

THE SOVIET UNION
UNDER THE NEW TSARS

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The Soviet Union, birthplace of the Great October Revolution, was the world's first socialist state founded by Lenin. However, since the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique usurped Party and state leadership some 20 years ago, it has pursued a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in betrayal of Lenin and the revolution. A fine socialist country has degenerated into a social-imperialist one.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has restored capitalism on all fronts on the domestic scene. It enforces a fascist dictatorship and enslaves the people of various nationalities in the Soviet Union. The Bolshevik Party founded by Lenin has degenerated into an out-and-out revisionist and fascist party. A handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists keep a stranglehold on the country's economy, and have turned the socialist ownership of the means of production into *their* ownership. Soviet literature, art and education, once instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have become instruments of dictatorship *over* the proletariat. Soviet society today stinks of capitalism, of degeneration and corruption. This small handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists and new bourgeois elements perpetrated a huge confidence trick which allows them to live off the fat of the land, while the Soviet working class and other labouring people are oppressed and exploited, reduced once again to wage-

slaves. With the deepening of class contradictions, national contradictions are also sharpening. In a word, the Soviet Union today is a paradise for a small number of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists and new bourgeois elements, and a hell for the millions of labouring people.

On the international front, the ambitious Soviet revisionists stick their fingers into every pie. In their unbridled aggression and expansion they can hardly wait to swallow the entire world. They have turned Mongolia and some East European countries into their dependencies and colonies. As for the Third World countries, they have also extended their claws to a number of them for plunder, subversion and even direct armed intervention. In Western Europe they are engaged in infiltration and expansion, for Europe is the main area of their contention with the United States for world hegemony. At present Soviet social-imperialism has become the most dangerous breeding ground of war in the world.

This pamphlet shows how revisionism and capitalism reign supreme in all fields in the Soviet Union. From this source of teaching material by negative example, people everywhere can draw proper historical lessons from the case of the degeneration of the world's first socialist state.

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A FASCIST PARTY CLAIMING TO BE "A PARTY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE"

Since the Khrushchov-Brezhnev renegade clique seized power and started pushing its revisionist line, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin and Stalin, has degenerated into the political arm of the Soviet bourgeoisie, a fascist party trying to hide its true features by claiming to be the "party of the whole people."

Chairman Mao pointed out: **"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie."** The Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique, representing the interests of the old and new bourgeoisie, is a gang of revisionists who have sold their birthright to follow the capitalist road, though they have hidden themselves in the Party for a long time. As soon as this clique came to power, it altered the proletarian nature of the Party, did away with the dictatorship of the proletariat, reversed the country's socialist orientation and changed the Party's programme and its line.

As every Marxist-Leninist knows, a political party is always an instrument of class struggle, and the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, a party built on the revolutionary theory and in the revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism. When the Soviet revisionists began to advertise their "party of the whole people," Marxist-Leninist Parties all over the world scathingly

denounced this rather sinister claim, pointing out that this "party of the whole people" was in fact nothing less than a political party of the bourgeoisie. The proportion of workers within the revisionist Soviet Communist Party has been decreasing steadily. For example, more than 70 per cent of the members elected to the Central Committee at the 19th Party Congress were dismissed during the Party's 20th-22nd congresses. In a single year, 1963-64, more than 160,000 members, mostly workers, were expelled from the Party. Great numbers of the real representatives of the working class, the real Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, have been castigated and persecuted by the Soviet counter-revolutionary revisionists. Many have been removed from leading posts. Representatives of the bourgeoisie have usurped Party and state power, restored capitalism and become the chieftains of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

In recent years Brezhnev and company have been insisting, with a guilty conscience, that the Party "has tightened control over the growth of its membership" so that "the working class has occupied a leading position in the social composition of the Party." They hope in this way to convince people that their so-called "party of the whole people" still "retains its class nature."

Lenin pointed out more than 50 years ago: **"... whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat."** This statement shows up in its true light Brezhnev's claim about "the social composition of the Party."

