee, our press, our literature will help you, comrade."

Ibid., page 221.

"What were these most decisive points? They were: (1) to win a firmer basis for our Party and for the revolutionary trade unions among the decisive strata of the workers in the most important industrial centers; (2) the strengthening of the Red Trade Unions, especially the miners', steel, textile and marine unions, and the organizing of a broad revolutionary opposition in the reformist unions--above all among the miners and the railroad workers; (3) mobilization and organization of the unemployed millions together with the employed for their most urgent daily needs and for unemployment insurance as the central immediate struggle of the Party; (4) the transformation of the Daily Worker into a really revolutionary mass paper, into an agitator and organizer of the masses;

(5) wide development of new leading cadres of workers—the establishment of really collectively-working leading bodies and the improvement of these leading bodies by the drawing in of capable new working-class elements."

Ibid., page 112.

"First of all there are the workers' trade unions, with their national and local ramifications in the shape of a whole series of production, cultural, educational and other organisations. These unite the workers of all trades. They are not Party organisations. The trade unions may be termed the all-embracing organisation of the working class which holds power in our country. They constitute a school of communism."

Stalin, Joseph, Problems of Leninism, page 30.

"Formally, the Party cannot give instructions to the trade unions, but the Party gives instructions to the Communists who work in the trade unions."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 366.

TRADE UNIONS (essential to Communism)

Additional sources are set forth below showing why Communists consider trade unions to be so essential to the establishment of Communism.

"Without a foundation like the trade unions the dictatorship cannot be effected, state functions cannot be fulfilled."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 5.

"The trade unions are reservoirs of state power, a school of Communism, a school of management. In this sphere the specific and main thing is not administration but 'contacts' 'between the central' (and local, of course) 'state administration, national economy and the broad masses of the toilers' ..."

Ibid., page 70.

"The conquest of political power by the proletariat is a gigantic step forward for the proletariat as a class, and the party must more than ever, and in a new way, not merely in the old way, educate and guide the trade unions; at the same time it must not forget that they are and will long remain a necessary 'school of Communism,' a preparatory school for training the proletarians to exercise their dictatorship, an indispensable organisation of the workers for gradually transferring the management of the whole economy of the country to the hands of the working class (and not of the separate trades), and later to the hands of all the toilers."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 91.

"...Communism has become the central question of the entire labour movement."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 93.

"We Communists are in favor of labor unions because every kind of struggle requires its own organization."

Olgin, M. J.,
Why Communism?,
page 52.

"At the same time we Communists give our support and indorsement to the revolutionary opposition within the reformist unions."

Ibid., page 53.

TRADE UNIONS (local, national, international unity)

Communists work constantly toward weaving all trade or labor unions into an international pattern of operations. Within this international labor union pattern "trade union unity" must prevail.

For all practical purposes Communists mean by "trade union unity" simply Communist controlled and led trade unions extending from local unions to an international organization. This means the complete elimination from all trade unions of every single person who disagrees with Communism, for to disagree with Communism is to create disunity. Now, what is desired is "trade union unity," hence, nothing or no person must be allowed to interfere with such "unity". To achieve this peculiar type of "unity" Communists admit it is necessary to "drive out" of the trade unions and to "crush" all social-democrats, reformists, New Dealers, anarchists, renegades, opportunists, liberals, agents of the bourgeoisie, socialists, radicals, syndicalists, Trotskyites and all other non-Communist labor leaders and members. This will result in "unity".

"We are definitely for the re-establishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale. We are for one union in each industry.

"We stand for one federation of trade unions in each country. We are for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries.

"We stand for one International of trade unions based on the class struggle."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front Against War and Fascism, page 61.

"Comrades, the most important stage in the consolidation of the united front must be the establishment of national and international trade union unity."

Ibid., page 57.

"Another profound world movement making towards labor unity, and one that holds great importance for our labor movement and for the American people, is the present tendency for the Communists and Socialists in many countries to unify their forces, either through joint political action, or by the actual amalgamation of their respective parties. Such a coming together of the Communist and Socialist movements throughout the world, paralleling the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (which is made up of workers of all labor political groups), would enormously strengthen the forces of the world's workers. ..."

Foster, William Z., Problems of Organized Labor Today, pages 33-34.

"It is hard to express in words the importance of this international trade union congress. Everywhere in the whole world the Communist ideas find ever more followers among the membership of the trade unions. The progress of Communism does not follow a straight line. It is not regular, it has got to overcome thousands of obstacles, but it moves forward just the same."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in Lenin the Great Strategist of the Class War by A. Losovsky, page 42.

"This task is to link the Communist Parties of the West with the trade unions. This task is to develop the campaign for unity in the trade union movement and to bring it to its consummation; to make it the absolute duty of all Communists to join the trade unions; to carry on systematic work in them in order to unite the workers in a united front against capital, and thus create the conditions that will enable the Communist Parties to rely upon the support of the trade unions.

"Unless this task is fulfilled it will be impossible for the Communist Parties either to

become genuine mass parties, or to prepare the necessary conditions for the victory of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 158.

"But from this it follows that if the Communist Parties wish to become a real mass force capable of advancing the revolution, they must link up with the trade unions and rely upon them for support.

"To ignore this special feature of the situation in the West is to lead the cause of the Communist movement to certain doom."

Ibid., page 159.

"Hence, the main task of the Communist Parties of the West at the present time is to develop the campaign for unity in the trade union movement and to bring it to its consummation; to see to it that all Communists, without exception, join the trade unions, there to work systematically and patiently to strengthen the solidarity of the working class in its fight against capital, and thus attain the conditions that will enable the Communist Parties to rely upon the trade unions."

Ibid., page 160.

"In the constant development of our movement, in the constant growth of the Communist ideas and Communist Parties, in the extended influence of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, in the internationalization of our methods of struggle and in the elasticity of our revolutionary tactics, in the growing international unity between the various sections of the revolutionary proletariat--in all this we can see the firm hand and the great genius of Lenin."

Losovsky, A., Lenin the
Great Strategist of the
Class War, page 38.

"The Communist Party of the United States will continue to fight with all its strength, as it has in the past period,...for international labor unity..."

"Resolution" in a Plenum
of the Communist Party
held June 11 to 13, 1943,
published in The Communist,
Volume XXII, Number 7, July,
1943, page 657.

TRADE UNIONS (World Federation).

Communists have long been giving tireless support to the World Federation of Trade Unions. They see in this organization possibilities for realizing their concept of international labor organization and "unity," even though at present it is carrying on in a weakened condition. Needless to say the World Federation of Trade Unions had the full support of all American Communists.

"The trade unions, therefore, have the imperative task to do all in their power to awaken the American people to the dangers in the present drive of American monopolists to dominate the world. They should join hands with the democratic forces throughout all nations, especially the World Federation of Trade Unions, that are striving to wipe out the remnants of fascism and to establish a peaceful, stable world."

Foster, William Z.,
Problems of Organized
Labor Today, page 15.

"The long fight of the Communists and progressives in this country for a world organization of labor, which is reflected in this book, has reached fruition in the recent formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions."

Foster, William Z.,
American Trade Unionism,
page 368.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

By the phrase "transitional period" the Communists mean that period, on a world scale, which will exist between the change from Capitalism to Socialism. It is an intervening period of revolutionary transformation. It may extend over a long period of time which will be marked by tensions, insurrections and world wars. To the Communists we are already in this world transitional period. In a more restricted sense it may be the period within one country which is changing from Capitalism to Socialism. It is the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The main feature of this period is the "ruthless suppression" and annihilation of all opposition to Communism. Following this annihilation the transitional period slowly vanishes as first the lower and finally the higher stages of Communism develop.

"Between capitalist society and communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential state form is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and the maturing of socialist revolutions, i.e., of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, insofar as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in 'peaceful' relationships as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars of imperialist states against Soviet states; a period in which the ties between the Soviet states and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc."

Program of the Communist
International, page 34.

"The characteristic feature of the transition period as a whole, is the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the organization of socialist construction, the mass training of men and women in the spirit of socialism and the gradual disappearance of classes. Only to the extent that these great historical tasks are fulfilled will society of the transition period become transformed into communist society."

Ibid., page 36.

"Between the capitalist and the Communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. To this corresponds a political transition period in which the state can be nothing else but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Marx, Karl, Capital and
Other Writings, page 355.

TRANSMISSION BELTS

This phrase refers to mass organizations which are used by the Communist Party to spread or to transmit Communism to the masses of people. It is a broad channel which runs between the Communist Party and the masses.

"What are these 'belts' or 'levers' in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is the 'directing force'? Why are they needed?"

"The levers or the belts are those very mass organizations of the proletariat without whose aid the dictatorship cannot be realised."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 275.

"It is impossible to effect the dictatorship without having a number of 'transmission belts' from the vanguard to the masses of the advanced class, and from the latter to the masses of the toilers."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume IX, page 6.

"In speaking of the importance of transmission belts between the Party and the masses, we must remember that besides the unions there are other non-Party mass organizations, already existing and others that we undertake to organize in the course of the developing counter-offensive of the proletariat."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party in Action,
page 39.

TROTSKYISM

At one time this word had a definite and precise meaning, referring to Leon Trotsky and his followers who broke with Joseph Stalin and the Communist Party and were subsequently expelled from Russia as "fifth columnists, counter-revolutionaries and provocateurs." In recent years the word is being used more loosely by Communists as a epithet, a smear term, a symbol of contempt and anger directed against liberals, socialists, radicals and labor leaders who are opposed to Communism as well as against bona fide followers of Trotsky. Communists do not apply this word to people who are opposed to Communism from the extreme right position such as ultraconservatives, "reactionaries" and the like. They call them fascists, imperialists, Hitlerites, capitalists, dogs and scoundrels. They have a special set of epithets for people right of the center and a special set for people left of the center who are non-Communists.

As just stated, Trotskyism was used to refer to Leon Trotsky and his followers who allegedly denied the possibility of developing Communism to a workable level in one country alone and therefore wanted a permanent, uninterrupted world-wide revolution. Other differences related to the peasantry and to matters of "iron discipline" within the party.

"What is the essence of Trotskyism?"

"The essence of Trotskyism consists, first of all, in the denial of the possibility of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. with the forces of the working class and the peasantry of our country. What does this mean? It means that if, in the near future, help does not come in the form of a victorious world revolution, we shall have to capitulate to the bourgeoisie and clear the road for a bourgeois-democratic republic. Consequently, we have here the bourgeois repudiation of the possibility of building socialism in our country, masked by 'revolutionary' phrase-mongering about the victory of the world revolution."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, pages 331-332.

"The essence of Trotskyism consists, secondly, in denying the possibility of drawing the basic masses of the peasantry into socialist construction in the countryside."

Ibid., page 332.

"The essence of Trotskyism consists, lastly, in the denial of the necessity for iron discipline in the Party, in recognition of the freedom of factional groupings in the Party, in the recognition of the necessity for the formation of a Trotskyist party. For Trotskyism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must be not a united and single militant Party, but a collection of groups and factions, each with its own central organisation, press and so forth."

Ibid., page 333.

"The complete collapse of the Trotskyist positions is unequivocally shown up by the historic victories of the First Five-Year Plan. Summing up the results of the First Five-Year Plan, Stalin said:

"The results of the Five-Year Plan have smashed the social-democratic thesis that it is impossible to build socialism in a single country taken by itself. The results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that it is quite possible to build socialist society in a single country, because the economic foundations of such a society have already been laid in the U.S.S.R.!"

Stalin, Joseph, as quoted
in Political Economy by
A. Leontiev, page 218.

"Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie its intellectual weapon against Bolshevism, in the form of the thesis of the impossibility of building socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis of the inevitability of the degeneration of the Bolsheviks, etc.? That weapon was given it by Trotskyism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume II, page 403.

"That is why liberalism towards Trotskyism, even when the latter is shattered and concealed, is stupidity bordering on crime, bordering on treason to the working class."

"That is why the attempts of certain 'litterateurs' and 'historians' to smuggle the disguised Trotskyist rubbish into our literature must encounter determined resistance from the Bolsheviks.

"That is why we cannot admit a literary discussion with these Trotskyist smugglers."

Ibid., page 404.

TRUMAN-MARSHALL PLAN

The Truman-Marshall Plan is viciously attacked by American Communists and all others. They charge that this Plan is nothing but a cloak for domination of the world and subsequent enslavement by the United States.

"The Truman-Marshall plans for world domination must increasingly render impossible peaceful relations with any nation; for even America's allies in imperialist aggrandizement are increasingly subordinated to Wall Street."

Jerome, V. J., "Restore American-Soviet Cooperation for Peace," Political Affairs, Volume XXVI, No. 11, November, 1947, page 969.

"The Marshall Plan is a scheme to place all of Europe in economic and political bondage to the United States. This has already been made clear by statements of its supporters."

Foster, William Z., "The Marshall Plan and the War Danger," Daily Worker, Volume XXIV, No. 174, July 21, 1947, page 7, column 3.

"The Marshall Plan is the application of the Truman Doctrine in more circumspect and cautious terms to the specific problem of enlarging the American imperialist sphere in Western Europe, including Germany, and in the colonial world. The leading colonial powers are to be found in Western Europe."

Allen, James S., "Truman and Marshall," Daily Worker, Volume XXIV, No. 149, June 21, 1947, page 7.

"The Truman Doctrine is an attempt to make a big new advance for American imperialism."

Starobin, Joseph, "The Truman Doctrine," Political Affairs, May, 1947, Volume XXVI, page 403.

"The Truman Doctrine was intended to cancel out the strengthened position of the Soviet Union after the last General Assembly meeting in New York and the successful writing of the peace treaties for the Balkan countries, Finland, and Italy."

Ibid., page 404.

"The most revealing deception, however, revolves around the relation between the Truman Doctrine and the United Nations. On this point, every attempt to repair the official embarrassment before our own people has only exposed the real hostility of American imperialism to the very foundations of the United Nations."

Ibid., page 406.

"The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan will most assuredly bring on a new war unless reversed by the people's struggle."

The National Board of the Communist Party, USA, "Labor Day Statement of Communist Party, U.S.A.," The Worker, Volume XII, No. 35, August 31, 1947, page 8.

UNEVEN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Various references have been made to the Communist interpretation of uneven economic and political development. As it has played an important part in the unfolding of Communist theory, the making of important decisions, and the formulation of practical programs, greater detail will be devoted to the concept at this time.

Communists say that uneven, irregular economic and political development is "an absolute law of the capitalistic system. Hence, partial victory of Communism becomes possible first in one country and then in another. Revolution need not take place at the same time all over the world. Because of uneven economic development not all nations are ready for the Communist revolution at the same time. This fact was used as an argument against Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent, uninterrupted revolution. As Communist victories mount in one nation after another they will form a solid bloc against the non-Communist world, eventually attacking as one to annihilate the non-Communist world.

"Let us now turn to the passages from the works to Lenin. Here is what Lenin wrote even in 1915, during the imperialist war:

'Uneven economic and political development' is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few, or even in one single capitalist country taken separately. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would rise against the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of the other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their state . . . Because--the free federation of nations in socialism is impossible without a more

"or less prolonged and stubborn struggle of the socialist republics against the backward states. ("The United States of Europe Slogan," Collected Works, Vol. XVIII.)"

"In other words it turns out that the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, surrounded by capitalists, is not only capable, by its own efforts, of removing the internal contradictions between the proletariat and the peasantry, but it can and must in addition build socialism, organize socialist economy, and build up an armed force in order to come to the aid of the proletarians in surrounding countries in their struggle for the overthrow of capital."

Stalin, Joseph
Leninism,
Volume 1, page 166.

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute of capitalism. This unevenness is still more pronounced and acute in the epoch of imperialism. Hence, it follows that the international proletarian revolution cannot be conceived as single event occurring simultaneously all over the world. At first socialism may be victorious in a few, or even in one single capitalist country. Every such proletarian victory, however, broadens the basis of the world revolution and consequently, still further intensifies the general crisis of capitalism. Thus, the capitalist system as a whole reaches the point of its final collapse; the dictatorship of finance capital perishes and gives place to the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Program of the Communist
International" Handbook of
Marxism, page 989.

"The uneven development of capitalism, which became more

"accentuated in the period of imperialism, has given rise to a variety of types of capitalism, to different stages of ripeness of capitalism in different countries, and to a variety of specific conditions of the revolutionary process."

Ibid., page 1010.

"The revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants is worldwide. It varies in intensity, corresponding to the uneven development of capitalism in the several countries, from intensified strike movements to actual struggles for power."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 55.

"Thus the Leninist law of uneven development is of tremendous significance for revolutionary practice. Stalin points out that even during the war, Lenin, basing himself on the law of the uneven development of imperialist countries, counterposed to the theory of the opportunists his theory of the proletarian revolution..."

Leontiev A., Political
Economy, pages 216-217.

UNITED FRONT

The united front is one of the most important Communist tactics for organizing and using the mass pressure of great numbers of deceived non-Communists to further Communist objectives. It may be applied on a local, state, regional, national or international level. Communists begin with popular, pressing current issues relating to unemployment, wages, hours of labor, general working conditions and the like. They build a variety of organizations around these issues into which they seek to sweep large numbers of laborers, and all others who can be misled into supporting veiled Communist objectives. The objectives are gradually broadened and related not alone to domestic policies but also to foreign policies. The procedure can even develop to the point of becoming a "united front government." It can become a powerful weapon of a small minority Communist Party which preserves its independent role at the very time it is manipulating vast numbers of non-Communists in the behalf of Communist designs. The united front appeals not only to the workers but also to liberals, progressives and reformists while at the same time it works to ultimately destroy the freedom of labor unions and all that liberals, progressives and reformists represent.

