



# TRUTHS AND LIES ABOUT SOCIALISM

## 2. On the socialist power

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CENTRAL COUNCIL OF KNE



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## 2. On the socialist power



SINCHRONI EPOCHI

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Athens 2013

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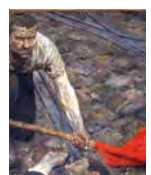
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# PROLOGUE

The 2nd part of the publication of the CC of KNE "Truths and Lies about Socialism" is related to the issue of socialist power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the sequel of the 1st part "On the Socialist Economy". This series concludes with the 3rd part which will engage with issues of the distortion of the history of socialist construction in the 20th century.

In the issue that you hold in your hands, we answer the slanders and offensive against socialism, focusing on the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state, the beloved arguments of the bourgeois class and opportunists concerning the lack of "democracy and freedom". The basis of this attempt is the conclusions on socialist construction, reflected in the resolutions of our Party, the KKE.

The purpose of this particular section is not just to show, in general terms, what workers' power will be like, but to attempt, as far as possible in such a small publication, to present the general principles concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, to answer lies and distortions of truth, to cite facts from the reality of countries that constructed socialism in the 20th century.

Just as in the previous section, we cite excerpts at the beginning of each chapter that

criticize socialism-communism from the bourgeois and opportunist perspective, and with these as a starting point we develop our answer. The chapters are the following:

**1.** The phony dilemma "democracy or totalitarianism". In this chapter we highlight the question: "democracy for whom?" we show the class - oriented character of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and all the forms of governance of the bourgeois power, and we respond to the vulgar ideological construct about "totalitarianism".

**2.** The Dictatorship of the proletariat: a higher type of democracy. In this chapter we describe the character and the duties of the dictatorship of proletariat, the organs of power, the active participation of the working class in the construction of the socialist society; we refer to the historic experience of USSR.

**3.** Dictatorship of the proletariat or "Dictatorship of the Party"? In this chapter we deal with the role of the Communist Party in socialist construction.

**4.** "Is there freedom in socialism"? With this chapter we analyze the content of freedom in capitalism, in other words the economic slavery of the working class and the true liberation of man in the socialist-communist society.





"Storming of the Winter Palace"  
Painting of P. Shokolov-Skalia



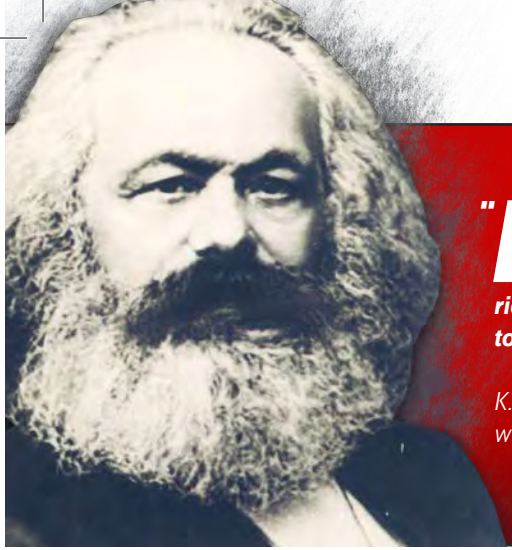


# INTRODUCTION

A great part of anti-communist, anti-socialist propaganda focuses on the issue of the so called lack of “freedom and democracy” during the construction of the new society, of socialism-communism. The main focus of that attack is the revolutionary workers’ power, the state of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of the Communist Party. The capitalists cannot abide it; they tremble before the idea that the working class will emerge as the dominant class, and that they will be thrown into the dustbin of history.

When someone reads the word “dictatorship” they imagine many things, as it is usually equated with harsh regimes, the authoritarian imposition of the will of a minority over a majority. However, if we examine the issue more carefully we will realize that the term dictatorship expresses the power of one class over the others. When we refer to the dictatorship of the bourgeois class and respectively to the dictatorship of the proletariat, we talk about the class that has the power. In other words, the meaning of dictatorship is not synonymous with the form of governance of military imposition of the exploiting classes (the slave owners, the feudalists, now the capitalists) over the poor working class- popular masses.

Dictatorship is also the power of one class even when it guarantees formal political



**"Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat».**

*K. Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme, "SynchroniEpochi», pg.34  
[www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/gotha/](http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1875/gotha/)*

equality between the members of different classes. Just as it occurs today in bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which is none other than the dictatorship of bourgeois class, as we have everywhere the domination of the capital, which is concealed and hidden behind formal equality, formal equal political rights, even though there is a whole legal "arsenal" and the mechanisms of the bourgeois state are ready to put aside any right if bourgeois' power is threatened.

In reality, the bourgeois classes' power to impose its will, to form its own institutions and mechanisms that serve its interests, originates from its economic power, the capitalist ownership of the means of production. The whole superstructure, the institutions and the mechanisms exist to defend and assist the reproduction of its domination.

Therefore, with the term "dictatorship of proletariat", Marxism scientifically refers to the political domination of the working class. The conquest of political power by the working class is also a precondition for its economic domination, for the overthrow of capitalist relations and the socialization of the means of production. The liberation of the working

class from the dictatorship of the capital, from the yoke of the monopolies and its emergence as a dominant class also liberates the rest of the working people.

### **What is the state? The state in capitalism**

The state did not always exist. The state is a product of unresolved class contradictions that are present in the society. The state appears during the evolution of history in places when the class contradictions objectively could not be compromised. And vice-versa, the very existence of the state demonstrates that class contradictions cannot be resolved.

In the primitive communal societies there was no need for a state, because classes did not exist. The state was born along with the class society thousands of years ago. This happened when the surplus product was created thanks to the development of the productive forces, meaning one part of the produced product (from working the land, livestock, etc.) which was not used for the satisfaction of immediate needs of the community. The appearance of the surplus pro-



## The birth of the Athenian State

The slaveholding state was the first state in history and reflected the class distinction of society between slaves and slave owners. Those were the states that appeared over the course of history between the 4th and the 3rd millennium B.C., in China, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The slaveholding state reached its complete development in the city-states of Ancient Greece and in Ancient Rome. In the slaveholding state, there appeared various forms of governance, from despotism, aristocracy to ancient democracy, without changing its class content. The well - known ancient Athenian democracy was a democracy only for slave-owners.