FASCIST DICTATORSHIP

The C.P.S.U. has now been reduced to a tool used by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists to enforce a barbarous fascist dictatorship throughout the country. When Brezhnev and his cohorts flaunt the tattered banners of the "party of the whole people" and the "state of the whole people" and harp on the shopworn theory of the "dying out of class struggle" and "the democracy of the whole people," as Khrushchov did before them, their sole purpose is to cover up the fascist dictatorship they exercise both inside and outside the party. The Soviet revisionists have recruited deserters and renegades and constantly engage in factional activities for personal gain; they are ruthless in their persecution of all genuine Communists who adhere to Marxism-Leninism and of those who show any signs of upholding justice. It will be recalled how Khrushchov, on the pretext of "combating the cult of personality," lashed out at Stalin and how he openly rehabilitated old-line revisionists, counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois representatives of all shades, restoring their party membership and glorifying them. At the same time, he promoted his own lackeys to leading posts at all levels. Brezhnev is even more unscrupulous than his predecessor. He has enlisted old and new bourgeois elements and promoted them to dominant positions in all fields. Time and again the Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique has conducted massive party purges, suppressing many party members and cadres. A case in point is the recent "renewal of party membership cards." Between March 1973 and February 1975, nearly one million party members said to have "alien thoughts" were purged. The Soviet journal *Party Life* acknowledged that in the course

of renewing membership cards, party organizations have punished still more severely those members alleged to have "violated the requirements as set forth in the Party Constitution." During that period, large numbers of party cadres at the grassroots level in different parts of the country were removed from their posts and, in the armed forces, 30 per cent of the party cadres were dismissed. This purge, like previous ones, was directed first and foremost at party members who dissented from or resisted the revisionist ruling group.

In the Soviet "party of the whole people" and "state of the whole people," fascist rule is as brutal as in Hitler's Germany. The Soviet spy system extends to all parts of the country. The secret police organization, the State Security Committee (K.G.B.), has been so expanded that it employs several hundred thousand people, and has a comprehensive system both at home and abroad. It has sub-divisions throughout the country, in the union republics, regions and cities, and its agents infiltrate into all walks of life. In 1968, the Soviet "Ministry of Social Security," set up in July 1966, was reorganized into the "Ministry of Internal Affairs"; the "Bureau of Specialized Defence," the "Bureau of Night Police" and the "Motorized Police" equipped with sophisticated instruments for sleuthing, telecommunications and suppression were established to step up persecution of the Soviet people. Eleven specialized schools were set up to train top-level agents and police. Under various names, many auxiliary organs of dictatorship were either expanded or established. They include "the volunteer pickets," "the public committee," "the committee to prevent law-breaking incidents" and "the public and police station for social

security" and so on. In this way, fascist dictatorship over the people has been intensified.

Brezhnev and company have continued to strengthen the already modernized "Internal Security Force" which simply consists of troops put at the disposal of the ruling clique to suppress those Soviet people who dare to rise in rebellion. The Soviet revisionists have on many occasions ordered the troops out to shoot and kill so as to extinguish the flames of resistance of the people at home. According to information trickling through news reports from Tbilisi, Chimkent, Kharkov, Kaunas, Tallin, Minsk, Leningrad and Novosibirsk, mass strikes, parades, demonstrations and uprisings have been put down by the troops.

The prisons, concentration camps and "mental hospitals" built by the revisionists exceed those in Hitler's Germany in number and type. A report issued by the Legislative Proposals Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities states that the overwhelming majority of prisoners who are deprived of their freedom by court decision are kept in "labour reform camps." Former inmates have revealed the location of more than 250 of these concentration camps, while information from various sources provides an initial estimate of more than 1,000 such camps and a prison population of more than one million which is still growing.

A great number of people in the concentration camps are political prisoners who are dissatisfied with the reactionary rule of the new tsars. The methods of repression used by the revisionists lack all humanity: the political prisoners in the concentration camps are subjected to mental and physical torture. Following the lead of Hitler, the Soviet authorities keep prisoners in a constant state of hunger, or poison them by mixing chemicals with

their food. Nine political prisoners disclosed in a letter to the International Red Cross: "In the camps, every method is put into service with one objective — to break our will and force us into submission. . . . The entire establishment of the camp is aimed at transforming human beings into terrified and subservient animals. . . ." They also pointed out that anyone who did not submit would be confined in a cold, damp "punishment cell" or "solitary confinement cell." Some are handcuffed or put in straitjackets, and their daily ration is reduced to the minimum. Prisoners emerging from these "prisons within prisons" are barely strong enough to walk. The camp authorities encourage the guards in their barbarous practices such as setting dogs on the prisoners or stripping and searching them in the open air when the temperature is 30-40 degrees below zero. The guards even get two weeks' holiday for killing any prisoner trying to escape from a camp. The concentration camp on Wrangel Island, where various experiments are carried out on political prisoners, is a veritable Nazi "death camp."