At the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow, Russia this thesis was advanced: "The tactic of the United Front was and is a method of Revolution and not of peaceful evolution." However, for public consumption in their day to day work, Communists often try to conceal the real meaning of this thesis behind the cloak of "unity of action." They urge the laborers to unite behind militant working class leadership, and by this is of course meant, Communist leadership. Behind this "leadership" workers are asked to form one solid bloc with which to confront their employers, ostensibly to improve labor conditions but actually to further, unknowingly on the part of the laborers, the Communist revolution. Workers are propagandized with arguments to the effect that if they form a united front majority against the exploiting, minority group of employers the working class will be "invincible."

In recent months American Communists have been using the word "coalition" (e.g. "peace coalition," "anti-imperialist coalition" etc.) in a manner which is practically synonymous with the phrase "united front."

To sum up: the phrase "united front" as used by Communists serves two main purposes:

1. It serves to divide the leadership of the Communist opposition. It confuses, ensnarls, weakens and perplexes the great masses of people who would normally oppose Communism. It splits them into differing groups, and isolates them from united leadership, thereby rendering their opposition to Communism ineffectual. In the language of the professional Communist revolutionary the united front is a deadly, revolutionary weapon which, if properly used, divides, splits and shatters all non-Communist mass organizations and efforts.
2. After dividing, weakening and confusing the opposition the united front tactics are next used to win the people over to the Communist Party. This is first done by advocating general collaboration with broad Communist Party objectives which may also be the objectives of others as they need not be purely Communist objectives (e.g. better housing, public health provisions etc.). The second step will be subtle indoctrination with Communist ideas and an inducement to join the Communist Party or to at least give full support to its program.

In view of the great importance which Communists attach to united front tactics (their slogan has been: "To the masses through the United Front") and because of the vital role these tactics constantly play in the programs of American Communists, it is believed desirable to allow the Communists to describe the united front in their own words and in some detail.

"...The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon..."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front, pages 30-31.

"The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the starting point and main content of the united front in all capitalist countries."

Ibid., pages 35-36.

"If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front only in the struggle for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a government on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a government of the proletarian united front, or of the anti-fascist people's front, will become not only possible but necessary in the interests of the proletariat. And in that case we shall declare for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation."

Ibid., page 68.

"The united front of the proletariat is hindered by the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, by Social-Democratic ideology and the Social-Democratic policy of class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie."

Ibid., pages 144-146.

"We must tirelessly prepare the working class for a rapid change in forms and methods of struggle when there is a change in the situation. As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition from the defensive to the offensive against capital, steering toward the organization of a mass political strike. It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade unions of the countries concerned."

Ibid., page 36.

"But we must strengthen the Communist Parties in every way and increase their membership for the very reason that we seriously want to strengthen the united front."

Ibid., page 83.

"In connection with the changed international and internal situation, exceptional importance attaches in all colonial and semi-colonial countries to the question of the anti-imperialist united front."

Ibid., page 66.

"United front means uninterrupted, patient, convincing work to destroy the influence of reformists and the bourgeoisie."

Peters, J., The Communist Party: A Manual On Organization, page 21.

"The Communist Party understands that the road towards our main strategic aim, the winning of the majority of the working class for revolutionary battles, leads through a broad united front of the masses. The united front is organized by the Communist Party for the united struggle of Communists and all other workers..."

Ibid., page 18.

"The united front could and should be built on all issues concerning the interests of the working class, such as war and fascism, elections, unemployment insurance, wage cuts, conditions, hours, defense of political prisoners, etc., besides the immediate, daily problems of the workers in the factory or in the industry."

Ibid., page 21.

"The Communist Party in the united front activities does not give up for a moment its independent political role. Thus, the Party, in all phases of the united-front action, while fighting side by side with the non-Party workers, must politicalize the struggle and show its perspective clearly."

Ibid., page 21.

"The building of the united front and of the people's front is a link in the process which leads us to the revolutionary alliance under proletarian hegemony - the alliance which will fight for power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Communist, January,
1936, page 12.

"It will also become clear why the Communist Party considers the United Front, in this period, the major road along which the masses will become prepared, on the basis of their own experiences, to struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis and for a Soviet government in the United States under the leadership of the Communist Party."

Bittelman, Alex, "Introduction" to Communism in the United States, by Earl Browder, page ix.

"A united front can have revolutionary significance only if and when it does not hinder the Communist Party from conducting its independent political and organizational work, only if it does not prevent it from organizing the proletariat into an independent political force, rousing the peasantry against the landlords, openly organizing a revolution of workers and peasants and thus preparing the conditions necessary for the hegemony of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, page 237.

"The tactic of the United Front must be applied in all mass activities. In each case a special form suitable for the occasion must be found concretely. That means the whole Party must be trained to alertness against distortions of the united front and against deviations. These are of two general types: the right deviation which consists of hiding the face of the Party, sacrificing the main political line, emphasizing the formal aspects of the united front at the expense of the real struggle. The 'left' deviation, which is opportunism covered with deft phrases, is characterized by contempt for the patient, systematic, daily work necessary to win the workers who

are under reformist leadership; by rigid and mechanical approach to united front problems; by fear to plunge boldly into the broadest mass struggles.

"In all of our election campaigns, we have the problem of giving them a united front character. The coming Congressional elections must everywhere be made a real united front drive, with the objective of electing at least a few Communist Congressmen from a few concentration points."

Browder, Earl, Communism in the United States, page 58.

"There are still some tendencies in our movement to lock upon the united front as purely a matter of addressing letters to the top committees of various organizations and conducting negotiations with these committees. But this is not the essence of a united front at all. Letters and negotiations with top committees of reformist organizations have their place at certain moments: they can be used to dramatize issues before the broadest masses and arouse these masses to action and to a movement toward unity."

Ibid., page 60.

"The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists. The united front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social-fascists, for the possession of the masses."

Ibid., page 149.

"The united front tactic plays a growingly important role in the trade union field and strike movements. This is especially true in

the struggle against company unions, and in those industries where two or more trade unions are already being built among the workers. In every case, revolutionary forces must come forward as the practical fighters for uniting all workers against the company unions, for finding the forms to unify the struggles of the workers in the A. F. of L., T.U.U.L. and independent unions."

Ibid., page 60.

"The united front tactics, the chief object of which...is the establishment of the unity of all workers in their struggle against capitalism, the unity of their militant actions are the tactics of irreconcilable struggle against the main obstacle in that struggle, viz., social democracy."

15 Years of the Communist
International, Workers Library
Publishers, page 23.

"The Communist Parties of all countries must devote special attention to the setting up of non-Party organizations like the League for the Struggle Against Imperialism and to the question of establishing a united front between the proletariat in capitalist countries and the national liberation movements in subject countries for the struggle against war..."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Communists,
Resolution of the VI World Congress
of the Communist International, July -
August, 1928, page 59.

"Hence the third conclusion: the inevitability of wars under imperialism and the inevitability of a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East, thus forming a united world front of the revolution as against the world front of imperialism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 31.

UNITED STATES (its democratic republic)

In spite of verbal jugglery, literary trickery and limitless forms of subterfuge, all designed to deceive the American people, American Communists cannot avoid or explain away the fact that they detest American democracy and intend to destroy our present democratic way of life. This seems to be such a self-evident fact that it ought not to fall within the realm of normal debate. Rational, sincere people do not debate the obvious. To listen to one person debate that World War II did take place and to a second person debate that World War II never took place at all, would be somewhat of a spectacle. So, too, is the attempt of Communists and their supporters to convince the American people that they approve of American democracy and would not destroy it.

"The United States is a bourgeois-democratic republic in which the capitalist class controls the economic and political life of the country. The dictatorship of the capitalist class is veiled. The fact that democratic rights exist, does not change the fundamental class character of the American state as a dictatorship of the capitalist class."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared by
National Education Department,
Communist Party of the United
States of America, page 24.

"The so-called Democratic republic of the United States is a capitalist democracy which is a masked, camouflaged form of the dictatorship of the capitalist class. ... It means that bourgeois democracy, as a system and form of government, is and can be nothing else but a dictatorship of the capitalist class, camouflaged with various parliamentary and other 'democratic' trimmings, regardless of

whether the government is held by the Republican, Democratic, 'Socialist' or any other bourgeois or reformist political organization."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party in Action, page 16.

"It is argued that in America there is democracy, that there is a 'White House' there. I say: slavery was abolished half a century ago. The war over slavery ended in 1865. Since then billionaires have sprung up. They hold the whole of America in their financial grip, are preparing to strangle Mexico, and will inevitably go to war with Japan over the partition of the Pacific."

Lenin, V. I., War and the Workers, page 27.

"In Western Europe and America parliament has become an object of special hatred to the advanced revolutionaries of the working class."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume X, page 104.

UNITED STATES (political parties)

Although Communists loudly shout for the right of their Party to exist in the United States, one of the very first things the Communists would do on seizing power would be to deny the right of existence to all other parties. The Communist Party alone would rule supreme. It would tolerate no opposition; no criticism; no rival parties.

"The Communist Party is the only Party that represents the interests of these toiling masses of workers, farmers, Negroes, lower city petty bourgeoisie."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 234.

"The other parties and groups--Republican, Democratic, Progressive and Socialist--are the enemies of these classes and the tools of the big capitalists."

Ibid., page 235.

"The Republican party is the party of finance capital, of the great bankers and industrialists of Wall Street, of which the Morgan interests stand at the head."

Ibid., page 235.

"The Democratic party is no less the party of the big capitalists."

Ibid., page 235.

"Therefore, it is the task of the Democratic party, with a flood of demagogy, to delude these masses, and to prevent their taking serious steps against the capitalists, by keeping them fettered with the two capitalist party system. This is the menace of the Roosevelts, Garners, Murrays, Bakers, etc."

Ibid., page 237.

"Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties-- Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.-- will be liquidated, the Communist party functioning alone as the Party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule, including chambers of commerce, employers' associations, rotary clubs, American Legion, Y.M.C.A., and such fraternal orders as the Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Columbus, etc."

Ibid., page 275.

UNITED STATES (efficiency and practicality)

Today Communists the world over relentlessly condemn everything which pertains to the United States. In spite of their hatred of the United States there were occasions in the past when Communist authorities were forced to pay grudging complements to United States efficiency and practicality.

"The Union of the Russian revolutionary spirit with American practicality--that is the essence of Leninism in Party work..."

The Workers Monthly, February, 1926,
pages 159-160.

"American efficiency is that indomitable force which neither knows nor recognizes obstacles; which with its business-like perseverance brushes aside all obstacles; which continues at a task once started until it is finished, even if it is a minor task; and without which serious constructive work is inconceivable."

Stalin, Joseph, Foundations of Leninism, page 126.

UNITED STATES (the ideal of capitalists)

It has been the historical position of Communist authorities that the United States is the ideal capitalist nation, hence, the importance they attach to the development of Communism within the United States. It would be weakening Capitalism in its strongest sphere.

"What the downbreak of Russian Czarism would be for the great military monarchies of Europe--the snapping of their mainstay--that is for the bourgeois of the whole world the breaking out of class war in America. For America after all was the ideal of all bourgeois; a country rich, vast, expanding, with purely bourgeois institutions unleavened by feudal remnants or monarchical traditions and without a permanent and hereditary proletariat. Here everyone could become, if not a capitalist, at all events an independent man, producing or trading, with his own means, for his own account. And because there were not, as yet, classes with opposing interests, our--and your--bourgeois thought that America stood above class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down, the last Bourgeois Paradise on earth is fast changing into a Purgatorio, and can only be prevented from becoming, like Europe, an Inferno by the go-ahead pace at which the development of the newly fledged proletariat of America will take place."

Engels, Frederick, and
Marx, Karl, Selected
Correspondence, pages
448-449.

"The United States is unequalled in rapidity of development of capitalism at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, in the high level of development already attained, in the vastness of its territory--on which is

employed the most up-to-date technical equipment suitable for the remarkable variety of natural and historical conditions--and in the degree of political freedom and the cultural level of the masses of the people. Indeed, this country is in many respects the model and ideal of our bourgeois civilisation."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume XII, page 190.

UNITED STATES (and the power of capital)

In keeping with the concentrated ideological attack on the United States as being the last powerful fortress of democracy, Communists keep repeating in various forms the old Leninist thought that capital has permeated and distorted every layer of American society. They even deny that free, popular elections have any material bearing on the situation.

"Nowhere else is the power of capital--of a handful of millionaires--over all society manifested so crudely, with such open venality, as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates all society. Nor does any democratic republic, nor any right to vote change the essence of the matter."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in
The Law of the Soviet State,
Vyshinsky, Andrei Y., page
11.

UNITED STATES (a corrupt power)

Communists consider the United States to be a corrupt power. They charge it is a rich man's state, a dictatorship of the capitalist class. Communists disdainfully condemn the finest expressions of American democracy as being nothing more than democratic bunk.

"In a democratic republic, Engels continues, 'wealth wields its power indirectly, but all the more effectively,' first, by means of 'direct corruption of the officials' (America); second, by means of 'the alliance of the government with the stock exchange' (France and America)."

Lenin, V. I., State and Revolution, page 13.

"The present form of government in the United States is a masked dictatorship of the capitalist class for the oppression and suppression of the workers and all the exploited."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist Party in Action, page 16.

"The truth of the matter is that this is a rich man's State and a rich man's government."

"You, an American worker, may be shocked to hear such a statement. You have been fed so much 'democracy' bunk that you think it almost sacrilege to reveal the true nature of the State. This is exactly what your masters are after with their propaganda."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?, page 32.

UNITED STATES (ruled by corrupt politicians)

The historical position of all Communists seems to be that all politicians are corrupt except Communist politicians who, of their very nature, are incorruptible. Particular stress is placed upon the alleged corruption of politicians in the United States. This tactical line pursued by present day Communists is not a new one having been established in principle by Frederick Engels and others many years ago.

"In what did the chief characteristic of the old State consist? Society had created for itself definite organs, originally by simple division of labor, for the provision of its common interests. But these organs, at the head of which is the power of the State, had in the course of time, and in the service of their own separate interests, transformed themselves from the servants of society into its masters. And this is true not only of the hereditary monarchy, but also of the democratic republic. Nowhere do the politicians form a more distinct and more powerful subdivision of the nation than in the United States. Here both the great parties, to which the predominance alternately falls, are in their turn ruled by people who make a business of politics, who speculate upon seats in the legislative bodies of the Union and the separate States, or who live by agitation for their party and are rewarded with offices after its victory. It is well known how the Americans have tried for thirty years past to throw off this yoke, which has become intolerable, and how, notwithstanding, they sink ever deeper into the mire of corruption. It is just in the United States that we can most clearly see the process through which the State acquires a position of independent power over against the society, for which it was originally designed as a mere tool. ...we have here two great rings of political speculators, that alternately take possession of the power of State and exploit it with the most corrupt means and to the most corrupt purposes. And the nation is powerless against these men, who nominally are its servants, but in reality are its two overruling and

plundering hordes of politicians."

Engels, Frederick, statement
in Capital and Other Writings
by Karl Marx, pages 379-380.

"The State is active indeed, and if you, a worker, fail to realize that these bluecoats and district attorneys, judges and prison wardens, governors and presidents, generals and admirals together with the gentlemen in the legislatures, State and Federal, are nothing but a corps of agents of big capital, you are merely reacting the way these gentry wish you to."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?,
page 35.

UNITED STATES (center of international reaction and fascism)

When speaking of international reaction Communists point their accusing finger at the United States. They charge that fascism and reaction are presently receiving their most powerful assistance from the United States. Some of the same Communist arguments are now being used against the United States that were used against Nazi Germany only a few years ago.

"Reaction and fascism now find their most dangerous support within the United States, for the simple reason that this country is today the most powerful in the capitalist world."

Field, Frederick W.,
"San Francisco Balance
Sheet," Political
Affairs, August, 1945,
page 681.

"...the centre of international reaction has shifted to America. This is incontrovertibly borne out by common, everyday facts."

Editorial, New Times,
September 17, 1947,
page 2.

UNITED STATES (a belligerent instrument of war)

The trite charge that the United States is belligerent and a war-monger, which is carried in all current Communist literature, is not a charge peculiar to our postwar period. It is an old charge which Communists manufactured many years ago, one which they resurrect with fresh enthusiasm whenever they believe it will serve as effective propaganda.

"...Economically, the United States is belligerent; and economic belligerency ultimately produces military belligerency. It is, moreover, becoming the centre of reaction, the nation wherein the final struggle between Socialism and Capitalism will be waged, which will decide the destiny of the world."

The Revolutionary Age, Volume I,
Number 20, March 1, 1919, page
3, column 2.

"The government of the United States is not only an instrument of aggression against the workers in the class struggle in this country. It is also the instrument through which the capitalists fight their battles against the competing capitalists of other countries.

"The power of the government is openly used by the financial lords of Wall Street to open up weaker countries for these investments and to protect the investments.

"The necessity which compelled the capitalists of each nation to hurl tens of millions of men into the death struggle upon the European battlefields has not been abolished. Driven by the same necessity, the American capitalists are using the governmental power to advance their interests in all parts of the world."

The Second Year of the
Workers Party of America--
Report of the Central
Executive Committee to the
Third National Convention,
pages 77, 78.

"...the United States Government has exposed itself in the eyes of peace-loving mankind as the principal instigator and inspirer of a new world war."

"Statement of American All-Slav Congress," For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy, February 15, 1949, page 1.

"After the First World War, Lenin wrote that the 'idealized democratic republic' of the U.S.A. 'has proved in fact to be a form of the most frantic imperialism, of the most shameless oppression and strangulation of weak and small nations.'"

"Under the Great Lenin-Stalin Banner to Victory of Communism," For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy, February 1, 1949, page 2.