Engels in his work "The origin of family, private property and the state" describes, amongst other things, the conditions for the birth of the Athenian state:

*"How the state developed, how the organs of the gentile constitution were partly transformed in this development, partly pushed aside by the introduction of new organs, and at last superseded entirely (...) this process, at least in its first stages, can be followed nowhere better than in ancient Athens.(...) In the Heroic age the four tribes of the Athenians were still settled in Attica in separate territories.(...). The constitution was that of the heroic age: assembly of the people, council of the people, basileus. As far as written history takes us back, we find the land already divided up and privately owned, which is in accordance with the relatively advanced commodity production and the corresponding trade in commodities developed towards the end of the upper stage of barbarism. In addition to grain, wine and oil were produced; to a continually increasing extent, the sea trade in the Aegean was captured from the Phoenicians, and most of it passed into Athenian hands. Through the sale and purchase of land, and the progressive division of labor between agriculture and handicraft, trade, and shipping, it was inevitable that the members of the different gentes, phratries, and tribes very soon became intermixed. (...) The smooth functioning of the organs of the gentile constitution was thus thrown so much out of gear that even in the heroic age remedies had to be found (...). The principal change which it made was to set up a central authority in Athens - that is, part of the affairs hitherto administered by the tribes independently were declared common affairs and entrusted to the common council sitting in Athens.(...) The Athenian citizen, as such, acquired definite rights and new protection in law even on territory which was not that of his tribe. The first step had been taken towards undermining the gentile constitution (...) With the coming of commodity production, individuals began to cultivate the soil on their own account, which soon led to individual ownership of land. Money followed, the general commodity with which all others were exchangeable. (...) The old gentile constitution had not only shown itself powerless before the triumphal march of money; it was absolutely incapable of finding any place within its framework for such things as money, creditors, debtors, and forcible collection of debts. (...) In short, the end of the gentile constitution was approaching. Society was outgrowing it more every day; even the worst evils that had grown up under its eyes were beyond its power to check or remove. But in the meantime the state had quietly been developing."*


**F. Engels, *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*,  
"Synchroni Epochi", pg. 133-159**  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/>



duct led, over the course of time to its private appropriation, and furthermore led to the formation of private ownership over the means of production, in other words, class contradictions were born. The complete development of these contradictions created the exploitative distinction of society between the slaves and the slave-owners. The first state, in history, formed was the state of the slave-owners in order to impose their power on the slave class. Thereafter, during the evolution of the society the exploitative relations change according to the evolution of productive forces. The distinction between slaves and slave-owners was replaced by the serfs and the feudalists and today by the workers and the capitalists. In each corresponding period, the state evolved and strengthened to serve the specific exploitative relations.

The state consists of many institutions for the systematic implementation of compulsion against the exploited. It creates permanent, specific mechanisms and it organizes the violence of the dominant class, (army, police etc.). Also, several functions existing (administrative, defensive for the protection of the community etc.) before the appearance of state in the context of the primitive community become detached and are exercised by special institutions.

These transitions during the evolution of humanity were hard but necessary, since the relations of production must correspond to the development of the productive forces that has been achieved at a specific time. However, today, the productive forces -that mark huge progress and development- suffocate in the context of exploitative relations. The ab-



**T**he state is therefore by no means a power imposed on society from without; just as little is it "the reality of the moral idea," "the image and the reality of reason," as Hegel maintains. Rather, it is a product of society at a particular stage of development; it is the admission that this society has involved itself in insoluble self-contradiction and is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to exorcise. But in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, shall not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, a power, apparently standing above society, has become necessary to moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order"; and this power, arisen out of society, but placing itself above it and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the state».

F. Engels, *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*,  
"Synchroni Epochi», pg. 210

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/>





### **Paris Commune, 1871.**

A basic lesson from the Paris Commune was that the working class must smash and crush the “ready-made state machinery” and not restrict itself to occupying it. The working class must establish its own dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat. “This is the precondition for every real people’s revolution on the Continent. And this is what our heroic comrades of the Party in Paris are attempting”, said Marx.

olition of the exploitation of man by man, a great social leap, will contribute to a situation where the productive forces will correspond to the relations of production. The creation of these social relations, along with the institutions that emerged with them, was necessary in the evolution of history, and to that extent today their abolition is equally necessary for the further evolution of the society.

Therefore, speaking of the state, we must always have in mind that the main issue is the issue of power of one class over the other.

### **The working class and the bourgeois state**

The working class, as a direct producer that does not have, however, ownership over the means of production, as the exploited class in capitalism, is placed in various ways under the

coercion of the bourgeois class and its state. The bourgeois state, as a mechanism for the domination of the capitalists over the workers, is a mechanism of oppression, repression and manipulation against the workers.

Nevertheless, the bourgeois class does only not organize the brutal repression and the exclusive practice of violence by the state mechanisms (which is, however, a basic function of the state), but it also exercises multi-faceted oppression. It organizes state judicial institutions in order to implement the law, which has as its core the defence of private ownership. It creates laws, constitutions; it establishes courts of justice and institutions to enforce this law, which in fact is “unjust” for the working class.

In modern capitalist societies, the state also organizes the state educational system, it builds schools and universities, i.e. it orga-

nizes the "consent" of the exploited working class and organizes the health and welfare system, guaranteeing the conditions for the reproduction of the working class. Namely, it guarantees a basic level of education, a basic satisfaction of health etc., as well as the reproduction of dominant ideology and politics in order to obscure class exploitation. Moreover, the bourgeois state intervenes in the economy by passing measures facilitating the reproduction of capital on an extensive scale.

The duty of the proletariat is to overthrow the bourgeois state as a precondition for the construction of the new society. The bourgeois state cannot change its class nature and cannot be used in favour of the working class and the poor popular strata. The working class must take advantage of any gains- democratic rights acquired as a result of the class struggle- but not by restricting its aims to the improvement and the democratization of the bourgeois state, but in the direction of organizing the struggle in order to overthrow bourgeois power. The bourgeois state is a state of the capitalists in order to secure their interests. In its place the working class must build its own state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the overthrow of the bourgeois state is not possible without violence, without the proletarian, socialist revolution.