RUTHLESS EXPLOITATION

The C.P.S.U. today is an instrument used by the handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists for their ruthless exploitation of the working people. The revisionist rulers, the top bureaucrats in the party, government and army, are the plutocrats who monopolize the means of production and control the entire national economy. The series of economic plans and resolutions published by them in the name of the party and the state are all designed to force the working people and the rank-and-file party

members to submit in a docile fashion and create even more surplus value for them. Khrushchov divided the party into "industrial" and "agricultural" parties under the pretext of "establishing party organs according to the principle of production." Propagating his false, "goulash" communism and introducing "material incentives" everywhere, he intensified the exploitation of the Soviet people. Brezhnev, on his part, urged party cadres to master the "art of money making" and ensure the maximum profits. In the last twenty years, Soviet society has become increasingly polarized as a result of the policies of these traitorous leaders. While the few bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists appropriate as they please the fruit of the Soviet people's labour and live a life of dissipation and extravagance, the masses are being impoverished, and those who have lost their jobs are forced to roam from place to place.

The relationship between the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and the masses of working people and rank-and-file party members is clearly one between the oppressor and the oppressed, the exploiter and the exploited. Every law or decree on economic matters promulgated by the Soviet authorities is meant to intensify the exploitation of the working people. The C.P.S.U. Central Committee decided to implement, on a nationwide basis, the so-called "Shchekino System," which was devised, after a great deal of thought, by the manager of the Shchekino Chemical Combine and publicized under the slogan, "less men, more products." This system, which seeks to create high profits and big bonuses, has raised exploitation of the workers to the level of a science. It makes one worker responsible for several jobs, having him do the work of two or three others, and so results in the dismissal of

“redundant workers” in large numbers. The revisionist leaders lavished praise on the “Shchekino System” and had it widely publicized, claiming shamelessly that it conformed to the “principle of socialist management.” But they themselves admitted that some factories had raked in 16 rubles and 60 kopecks for every ruble given to the workers as a “material incentive.”

The Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class has proved itself to be greedier than the old capitalists. Today workers in the Soviet Union are being exploited more severely than those in Western capitalist countries, and twice as much is being squeezed out of them as from their forefathers in pre-First World War tsarist Russia.

TOOL FOR AGGRESSION AND HEGEMONY

Apart from its role as an instrument of exploitation and fascist dictatorship at home, the C.P.S.U. is also used by the Soviet revisionist leading clique to carry out aggression and expansion abroad in its struggle for world hegemony. In recent years the Brezhnev clique has invented a series of social-imperialist theories such as “limited sovereignty,” “international division of labour,” “international dictatorship” and “the interests involved” to justify its aggression and expansion. While stepping up arms expansion and war preparations, the new tsars have been expanding their espionage activities in foreign countries and, using their lackeys abroad as a social-imperialist fifth column, have been interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, carrying out subversive activities there and bringing pressure to bear on them. The Brezhnev clique’s clamour for “peace,” “disarma-