UNITED STATES (freedom of the press)

In spite of the fact that Communists are free to criticize the American press, they insist that no effective freedom of this type exists in the United States. In spite of the fact that no one group or power has any monopoly over the American press or over freedom of thought, speech and action, Communists never tire of charging that all are subject to capitalist domination. What is of even more significance is the Communist assertion that this capitalist power and "cynicism" relative to freedom of the press is potent "in proportion to the development of democracy and the republican social order, as in America."

"Freedom of the press stands no better in countries of bourgeois democracy, inasmuch as 'this freedom is a delusion so long as capitalist commandeer the better printing establishments, and the largest stores of paper, and capital retains its power over the press--a power manifested throughout the world with a cynicism brilliant and cutting in proportion to the development of democracy and the republican social order, as in America.'"

Vyshinsky, Andrei Y., The Law of The Soviet State, page 612.

UNITED STATES (and military training)

At this particular period American Communists are strongly opposed to universal military training in the United States. They seek to smear this national defense program by making insidious comparisons with Nazi practices.

"The opposition in the country to universal military training is strong but the Army is putting on a campaign of ballyhoo and pressure which will require even greater opposition. One must see clearly that the effort to militarize our youth is an integral part of monopoly's strategy at home and abroad. It cannot be separated from American imperialism's effort to strait-jacket Europe and Asia, or from the drive to repress the labor movement within the country. If one compares the Army's military training propaganda with certain pages from Hitler's 'Mein Kampf,' the whole issue becomes even clearer."

Gardner, Virginia; "Brass Hats and Your Boy," New Masses, Volume LXII, Number 5, January 28, 1947, page 10.

UNITED STATES (and Progressivism)

Communists regularly refer to progress and to progressivism, seeking to identify themselves with the desirable elements which these terms convey. However, when any progressive movement has developed in the United States which cannot be used effectively to spread Communism, then, all Communists instead of being in favor of progress and progressivism are opposed to it. They become reactionaries, reacting against change and progress.

"The Progressive bloc also does not represent the interests of the producing masses."

Foster, William Z., Toward -
Soviet America, page 237.

"Progressivism is a grave danger to the working class. This is because of the widespread existence of petty bourgeois illusions among the workers. The LaFollettes, Borahs, La Guardias, Morrises, Pinchots, Murphys, etc., are disorganizers and demoralizers of the workers and poor farmers. The Progressive bloc is just another lightning rod to shield the capitalist profit edifice."

Ibid., page 239.

UNITED STATES (and non-Marxist Socialism)

Communists are not only opposed to liberals, progressives and reformists but also to all socialists who will not subject themselves to the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of socialistic principles. The very nature of Marxist Scientific Socialism or Communism prevents it from granting freedom of thought and action to even fellow socialists. All who refuse to accept the narrow, rigid dogma of Communism are to be ultimately destroyed.

"The Socialist party is the third party of capitalism. This is amply demonstrated by its history in the United States and all other countries. The Socialist party has nothing constructive to offer the workers in their daily struggles now or for their ultimate emancipation. The fact that this party hides its capitalist face behind a pretense of radicalism makes it more, not less dangerous."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 239-240.

"The Socialist party all over the world is a main pillar of the capitalist system."

Ibid., page 240.

"The Socialist party stabs the working class in the back. It, together with its fringe elements of Musteites, Lovestoneites, Trozkyites, etc., has nothing in common with Socialism."

Ibid., page 241.

UNITED STATES (in conflict with Great Britain)

Communists for some years have sought to promulgate the falsehood that the United States and Great Britain are bitter rivals and are in fundamental conflict with each other. The peaceful, friendly cooperative relations maintained with Great Britain during the recent past have done much to dissipate this Communist falsehood. However, even now Communists would lose no opportunity to drive a devastating wedge between Great Britain and the United States were it possible to do so.

"The shifting of the economic centre of the world to the United States of America and the fact that the "Dollar Republic" has become a world exploiter have caused the relations between United States and European capitalism, particularly British capitalism, to become strained. The conflict between Great Britain--the most powerful of the old, conservative imperialist States and the United States--the greatest of the young imperialist States, which has already won world hegemony for itself--is becoming the pivot of the world conflicts among the finance capitalist States."

"Communist International Programme,"
Handbook of Marxism,
page 982.

"America, that country of gigantic capitalist growth, wherever it turns, be it in China or the colonial countries, in South America or Africa, everywhere it encounters tremendous obstacles in the shape of the strongholds already held by England."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume II,
page 140.

UNITED STATES (cannot come to terms with Europe)

Communists have in the past and do today in a slightly modified form, propagandize the idea that the United States and Europe cannot agree upon any satisfactory relations. Their object is to sow seeds of hatred and distrust between the United States and Europe, believing that Soviet Russia will be the gainer thereby. Communists would isolate the United States from the rest of the world.

"America cannot come to terms with Europe--that is a fact proved by history...America cannot come to terms with the other countries because they are separated by a profound economic rift, because America is richer than the others."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, page 289.

"All bourgeois literature testifies to a growing hatred of America, while in America there is a growing demand for agreement with Russia."

Ibid., page 289.

UNITED STATES (imperialism)

Communist literature of today is filled with allegations that the United States is an imperialistic nation. This assumes considerable significance in relation to the Communist doctrine that imperialism is the last or dying stage of capitalism; that it is the very eve of the Communist revolution.

"Lenin, in his book 'Imperialism,' proved that the United States is an imperialist country. The consolidation of gigantic monopolies, the growth of great banks, the merging of banking and industrial capital under the hegemony of finance capital, the export of capital to other lands, the allocation of the world market through cartels and similar devices, and the territorial division of the world among the great powers--which Lenin analyzed as the basic features of 'Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism,'--are all fully characteristic of the United States.

"Regarding the last point in this analysis, the territorial division of the world, the United States is of course not a colonial power to the same extent as Great Britain and France are. But this does not signify that it is not an imperialist country. It has its own methods of dominating and exploiting other peoples, without actively occupying their territories. It secures such imperialist domination quite effectively by its tremendous economic power, by the weight of its great military force, by its occupation of key bases all over the world, by the aggressiveness of its foreign policies. All of Lenin's principles of imperialism are valid with regard to the United States."

Foster, William Z.,
"Leninism and Some Practical
Problems of the Postwar
Period" quoted in Political
Affairs, February, 1946,
page 99.

"The reactionary bipartisan Byrnes-Vandenberg foreign policy of the Truman Administration promoted this aim of U. S. imperialism."

Weiss, Max, "The Soviet Anniversary and the Fight For Peace", Political Affairs, November, 1946, page 965.

"American imperialism is seeking to Hitlerize the world as it is trying to Hitlerize the United States and to enslave the American people itself."

Bittelman, Alexander quoted in Political Affairs, Volume XXVI, No. 8, June, 1947, page 513.

"In reality, the United States is not only an imperialist country, but the strongest and most aggressive one of all. This country has all the qualities of an imperialist power, as defined by Lenin. Its industry and banks are highly monopolized and are under the general control of finance capital; it is far and away the world's greatest exporter of capital; and it systematically carries out a ruthless policy of dominating the markets and peoples of the world."

Foster, William Z., "Marxism and American 'Exceptionalism'", Political Affairs, Volume XXVI, No. 9, September, 1947, page 800.

"When capitalism then, reaches the stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed, it is imperialist capitalism.

"The U.S.A. reached this stage before the close of the 19th century. The U.S.A. is an imperialist state."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 19.

"The current activities of American imperialism are a grave danger to the peace of the world, a threat to the unity of the United Nations, a menace to everything that this war was fought for."

Foster, William Z., The Menace of American Imperialism and America Needs the Communist Party, page 8.

"The main, leading force of the imperialist camp is the U.S.A. ...

"The anti-imperialist and anti-fascist forces constitute the other camp. The U.S.S.R. and countries of the new democracy constitute the mainstay of that camp."

Zhdanov, A. A., "On the International Situation", Political Affairs, Volume XXVI, No. 12, December, 1947, pages 1093, 1096.

"American imperialism is now strong. Its champions ridicule the idea of a revolution. But their assurance is not now quite so sure as it was a couple of years ago, before the great industrial collapse. They are beginning to feel a deadly fear. The Russian revolution is to them such a terrible reality. But they console themselves with the thought that 'it can never happen in this country', and they scorn the at-present weak Communist Party. But they overlook the detail that the same attitude was taken towards the pre-revolution Bolsheviki. Especially did the Socialist Moguls of the Second International look upon them as narrow sectarians and upon Lenin as a fanatical dreamer. But one thing is certain, American capitalism is part and parcel of the world capitalist system and is subject to all its basic weaknesses and contradictions; it travels the same way to its destruction as capitalism in general.

"The world capitalist system is in decay. All the king's horses and all the king's men cannot save it. Its general crisis deepens; the masses develop revolutionary consciousness; the international revolutionary storm forces gather. Capitalism, it is true, makes a strong and stubborn resistance. The advance of the revolution is difficult, its pace is slow, and it varies from country to country, but its direction is sure and its movement irresistible."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 342-343.

UNITED STATES (and world domination)

From many different angles Communists incessantly play upon the theme of world domination by the United States. Even the most flagrant violation of agreements by Soviet Russia in its expansion program will be so twisted and distorted as to make it appear that the United States seeks world domination and not Soviet Russia.

"American imperialism's drive for world domination, its anti-Soviet struggle and incitation, its intervention against the new European democracies and the people's forces in China, its Truman Doctrine, its gigantic peacetime military establishment, its monopoly of the atom bomb--all this undermines the peace, and, if not checked, will lead to a new world war. The struggle against the Truman Doctrine, the war-breeding policy of American imperialist domination of the world, is a central task of all peace-loving Americans."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared by
National Education Department,
Communist Party of the United
States of America, pages 22-23.

"...In the United States itself the great monopolists of the North and East are trying to prevent the full industrialization of the South and West, why, then, should we expect them to encourage a full industrialization of Latin America? Actually American imperialism, although it is working with new methods, is now stronger and more active and ruthless than ever. The United States is coming out of this war the most powerful nation in the world; militarily, economically, and financially. Within the United States the great trusts and monopolies have enormously enriched themselves

during the war and, with all other capitalist countries sorely weakened by the struggle against Germany and Japan, these big combinations of capital are definitely nursing ambitions to achieve American imperialist world domination."

Foster, William Z., quoted
in Political Affairs,
October, 1945, page 915.

"The key to understanding the role of the Truman Administration in the postwar world can be found in the fact that the United States is today the strongest imperialist power with enormous military and economic strength. The decisive American monopolists are determined to utilize this power to achieve world domination for U.S. imperialism. However, the various sections of monopoly capital may differ as to the method, they are united, in the final analysis, in striving to achieve this end. Hence, their policy of buttressing the weakened world capitalist system. This explains American policy in China."

Hall, Rob Fowler, "Stop
American Intervention in
China!", quoted in Political
Affairs, December, 1945,
page 1065.

"It has embarked upon a vigorous expansionist program designed to bring the whole world under its sway. With its tremendous navy, air force and army; with its control of the atomic bomb; with its vast industrial system and great financial reserves, and also in view of the war-shattered state of affairs of other great powers, the United States Government, driven on by the big monopolists

who control it, is pursuing an unprecedented imperialist course."

Foster, William Z., "American Imperialism, Leader of World Reaction," Political Affairs, August, 1946, page 689.

"The United States emerged from this war as the strongest imperialist power in the midst of a weakened world capitalist system. Today the dominant sections of American monopoly capital aim to utilize in an imperialist way the gigantic postwar military and economic power of the United States. Despite important differences over methods, the big monopolists are united around one central objective--to achieve American world domination, to augment America's spheres of influence and trade advantages through oppressive policies toward other peoples, to buttress American and hence world capitalism. It is this which explains the main line of foreign policy of Washington since V-J Day."

Dennis, Eugene, report to the National Committee of the Communist Party of the USA, quoted in The Worker, December 2, 1945, Section 3, page 3, Column 1. See also: Political Affairs, January, 1946, pages 31-32.

"The U.S.A. has proclaimed a new, openly predatory, expansionist orientation.

"The new, openly expansionist orientation of the U.S.A. has as its aim the establishment of the world domination of U.S. Imperialism."

Political Affairs, Volume XXVI,
Number 12, December, 1947,
page 1093.

"American imperialism is seeking to Hitlerize
the world..."

Political Affairs, Volume XXVI,
Number 6, June, 1947, page 513.

UNITED STATES (structure of the Communist Party)

The structural organization of the Communist Party of the United States proceeds from the Communist doctrine of "democratic centralism." (This phrase has been described in Volume I of this Glossary.) According to their Constitution, American Communists consider the club to be the basic open unit of the Communist Party at the present time. Proceeding from this unit Communists erect their structural organization around state and district organizations. Reigning over these organizational forms is the National Convention. The National Convention elects a National Committee. It is this Committee, usually dominated by one man, the National Chairman, which wields supreme power over the entire Party; its organizational divisions, membership and policies.

Today, as a secrecy measure and as a means of circumventing possible legal processes, American Communists are breaking up the club unit into groups. These groups usually consist of about five people. There are indications that Communist officials have recommended that group meetings be held in restaurants, automobiles and in "secure" private places in order to escape detection. Each group is in charge of a group leader.

"The basic organization of the Party is the Club which shall be organized on a shop, community or industrial basis. ...The Clubs shall meet regularly and shall establish appropriate committees under the direction of the Club Executive Committee. ...

"The State organization shall comprise all clubs in one State and shall have the power to establish all necessary subdivisions such as county, city, or section organizations and committees.

"The highest body of the State organization is the State Convention, which shall convene at least once every two years and be composed of delegates elected by the conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or by the Clubs in the State...

"The State Convention shall elect by secret ballot and majority vote, a State Committee....The State Committee has the responsibility to carry out the Convention

"decisions and direct the activities of the State organization between State Conventions. ...

"District organizations may be established by the National Committee. Where these cover two or more states, the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committee, elected by and representing the Party membership of the States composing these districts....

"The highest authority of the Party is the National Convention. Regular National Conventions shall be held every two years. The National Conventions are authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership...

"The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions...

"The National Convention is responsible for the enforcement of the Constitution and the execution of the general policies adopted by the National Convention.

"Between National Conventions, the National Committee is the highest authority of the Party, representing the Party as a whole, and as such has the sole and complete authority to make all decisions and take all actions necessary and incidental to the good and welfare of the entire Party, and to act upon all problems and developments occurring between Conventions. In connection with its duties, and in the exercise of its responsibilities therefore, the National Committee shall guide and direct all the political and organizational work of the Party; organize and supervise its various departments and committees; elect or remove editors of its publications who shall work under its leadership and guidance; organize and direct all undertakings of importance to the entire Party; and administer the national treasury....

"The National Committee shall have the duty and the authority to make such decisions or take such actions as it deems necessary in any emergency or situation affecting the life and welfare of the Party. ...

"The National Committee shall elect a chairman, a general secretary, and such other officers or committees as it decides upon."

The Constitution of the
Communist Party of the
United States of America,
published by the Communist
Party, U.S.A., National Office
35 East 12th Street, New York 3,
New York, October, 1948,
pages 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

UNITED STATES (Communist Party's international nature)

The Communist Party of the United States of its very nature is international. The principles on which it rests transcend all national boundary lines. The interests of this Party therefore necessarily must be in conformity with the interests of other Communist parties throughout the world. Their actions tend to merge into an over-all pattern of action. This fact was brought out clearly when the Communist parties of the world were affiliated with the Third International. As previously stated, though this International has now been dissolved its basic principles were never abandoned. Hence, their international ramifications still affect the Communist Party of the United States as does also the ramifications of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B).

"The Communist Party of the United States, in line with its program of class struggle, unites with the revolutionary workers of the world. It is the American section of the Communist International. The Communist International carries out a united revolutionary policy on a world scale, with the necessary adaptations for the special conditions in the various countries. The Communist International is a disciplined world party; only such a party can defeat world imperialism. Its leading party, by virtue of its great revolutionary experience, is the Russian Communist party."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pages. 258-259.

"If this has reference to the relations between the Communist Party of America and the Third International, I must say that the Communist Party of America as part of the Communist International most likely pays affiliation dues to the Comintern. On the other hand, the Comintern, being the central body of the international Communist movement, probably renders what assistance

it can to the Communist Party of America whenever it thinks it necessary. I do not think there is anything surprising or exceptional in this. If, however, the question refers to the relations between the Communist Party of America and the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. I must say that I do not know of a single occasion on which the representatives of the American Communist Party appealed for aid to the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. You may think this strange--but it is a fact, which indicates that the American Communists are rather too sensitive. What would happen if the Communist Party of America did appeal for aid to the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.? I think the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. would render it whatever assistance it could. Indeed, what would be the worth of the Communist Party, a party that is in power, if it refused to do what it could to aid the Communist Party of another country labouring under the yoke of capitalism? I would say that such a Communist Party would not be worth a cent."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
page 385.

"This is the case with many workers who join the Communist Party because it is the only Party that is following in the footsteps of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, that is, organizing the American proletariat to follow the example of the working class of Russia led by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party."

Bittelman, Alex, The
Communist Party in
Action, page 4.

"Our Party is the United States Section of the Communist International which is a world Communist Party and each one of us is therefore a member of a world Party. In this lies the greatest hope and promise of success for the world's proletarian revolution and all oppressed and exploited in their struggle against capitalism."

Ibid., page 33.

UNITED STATES (Communist attitude toward trade unions)

It has been pointed out at different times that Communists consider the field of organized labor to be of vital importance to them. Unless they are able to deceive and mislead the American workers they cannot hope to achieve any real degree of success. Therefore, they make repeated efforts to capture organized labor. These efforts have been again and again rebuffed by the intelligent, informed and capable leaders of American labor. This rejection of Communist trickery and deceit by American laborers has caused the Communists to reflect a very critical attitude toward organized labor in this country.