### **The "withering away" of the state in developed communism**

The communist socioeconomic formation expresses the new leap in the evolution of human society, on the basis of the development

of the means of production. Labour in capitalist production acquires an increasingly social character. There no longer exists the need for a class - owner of the means of production, i.e. the class of capitalists, who do not contribute anything to production; they are parasites. At one time, the division of society into classes was a necessary step in human evolution. Today, thanks to the development of the productive forces, this division of society has become an obstacle. The disappearance of classes is inevitable, as inevitable as was their creation during the past.

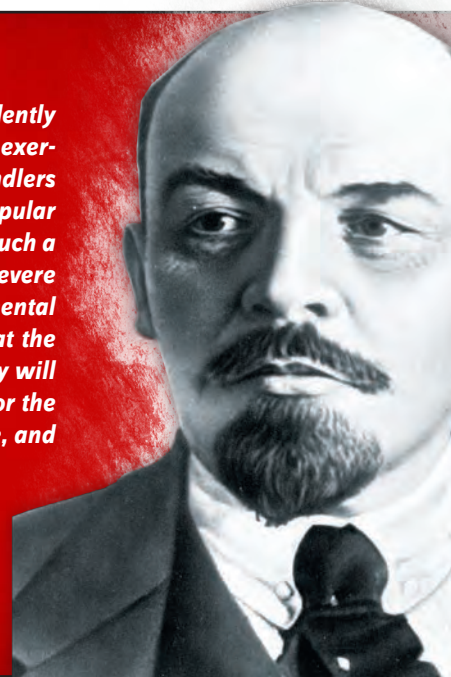
The socialization of the means of production and central planning as the new social relations eliminate, over a course of hard struggle and contradictions, the root cause of the existence of the class inequalities.

As during mankind's past primitive societies managed to live without a state, therefore, the new, fully developed communist society will no longer need a state, i.e. it will no longer need a mechanism of coercion, of enforcement. However, this not due to incomplete development, but on the contrary is due to the enormous development of the productive forces, labour productivity and the new social relations. Nevertheless, the state as a state cannot be "abolished" all at once, because it is not possible to eliminate at once the root of class inequalities. Through the social revolution, the bourgeois state is abolished and is replaced by the state of the working class. Bourgeois power, disorganized in conditions of revolutionary situation by the decisive action of the organized workers and their allies, is crushed, destroyed, smashed. From the first moment of its formation, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state is a "semi-



**F**or when all have learned to administer and actually to independently administer social production, independently keep accounts and exercise control over the parasites, the sons of the wealthy, the swindlers and other "guardians of capitalist traditions", the escape from this popular accounting and control will inevitably become so incredibly difficult, such a rare exception, and will probably be accompanied by such swift and severe punishment (for the armed workers are practical men and not sentimental intellectuals, and they scarcely allow anyone to trifle with them), that the necessity of observing the simple, fundamental rules of the community will very soon become a habit. Then the door will be thrown wide open for the transition from the first phase of communist society to its higher phase, and with it to the complete withering away of the state."

V.I.Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, "Synchroni Epochi", p. 122  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/staterev/>



state", according to Engels; it is not a "state per se". This occurs because its mission is not the continuation of class exploitation, but the abolishment of any source of class exploitation. It is a state that is expected to abolish itself, to wither away, because it is no longer needed.

The state is withering away over the course of development, during the passage from the lower to the higher phase of the communist society. The economic base for the complete withering away of the state has to do with a high development of communism that eradicates the contradictions between intellectual and manual labour, the submission to the division of labour and transforms labour not only into means of subsistence, but also into

a prime necessity of life, i.e. when the sources of the appearance of social inequality disappear.

Advanced communism as a classless society is a society without a state. The state will be able to wither away completely only when people have become so accustomed to observing the basic rules of living and their work is so productive that they are working according to their abilities and the distribution of products is carried out according to their needs.

### **The state in socialism**

Socialism, as the first, the immature phase of communism, is a society in which initial-



**Assembly of Petrograd's soviet, 1918.**

*"Proletarian democracy, of which Soviet government is one of the forms, has brought a development and expansion of democracy unprecedented in the world, for the vast majority of the population, for the exploited and working people. (...)Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."*

(V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution And the Renegade Kautsky*,

*Sinchroni Epochi*, p. 31-33)

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1918/prrk/>

ly classes and class contradictions still exist, while afterwards some class contradictions and differences, potential class differences, are still maintained, i.e. differences including the potential of historical regression. Firstly, there are the remnants of the defeated bourgeois class, which will fight until the end in order to take back the power that they lost. In addition, several contradictions or differences remain such as these between the people of the city and the countryside, between manual and intellectual labour, which have their

origin in the entire history of exploitative societies. Moreover, there are contradictions originating from the possibility that some sectors of production are not socialized directly, at once. These are differences resulting from the division of labour. The historical experience of the USSR showed that sections of agricultural production etc. maintained commodity relations. Commodity relations are a source of class inequalities. In addition, the conscience corresponding to the new, communist relations, i.e. the communist conscience, the

communist attitude towards labour, is not shaped in a cohesive and "automatic" way among all the sections of working class and the people. Namely, there are still elements of the past that struggle against the new society that has been born. Historical experience has highlighted that this kind of struggle continues for a very long time.

Thus in socialism, the working class is constituted as the dominant class by its state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class opposes the dictatorship of the bourgeois class (regardless of the form that it takes, e.g. parliamentary system, fascism, military dictatorship etc.) with its own dictatorship, the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the democracy of workers who are dominant since they overthrew the power of the bourgeois class; they took the means of production in their hands and are leading the construction of the new society expressing also the interests of the other exploited strata by liberating them.