ment" and "detente" and its claim to be a "party of peace" are simply smokescreens to hide the true colours of social-imperialist aggression and expansion overseas. Bloodstained Angola is the proof which rips away the Soviet revisionists' false mask. In a few months the so-called "true friend" of the Angolan people, using its mercenaries and agents, murdered 150,000 Angolans and created over one million refugees in a country whose total population is only six million. Public figures and newspapers all over the world have pointed out that the Soviet revisionists invaded and interfered in Angola for the purpose of imposing a new colonial rule on this country and establishing a new bridgehead of strategic value to further its scheme to control Africa. Some twenty years ago, the Soviet revisionists took advantage of the Egyptian people's difficulties and their eagerness to resist aggression and recover lost territories, used "aid" as a front, and wormed their way into Egypt under the guise of a "natural ally." Given an inch then, they wanted a foot. They unscrupulously interfered in Egypt's internal affairs, trampled on her sovereignty and exploited the Egyptian people. They went to every extreme in a vain attempt to force Egypt into submission — from keeping a stranglehold on the arms supply to stopping all supplies, including spare parts, from exacting high prices for the arms to pressing for debt payments. On March 15, 1976, Egypt resolutely terminated the Egyptian-Soviet "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation." This great victory of the Egyptian people in their struggle against hegemony dealt a heavy blow against Soviet hegemonism and exposed the true nature of Soviet social-imperialism.

The Soviet revisionists' struggle with the other super-power, U.S. imperialism, has now taken on global propor-

tions. The unrest in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, Southern Africa and elsewhere is invariably tied up with Soviet social-imperialist expansion and infiltration. In its contention with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony, this overly ambitious superpower takes a menacing offensive stance everywhere; it is the more adventurist one and has become the most dangerous source of a new world war.

THE WORSE THE OPPRESSION,
THE STRONGER THE RESISTANCE

Chairman Mao pointed out, **"... the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, ... they desire revolution and ... revisionist rule will not last long."** Since the Soviet revisionists usurped power and restored capitalism, the Soviet people and the rank-and-file party members have put up resistance in various forms. Let us look at the following instances of popular resistance that broke through the watertight Soviet news blackout in 1976.

When the "25th Congress" of the Soviet revisionist party convened in late February:

- the workers at a Leningrad telecommunication equipment plant, more than 20,000 in all, angrily went on strike in defiance of suppression by troops and police;

- a number of young Soviet people distributed leaflets on downtown Nevsky Street in Leningrad, calling for a "new revolution";

- leaflets exposing the fraud of the Brezhnev clique's so-called "improved welfare of the labouring people"

were seen in Stalingrad's streets, market-places and railway stations;

— tall buildings in the city of Togliatti on the Volga were painted with "Down with the dictatorship!" and other slogans;

On August 4, the slogans of "Down with the party bourgeoisie!" "The Soviet Communist Party' is the people's enemy!" and "The Soviet Union — a people's prison" appeared on Leningrad's biggest street, Neva Boulevard, and on the walls of the Tavricheski Palace. A one-metre high and 40-metre long slogan, "You are smothering freedom but people's souls know no chains," was painted on the Fortress of Peter and Paul in the city.

On October 5, an 84-year-old man who had been a party member for 58 years announced his withdrawal from the Soviet revisionist party. In an open letter to Brezhnev, he denounced the present Soviet regime for autocratic rule and militarism at home. He pointed out that the Soviet leadership made up a "privileged caste" and were "wallowing in wealth, isolated from the people, riding roughshod over them."

Political prisoners in the concentration camps often wage all kinds of struggles, including refusal to work, hunger strike and insurrection, and expose and denounce the fascist crimes of the Soviet revisionist authorities through many channels to the Soviet people and the people of the world. All this constitutes a constant source of distress and anxiety to the Brezhnev clique. Hunger strikes occurred in concentration camps in Mordovo and Perm in December 1973, and from April to August in 1974. An Armenian engineer, thrown into the Perm concentration camp in 1973 for opposing the Russian chauvinism practised by the Soviet authorities, said: "We

know what is in store for us. But there cannot be freedom without sacrifice. We can be annihilated, but we will never submit. We will fight until final victory. That is our oath." A prisoner in Ryazan Region said: "Communism is the future of mankind. This is the only idea guiding all my activities. I will do my utmost to bring that day closer." One Communist, who had been put into a concentration camp for opposing the dark rule of the Soviet revisionists, fearlessly declared in court: "I was, am and will be a Communist. . . . My ardent love for socialism has made me the defendant. But even if I am put on trial ten times I will safeguard my communist ideal as long as I have the strength to do so." Underground revolutionary organizations have distributed leaflets calling on the Soviet working class and other labouring people to rise and overthrow the reactionary rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and rebuild the dictatorship of the proletariat.