"Democracy, never vigorous in the A.F. of L. and railroad Brotherhoods, has now been practically wiped out. The organizations are dominated from top to bottom by bureaucrats and gangsters; including the 'Socialist' unions."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 182-183.

"It used to be that when the employers broke strikes of their workers they called in such professional scabherders as Farley, Pinkerton, the Feltz-Baldwins, etc., but now they use the Greens, Lewises, Doaks, Schlessingers, Hillmans, etc."

Ibid., page 182.

It is a remarkable fact that the American labour leaders are more determined opponents of elementary democracy than many capitalists in America."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 383.

UNITED STATES (Communist participation in strikes)

Communists do on occasions boast of their achievements and make exaggerated claims which are not always grounded in fact. Irrespective of how their boasts may apply in detail to labor strikes one thing is certain, namely, Communists have always tried to create and spread important strikes whenever it was to their interests to do so and they can be expected to pursue the same tactics in the future.

"In the strikes of the workers in the coal, textile, needle, shoe and other industries during the recent period, our Party has played a central role. No big strike takes place in the United States without the Communists taking a decisive part. But in the still bigger struggles not far ahead, our Party will have to play an even more decisive role."

Foster, William Z.,
Acceptance Speeches,
page 25.

UNITED STATES (negro nationhood and self-determination)

Among the various approaches which Communists use to propagandize and win the negro people to Communism is that of self-determination. Communists tell the American negroes that they constitute a nation and therefore they have the right to self-determination. However, when pressed as to when the negroes will be allowed to determine their own destiny under Communism the reply is, not until after the Communist revolution. As indicated previously, Communists believe the revolutionary epoch of Communism may last for an indefinite length of time. Actually self-determination is a vague promise offered to the negroes now but which will not be realized until some remote point in the future is reached. Yet, it is so presented as to appear very real and tangible thereby serving as an incentive for negroes to embrace Communism and to engage in "national rebellion", if the necessary conditions for such action should develop at some point in the future.

"The question has been raised as to which will come first: the general proletarian revolution in the U.S.A. or the national agrarian revolution of the Negroes in the Black Belt? The C. I. Resolution on the Negro Question of the U.S.A. (October, 1930) goes into this question as follows:

'One cannot deny that it is just possible for the Negro population of the Black Belt to win the right to self-determination during capitalism; but it is perfectly clear and indubitable that this is possible only through successful revolutionary struggle for power against the American bourgeoisie, through wresting the Negroes' right to self-determination from American imperialism. Thus the slogan of right to self-determination is a real slogan of national rebellion...'"

Bittelman, Alex, "The Socialist Revolution In The United States," The Communist, February, 1935, page 146.

"The Negro question in the United States is fundamentally a national question. In the Second Course of this series, we will show that the Negro people in the Black Belt constitute an oppressed nation which is fighting for the right to determine its own destiny."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department Communist Party of the United States of America, page 31.

"First, that the Negro people in the Black Belt are a nation, that they possess the essential qualities of nationhood, as elaborated in the works of that great expert on the national question, Stalin. This lays a firm basis for the self-determination slogan."

Foster, William Z.,
quoted in The Communist Position On The Negro Question, page 14.

"The Communist Party supports the right of self-determination for the Negro people, that is, their right to realize self-government in the Negro majority area in the South.

"The Communist Party does not attempt to impose any specific solution in advance of the form in which the right of self-determination will be exercised; nor does it prematurely raise self-determination as an immediate slogan of action."

"Resolution on the Question of Negro Rights and Self-Determination", Adopted at the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee, C.P.U.S.A., December 3-5, 1946, Ibid., page 12.

"Another important question we shall have to study much more than we have done in this session is the concrete relations of the Negro nation to the American nation as a whole. In the past, when we first developed the self-determination slogan, we also brushed this question aside very cavalierly. There was a tendency to plump for a Negro Republic. But the situation is much more complicated than that. Talk of an American Negro Republic has no foundation in present-day reality. The relation of two or more people to each other within broader states is an extremely complicated one and assumes many forms in different nations. We have to become very familiar with these forms, especially as we begin to popularize the slogan of self-determination among the Negro people."

Foster, William Z.,
quoted in Ibid.,
pages 17-18.

"In our resolution and in Comrade Davis' report we have not merely reaffirmed our Marxist-Leninist principle of the right of the Negro people in the Black Belt to self-determination. We have, as comrades have noted, avoided the errors we committed in the past. For one thing, we did not enter into an academic debate or fruitless speculation on when or how this right will be realized, or precisely in what form. It is incumbent upon us scientifically, as Marxists, to state this fact.

"Further, in contradistinction to the past, we do not present the slogan of self-determination as an immediate slogan of action, but as the affirmation of a historic right which guides and establishes the direction of all our work in the South."

Dennis, Eugene,
quoted in Ibid., page 25.

"Lenin elsewhere gives a definition of the right of nations to self-determination, which, I think, bears repetition. He says: 'The right of nations to self-determination . . . is merely the logical expression of the struggle against national oppression in every form.' I don't see how the comrades can argue with such a definition or fail to see its application to the problem of Negro liberation in the South."

Jackson, James E.,
quoted in Ibid., page 28.

"The point I wish to make is that the development of the American Negroes in the Black Belt into a full fledged nation in the classical sense is a basic requirement for the progressive development of the United States.

"The development of the Negroes in the Black Belt into full nationhood means a strengthening of their struggle against American imperialism, for the overthrow of the rule of the American trusts and the Southern feudalists."

Bittelman, Alexander,
Ibid., page 43.

"Marxists-Leninists have long established that the negro people constitute an oppressed nation."

Wilkerson, Doxey, A.,
"A Speech In Discussion
On The Draft Resolutions,"
Political Affairs, July,
1945, page 620.

UNITED STATES (strength of Communism)

It has been previously pointed out that American Communists do not measure their strength in this nation in terms of numbers. Party membership is no true indication of Party strength nor do American Communists measure their strength by elections. They do measure strength, however, by "the general mass influence of the Party and its program."

"The actual strength of the Communist movement in the United States is not something that can be accurately stated in just so many figures. It has to be measured largely by the general mass influence of the Party and its program."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
pages 229-230.

"But elections, for a number of reasons, are not an exact register of the Party strength."

Ibid., pages 230-231.

"The real power of this Party is seen in the mass movements which it initiates itself, or which, initiated by other revolutionary organizations, it gives its full support."

Ibid., page 231.

"Among the Negro masses the Communist Party is developing a wide following."

Ibid., page 233.

"The Communist Party also conducts movements and supports revolutionary organizations in many other mass activities and struggles."

Ibid., page 234.

"While they indicate that the Party has only made a start at the mobilization of the potentially revolutionary forces in the United States, they, at the same time, sum up into a picture of a Party gradually entrenching itself among the masses, especially the most exploited sections, and slowly building youthful bone and muscle in preparation for the gigantic revolutionary work that lies ahead."

Ibid., page 234.

UNITED STATES (potential Communist revolutionary forces)

Communists consider the potential revolutionary forces of this country to consist of (1) the laborers; (2) the poor farmers; (3) the negroes and (4) the city petty bourgeoisie.

"In analyzing the potentially revolutionary forces the first group to be considered are the workers. They are the very heart of the revolutionary movement and lead it in all its stages."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 222.

"Next to the workers in revolutionary importance are the poor farmers."

Ibid., page 223.

"The Negroes also constitute a great potentially revolutionary force."

Ibid., page 224.

"The revolution will not fail to recruit many supporters also from the ranks of the lesser city petty bourgeoisie."

Ibid., page 226.

"Especially is there a trend among the petty bourgeois intellectuals towards Communism."

Ibid., page 227.

"In measuring the potential forces for and against the revolution, naturally the question of the role to be played by the army and navy is one of fundamental importance; for, in the final showdown, it is upon them that the bourgeoisie relies to maintain its control. If it loses the armed forces, then all is lost. Here, certainly, the revolution will recruit powerful forces, with fatal effects to capitalism. The armed forces are not impervious to Communism simply because they have patriotic propaganda dinned into their ears and are subjected to a rigid discipline. The great bulk of these forces originate in proletarian or farmer families and they eventually respond to the sufferings and miseries of their close relatives. Especially is all this true of conscript armies. Besides, they have their own deep grievances in the service. Experience teaches that such worker-peasant forces are very unreliable for the bourgeoisie. This was exemplified by the armies of the Czar and the Kaiser in the Russian and German revolutionary situations."

"Within these great blocs of the population--the workers, farmers, Negroes, lesser city petty bourgeoisie--there are sufficient potential revolutionary forces to put an end to capitalism. They constitute the overwhelming majority of the people. And the deepening capitalist crisis will revolutionize them. The objective that the Communist party aims at in the mobilization of these forces is the winning of the majority of the working class. With a majority of the workers, which in a revolutionary situation would necessarily carry along with it large numbers of the other revolutionary elements, the Party would be within striking distance of the revolution."

Ibid., pages 228-229.

UNITED STATES (Communist predictions for)

With burning fanaticism American Communists confidently predict that a revolution will break forth in this country which will result in the establishment of Communism under the control of one party only, the Communist Party.

"One day, despite the disbelief of the capitalists and of their still more cynical Social Fascist lackeys, the American workers will demonstrate that they, like the Russians, have the intelligence, courage and organization to carry through the revolution. The American capitalist class, like that of other countries, is living on the brink of a volcano which, sooner than it dreams, is going to explode. George Bernard Shaw is right: the time will surely come when the victorious toilers will build a monument to Lenin in New York."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 67.

"The method of Marx and Lenin made it possible for the Communists of America to foresee what all the thousands of learned professors and practical industrial leaders failed to see: the coming of the crisis in the U.S.A."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?, page 29.

"Today our Party is small and the parties of the capitalists are large and strong, but the day will surely come when the Communist Party will be

the only political party in the United States.
On that day it will be the Party of the victorious
proletarian revolution."

Foster, William Z., Acceptance
Speeches, page 31.

UNITED STATES (to be destroyed by force and violence)

It has been previously indicated that all Communists assume the historical position that capitalism and non-Communist governments must be destroyed by force and violence when and where necessary. American Communists accept this historical position on force and violence in full. They do not modify it in any essential way. American Communists have repeatedly reflected the belief that it will be necessary to destroy the United States government in the final conflict by force and violence.

"By the term 'abolition' of capitalism we mean its overthrow in open struggle by the toiling masses, led by the proletariat. Although the world capitalist system constantly plunges deeper into crisis we cannot therefore conclude that it will collapse of its own weight. On the contrary, as Lenin has stated, no matter how difficult the capitalist crisis becomes, 'there is no complete absence of a way out' for the bourgeoisie until it faces the revolutionary proletariat in arms..."

"The capitalists will never voluntarily give up control of society and abdicate their system of exploiting the masses. Regardless of the devastating effects of their decaying capitalism; let there be famine, war, pestilence, terrorism, they will hang on to their wealth and power until it is snatched from their hands by the revolutionary proletariat.

"The capitalists will not give up of their own accord; nor can they be talked, bought or voted out of power. To believe otherwise would be a deadly fatalism, disarming and paralyzing the workers in their struggle. No ruling class ever surrendered to a rising subject class without a last ditch open fight. To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act by

the great toiling masses, led by the Communist party; that is, the conquest of the State power, the destruction of the State machine created by the ruling class, and the organization of the proletarian dictatorship. The lessons of history allow of no other conclusion."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 212-213.

"Capitalism will not grow into Socialism. The great masses of toilers must be in a revolutionary mood; they must have the necessary organization and revolutionary program; they must smash capitalism. This all means that they must be under the general leadership of the only revolutionary party, the Communist party. The real measure of a revolutionary situation in any given country is the strength of the Communist party."

Ibid., page 219.

"To suppose that the powerful American capitalist class and its vast numbers of hangers-on will tamely submit to the loss of their power to the workers would be to ignore the whole history of that class."

Ibid., page 274.

"The toiling masses of the United States will not submit to the capitalist way out of the crisis, which means still deeper poverty and misery, but will take the revolutionary way out to Socialism. The working class of this country will tread the path of the workers of the world, to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet

government. Lenin was profoundly correct when he said in his Letter to American Workingmen, of Aug. 20, 1918:

'The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against its bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction.'

Ibid., page 267.

"And capitalism will die sword in hand, fighting in vain to beat back the oncoming revolutionary proletariat."

Ibid., page 219.

"...the history of the American capitalist class offers ample evidence that the toilers can defeat the ruling class only in an open struggle."

Ibid., pages 216-217.

UNITED STATES (revolution inevitable)

American Communists believe that their revolution in the United States is inevitable. In pursuing this line of reasoning they once again reflect their strict adherence to all the principles of Marxism-Leninism. V. I. Lenin expressed the conviction that the Communist revolution in the United States is inevitable. American Communists faithfully reproduce Lenin's thoughts while at the same time they attempt to translate these thoughts into action.

"...in the United States of America, the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of the capitalist governments, for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, is on the order of the day."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume V, page 267.

"Is the Socialist revolution in the U.S.A. inevitable? Is it possible? Can it be victorious? The reformists, the social-reformists, answer these questions in the negative--it is not inevitable, it is not possible, it cannot win. The bureaucracy of the A.F. of L., and the elements in the labor movement that are related to it, go even further: they maintain that the Socialist revolution is not desirable in the U.S.A., even if it were possible. Social-reformism thus takes its position on the side of dying capitalism and against the maturing Socialist revolution in this country. The Communist Party, on the other hand, answers these questions in the affirmative. It sees its historic task in organizing and leading the American working class and its allies to the victory of the Socialist revolution--the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of Socialism in the U.S.A.

"The C.P.U.S.A. proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution."

Bittelman, Alex, The Communist,
February, 1935, Volume XIV,
Number 2, page 127.

"The American social contradictions and economic contradictions have reached such a proportion, have such explosive possibilities in them, that tremendous historical events may break out about us at any time. We must prepare our Party for its revolutionary role in the great upheavals coming in the United States. This role which is placed upon us by history will be really performed by us only if we prepare ourselves for these tremendous tasks."

Browder, Earl, Communism In The United States, page 160.

"We are coming closer to the days of decisive struggle, when through these instruments that we are forging in the Workers School and in the class struggles led by our Party, we will begin the transformation of society to Communism which is inaugurated with the seizure of power, by the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This historical moment is coming in the United States just as inevitably as it came in the Soviet Union."

Ibid., page 310.

UNITED STATES (time element of Communist revolution)

In the United States, as in other countries, Communists do not establish any specific time element for their revolution. It will differ from country to country. Further, the development of the revolution within a given nation may vary from one stage to another. Nevertheless, American Communists have placed the United States on the revolutionary schedule and sooner or later, possibly sooner than some people think, they do believe their revolution will encompass this nation.

"The general capitalist crisis heads inevitably, but not at the same speed in all countries, towards the revolutionary overthrow of the world capitalist system. ... But the perspective of revolution in general and in the United States in particular cannot be determined simply upon the basis of the present situation in this country. American capitalism is part of the world capitalist system, subject to its general laws and bound up with its fate."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 63.

"American capitalism, like capitalism in other countries, is travelling the same road to revolution. The chronological order of the United States' entry into the developing revolution is, as yet, a matter of speculation; but it would be sheer assumption to conclude that because this is the strongest capitalist country, it will be the last to go into revolution."

Ibid., page 67.

UNITED STATES (stages of the revolution)

American Communists appear to believe that their anticipated open revolution in the United States may be divided into three stages: (1) Elementary; (2) Intermediate; and (3) Final.

The first stage is mainly concerned with indirect tactical approaches. These consist in supporting popular political issues and in advancing programs to reduce living costs, raise wages, shorten working hours, eliminate unemployment, poor housing conditions, racial discrimination, lack of opportunity for youth and the like. The objective in this first stage is to gain a large mass following which can be manipulated and used by the Communist Party. Infiltration of all levels of American society will be attempted. At the present time, in this country, the Communist revolution (apart from certain activities of some professional revolutionaries) is in its Elementary Stage.

The second stage will be mainly concerned with dislocating and paralyzing the economic life of the United States. This is to be done by wave after wave of grievance petitions to undermine the morale of the masses of people and to destroy their confidence in their government, demonstrations, parades, slowdown strikes, short strikes, long strikes, and street riots from one end of the nation to the other. Infiltration on all levels of American society will be continued and more particularly infiltration into key positions in the government service, armed forces and education.

The third stage of the revolution, following quickly on the heels of the second stage, will combine riotous strikes with huge mass demonstrations of non-Communists who have been deceived into following Communist leadership. The tempo of these actions keeps increasing as time goes on and conditions grow worse. Every conceivable means will be used to arouse the hatred of the American people against their own government, courts, schools, churches, armed forces and their senators, representatives, governors, judges, educators, clergymen, police and officers. All authority will be relentlessly attacked. When this huge Communist led mass movement has reached its maximum strength and the forces of the government are disorganized, divided and at their weakest level, a nation wide general strike may be called. Out of this general strike more widespread, lasting and devastating riots will be created. Under Communist leadership these riots will be adroitly directed and developed into open insurrection

or civil warfare against all local, state and national governments. At the height of this civil war chaos, a rapid but carefully prepared and executed thrust for the seizure of state power will be made. If successful, this violent overthrow and conquest of state power (referred to by Communists as "a quick transition") will be followed by the dictatorship of the proletariat which proceeds to ruthlessly annihilate all remaining opposition to Communism. The three stages of the revolution will then have served their purpose well. Communists will next take every precaution, and deny every freedom, which would make possible the reapplication of these three stages of the revolution for the purpose of making "a quick transition" from Communism to democracy.

While Communists believe it is possible for them to successfully apply these three stages of the revolution in time of peace, they are of the opinion that these stages are more likely to come about while the United States is engaged in a war.