Consequently, the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes a means of continuing the

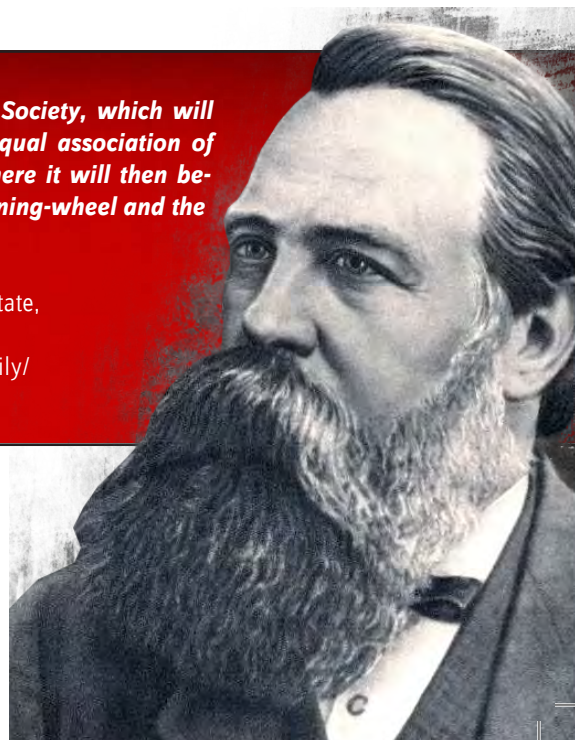
class struggle with other means and forms under the conditions of the socialist construction.

The necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the socialist state arises from the basic revolutionary duty of the workers' power, namely the formation of the new communist relations. A difficult task, since the passage to communism is not just a passage from one society to another; it is not a replacement of one exploitative class by another, but the definitive and complete abolition of any form of private and group ownership over the means and results of production, of every exploitative class and every social inequality. This necessity also arises from the continuation of the class struggle internationally, since the simultaneous passage socialism at global level, in every country at the same time, is impossible.

Only the vanguard social force, the working class, which is the vehicle of the communist relations, can accomplish this task with the leading role of its Party, the Communist Party.

**"Along with [the classes] the state will inevitably fall. Society, which will reorganise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquity, by the side of the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe."**

F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, "Synchroni Epochi", p. 214-215  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1884/origin-family/>





1



"Our locomotive, fly forward"  
By R. Baryshnikov

99



# THE PHONY DILEMMA: "DEMOCRACY" OR "TOTALITARIANISM"?

*"One the opposite side of "democracy" lies "totalitarianism". In this (socioeconomic) system only one, the ruler, possesses absolute power and has the ability to control the society. Dictatorship is one of the forms of totalitarianism, which constitutes an authoritarian system of governance based on violence. The characteristics of totalitarianism are the following: imposition of a particular ideology, the one - party system, existence of an organized plan of intimidation of the citizens, absolute control of the army, absolute control of mass media, an economy controlled and planned, by the state"*

( "Sociology" Coursebook, 3rd grade of High School)

## "Democracy" for whom?

For many centuries, beginning from ancient times until the present day, the concept of democracy has been the centre of numerous discussions and written texts. Democracy has existed as an ideal, as a political demand and slogan for millions of militants, as well as a deceptive ideological construct, a fraud.

The bourgeois and opportunists theoreticians and propagandists do not understand political history as a result of interchanges of socioeconomic formations, as scientific communism does (because they would be forced to admit the inevitable overthrow of capitalism), but as succession of regimes. Based on that they distinguish regimes (democracy, oligarchy, monarchy, etc.) concealing class relations, the class essence of socioeconomic formations and their respective state.

In general, they identify democracy with bourgeois parliamentary democracy. They claim that within the framework of the bour-

geois state "all of us are equal citizens, we have the right to vote and to be elected, we have universal voting rights and trade union rights, etc guaranteed by the Constitution". The political system, the administration mechanisms, the Constitution, therefore, are presented as "classless". But, behind the term "citizens", the class division that exists in capitalism and the division between the exploiters and the exploited are being concealed.

Lenin noted that when someone hears the words democracy and freedom he should ask: "democracy and freedom for which class?"

Since the dawn of capitalism, when the bourgeois class was still a revolutionary force, it became clear that the slogan "equality, freedom, brotherhood" of the bourgeois French Revolution -that overthrew feudalism- had a content that was expressing the interests of the domination of bourgeois class. For example, just two years after the victory of the French Revolution, measures were taken in order to dissolve all trade unions and to ban

strikes. These were the so-called Le Chapelier laws (after the French bourgeois judicial and politician Isaac Rene Guy Le Chapelier), which were in effect from June 14, 1791 until 1864, i.e. they were applied for 73 years.

Bourgeois democracy is democracy within the framework of capitalism. It is a form of expression of the dictatorship of the bourgeois class. Of course, bourgeois democracy was progressive compared to feudal autocracy, which was overthrown by the former. But bourgeois democracy defends capitalist exploitation. The democratic rights and freedoms, existing in most of the bourgeois Constitutions, reflect the victory of the bourgeois class against feudalism, they weren't generously granted by the bourgeois class to the working class but only after a tough class struggle and only when the bourgeois class acquired the ability to assimilate wider workers' and people's masses due to these concessions. During the era of bourgeois revolutions, the bourgeois class consisted of a large mass of small and big owners of means of production. In order to overthrow feudalism, they attracted to the political struggle large popular masses of farmers and proletarians, the ancestors of contemporary working class. On this basis, the democratic and political freedoms were established on the terrain of capitalism. The bourgeois class didn't hesitate to restrict or ban these freedoms when it considered it necessary for the stabilisation of the capitalist system. In conditions of contemporary capitalism, the imperialist stage of its development, where the bourgeois class has the place once held by feudalism, the rise of reactionary influences, the restriction of rights and freedoms and the manipulation of people's protest, is

the general tendency.

In our country we have certain examples proving that the bourgeois class takes action as soon as it becomes aware that its profitability and power can be negatively affected. For example, there were certain moments during the 20th century when the bourgeois class suppressed strikes, even though the strikes were for economic demands only, without disputing bourgeois power and these strikes resulted in harsh conflicts between the working class and the mechanisms of bourgeois state, with many dead militant workers as a result.

Although, even those who claim that "the above mentioned events happened years ago, now democracy is consolidated and things have changed" conceal the fact that bourgeois class imposes itself using its own power over the popular masses with multifaceted mechanisms that combine manipulation and repression. Let's remember the tremendous persecution of the monumental students' demonstrations struggling against the so-called Arsenis - law (High school educational reform 1998), or even the repression against struggles in the following years. At that time the government applied the despicable Legislative Act (implemented by the subsequent governments) which considered that student protests were a "statutory offense" and brought district attorneys to schools in order to terrorize the school students. Hundreds of school students across Greece were tried on charges such as "disruption of domestic peace", "occupation of public areas", etc. The bourgeois governments tried more than 10,000 farmers across the country on the charge of "obstruction of transportation", during the period of the monumental agricultural protests. Do not for-



## The class character of Bourgeois Constitution

Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto addressed the bourgeois class in this way: "Your law is the will of your class made into a law, a will whose content is determined by your material conditions of existence of your class.» The bourgeois constitution, "the pinnacle of laws», defines the principles of the juridical and political system of every bourgeois state, determines the form of regime, the methods and the organs of implementation of capitalist power. For example:

The guarantee of private property is the main feature of all bourgeois constitutions. In the Greek Constitution, the ownership is guaranteed in general way on the 17th Article: "The ownership is under the protection of the State, but the rights deriving from it cannot be exerted against the public interest." The second sentence expresses the intervening nature of the state as a collective capitalist in favour of the general interests of the capitalist class. It is significant that all constitutions up to the present day retain the 1952 Constitution provision concerning the special protection towards the foreign capital as well as the ship owners, based on a specific article (107). The historically provocative rate of exploitation that the shipping capital exerts is enshrined in the constitution.

Let's look at the right to work (art. 22) which is guaranteed by the constitution. The bourgeois constitution, while defending the right to work basically defends the right for wage labour to be exploited.

The right of assembly, "quietly and without arms» with possible presence of the police if this occurs outdoors (Art. 11) is completely undermined by the constitutional 'loophole" that bans public meetings if "imminent danger to public safety» exists or " if the disruption of social and economic life is threatened severely.»

The Constitution itself poses several criteria for the suspension of the defined rights like the "national interest", "public security", "social cohesion", etc., i.e. the uninterrupted operation of capitalist system, thus allowing for the implementation of restrictive measures based on the course of class struggle. Hence, the 48th Article of the current Constitution, revised in 1986, talks about the state of siege: "In case of war or mobilization owing to external dangers or an imminent threat to national security, and whether an armed movement (readers, pay attention: not an armed military movement, consequently it does not only mean a coup), the Parliament for a full period of 15 days [...] implements [...] the law for "state of siege", calls extraordinary courts and suspends the validity of all or part of the provisions of Articles ... '.

See *Kommounistiki Epitheorisi*, issue 4/2010  
"The class - oriented character of the judicial and political superstructure,  
the sharpening of class struggle"



get the dozens of strikes and workers' protests declared illegal by civil courts. Based on the data of the First Instance Court of Athens relating to the period 1999-2008, 215 out of the 248 employers' appeals against strikes were accepted. In other words 9 out of 10 strikes were deemed illegal. The bourgeois governments attacked large demonstrations of seafarers, having the bourgeois courts and their court rulings as their weapon and at the same time using brutal repression in order to impose "civil mobilization" of the workers and use savage means of repression. Recently, the bourgeois governments the magnificent strike of the steelworkers in Aspropyrgos declared illegal and deployed riot police at the factory in order to break the strike. Additionally, the state utilizes against the organized class-oriented movement and the Communist Party, a complex of mechanisms of provocation, thugs, various agencies - operating in cooperation with the "official" repressive forces - in order to strike against the struggles. Provocation was always a powerful weapon in the hands of the

bourgeois class against the working class and its Party.

### **The bourgeois parliament, the multi - party system and the bourgeois elections are the 'zenith of the Democracy'**

We face the argument that capitalism has a multi - party system, many different parties can express their views and can participate in elections, that even the enemies of capitalism, even the Communist Parties, have the potential to exist and act. On the other hand they say that in socialism there is no parliament and multiparty system, so there is "totalitarianism".

First, the bourgeoisie conceals a fact that applies first of all to themselves, namely that the classes form political parties with the aim of serving their interests. This also applies to their own parties, which serve the interests of the bourgeois class. However, the bourgeois class is expressed by more

#### **"Greek steelworks", Aspropyrgos, July 2012.**

The Constitution and the laws of bourgeois state exist only to ensure the capitalist ownership over the means of production. The attitude of bourgeois state against the heroic struggle of the steelworkers was characteristic. Complete support for the capitalist Manesis, court rulings and persecution, brutal repression against the strike.



## The myth of "Totalitarianism"

*The identification of the former socialist societies and socialism in general with so called totalitarianism is one of the new-old ideological constructs re-emerging in the political analysis of the bourgeois mass media, public interventions of governmental cadres and cadres of bourgeois political parties, but also in the curricula of higher education institutions. Most often, the concept of totalitarianism, the totalitarian phenomenon, totalitarian ideologies (...) is mentioned in newspaper articles and magazines artfully and uncritically. They never give a definition of this phenomenon, and it is presented as something well-known and obvious. (...) Substantial emphasis is given to the identification of fascism, especially Nazism, with existing socialism and respectively fascist with communist ideology. (...) The concept of totalitarianism first appeared in the "Times» in 1929 and described as totalitarian a type of state that is "cohesive», with a one-party system either communist or fascist, generally it appears as a reaction against the state of parliamentary democracy. The equation of this two incompatible phenomena, namely the fascist and socialist, state and society ,aims to impose the political forms of the state as the main criterion and characteristic based on which we can compare different types of society without any further analysis (on the contrary, it aims to obscure) over the content of state power and its relations with the structure of society, i.e. the social classes and the struggle waging between them. Bourgeois ideology, since defends the capitalist system and generally chooses to face the world in that way, presents the world as the embodiment and struggle of some ideas and ideals, the most important of which is (bourgeois) "democracy».*