"The sum of all which is that the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism in the United Soviet States will be much shorter and easier than in the U.S.S.R."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 270-271.

"The leader of the revolution in all its stages is the Communist Party."

Ibid., page 275.

"It is not necessary that this final blow, i.e., the revolution, should come in connection with an imperialist war, although this is most likely. Capitalism will seek to prevent a revolution by plunging the country into war. War is to serve not only as a way out of the crisis but as a means to arouse the patriotism of the masses, to increase governmental terror (martial law), and to divert

"public attention from internal affairs. War, under such conditions, for a while retarding the revolutionary movement, may hasten it later when the war sufferings begin to tell on the masses.

"A time comes when there is demoralization above, a growing revolt below; the morale of the army is also undermined. The old structure of society is tottering. There are actual insurrections; the army wavers. Panic seizes the rulers. A general uprising begins.

"Workers stop work, many of them seize arms by attacking arsenals. Many had armed themselves before as the struggles sharpened. Street fights become frequent. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers organize Revolutionary Committees to be in command of the uprising. There are battles in the principal cities. Barricades are built and defended. The workers' fighting has a decisive influence with the soldiers. Army units begin to join the revolutionary fighters; there is fraternization between the workers and the soldiers, the workers and the marines. The movement among the soldiers and marines spreads. Capitalism is losing its strongest weapon, the army. The police as a rule continue fighting, but they are soon silenced and made to flee by the united revolutionary forces of workers and soldiers. The revolution is victorious.

"Armed workers and soldiers and marines seize the principal governmental offices, invade the residences of the President and his Cabinet members, arrest them, declare the old regime abolished, establish their own power, the power of the workers and farmers.

"Can it be done? It has been done more than once. ... Our time is a time of workers' revolutions."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?,
pages 75-76.

"A revolutionary American working class will follow this general course, which is the way of proletarian revolution."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 271.

"In order to defeat the class enemies of the revolution, the counter-revolutionary intrigues within the United States and the attacks of foreign capitalist countries from without, the proletarian dictatorship must be supported by the organized armed might of the workers, soldiers, local militia, etc. In the early stages of the revolution, even before the seizure of power, the workers will organize the Red Guard. Later on this loosely constructed body becomes developed into a firmly-knit, well-disciplined Red Army."

Ibid., pages 274-275.

"The American revolution, when the workers have finally seized power, will develop even more swiftly in all its phases than has the Russian revolution. This is because in the United States objective conditions are more ripe for revolution than they were in old Russia."

Ibid., page 269.

"This means that in such a highly-industrialized country as the United States the industrial base for Socialism is already at hand. The great problem before the workers is to get the political power."

Ibid., page 270.

UNITED STATES (under the dictatorship of the proletariat)

By their own words Communists make it rather clear as to what can be expected in the United States should it be governed by a Communist dictatorship of the proletariat. Freedom, of course, will be among the very first values denied to the American people. Leninist and other similar thought will be the guide, not the thought of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson and other American leaders.

"...when the revolution comes in the United States the workers and their allies will have no less need for the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Foster, William Z., From
Bryan to Stalin, pages
161-162.

"When in trouble, go back to Lenin. When in doubt, consult Lenin. This should become the maxim of every worker and poor farmer in the United States."

Losovsky, A., Lenin The Great
Strategist of the Class War,
page 6.

"Such a program is not a matter of mere speculation. This is the line that developed in the Soviet Union and it is the one that will develop here."

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, page 282.

UNITED STATES (establishment of a Soviet government)

The present Communist protestations of loyalty to the American way of life become ludicrous on realizing that the American way of life would be completely swept aside by Communists in favor of a social order organized on a Soviet foundation. Governing this entire structure would be the iron fist of the dictatorship of the proletariat based not on law but on force.

"The American Soviet government will be the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 273.

"The local Soviets will be combined by direct representation into county, state, and national Soviets."

Ibid., page 272.

UNITED STATES (to be modeled after Soviet Russia)

American Communists, on destroying American democracy intend to reorganize this country along the lines of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia is the example or model which American Communists feel compelled to emulate. Hence, the "principles and practices" of the Communist Party of the United States and its "day-to-day struggles" are invariably designed to:

"...win the American masses for the revolutionary way out and for a Soviet America."

Bittelman, Alex in the
"Introduction" to Communism
in the United States by
Earl Browder, page viii.

"Thus, for the United States as well as other countries, the Soviet Union is a plain indicator of the society that is to be, taking into account minor variations for special conditions in the several lands. It foreshadows the broad lines along which future Soviet America will develop."

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, pages 268-269.

"The American Soviet government will be organized along the broad lines of the Russian Soviets. Local Soviets, the base of the whole Soviet State, will be established in all cities, towns and villages."

Ibid., pages 271-272.

UNITED STATES (to be a part of a world Soviet)

In drawing up their plans for the future, American Communists visualize (1) a successful Communist revolution in this country; (2) an American Soviet government; and (3) a world Soviet Union of which this country would be a part.

"The American Soviet government will join with the other Soviet governments in a world Soviet Union."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 272.

"The economic system will be one great organization, based upon the principle of planning now dawning in the U.S.S.R. The American Soviet government will be an important section in this world organization."

Ibid., page 326.

UNITED STATES (industry under a Communist dictatorship)

Communists pretend they are loyal to the United States Constitution and to the democratic way of life enjoyed by the American people. They pretend that they would not pursue any radical measures of property confiscation were they to ascend to a position of power. These present day pretensions of the lesser Communist writers are well shattered by referring to the more authoritative Communist works wherein their real designs are laid bare.

"The socialization of the key sections of industry, commerce, agriculture and finance will lay a solid economic foundation for the building of Socialism. Doubtless, private property will survive in small farms, in petty industry and in trade. But this will be only temporary. With the consolidation and growth of Socialism and the general spread of well-being all the land will eventually and without serious difficulty be nationalized, and all industry will be concentrated into the Socialist Soviet economy."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 279-280.

"...the dictatorship of the proletariat, will be directed towards the revolutionary nationalization or socialization of the large privately-owned and State capitalist undertakings.

"In industry, transport and communication this will mean the immediate taking over by the State of all large factories, mines and power plants, together with all municipal and State industries; the whole transport services of railroads, waterways, airways, electric car lines, bus lines, etc.; the entire communication organization, including telegraphs, telephones, post office, radio, etc.

"In agriculture it will involve the early confiscation of the large landed estates in town and country, including church property, together with their buildings, factories, live stock, etc., and also the whole body of forests, mineral deposits, lakes, rivers, etc.

"In finance it will mean the nationalization of the banking system and its concentration around a central State bank; the taking over of the department stores, chain stores, and other large wholesale and retail trading organizations; the setting up of a State monopoly of foreign trade; the cancellation of all government debts, reparations, war loans, etc., to the big foreign and home capitalists.

"The socialization program will be carried through on the basis of confiscation without remuneration.."

Ibid., pages 277-278.

"The economic system will be one great organization, based upon the principle of planning now dawning in the U.S.S.R. The American Soviet government will be an important section in this world organization."

Ibid., page 326.

UNITED STATES (civil and criminal codes under Communism)

A Communist government in the United States, or one so infiltrated, influenced or controlled, would result in fundamental changes in civil and criminal law. Law would very quickly become an instrument to be used against all non-Communists without any regard to civil rights as we know them. Courts would be "class-courts" and not courts of equal justice for all classes.

"The civil and criminal codes will be simplified, the aim being to proceed directly and quickly to a correct decision. In the acute stages of the revolutionary struggle special courts to fight the counter-revolution will probably be necessary. The pest of lawyers will be abolished. The courts will be class-courts, definitely warring against the class enemies of the toilers. They will make no hypocrisy like capitalist courts, which, while pretending to deal out equal justice to all classes, in reality are instruments of the capitalist State for the repression and exploitation of the toiling masses."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 273.

UNITED STATES (religion under Communism)

In keeping with their atheistic, materialistic principles Communists would so organize society in the United States as to seriously interfere with religious freedom, convictions and practices. Their ultimate aim would be the complete destruction of all personal religious convictions as well as the banishment of organized religion.

"The churches will remain free to continue their services, but their special tax and other privileges will be liquidated. Their buildings will revert to the State."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 316.

"Religion is now in deep crisis throughout the capitalist world. The quarrels between 'modernists' and 'fundamentalists' in American churches are one form of this crisis."

Ibid., pages 113-114.

"...but capitalism, grown decrepit and in crisis, tries to preserve religion in order to check the rebellion of the workers. This is why Einstein ('cosmic religion'), Millikan, Eddington, and other bourgeois scientists now are trying so diligently to 'harmonize science and religion.'"

Ibid., page 114.

"The whole basis and organization of capitalist science will be revolutionized. Science will become materialistic...God will be banished from the laboratories as well as from the schools."

Ibid., page 317.

"Religious schools will be abolished and organized religious training for minors prohibited. Freedom will be established for anti-religious propaganda."

Ibid., page 316.

UNITED STATES (revolutionary affect on other areas in the western hemisphere)

Communists regard the United States as being the last powerful bastion of the democratic world. If democracy can be defeated in the United States and Marxist Socialism established in this nation, they believe that such an occurrence will mean that the truly decisive step toward world Communism has been taken. It will mean that Communism will capture the entire western hemisphere and merge with Communism of other hemispheres to capture the world.

"The American revolution will doubtless carry with it all those countries of the three Americas that have not previously accomplished the revolution."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 273.

"The establishment of a socialist society in the United States will be at the same time a death blow to the whole world system of imperialist oppression and exploitation. It will mark the end of world capitalism. It will be the decisive step towards a classless society throughout the world, towards World Communism!"

Browder, Earl, Communism in the United States, page 20.

VANGUARD

This word carries much significance for Communists for they mean by "vanguard" the force which leads the laboring class, the force that furnishes the knowledge, theory, methods of action, policies, programs and inspiration by which the laboring class (e.g. proletariat, workers) is to be led. By this "force" Communists of course mean nothing else but the Communist Party. In this unique position it chooses to be known as the Party which is playing the "vanguard role" in a revolutionary drama. In this "role" the Communist Party is the "general staff" of the revolution.

Joseph Stalin in describing the nature of the Communist Party as a "vanguard," wrote:

"Every army at war must have an experienced staff, if it is to avoid certain defeat. All the more reason, therefore, why the proletariat must have a general staff if it is to prevent itself from being routed by its accursed enemies. But where is this general staff? Only the revolutionary party of the proletariat can serve as this general staff. A working class without a revolutionary party is like an army without a general staff. The Party is the military staff of the proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph,
Foundations of Leninism,
page 107.

"But the Party cannot be merely a vanguard. It must at the same time be the vanguard of the class, be part of the class, intimately bound to it with every fibre of its being ... The Party cannot lead the class if it is not connected with the non-Party masses, if there is no close union between the Party and the non-Party masses, if these masses do not accept its leadership..."

Ibid., page 107.

"Marx and Engels gave the main outlines of the idea of the Party as being the vanguard of the proletariat, without which (the Party), the proletariat could not achieve its emancipation, could not capture power or reconstruct capitalist society."

Stalin, Joseph, "From Interview With American Labor Delegation", Karl Marx, Selected Works, Volume I, page 78.

"The Party builds itself as the vanguard of the class..."

"How does the Party build itself as the vanguard of the working class? Comrade Stalin's Foundations of Leninism gives us the answer to the question."

Bittelman, Alex, Milestones in the History of the Communist Party, pages 12, 11.

"The Communist Party is the vanguard and the general staff..."

Olgin, M. J., Why Communism?, page 83.

VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY

It has been indicated elsewhere in this study that Communists do believe it is possible to create a revolution, overthrow the government and partly establish Socialism in one country alone. They take this position in opposition to the theory (e.g. Trotskyism) that a world-wide revolution must develop in all nations simultaneously. However, as will be seen under the next caption, Communists do not for the moment believe that a partial victory of Socialism in one country finishes their task. They consider Socialism in one or more countries to be steps in the right direction but not the final and complete step which necessarily requires the conquest of the entire world. Communists are of the opinion it is advisable to spread the revolution from one country to another because of the uneven economic development in different capitalist countries. All nations are not ready for the Communist revolution at the same time.

"It has now become necessary to concede the possibility of victory over the bourgeoisie in a single country because of the uneven and sporadic development of the capitalist countries under imperialism, the aggravation of the catastrophic internal contradictions of imperialism, leading inevitably to war and the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in every country of the world, lead, not only to the possibility, but to the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in individual countries."

Stalin, Joseph,
Foundations of Leninism,
page 42.

VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY (not sufficient)

As stated under the previous caption, Communists do believe it is possible to be victorious up to a point in one country alone. However, victory of Socialism in one country alone is not thought by Communists to be at all sufficient. In order for the victory of Socialism to be complete it must be world-wide. Therefore, it is necessary to use Soviet Russia and every other Communist dominated nation as a "base of the world revolution" or as "a bulwark for the revolutionary movement of the whole world."

"The victory of socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. In the country where it is victorious the revolution must regard itself, not as a self-sufficient quantity, but as a support, a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries. For the victory of the revolution in one single country, in this case Russia, is not only a product of the uneven development and progressive decay of imperialism. It constitutes at the same time the beginning and premise of the world revolution."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I, page 134.
See also: The October Revolution,
pages 125-126, by the same author.

"We cannot have it both ways. Either we regard our country as the base of the world revolution, either we have, as Lenin says, all that is necessary for the building of complete socialist society, in which case we can and must build such a society and count upon complete victory over the capitalistic elements in our economy; or we do not regard our country as the base of the world revolution, we do not possess the necessary requisites for the building of socialism, and therefore, we cannot build a socialist society, in which case, if the victory of socialism in other countries is delayed, we would have to reconcile ourselves to the idea that the capitalistic elements in

our national economy will gain the upper hand, that the Soviet power will decay and the Party degenerate.

"One thing or the other!"

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 206.

Joseph Stalin's conclusion and reply to the question he poses is:

"...rebellion in Russia would rouse the tortured masses of the West, that rebellion in Russia would transform the imperialist war into civil war, that rebellion would give rise to a republic of Soviets, that a republic of Soviets would serve as a bulwark for the revolutionary movement of the whole world."

Stalin, Joseph, statement
in Lenin In the October
Revolution, page 8.

"Thus the development of the contradictions within modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis, and the imperialist military attack upon the Soviet Union inevitably lead to a mighty revolutionary outbreak which must overwhelm capitalism in a number of the so-called civilised countries, unleash the victorious revolution in the colonies, broaden the base of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree, and thus with tremendous strides bring nearer the final world victory of socialism."

"Program of the Communist
International" as contained in
A Handbook of Marxism, page
1023.

"What is the meaning of the phrase 'final victory of socialism'?"

"It means that there really exists a full guarantee against any attempt at intervention and, consequently, against any attempt at a restoration of the old order. A serious attempt at restoration of the old order can only be made if substantial help from abroad be forthcoming, if international capitalism rally to the aid of the would-be restorers. Consequently, if the workers in other lands champion the cause of the Russian revolution, and, still more, if they secure a victory (even if such a victory should be gained in but a few countries), this would serve as a guarantee against intervention and restoration, and would go far towards securing the final victory of socialism."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, page 243.

"Then there is the question: can a country, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, consider itself fully guaranteed against foreign intervention, and consequently against the restoration of the old order, without the victory of the revolution in a number of other countries, a question which must be answered in the negative."

Stalin, Joseph,
Problems of Leninism,
page 62.

"After entrenching itself in power and leading the peasantry after it, the proletariat of a victorious country can and must build up a socialist society. But does that mean that in this way the proletariat can secure a complete and final victory for Socialism; i.e., can it definitely set up Socialism with the forces of only one country and fully guarantee that country against intervention, which means against restoration? Certainly not. That would require victory for the revolution in at least several countries. It is therefore the essential task of

"the victorious revolution in one country to develop and support the revolution in others. So the revolution in a victorious country ought not to be considered as a self-contained unit, but as an auxiliary and a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries."

Stalin, Joseph,
Foundations of Leninism,
page 43.

WAGES

By "wages" Communists simply mean labor value expressed in terms of money. In a sense it is the price of value of "labor power," more commonly referred to as the "price of labor." Karl Marx said that "labor-time" determines the value of "labor-power." These wages which accrue may take various forms such as, time-wages, bonuses, wages for piece-work and the like. Contrary to some popular opinions, wages would not be equalized in the lower stages of Communism. The really basic break with the wage system would not come until the "higher phase" of Communism was reached.

Joseph Stalin said, in polemizing against tendencies to at once equalize wages:

"Marx and Lenin said that the differences between skilled and unskilled work would continue to exist even under Socialism and even after the classes had been annihilated, that only under Communism would this difference disappear, that therefore, even under Socialism "wages" must be paid according to the labor performed and not according to need."

Stalin, Joseph, as quoted in
Toward Soviet America, by
William Z. Foster, page 331.

WALL STREET

There is no need to go into detail relative to Wall Street and the American Communists. Wall Street has long been a favorite object of bitter attack and ridicule by all Communists. Wall Street is charged with exploiting the laborers, extinguishing the lamp of progress, creating wars and many other "atrocities."

"The crisis cannot be solved for the toiling masses until the rule of Wall Street has been broken and the rule of the working class has been established. The only way out of the crisis for the toiling masses is the revolutionary way out - the abolition of capitalist rule and capitalism, the establishment of the socialist society through the power of a revolutionary workers' government, a Soviet government."

Browder, Earl,
Communism in the United
States, page 16.

"At the present time, the main danger to peace, democracy and national independence comes from the Wall Street monopolies, from the imperialists of the United States, from American imperialism."