*The theoreticians that "confront totalitarianism" perceive man and "human nature" as something static and metaphysical, they cannot see the possibility of the change of social relations and they perceive it as destruction of humanity and abolition of freedom. Socialism does not aim to turn people into "servants of the State" and spineless beings, as these theoreticians claim. This duty belongs to the daily tasks of the capitalist system (either fascist or "liberal"), which we are experiencing today intensively. Socialism aims to construct a new civilization, a new type of social relations (that means a "new human", not to uproot all human qualities, as these theoreticians claim!), which will release the creative capabilities of people in order to be able handle collectively and to develop further the tremendous forces and potential accumulated in the current stage of mankind's development.*

Kommunistiki Epitheorisi, issue 2/2000  
""Totalitarianism", the return of Cold War mythology»








**1938. Cohabitation group of political exiles in Anafi.**

In the ninety-year old history of Communist Party of Greece, thousands of communists were sent to exile, to prison, to the firing squads. Communists wrote glorious pages in the history of the Party and the people's movement on the exile islands, in prisons, in the torture chambers of the bourgeois state.

than one party. These parties are formed on the basis of historical, ideological differences that concern the management of capitalism, express intra-bourgeois contradictions. The differences between bourgeois parties guarantee the alternation in the formation of bourgeois governments; reproduce the support of the workers'- people's strata through the universal right to vote. This is the essence of the multi-party system. Namely, these are parties that don't express something different taking into consideration their class essence, because they agree on the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation over the working class and any

differences concern the different "formulas" for the workers' exploitation. The differences developed during the previous years are significant, not only among the Greek bourgeois parties, but at a European and international level, in relation to the variations of crisis management. There are different tendencies and intra-bourgeois contradictions, however what all of them have as common ground is the attempt to exit the capitalist crisis at the expense of the working class and the popular strata, and these are not differences in favour of the people's interests. The working class has nothing to expect from such "polyphony", besides it



has important acquired experience. Basically, for decades two parties were alternating in government, the bourgeois social-democratic party and the bourgeois liberal party, however now we have a period of rotation between alliance governments. now of the "centre-right", tomorrow of the "centre-left", without excluding other forms. History has shown that when the rule of bourgeoisie is questioned then the differences between bourgeois parties "disappear" and united as a fist they struggle for their class. In our

country for example during the period of the armed class confrontation, in 1946-1949, all the bourgeois parties were united to face the Communist Party and the Democratic Army of Greece. It is significant the example of

the so-called "seven-headed" government formed in 1947, named as such because of the participation of all the political leaders from the whole range of the bourgeois political system (C. Tsaldaris, G.Papandreou, S.Venizelos, P.Canellopoulos, N.Zervas, etc). Also, more recently, under the present conditions of the economic capitalist crisis, New Democracy and PASOK (old social democratic party) put aside their differences and formed anti-popular governments under the Prime Minister L.Papademos and A.Samaras later: The former with the support of "extreme-right" party LAOS, the later with the support of the "centre-left" party DIMAR.

The bourgeois parliament and elections ex-

press the "popular will" determined by the influence of employers' intimidation, threat of unemployment, mechanisms that buy the workers' consciousness off, anticommunism, fear before the revolutionary perspective, bourgeois ideology fostered through education and so many other factors that form attitude of assimilation and submission to the system among the larger part of popular strata and their families. Only when the above factors are secured firmly, then the bourgeois class allows the realization of universal right to vote

**The bourgeois democracy is democracy within the framework of capitalism. It is a form of expression of the dictatorship of the bourgeois class.**

that operates as an assimilation tool. Besides, the universal right to vote presented as the "cornerstone" of bourgeois democracy, was neither established at once, nor was truly universal. During the period of bourgeois revolutions the

right to vote initially was connected to class criteria, such as the possession of land, property, wealth, etc. It didn't concern everyone. The same happened with the right to vote of women, of black people, etc. In our country the right to vote for women was established in 1952 by the bourgeois laws [while they had voted for the first time in the areas freed by the National Liberation Front (EAM) - Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS) in 1944]. In Switzerland, presented as a particularly democratic country, women gained the right to vote in 1971! In the US, the right to vote for black people was acquired in 1965.

As long as the working class and the popular strata believe that through the elections they will serve their own interests,

they will remain chained of the bourgeois class, their political emancipation will be blocked. Of course the Communist Parties are "obliged" to work in parliaments in order to uncover exactly their bourgeois exploitative character. But only when the working masses believe in their power, in their ability that they have to get organized and rule themselves, only when they overcome their parliamentary illusions, they will be able to enforce radical changes for their profit. In parliament, decisions that in reality are taken elsewhere, outside of it, that are based on the economic domination of the bourgeois, are simply validated. The bourgeois state has at its disposal institutions and mechanisms of enforcing the domination of the bourgeois class (judges, police officers, army etc.) that their class orientation is not affected from the correlations in parliament.

Besides, historically it has been proved that within the bourgeois parliament, there cannot be formed political correlation that will express the general interests of working class and popular strata. Even in the theoretical occasion that something like that happens, the bourgeois class will not stay with crossed arms). History has shown examples that even reformist majorities got violently overthrown (e.g. Allende in Chile).

Some present the argument that, like in capitalism that the lawful action of the Communist Parties is permitted, in socialism the action of parties that express capitalists or other defenders of "open market" should be permitted.

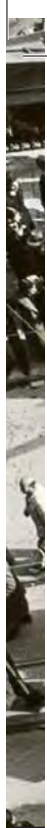
This comparison cannot be, because the historical role of working class in relation

to the bourgeois' role, concerning the social progress, is different. With the consolidation of capitalism and the domination of bourgeois, this class ceases to be pioneer and emerging. It becomes reactionary, it survives only because it exploits the working class. It has a parasitic role in social production because it does not produce anything, but because it owns the means of production, it usurps the wealth that the workers produce.

The pioneer social force is the working class because it is the conveyor of the new productive relations, the communist ones. It is the class that produces the biggest part of social wealth, that in capitalism it does not own any means of production and that in its struggle for its own domination, it has nothing to lose, but its chains. In Socialism it's not just one party in power, but the working class organized as the dominating class, led by its party.