Bittelman, Alexander,
"The Dangerous Nonsense
of a 'Progressive' Wall
St. Is Revived," The
Worker, Volume XII, No.
34, August 24, 1947,
page 6.

"... Since the end of World War II, the Wall Street monopolies have been driving the United States into a reckless and insane offensive for world rule, for the destruction of the national independence and sovereignty of other peoples, for the rebuilding of fascism, for a new world war..."

Bittelman, Alexander,
quoted in Political
Affairs, Volume XXVI,
No. 11, November, 1947,
page 985.

"... And the danger of a World War III originates
precisely in the present determined push of American
imperialism, with the help of Great Britain, to set
up a world control for itself."

Foster, William Z.,
Reaction Beats Its War
Drums, pages 9-10.

WAR (general conception)

Communists are not pacifists. They talk of peace but feverishly prepare for war. Communists are ardent militarists under certain specific conditions. These conditions may be summed up as follows: If the Communists' goal cannot be reached through deception, trickery, subterfuge, conspiracy and the like, then it must be reached by open warfare. At all costs, it must be reached. And Communists do not believe that Communism can be established throughout the world without both concealed and open warfare. They believe that all great issues must be settled by warfare, and there flows from this the Communist conviction that the only war to engage in is the war which will spread Communism. They call it "class war". All other wars must not be engaged in by Communists and must in fact be strongly opposed and sabotaged in every conceivable way.

Communists roughly classify all wars into three types: (1) wars between imperialist powers; (2) civil wars and wars of national liberation; (3) imperialist wars against Communism. The first two mentioned are participated in by Communists only if this participation furthers Communism, otherwise they are expected to completely refrain from involvement in such wars. The third type Communists say is unavoidable and they seek to enlist the aid of the "international proletariat" in behalf of Communism.

"We Marxists are not among those who are absolutely opposed to all war."

Lenin, V. I., War and The Workers, pages 3-4.

"In the present epoch the following three types of wars are possible: first, wars between imperialist states; second, wars of imperialist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution, or against countries in which Socialism is being built; third, national revolutionary wars, especially of colonial countries against imperialism, which are connected with wars of imperialist suppression."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and The Tasks of the Communists, page 10.

"... history demands that the greatest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war."

Lenin, V. I., A Letter
To American Workers,
page 16.

"War is a continuation of politics by other means. Every war is inseparably connected with the political system which gave rise to it."

Lenin, V. I.,
War and the Workers,
page 5.

"Is it war that you are called upon to sacrifice your life for? If it is, here is what Lenin will tell you. First, inquire, ask questions. Who is it that calls you to war? For what purpose? In defense of whose interests?"

"And when you find, as you are bound to, that the war is championed by the capitalists, that you are called upon to defend the profits and power of your bosses and exploiters, that it is a war of imperialist robbery and plunder, you will say what Lenin said: Not a cent and not a man for the aggrandizement of our class-enemies! Instead of waging war for capitalism, we shall start war against capitalism, for the overthrow of the power of our bosses and for the establishment of our own rule."

Losovsky, A.,
Lenin, The Great Strategist
of the Class War, page 6.

"... we cannot deny the possibility of revolutionary wars, that is, of wars arising out of the class struggle, conducted by revolutionary classes, and having direct, immediate, revolutionary significance."

Lenin, V. I.,
War and the Workers,
page 4.

"The capitalists will oppose us; but the workers will support us. Then--the war which the capitalists started will come to an end. This is the reply to the question of how to end the war."

Lenin, V. I., War and The Workers, page 32.

"The character of the war (whether reactionary or revolutionary) is not determined by who the aggressor was, or whose territory the 'enemy' has occupied; it is determined by the class that is waging the war, and the politics of which this war is a continuation."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 177.

"War is but a continuation of bourgeois policy, and nothing more. The ruling class determines policy also in war. War is nothing but politics, it is a continuation of the pursuit by these classes of the same ends by different means."

Ibid., Volume VI, page 154.

"It would be absolutely wrong, theoretically, to forget that every war is the continuation of politics by other means..."

Lenin, N. (V. I.), statement in The Proletarian Revolution In Russia, by Lenin, N. and Trotsky, Leon, page 138.

"History suggests peace is a respite for another war."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VII, page 302.

"We have but one slogan--seriously learn the art of war..."

Lenin, N. (V. I.), statement
in The Proletarian Revo-
lution in Russia, by Lenin,
N. and Trotsky, Leon,
page 304.

WAR (necessary and inevitable)

In the final stage of economic changes marked by dying Capitalism and growing Communism, it is believed by Communists that war is necessary and inevitable. It is necessary because all great issues in history are decided by force. It is inevitable because of the nature of the inexorable laws of economic development. This development is today witnessing the peak of imperialism and imperialism is the eve of the Communist revolution. One follows the other with irresistible force. War is inevitable--so runs the reasoning of Communists.

"As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace: in the end, one or the other will triumph--a funeral dirge will be sung either over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

Lenin, V. I., Selected Works, Volume VIII, page 297.

"From the point of view of the danger of a collision between capitalism and Bolshevism, it must be said that concessions are a continuation of the war, but in a different sphere. Every step of the enemy will have to be watched. Every means of administration, surveillance, influence and authority will be required. And this is war."

Ibid., page 297.

"This will also be a war in which not the slightest yielding is permissible."

Ibid., page 296.

"...we must declare to the other nations that we are out-and-out internationalists and are striving for a voluntary union of the workers and peasants of all nations. This in no way precludes wars... We have never said that a socialist republic can exist without military force. War may be a necessity under certain conditions."

Ibid., page 366.

"...under imperialism wars cannot be averted, and ...a coalition between the proletarian revolution in Europe and the colonial revolution in the East in a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable.

"Lenin combines all these...into one...conclusion that 'imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution.'"

Stalin, Joseph,
Foundations of
Leninism, page 34.

WAR (causes)

Communists argue that wars are caused by Capitalism, more specifically, by the contradictions within this system. The struggle for world markets, uneven economic development, clashes of powerful rival economic interests, all lead to war. Under imperialism, the highest, last and dying stage of Capitalism, wars become inevitable. Communists conclude that Capitalism is now in this last stage -- imperialism. Following its destruction, the causes of war will be removed and under Communism, which, they say, contains no disruptive contradictions or tensions. Peace will reign. This peace, however, is predicated upon the annihilation of the non-Communist opposition and the full acceptance of Communism by all people throughout the world.

"Marxism-Leninism teaches that wars are generated by the contradictions inherent in capitalist society. They are generated by the uneven development of various imperialist states, each trying to establish a division of markets and colonial loot consistent with its power. They are generated by the chronic tendency of the capitalist world to dream of a 'solution' of its insoluble contradictions at the expense of the Socialist State, and the new democratic states."

Howard, Milton, "From Potsdam to Paris - One Year of Foreign Policy," Political Affairs, June, 1946, Volume 25, Issue Number 6, pages 488-489.

"Wars became inevitable particularly when ... capitalism definitely entered the highest and last stage of its development -- imperialism."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Edited by a Commission of the Central Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B), page 160.

"The cause of modern war is, as we have already seen, the imperialistic policies of the capitalist nations to rob the colonial peoples, to smash back the growing revolutionary movement, to crush each other in the world struggle for markets, raw materials and territory. In a society in which there is no private property in industry and land, in which no exploitation of the workers takes place and where plenty is produced for all, there can be no grounds for war."

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, page 325.

"Wars do not occur through accidents of history or the mistakes of statesmen. They are the inevitable result of capitalism and its contradictions."

Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by National Education Department, Communist Party of the United States of America, page 20.

"We bring before the masses the Marxist-Leninist analysis of capitalism to demonstrate that war is inherent in the capitalist system, that the only way to end war is to overthrow the capitalist system. Our Party equips the workers with the understanding that the struggle against the imperialist war must, in the event of war, be turned at the opportune moment into a civil war for the overthrow of the war-breeding capitalist order. At the same time we fight against the illusions prevalent among some Communists that revolution without imperialist war is impossible."

The Communist, September, 1933, pages 840-841.

"War is inseparable from the capitalist system."

Olgin, M. J.,
Why Communism?,
page 55.

"Monopoly capitalism is inherently reactionary, and is the breeder of fascism and war."

Theory and Practice
of the Communist Party,
prepared by National
Education Department,
Communist Party of the
United States of America,
page 22.

"... without wars, without repeated foreign imperialist adventures, capitalism can no longer exist."

Molotov, M. V., as
quoted in World News
and Views, November 11,
1939, page 1077.

WAR (unjust)

To Communists all wars are unjust which do not advance the Communist revolution and do not contribute substantially to the establishment of Communism. No Communists are to take part in any "unjust war." They are expected to do all they can to prevent any such war and if, in spite of them, it does get under way Communists are expected to do everything possible to interfere with it and to sabotage their own nation in order to stop it, for if it continues, it would hinder the spread of Communism and this cannot be tolerated. With Communists there is no middle ground--a war is either just and spreads Communism or it is unjust and hinders the spread of Communism. Oddly enough, though a "just war" would result in Communism conquering and enslaving all non-Communist people, Communists, nevertheless, incessantly chatter that "unjust wars" are: "Wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations."

"... Unjust wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations."

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, (B), Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B), page 168.

"It (Socialism) will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the Socialist country. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war."

Lenin, V. I., as quoted in
Ibid., page 169.

"The war of an oppressed nation against imperialism, however, is not only just, but revolutionary, it is, in present times a part of the proletarian world revolution."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and the
Tasks of the Communists,
page 10.

WAR (just)

To Communists a just war is one which is fought to promote and ultimately establish Communism. This fact is somewhat obscured by their reference to a "just war" being a war "waged for liberation." By "liberation" they simply mean Communism. This type of "just" war may be either a defensive or an offensive war. An offensive war would be fought to "liberate" people from "capitalist slavery" and also to "liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism." On accomplishing this, the yoke of Communism would embrace the people.

"The Bolsheviks held that there are two kinds of war:

"Just wars, wars that are not wars of conquest but wars of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism; and

"Unjust wars, wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations."

History of the Communist Party
of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks),

Edited by a Commission of
the Central Committee of
the C.P.S.U. (B),
page 167-168.

"Communists consider it their cardinal duty to mobilize the working people of all countries to assist any nation waging a just war, so as to promote its victory in every way."

The Land of Socialism
Today and Tomorrow,
Reports and Speeches,
18th Congress, C.P.S.U.,
page 81.

WAR (revolutionary type wholly desirable)

As previously stated, Communists are strongly in favor of any war which will spread or establish Communism. They are not pacifists. When Communists speak of "revolutionary wars" they have in mind the type of war which redounds to the interest of Communism. Hence, all such "revolutionary wars" are wholly desirable.

"Socialists have never been opposed to revolutionary wars, and they never can accept that attitude."

Lenin, N. (V.I.) as stated
in The Proletarian Revolution
In Russia, Lenin, N., and
Trotsky, Leon, page 136.

"Every war is the exercise of violence against nations, but that does not prevent Socialists from being in favor of a revolutionary war."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 175.

"But the overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie. In the present epoch of imperialist wars and world revolution, as Lenin has stated, proletarian civil wars against bourgeoisie, wars of the proletarian dictatorship against bourgeois states and against world capitalism, and national revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, are inevitable and revolutionary. Therefore, the revolutionary proletariat, precisely because it is fighting for Socialism and for the abolition of war, cannot be against every war."

"Every war is but a continuation of the politics of certain classes 'by other means.' The proletariat therefore, must carefully study the historical and

political class meaning of each given war and give special study to the role of the ruling classes in all the countries participating in the war from the viewpoint of the international proletarian revolution."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and the
Tasks of the Communists,
pages 9-10.

"Then we have to see to it that the war is conducted by every revolutionary method and that things are made impossible for any government which refuses to adopt such methods; also at a given moment to take the lead ourselves."

Engels, Frederick,
Marx and Engels Selected
Correspondence, pages 491-492.

WAR (national liberation)

As previously indicated in this study Communists are willing to engage in any war of "national liberation" which can be directed into Communist channels. Such a war would relate to the struggle of people in "dependent and colonial countries" for independence and freedom from "imperialism". Communists offer Puerto Rico as one example where a war of "national liberation" would be justifiable.

"The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries against imperialism is the only road that leads to their emancipation from oppression and exploitation.

"The principal colonial and dependent countries have already entered upon the path of the national liberation movement which will inevitably bring about a crisis in world capitalism."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
pages 68-69.

WAR (postponement of)

While Communists have long felt that a final war with the non-Communist world is inevitable, they do not want any war to break out at a time which would not be to the advantage of Soviet Russia. In years past Communists have urged the delay or postponement of any war which might be a threat to Communism. They assume the same attitude today. Communists believe that though the last great war is inevitable, time is on the side of Soviet Russia and its Communist supporters all over the world. It is their conviction that as time goes on the non-Communist world becomes weaker and weaker because of the inherent contradictions of Capitalism and the Communist world becomes stronger and stronger. When the decisive point is reached and Communists believe that military and economic might is preponderantly on their side, then they would go to war with the non-Communist world in order to utterly destroy it. In the meantime strikes, division, and open revolution will be instigated in various nations wherever possible in order to hasten the collapse of the non-Communist world.

"Do we have any illusions that we can prevent war altogether? No, we have no such illusions. But our actions can postpone the war, provided we really mobilize the masses, making use of every opportunity for mass mobilization, to create every possible difficulty for the imperialists ... our fortress is precisely the Soviet Union ... every month that is gained in postponing this war, means a change of the relation of forces in favor of us when the war comes. If war can be postponed one month it means capitalism has been weakened that much, Socialism has been strengthened that much ... It is an absolute Bolshevik duty for the Communist Party of the United States to make the fullest possible mobilization of this mass sentiment no matter what its origin ... mobilize this sentiment against the United States government to prevent it from entering into war against the Soviet Union..."

Browder, Earl, "Japan, America
And the Soviet Union," The Communist,
May, 1932, pages 397-398.

WAR (and the proletariat)

When Communists speak of the proletariat's position in regard to war they mean that the proletariat of the world is expected to fight only on the side of Communist leadership. It must refuse to fight and must oppose wars when such a position best serves the interests of Communism. It must hasten to battle and support wars when this position best serves the interests of Communism. Always, the supreme test and yardstick is that which promotes the interests of Communism.

"This Marxian analysis of wars serves as the basis upon which the proletariat determines its position, in principle and in tactics, towards these various types of wars. The proletariat fights against the wars between imperialist states with a programme of defeatism and the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. The same position, in principle, is taken by the proletariat in imperialist countries in the event of a war of oppression waged by the imperialists against national revolutionary movements, above all against the colonial peoples and in the event of imperialism waging an open counter-revolutionary war against the land of the proletarian dictatorship. The proletariat however, supports and conducts national revolutionary wars and socialist wars against imperialism, and organizes for the defense of national revolutions and of the countries of the proletarian dictatorship.

"As long as the proletariat has not yet established its dictatorship, it must determine its tactics in regard to wars waged by its country in accordance with the results of a thorough examination of the concrete aspect of the war at each separate stage. National wars may be turned into imperialist wars, and vice versa."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, pages 10-11.

WAR (against Soviet Russia)

Should any non-Communist nation become engaged in war with Soviet Russia, Communists in that nation are expected to create strikes, hold mass demonstrations of protest and do all within their power to sabotage the war efforts of their own nation. They are under obligation to start a rebellion if at all possible.

"Imperialist war against the Soviet Union is open, bourgeois, counter-revolutionary class war against the proletariat."

"The possibilities of preventing war against the Soviet Union by intensifying class struggles to the point of revolutionary, mass action against the bourgeois governments are much greater at the present time than the possibilities for such action were in 1914."

"Therefore, although the Communists in capitalist countries must reject the phrase 'Reply to war by general strike,' and have no illusions whatever about the efficacy of such phrases, nevertheless, in the event of war against the Soviet Union becoming imminent, they must take into consideration the increased opportunities for employing the weapon of mass strikes and the general strike, prior to the outbreak of war and during the mobilization.

"In the event of an attack upon the Soviet Union the Communists in oppressed nations, as well as those in imperialist countries, must exert all their efforts to rouse rebellion or wars of national liberation among the national minorities in Europe and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against the imperialist enemies of the Soviet State."

"The proletariat in the imperialist countries must not only fight for the defeat of their own governments in this war, but must actively strive to secure victory for the Soviet Union."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and
the Tasks of the Communists,
pages 27, 28, 29.

"It would be a very dangerous war, not only because the peoples of the U.S.S.R. would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution; it would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie also because such a war will be waged not only at the fronts but also in the rear of the enemy. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and in Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries."

Stalin, Joseph,
"Report of 1934
Congress, C.P.S.U."
as contained in A
Handbook of Marxism,
page 923.

WAR (tasks of Communist parties in struggles against imperialist wars)

The specific tasks of the Communist Party of the United States in sabotaging national defense efforts of this country in any defensive war against Communist aggression (which Communists would call an "imperialist" war) were summed up in a few very clear paragraphs some years ago. The specific tasks of this Party and all its members are the very same today. Their broad general principles and ultimate objectives never change.

"It is necessary to popularize the Resolution of the 12th Plenum Against War. Below, we print a section of the 12th Plenum Anti-War Resolution, outlining the immediate steps for struggle against imperialist war.

"The general tasks of all Communist Parties in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention and in the struggle against fascism, social democracy and bourgeois pacifism which facilitate the various methods of preparing and carrying on imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R., are as follows:

"To develop a systematic ideological struggle against chauvinism and nationalism, to carry on propaganda for real proletarian internationalism, to expose to the masses all the machinations of the foreign policy of their own bourgeoisie, to expose all the measures of the home policy of the bourgeoisie in preparation for war, to expose the production and transport of munitions for imperialist countries, to remind the masses of all the calamities of the first imperialist war, to fight tirelessly against the militarization of the schools.

"To react actively to all manifestations of the anti-Soviet campaigns, to seriously improve the propaganda of the success of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., among the broadest masses, to mobilize the toilers against the whiteguards, to popularize the peace policy

of the U.S.S.R. to mobilize the masses for the active defense of the U.S.S.R., China and the Chinese-Soviet revolution.

"By employing the tactic of the united front, to set up legal, semi-legal and illegal control committees and committees of action in the munition factories, in ports, in factories, on railroads, and on ships, for the purpose of developing mass activity and carefully prepared protest strikes and economic strikes to prevent the transport of munitions and troops, and to rouse the initiative of the broad masses of workers in this matter.

"To carry on extensive anti-imperialist work among the soldiers, among conscripts, reservists and in the special military organizations of the bourgeoisie. To strengthen the Party organizations and all the revolutionary youth organizations, bearing in mind that the whole Party, the whole of the Y.C.L. must participate in this work.

"To organize the struggle of the soldiers for their every day demands and to support this struggle by the solidarity of the workers and the toiling peasants. To popularize revolutionary traditions and examples of the struggle against war."

Daily Worker,
Central Organ of
Communist Party, U.S.A.,
Volume X, Number 120,
May 19, 1933, page 1.

WAR (revolutionary mass action in an imperialist war)

American Communists are expected to develop and carry out "revolutionary mass action" should the United States become involved in any "imperialist" war, that is, any war which is a conflict with the world conquering designs of Communism. This phrase "revolutionary mass action" includes all efforts to be taken by American Communists: (1) to obstruct and sabotage national defense plans; (2) to defeat one's own government; (3) for overthrow of non-Communist rule transforming the imperialist war into a civil war. The stress is placed not on individual action but on "mass" action.

"The political program of the Communists in an imperialist war is the program worked out and applied by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin in its heroic struggle against the last imperialist war. The main points of this program may be summarized as follows:

"(a) The rejection of imperialist 'national defense' in this war. To enlighten the workers and peasants as to its reactionary character. Strongly to combat all tendencies in the labor movement which openly, or covertly, justify this war.

"(b) Defeatism, i. e. to work for the defeat of the home imperialist government in this war.

"(c) Genuine internationalism, i. e. not 'international' phrases and formal 'agreements', but revolutionary defeatist work to be carried on by the proletariat in all the belligerent countries, for the overthrow of their home bourgeoisie.

"(d) To transform the war between imperialist States into proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism--this transformation to be achieved by means of revolutionary mass action in the rear, and fraternization at the front.

"(e) A 'democratic' or 'just' peace cannot result from an imperialist war without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat in the most important

"belligerent States. Therefore, 'peace' cannot be the central slogan during imperialist war; the central slogan must be 'proletarian revolution.' It is the bounden duty of Communists strongly to combat all peace phrasemongering; for a certain moment in the war, this can be utilized by the bourgeoisie as an extremely important ideological weapon to prevent the imperialist war from being transformed into civil war.

"Communists must not confine themselves merely to conducting propaganda in favor of this program; they must rouse the masses of the workers to fight for it, by applying the tactics of the United proletarian front from below.

"Transform the imperialist war into civil war means primarily, revolutionary mass action. The Communists resolutely repudiate all so-called 'means' of combatting war that hamper the development of revolutionary mass action. Consequently they repudiate individual actions that have no connection with revolutionary mass actions or that fail to contribute to their development. Communists combat the propaganda in favor of the 'against the war' prescriptions that are recommended by the petty-bourgeois elements in the labor movement. Prescriptions like 'refusal to bear arms' 'refusal to shoot,' etc., are still circulated widely among the masses today, and many workers seriously believe in their efficacy. As a matter of fact, these prescriptions are meaningless and harmful. The Communists must tell the workers that the struggle against war is not a single and simultaneous act, and that revolutionary mass action on the part of the workers and poor peasants, in the rear and at the front, for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is the only proper means of combatting war, to which all other means must be directed. While combatting the above-mentioned prescriptions for individual action, which can only hinder mass action, the Communists must at the same time rouse the workers to display a spirit of revolutionary heroism in the struggle against imperialist wars."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War And
The Tasks of The Communists,
pages 19.20.

"And we could add: 'The bourgeoisie of all the imperialistic powers, England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, Japan and the United States, has become so reactionary and obsessed with the struggle for world power, that any war of the bourgeoisie of these countries must necessarily be reactionary. The proletariat must not only oppose such a war, but must also wish the defeat of "its own" government and use a defeat for the revolutionary uprising, if a revolt to prevent the war has failed.'"

Lenin, N. (V. I.),
statement in The Pro-
letarian Revolution In
Russia, by Lenin, N.
and Trotsky, Leon, page
142.

"In this struggle, the Communist Party, giving due and sober consideration to its strength, must march boldly and determinedly at the head of the masses. It must organize demonstrations and strikes against the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and, at the proper moment, put to the masses the question of the general strike and of still sharper methods of struggle."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and the
Tasks of the Communists,
page 19.

"Lenin was of the opinion that 'the only possible way of continuing revolutionary work after the outbreak of war is the creation of an illegal organization.' But an illegal organization is also necessary in the anti-war struggle before war breaks out."

Ibid., page 18.

WAP (Civil)

Communists recommend creating conditions which will lead to civil war within a nation as a means of overthrowing the existing social order, as a preparatory step toward establishing Communism. Communists point out that when nations are in conflict within each other (e.g. "imperialist wars") it is the duty of all Communists to fight against their own government by treacherous acts and any other means in order to convert the "imperialist war" into a civil war. Communists claim they owe no allegiance whatsoever to any non-Communist government even though they may be citizens of a given nation having lived there since birth. Their only allegiance is to the world-wide Communist revolution and the new social order which will follow. For example, before Soviet Russia entered World War II this war was considered by Communists to be an "imperialist war" wherein no essential difference existed between Nazi Germany, Great Britain and the United States, therefore Communists were expected to oppose it, creating conditions whenever possible which would lead to civil revolt in the warring nations. When the Soviet-Nazi pact was broken and Russia entered the war it at once changed from an "imperialist war" to a "war of liberation" and all Communists then gave enthusiastic support to the conflict, ostensibly for freedom but actually for the defense of Soviet Russia and the spread of Communism.

"Civil wars are also wars. Those who accept the class struggle must accept civil wars, which, under certain circumstances, are a natural and inevitable continuance, development and accentuation of the class struggle in every society based on class divisions. All great revolutions prove this. To deny or to overlook civil wars would mean becoming a victim of the most hopeless opportunism and abandoning the Social Revolution."

Lenin, N. (V. I.) as stated
in The Proletarian Revolution
In Russia by Lenin, N., and
Trotsky, Leon, page 137.

"...the working class cannot itself come into power without civil war. This is not due to the choice of the toilers; it is because the ruling class will never permit itself to be ousted without such a fight. 'Force,' says Marx, 'is the midwife of every old society when it is pregnant with the new one; force is the instrument and the means by which social movements hack their way through and break up the fossilized political forms.' The Program of the Communist International thus puts the matter:

'The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeoisie State machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resort to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle.'

Foster, William Z., Toward Soviet America, pages 213-214.

"Marx said to the workers: You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and conflicts of peoples, not only to change the conditions, but in order to change yourselves and to make yourselves capable of wielding political power."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism, Volume I, page 44.

"...Every great revolution, and especially a Socialist revolution, even if there was no external war, is inconceivable without an internal war, thousands and millions of cases of wavering and of desertion from one side to the other, and a state of the greatest uncertainty, instability and chaos."

Lenin, N. as stated
in The Proletarian Revolution
In Russia, Lenin, N., and
Trotsky, Leon, page 394.

"Transform the ...imperialist war into civil war --
is the only correct proletarian slogan..."

Lenin, V. I. Selected
Works, Volume V, page 133.

"The slogan of converting imperialist war
into civil war against the bourgeoisie at home
must be popularized by means of oral and written
propaganda among the broad masses of the people."

XIth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.-
Theses - Resolutions - Decisions,
page 28.

"The fight against the war danger is a political
fight. The working class must be aroused. There
must be protest meetings, mass petitions, demon-
strations, strikes. The powers that be must be
given to understand in an unmistakable way that
the workers and farmers are dead set against war.
This spirit must be communicated to the army.

"If this fight has been carried on with sufficient
determination, the ground is prepared for action when
war comes. The workers do not realize that it is in
their power to postpone war. It is. Workers in
ammunition plants, go on strike! Shut down your plants!
Prevent governmental strike-breakers from resuming work!
Railroad men, refuse to handle war materials or to
transport troops! Keep guard over your railroad yards
and depots lest transportation facilities be used by
governmental agents. Marine workers, do not load either
men or ammunition! Truck drivers, refuse to assist in
war work! Workers of other industries, help the strikers.
Farmers refuse to give your foodstuffs and raw materials
to be used for the slaughter!

"If the workers rise in this way against war, the capitalists with their armed forces will try to break the deadlock. There will be attacks on strikers. There will be bloodshed. The workers will have to offer resistance. We Communists do not close our eyes to the fact that this means civil war. But when the masses are organized and fight in great numbers under revolutionary leadership the victory is assured. Part of the army is certain to waver and to join the people."

"Victory in the civil war spells the doom of the capitalist State."

Olgin, M. J., Why
Communism?, pages 60, 61.

"If and when the imperialist powers launch a great war among themselves we may be sure that in many countries the workers and peasants, following the famous strategy of Lenin and under the leadership of the Communist International, will transform the imperialist war into a civil war against the capitalist system."

Foster, William Z.,
Toward Soviet America,
page 64.

"...struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism."

Resolutions, Seventh
Congress of the Communist
International, page 47.

"The fight the Communists wage against imperialist war differs essentially from the 'fight against war' waged by pacifists of various shades. The Communists do not regard the struggle against such a war as being

separate from the class struggle. On the contrary, they regard it as part of the general proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

"They strive to rally the masses around their standard in this struggle, and if unable to prevent the outbreak of war, they strive to transform it into civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

"The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight against pacifism. In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism."

The Struggle Against
Imperialist War and
the Tasks of the Communists,
pages 11, 12.

"...Communism taught me many vital lessons regarding the forms and methods of carrying on... revolutionary struggle, including the policy of transforming an imperialist war into a revolutionary war against capitalism..."

Foster, William Z.,
From Bryan To Stalin,
page 160.

"After the civil war has been brought to an end the stubborn class struggle continues in new forms; primarily in the form of a struggle between the survivals of previous economic systems and fresh upshoots of them on the one hand, and socialist forms of economy on the other."

"Program of the Communist
International" as contained
in A Handbook of Marxism,
page 1003.

"They failed to understand that, generally
speaking, it is not voting but civil war that
decides all serious questions of politics
when history places the dictatorship of the
proletariat on the order of the day."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume X, page 51.

WAR (boycott of)

As Communists are not pacifists and do favor war under certain conditions, they strongly condemn the "boycotting" of war. Furthermore, when expedient, Communists should "avail themselves of the opportunity to learn the use of arms, to carry on revolutionary work in the Army and, at the proper moment, to turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie." As Communists they are under obligation to do this.

"Lenin was absolutely right, therefore, when in 1922, on the basis of experience of the world war, he wrote: 'Boycott the war, is a stupid phrase. The Communists must participate in every reactionary war.'

"But Lenin's instructions regarding the Communists' attitude towards the boycott (the refusal of military service) as a means of combating war, does not mean that the Communists must urge the masses of workers to join the bourgeois armies. It means that the Communists, while strongly combating the harmful and illusory boycott slogan, must agitate for revolutionary work and organization in the bourgeois army, for the arming of the proletariat and for the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

"Therefore, when the question of joining the bourgeois army or refusal of military service (boycott) is raised, the Communists must advise the workers and poor peasants to reject the refusal of the military service slogan, to avail themselves of the opportunity to learn the use of arms, to carry on revolutionary work in the army and, at the proper moment, to turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, page 23.

WAR (and the victory of Socialism in one country)

Soviet Russia is offered by Communists as an example of "victory of Socialism in one country." Communists point out very clearly that this does not mean that "all wars" should therefore be excluded from the Soviet orbit. On the contrary they say that "victory of Socialism in one country" implies war.

"The victory of Socialism in one country does not all of a sudden exclude all wars in general. On the contrary, this situation implies wars. The development of Capitalism proceeds differently in different countries: this is inevitable in a society based on the production of commodities. The result is: Socialism cannot be victorious in all countries at the same time. Socialism will be victorious first in one or in some countries, other countries continuing for a certain length of time on a bourgeois or pre-bourgeois basis. This will not only result in antagonisms, but will develop the direct tendency of the bourgeoisie in the other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the Socialist country. In such cases our war would be justifiable and right, it would be a war for Socialism, for liberation of other peoples from their bourgeoisie."

"Only after we have completely forced down and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world and not of one country alone, will wars become impossible. And it is scientifically incorrect and not at all revolutionary to overlook or confuse the most important, the most difficult task, the task that contributes most to the struggle during the period of transition of Socialism: the crushing of the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The social quacks and opportunists like to dream of the coming of Socialism peacefully: they are distinguished from the revolutionary Socialists precisely in this, that they refuse to consider and prepare for the desperate class struggles necessary to realize the beautiful future."

Lenin, V. I., statements in
The Proletarian Revolution
In Russia by Lenin, N. (V. I.) and
Trotsky, Leon, pages 137-138.

WAR MONGERING

To Communists any person who is in favor of an "unjust war" (e.g. one which does not advance Communism) is a dangerous "war-monger," a person whose words and acts in favor of any "unjust war" amount to criminality. Similarly, if one does not take foreign policy action favorable to Communism, he, too, is a "war-monger." For all practical purposes, according to the Communist line of reasoning, if Soviet Russia attacks a non-Communist nation, any person in that non-Communist nation who maintains the nation should go to war with Soviet Russia as an inescapable matter of defense, is a vicious "war-monger," anti-social and dangerous to a peaceful social order.

All people who do not condemn "unjust wars" as defined above, or take pro-democratic action, are charged by the Communists with the following:

1. attempting to picture warfare as noble, idealistic, desirable;
2. being creators of devastating panic, unnecessary fears, fictitious threats to security of one's nation, false dangers to our way of life, deliberately manufactured hysteria;
3. being inciters of hatred, distrust, prejudice in all forms, between races, creeds, nations;
4. attempting sly endeavors to identify, to make as one, the greedy, predatory interests and concealed designs of capitalists with those of the masses of people; with those of the nation itself;
5. attacking social progress, peace, order, human development;
6. opposing the advancement of learning generally and of science, art and culture in particular.

"The Trumans, Dulleses, Hoovers, Marshalls, Vandenberg and other men of the trusts ... are fighting for Wall Street's world control.

"Their steady rejection of peace was dramatized afresh by their cynical refusal to negotiate with the Soviets on the basis of the Smith-Molotov and Stalin-Wallace correspondence.

"They want world tension and crisis so that they can increase their fabulous profits and frighten the American people into accepting the militarization and fascist regime that they find necessary for the aggressive war they are preparing.

"But let these warmongers beware!"

Foster, William Z.,
"The 1948 Elections
And The Struggle For
Peace," Political Affairs,
September, 1948, page 773.

WITHERING AWAY OF COMMUNIST STATE

Various references have already been made to the Communist concept of the "withering away" of the state. It is fundamental in Communist theory because complete Communism cannot be reached until the state "withers away." It is to be noted at this point that Communists consider it necessary in the final conflict to "abolish" or destroy all non-Communist states by one form or the other of force and violence. They do not believe it possible for the non-Communist state to "wither away." Only the Communist state, or the dictatorship of the proletariat can "wither away." This process takes place after the stage has been reached where there are no functions left which the state can serve. When the *raison d'etre* of the state vanishes so, too, will the state. This happens when there are no non-Communist nations left in the world, hence, there is no longer any danger of intervention or attack. As the state exists as a protector and suppressor, (e.g. with army, navy, police, etc.), when there is no danger left to protect the people from and no classes to suppress and destroy, there is no longer any need for the state. It has no function and it "withers away."

"The state will be able to wither away completely when society has realised the rule: 'From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs...'"

Lenin, V. I.,
State and Revolution,
page 79.

"As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole--the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society--is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the

"state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of production. The state is not 'abolished,' it withers away."

Engels, Frederick, as quoted
in: From Socialism To
Communism in the Soviet Union,
Stalin, Joseph, page 52.

"Only when the capitalist class is decisively beaten on a national and international scale and class lines finally broken down will the workers' need for a State die out and the proletarian dictatorship 'wither away...' Lenin says in his The State and Revolution...

"Only then will be possible and will be realized a really full democracy, a democracy without any exceptions. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away in virtue of the simple fact that, freed from capitalist slavery, from the innumerable horrors, savagery, absurdities, and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually become accustomed to the observance of the elementary rules of social life, known for centuries, repeated for thousands of years in all sermons. They will become accustomed to their observance without force, without constraint, without subjection, without the special apparatus for compulsion which is called the State."

Foster, William Z., Toward
Soviet America, pages 136, 137.

"The state is withering away in so far as there are no longer any capitalists, any classes, and consequently, no class can be suppressed."

Lenin, V. I.,
State and Revolution,
page 78.

"For the complete extinction of the state, complete Communism is necessary."

Ibid., page 78.

"The expression 'the state withers away,' is very well chosen, for it indicates both the gradual and the elemental nature of the process."

Ibid., page 74.

"The State is not 'abolished,' it withers away."

Engels, Frederick,
"Anti-Duhring" as
contained in A Handbook
of Marxism, page 296.

"It is clear that there can be no question of defining the exact moment of the future withering away--the more so as it must obviously be a rather lengthy process."

Lenin, V. I., State
and Revolution,
page 69.