The bourgeois "forget" that when bourgeois class took power it did not leave the feudal lords-aristocrats that it overthrew, safe and sound. Not only did it not permit them to form parties, but it also it also sent them the guillotine.

The defense of the open, public action of the Communist Parties in capitalism by the working class and the people, is in essence the defense of the political expression of the pioneer social force. In contrary, the defense of the existence of capitalist parties in Socialism, in a society that exploitation is abolished, and as a result the class that represents it, can only be realized as a setback and an obstacle of social development. As in capitalism today, not only is it not permitted but it would seem unheard of for parties that support the totalitarian (slavery) or the partial (serfdom) own-







**Sunday 3rd of December 1944.**

When the bourgeois power is in danger the bourgeois class does not hesitate to drown the people in blood. "The struggle of KKE during the decade 1940-1949, with the armed fight of EAM-ELAS on December of 1944 and DSE (1946-1949), constitutes the biggest offer of our Party to the working class and the poor popular strata, as well as its biggest contribution to the action of the international communist movement during the 20th century". (From the introduction of the History Essay of KKE, Volume 2, 1946-1968).

ership of people by other people, to exist, i.e. the previous productive relations, in socialism it will be unheard of for parties that support and propagandize the exploitation of people by other people, the exploitive relations, to exist. This is how the comparison should be.

**The position of the bourgeois democracy against the Communist Parties**

The working class is expressed by its own party, the Communist Party, that its own formation is a result of the maturing of the work-

ing class. The CP struggles for the working class to gain conscience of its historical mission, which is to abolish all kinds of exploitation and oppression and to lead the way into a classless society.

It is a lie that the bourgeois class generally lets the Communist Parties to act undisturbed. It knows that they fight to overthrow it and when its domination is in danger, it takes harder measures against the Communist Parties. The history of the global communist movement and of KKE in Greece is full of persecutions against communists. Lawful, public action of the Communist Party is a conquest

## Bourgeois state against KKE

Since its primary years of existence, KKE faced persecutions, class hatred of the bourgeois state. State violence does not only show its superiority in the correlation of forces, it mainly shows the fear of the bourgeois against the working class, the people. The bourgeois legislative grid against the workers movement is dated before the founding of KKE, when the socialist ideas started being appealing. It is constantly strengthened after the founding of the party in 1918. The law on the constitution of Committees on Public Security in each Region" " of the government of Al. Papanastasiou in 1924, that the dictatorship of Pangalos in 1926 modified and used, the concentration camp of communist soldiers in Kalpaki, the "Idionym" of Venizelos in order to "Protect for now, but mainly for the future the social regime", the forbiddance of the circulation of "Rizospastis" are characteristic examples. Thousands of communists convicted, martyred in prisons and exile of bourgeois government parliamentary or of dictatorship. KKE during the king's and Metaxas dictatorship of the 4th of August 1936 took a big blow. State security could constitute the squealer "Temporary Leadership" in the role of the leading body of the party that issued a "Rizospastis" with a content directed thereby. KKE was deprived of the important service of hundreds of cadres that the government of Metaxas gave to the Germans, even its general secretary of the Central Council Nikos Zahariadis.

After the liberation of Greece in 1944, the bourgeois forces resorted to murderous violence, they chose the bloodshed of the struggling people that were united around KKE, EAM and ELAS. During the armed struggle of KKE in 1946-1949, the state repression was shielded even more with the "3rd decree" in June 1946 and the voting of O.L. 509/1947. The armed struggle highlighted the ethical greatness, the heroism, the contribution and sacrifice of thousands of communists, popular fighters. After the civil war, new heroic pages were written at the jails and exiles, the Military Courts, the firing squads, cladestinity and political refuge. New persecutions and sacrifices for thousands of communists at the purgatories of the soldier dictatorship in 1967-1974, at the dungeons of EAT-ESA, at the places of exile. But even after the junta, in times of democracy and legality, KKE faced employer violence and terrorism by the bourgeois democracy. A martyr of this struggle, Sotiria Vasilakopoulou, member of KNE, was murdered at the gates of the ETMA factory at 28/7/1980. KKE follows that road today, the one of class struggle, with consequences such as layoffs, persecutions and trials of communists and other fighters. Against the violence of the bourgeois class today the answer is: "We never did and we never will sign a declaration of repentance to the national and international bourgeois class"



of the working class. In our country the democratic government of El.Venizelos in 1929 declared communism as a statutory offense and criminalized the communist ideology. KKE remained illegal for 27 years (1947-1974), the 20 of which were not during fascist or dictatorship governments, but during "bourgeois-democratic" governments, years that were accompanied by terrorism, tortures, exiles, executions.

Let us not forget though that the defenders of parliamentarism and multiparty system, that until recently hypocritically presented EU as the apogee of democracy, hide that in a number of countries of the EU, Communist Parties and Youths, the communist symbols are forbidden by law. In Czech Republic, the Communist Youth was until recently illegal because, as the bourgeois court judged: "At its program it expresses the necessity to replace the private ownership at the means of production with social ownership" and that is a "crime" for capitalists! In Poland and elsewhere the use of communist symbols is forbidden, in Germany there is a law that forbids hiring communists to work for the bourgeois state, at the Baltics they forbid Communist Parties and praise the Nazi SS. EU has made its formal ideology the historically inaccurate and provocative identification of fascism and communism, the anti-communism.

But even in the occasion that the Communist Parties are legal, bourgeois class puts a lot of obstacles to the spread and promotion of their ideas and of course under no circumstances are they allowed to implement them. It is clear that for the bourgeois political system, the bourgeois state, the Communist Parties are their "Number One"

opponent. For example, how many times has the KKE been attacked for its slogans, that compact political ideas, as "law is the right of the workers" but also its actions to defend the popular interests (strikes, organization of disobedience and indiscipline against the bourgeois poltcy etc) are at the verge of legality and ask from KKE to take oaths of submission to the bourgeois state? Besides, these are not just a matter of declarations for the bourgeoisie. How many times have we seen efforts to legally restrict and suppress communist action (e.g. dismissal of members of KKE and KNE and pioneer fighters because they were ay the frontline of strikes. persecutions against members of KNE because they lead students' mobilizations, persecutions of communists and other fighters for various mobilizations.