WOMEN (emancipation)

When Communists speak of the emancipation of women they mean "freeing" women from the home in order that they may take part in production. Much of their work is to be done outside the home. In a sense, under Communism women are "freed" from the home and made a slave of the machine and its "large-scale" industrial schedules. Private household work is "more and more" transformed into "a public industry."

"For a society that eagerly welcomes woman's entrance into new fields and lays the economic and legal foundations for her full participation, we must turn to socialism and the Soviet Union."

Millard, Betty,
Woman Against Myth, page 18.

"For as Engels says, 'The emancipation of woman first becomes possible when she is able, on an extensive, social scale, to participate in production, and household work claims her attention only to an insignificant extent. And this for the first time has been made possible by modern large-scale industry, which not only admits woman's labor over a wide range, but absolutely demands it, and also strives to transform private household work more and more into a public industry.'"

Ibid., page 15.

"...it is a basic principle of Soviet thought that woman must assume responsibility outside the home."

Ibid., page 18.

"To this end the Soviet Union has established a network of aids to women, and especially mothers, that is without parallel in other countries. Most notable are the factory and neighborhood nurseries that, staffed by trained specialists, care for the children while their mothers work."

Ibid., page 18.

"Women must continue to be a major force in their own advance, but they can move ahead only in common action with labor. And that means the trade-union organization of millions of women as yet unreached; it means a serious attack on male chauvinism, and its reflection among women; it means the conscious effort to find abilities among women where they are not immediately apparent."

Ibid., pages 22-23.

"And it means, finally, struggle together with such organizations as the Congress of American Women for price and rent control, for the rights of the triply-oppressed Negro women, for nurseries, for protective legislation and equal pay --- and the mobilization of millions of women for a progressive Third Party victory as a way of arresting the drive of the monopolists toward reaction and war."

Ibid., page 23.

"We must find a way of mobilizing the masses of toiling women around their vital interests and demands, taking into account the concrete situation in each instance, in the fight for their demands against high prices, for higher wages on the basis of the principle of equal pay for equal work, against mass dismissals, against every manifestation of inequality in the status of women, and against fascist enslavement."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United Front
Against War and Fascism,
pages 65-66.

"We must spare no pains to see that the women workers and toilers fight shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united working class front and the anti-fascist People's Front."

Dimitroff, Georgi, The United
Front, page 68.

"Bearing in mind the important part women play in industry, especially in time of war, work must be carried on among the industrial working women and workingmen's wives. To combat the imperialist influence disseminated among working women through petty-bourgeois organizations and to organize the working women in trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations, are extremely important tasks at the present time in view of the threatening war danger. In this connection, special consideration must be given to the plans for the militarization of women and to the increasing influence which bourgeois pacifist, religious and nationalist organizations are exercising over working class women. Work among the women must no longer be neglected, and the idea that this work is solely the affair of the women Communists must be stamped out."

The Struggle Against Imperialist
War and the Tasks of the Com-
munists, pages 17-18.

WORLD (division of)

Communist literature of today is filled with references to a divided world. By this they mean the world is divided into two great opposing camps. One camp has Soviet Russia as its leader and the other, Great Britain, and the United States. This idea that the world is divided into two areas is not a creation of modern Communists. V. I. Lenin and other early Communists talked of the world being divided into two areas, the socialist and the capitalist areas! Lenin also charged that the capitalists have divided their own particular areas among themselves, all of which will ultimately be lost to ever growing Communism. Prior to the rise of Communism, it is his contention, that the entire world was divided between competing, warring imperialists. Now, however, they are in one camp and Communists are in the other. Between the two, there can be no lasting compromise.

"... from now on the United States will no longer hold itself aloof ... It is reaching out for new markets ... new protectorates ... not in competition with other capitalist nations, but in cooperation with them. They will divide the world among them."

Lenin, V. I., The Revolutionary Age, Volume I,
No. 17, February 8, 1919,
page 5.

"... the world today is divided into two diametrically opposed systems: the world of capitalism and the world of socialism."

The Land of Socialism
Today and Tomorrow,
Reports and Speeches,
18th Congress, C.P.S.U.,
page 80.

"Who will defeat whom?--That is the essence of the question.

"Because the world is now split into two camps: the capitalist camp, with Anglo-American capital at the head; and the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at the head. Because the inter-

"national situation will be determined more and more by the relation of forces of these two camps."

Stalin, Joseph,
Leninism, Volume I,
pages 152-153.

"The giant trusts, monopolies, and cartels divide up the whole world into economic spheres of influence which they distribute among themselves 'peacefully', on the basis of their relative economic strength, until new wars force a new distribution. American trusts and monopolies participate in world cartels with trusts and monopolies of other countries. These cartels divide up markets, fix production quotas, set prices, establish spheres of influence, etc."

Theory and Practice of
the Communist Party,
prepared by National
Education Department,
Communist Party of the
United States of America,
page 17.

"The economic division of the world's markets, raw material resources by the trusts and cartels is followed by the territorial division of the world by five or six of the industrially advanced countries of finance capital."

Ibid., page 17.

"... the unevenness of the development of the capitalist countries usually leads in time to violent disturbance of equilibrium in the world system of capitalism, that group of capitalist countries which considers itself worse provided than others with raw materials and markets usually making attempts to alter the situation and re-partition the 'spheres of influence' in its favor by armed force. The result is a splitting of the capitalist world into two hostile camps and war between them."

Ibid., page 20.

WORLD DEVELOPMENT (decisive factors)

In speculating on the future development of the world and the forthcoming social changes, Communists assert that three "decisive factors" enter the picture. By this they mean (1) world progress; (2) successes of the Soviet Union; and (3) economic crisis in the United States. When mentioning world progress, they have in mind, of course, the progress of Communism.

"To sum up: world progress, the successes of the Soviet Union, and the American economic crisis are the three factors of decisive significance in the history of the future development of the world."

Ting-Yi, Lu, "The Post-war International Situation," Political Affairs, March, 1947, page 250.

WORLD FEDERATION

Communists when they speak of "world federation" mean that such a federation is wholly impossible unless it is organized according to the principles of Communism. Therefore, all Communists the world over are expected to oppose and sabotage any "world federation" plan which is non-Communist.

"Short of socialism a single world federation is fantasy."

Stuart, John, "Soviet Policy in Distorted Focus," Political Affairs, June, 1946, Volume XXV, No. 6, page 575.

"A United States of Europe, or a United States of the World is a utopian dream under the capitalist system."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, page 52.

WORLD WAR I

Communists consider World War I to have been an imperialist war fought for raw materials, markets and spheres of economic power and influence.

"...since the war remains an imperialist war, both under a monarchy and under a republic, irrespective of the territory - mine or the enemy's - occupied by the enemy troops at the given moment, the recognition of the defence of the fatherland is, in fact, tantamount to supporting the imperialist predatory bourgeoisie, it is tantamount to the utter betrayal of socialism....."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume VII, page 172.

"World War I (1914-18) was an unjust, imperialist war on both sides. It was waged between the Allied Powers (Britain, France, U.S.A., etc.) and by the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, etc.) for colonies, markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres of influence. The Marxist-Leninist attitude toward this war was one of opposition and struggle against it."

Theory and Practice of the
Communist Party, prepared
by National Education Department, Communist Party of
the United States of America,
page 21.

"...The bourgeois politicians know, of course, that the first imperialist world war led to the victory of the revolution in one of the largest countries. They are afraid that the second imperialist world war may also lead to the victory of the revolution in one or several countries."

Stalin, Joseph,
From Socialism to Communism in
the Soviet Union, page 12.

WORLD WAR II

It is a well-known fact that American Communists did all in their power to damage the defense efforts of the United States during the period of the Russian-German Pact. They were bitterly opposed to any aid given the Allied Nations fighting the Nazis. At that time the war was referred to by them as being an imperialist war. The moment Russia was attacked the character of the war changed at once. It then became a "war of liberation". No longer was the term "imperialism" applied to it. Before Russia entered the war the blame for the conflict was placed on the Allied Nations. After Russia entered the war the blame for the conflict was placed on Germany. The one single act which involved Russia in this war caused its character to change completely for every Communist all over the world. The direction Soviet Russia took determined the direction taken by all Communists.

The Soviet Russia-Nazi Germany Pact Period

"It is therefore not only senseless but criminal to wage such a war for the destruction of Hitlerism."

Molotov, V. M., as quoted by
Daily Worker, November 1, 1939,
page 2.

"...it is difficult to estimate the international importance of the Soviet-German Pact."

Molotov, V. M., The Meaning of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact, page 11.

"...an unjust, reactionary, imperialist war. The blame for this war falls on all the capitalist governments, and primarily on the ruling classes of the belligerent states. The working class cannot support such a war. The Communists have always fought against such a war."

Sunday Worker, November 5,
1939, page 2.

"The Communist Party pledges its everything to help arouse the American people and to organize them against the war danger now being forced upon them by American and British imperialists and pro-fascists."

Foster, William Z., The Menace of a New World War, page 15

"We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."

Daily Worker
November 1, 1939, page 2.

"What guarantee is there that the second imperialistic war will produce better results for them than the first? Would it not be more correct to assume that the opposite will be the case?"

Stalin, Joseph, Stalin Reports, page 18

"We are gathered together in historic Union Square at a grave moment in world history. The imperialists of the United States and Great Britain are trying to stampede the peoples into another world war."

Foster, William Z., The Menace of a New World War, page 3

"And as for the patriotism of the Communists, we may be sure of one thing, that everywhere they will do their utmost to save their peoples from being plunged into the imperialist blood-bath that Chruchill and his fellow British and American monopolists are preparing for them.."

Ibid., pages 5 6.

"It was not Germany who attacked France and England, but France and England who attacked Germany, assuming responsibility for the present war..."

Daily Worker, November 30,
1939, page 1

"...an unjust, reactionary, imperialist war. The blame for this war falls on all the capitalist governments..."

Sunday Worker, November 5,
1939, page

"...we reject President Roosevelt's huge scheme of militarization, which is nothing else than Wall Street's program of imperialist aggression and war."

The Communist,
July, 1940, Volume XIX,
Number 7, page 611

"Repudiate the militarization and armaments program. Fight against any actions by the President, the State Department or Congress..."

"Communist Party Resolution"
adopted by its National
Committee, February 17-18,
1940, The Communist, March,
1940, Volume XIX, Number 3,
page 215.

Period Following Breaking of Soviet Russia-Nazi Germany Pact

"...the German fascist invaders plunged Europe into the abyss of war..."

Stalin, Joseph,
The War of National Liberation,
page 48.

"...the Second World War is radically different from the first in its character. It must be kept in mind that the main fascist states--Germany, Japan and Italy--before attacking the Allied countries had abolished at home the last remnants of bourgeois democratic liberties, had established a cruel, terrorist regime, had trampled under foot the principles of sovereignty and freedom of small nations, declared the policy of seizure of other peoples' lands as their own policy, declared for the whole world to hear that they strove for world domination and spread of the fascist regime throughout the world.."

"In view of this circumstance the Second World War against the Axis powers, as distinct from the First World War, assumed from the very beginning an anti-fascist liberating character, having also as one of its aims the re-establishment of democratic liberties.

"The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the Axis powers could only strengthen and did strengthen the anti-fascist and liberating character of the Second World War."

Stalin, Joseph, as quoted in Theory and Practice of the Communist Party, prepared by the Education Department of the Communist Party of the United States of America, pages 21-22.

"Defend America by giving full aid to the Soviet Union..."

"Manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA," The Communist, August, 1941, Volume XX, Number 8, page 682.

YOUTH

Communists in the United States, as elsewhere in the world, have been and continue to be very much interested in the youth question, youth organizations and the over-all world-wide youth movement. The reason for this is obvious. He who controls the youth controls the future. Frederick Engels boasted that the Communist Party is the Party of the future and "the future belongs to the youth." Engels pointed out that youth is always attracted to the new and novel; to innovators who break with the past and launch out as pioneers in new fields of conquest. Engels assumes the Communist movement is new and novel and its leaders innovators, therefore youth will be naturally attracted to Communism. Communists have lost no opportunity to take advantage of youth and to indoctrinate the minds of youth through their own organizations and by infiltrating non-Communist organizations. In many different forms and disguises Communists try to convince youth of the existence of a "youth problem." This "youth problem," contend the Communists, is a product of Capitalism and the only way to get rid of it is to destroy Capitalism. As youth has a responsibility for helping to solve its own "youth problem" it should therefore feel obligated to help the Communist Party destroy Capitalism.

"...We need young forces. ... The youth will decide the issue of the whole struggle, the student youth and still more the working-class youth. Get rid of all the old habits of immobility, respect for rank and so on. Form hundreds of circles. ... among the youth and encourage them to work at full blast."

Lenin, V. I.,
The Young Generation,
page 12.

"Frequently the middle-aged and the aged do not know how to approach the youth in the proper way, for, necessarily, the youth must come to socialism in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances than their fathers."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume V, page 242.

"A matter of decisive importance is the work among the youth, especially among the industrial youth. The greatest efforts must be exerted--not only by the youth organizations, but by all Communists--in combating bourgeois sport organizations, fascist organizations, military schools, etc., through which the bourgeoisie are training the youth for imperialist wars. Furthermore, bourgeois military training of the youth must also be combated. Where the military training of the youth is compulsory, the Communists should urge the young workers to accept it, but they must organize work for the political education of these young workers and for the disintegration of the bourgeois military organizations. Similar work must be carried on in bourgeois, voluntary military training organizations. For this purpose, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League must send members into these organizations, but they must not urge the young workers to join them. Instead, they must urge the young workers to join, or form, Labor Defense Organizations."

The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists, Resolution of the VI World Congress of the Communist International, page 17.

"Another auxiliary movement of growing importance that has appeared as a serious factor only in the last two years, is the revolutionary movement among the students."

Browder, Earl, Communism in the United States, page 43.

"The winning of the working class youth is the problem not of our youth organizations alone, but the problem of the entire Party."

Ibid., page 49.

"Every Party unit, and every Party committee, must take as a part of its daily concrete tasks, the work among the youth, the establishment of their organizations, the solution of their political problems, and material help to their movement."

Ibid., page 50.

"A great part of the responsibility for all this must be borne, of course, by the Communist Parties as well, for they ought to lead and support the Y.C.L. in its work. For the problem of the youth is not only a Y.C.L. problem. It is a problem for the whole Communist movement. In the struggle for the youth, the Communist Parties and the Y.C.L. organizations must actually effect a decisive change. The main task of the Communist youth movement in capitalist countries is to advance boldly in the direction of bringing about the united front, along the path of organizing and uniting the young generation of working people."

Dimitroff, Georgi,
The United Front,
pages 65-66.

"We note with great pleasure that our young comrades in France and the United States have actively joined the mass movement for a united front of the youth which is so successfully developing, and have already achieved in this sphere successes which hold out great promises."

Ibid., page 150.

YOUTH (Russian)

It is of some interest to note that the education of youth in Soviet Russia includes indoctrinating their minds with the militant, pernicious idea that their country, Soviet Russia, "is the base of the revolution" and from this base of operations the Communist revolution is to be spread throughout the world.

"Briefly speaking, the task of the Young Communist League in this sphere is to educate our young workers and young peasants in the spirit of Leninism. And what does educating the youth in the spirit of Leninism mean? It means, first of all, imbuing them with the consciousness that the victory of socialist construction in our country is possible and necessary. It means, in the second place, strengthening their conviction that our workers' state is the offspring of the international proletariat; that it is the base for the development of the revolution in all countries; that the final victory of our revolution is the cause of the international proletariat."

Stalin, Joseph, Leninism,
Volume I, pages 251-252.

ZUBATOVISM

This word has been used in early Communist literature, and more specifically in literature of Russian origin. The word was used relative to supporting and strengthening the position of the ruling class by making certain "economic concessions to the oppressed classes." It appears that this term was derived from the name of what Communists call, a czarist "secret service agent", Zubatov, who organized non-Communist Russian laborers into various "workers' assemblies" and societies for the purpose of improving conditions and opposing the spread of revolutionary Communism. The Communists sent their spies and representatives into these anti-Communist labor organizations to confuse, divide, weaken and destroy their influence. Communists of our own era will, of course, pursue the same tactics when given the opportunity to do so. V. I. Lenin inferred that democratic constitutional governments have more to offer laborers and, therefore, it would be more difficult for Communists to influence the laboring masses away from democracy in the direction of Communism. He nevertheless insisted that this be done, and his Communist supporters of today are still blindly following his dictates in this and in other similar matters.

"What was Zubatovism? It was support for the oppressing class by means of small economic concessions to the oppressed class. That is why the reply at that time was: You will not by means of economic concessions induce the proletariat ... to abandon the idea of capturing political power..."

Lenin, V. I.,
Selected Works,
Volume IX, page 222.

"It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice and even -- if need be -- to resort to all sorts of stratagems, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs."

Ibid., Volume X,
page 95.

"Of course, in Western Europe, which is particularly

saturated with inveterate legalist, constitutionalist, bourgeois-democratic prejudices, it is more difficult to carry on such work. But it can and must be carried on, and carried on systematically."

Ibid., page 96.

V. I. Lenin, in a footnote on this same page, adds a petty, malevolent thought in condemnation of the democratic labor leaders of his day. This thought is pertinent in that present day American Communists merely rephrase it in their own condemnation of contemporary American labor leaders who are too democratic, intelligent and well informed to be susceptible to deceptive Communist propaganda and practices. Lenin's thought, which American Communists are presently applying to American labor leadership, in rephrased form, is:

"The Gomperses, Hendersons, Jouhaux and Legiens are nothing but Zubatovs in their European dress, in their outer polish, in their civilised, refined, democratically sleek manner of conducting their despicable policy."

Ibid., page 96.