Besides the above, let us not forget that in the conditions of bourgeois democracy, the massive projection of the positions of the communists is objectively limited by socio-economic conditions, as large-type complexes, electronic and printed media, publishers, internet etc. are under the control of the monopolies and the bourgeois state.

Whatever means the KKE has ("Rizospastis", "90.2", etc.) to project its positions, the struggle of the labor movement are struck from every side from the bourgeois in order to be silenced (politically, economically, judicially with lawsuits etc.).

The screams that are occasionally heard on "KKE's immunity" that it "moves on the limits of legality" and the like, prove that the constant aim of the bourgeois class is to achieve a crushing blow on the party of the working class by putting obstacles in on its relatively



## The brutal repression of the bourgeois state against workers' struggles

### A recent example

Thursday August 16 2012, after 9 days of strike, at the platinum mines of the British group "Lonmin" in South Africa Marikana, 35 striking miners were killed by police gunfire, 78 strikers were injured and 259 were arrested. Over the past few days four more miners were killed in clashes with the forces of repression, during which two men of the private security were also killed. It is a massive massacre of strikers by the police -and with the N. African government having political blame-in order to satisfy the claims of "Lonmin" and to "break" the strike.

Against them though, the workers found an entire grid of mechanisms of the bourgeois state that intended to break the strike and let the monopoly group continue to earn its profits by stepping literally on corpses. Other than the outrageous fact that the National Prosecutor indicted for manslaughter against the 270 arrested strikers of the Marikana mine for the murder ... of their colleagues who were proven to be killed by fire from the police, a host of categories was charged to the workers for "possession of weapons", "disturbance of social peace", etc. Indeed, the law which the bourgeois state uses against the strikers is the law on "riotous assemblage" of 1956 that was used by the racist apartheid governments in order to face the struggle of black workers. The juridical prosecutions against the striking-in reality because they dared to participate in the strike- confirms that the law has a class character and serves the interests of the class that has the power. They confirm that the law of the bourgeois state is like a knife and it never hurts the one who holds it.

See the shocking video of the police opening fire and killing in cold blood the strikers. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kXpfdaxCEXw>



legal action, without leaving out the aim to integrate it on the bourgeois political system.

### **Even the formal rights stop for the workers in the workplaces**

The right of the working class to organize, although it is formally established, practically is blocked, while it is also limited institutionally.

For the bourgeois, even this formal democracy has no power in the workplace, inside the factory gate and company. The worker within the framework of parliamentarianism is "free" to vote for any party they want, to have any opinion they wish, formally they have the right to strike, but as soon as they stand up for themselves in the workplace, the employer is ready to crush them. There are maybe laws that allow the existence and action of trade unions and workers' organizations, but these are only tolerable to the extent that they are manipulated and part of the network of assimilation of the working masses. In addition, there are laws that ensure labor rights, however, they are not actually applied or they are easily utilized to limit working rights to something "realistic" or "achievable" that is always determined by capitalist profitability. However, the moment that the working class fights for the contemporary working-peoples' needs that come into conflict with capitalist profitability, they are confronted by the multipronged attack of the employers and the bourgeois state. Besides, when the class struggle sharpens, when the workers' struggles acquire tendencies to come into conflict with bourgeois domination, even minimal labor rights are abolished at once.

At the same time, the bourgeoisie also uses other methods in order to undermine the labor movement and to ensure the desired "class peace" in the workplaces. It forms a whole bribed stratum of workers, the labor aristocracy, representatives of which are promoted to the leadership of the labor movement. When needed, the bourgeoisie can also accomplish it by trampling upon the formal, legally protected correlation of forces in the trade union movement (e.g. deposing the elected leaderships etc.). In that way, the workers' organizations are converted from defenders of the workers' interests to defenders of the interests of the bourgeoisie, they become enemies of the workers, traitors inside the working class.

### **Regimes that suppress bourgeois democracy- the other side of bourgeois power**

However, bourgeois parliamentary democracy may not be in all the phases the "appropriate" form of management of bourgeois power. In times of difficulties, crises, fissures in the bourgeois system, there are many historical examples, as well as contemporary, when the bourgeoisie puts aside its "angelic face" and chooses to exercise its power through non-parliamentary regimes. Military dictatorships, fascism are all in the service of the capital and are just different forms of management. The changes and the differences in the mode of governance do not change neither the class nature of the economic relations or the class essence of the state. Namely, regimes presented as "anti-democratic" or as "democratic" serve the same class, the same system, that of the



**The parliamentary group of the Nazi party in the German Parliament in 1930.**


The bourgeois pretend to “forget” that fascism arose from the bourgeois parliament. Hitler was elected to the Parliament, with the support and tolerance of the bourgeois political world. He was supported financially and politically not only by the German bourgeoisie, but also by American monopolies and British interests that sought profitable transactions and support from Germany against the USSR.

capitalist exploitative relations. For example, behind the “anti-parliamentary” rhetoric of the Nazi and fascist parties basically lies the need to confront more decisively the workers' and people's movement, to ensure order and stability in order to safeguard capitalist domination and the profitability of the monopolies.

These regimes suspend a wide range the formerly established freedoms and rights, which for the workers are rights won through blood, the product of hard class struggles. For the working class and its Party it means a wave of repression, a possible passage to illegality, imprisonments and persecutions,

murders of militants, prohibition and restriction of workers' demands and trade-union action etc. Their class nature cannot be obscured by the fact that within the framework of intra-bourgeois conflicts there is a restriction of rights for sections of the bourgeoisie, e.g. for political opponents, rival bourgeois parties etc. Intra-bourgeois conflicts can be savage when the contradictions of the bourgeois are very sharp. In Greece, and even within the framework of parliamentary governance, there have been times when the intra-bourgeois conflicts were so intense that there was bloodshed. For example, the conflict between the pro-venizelist and the





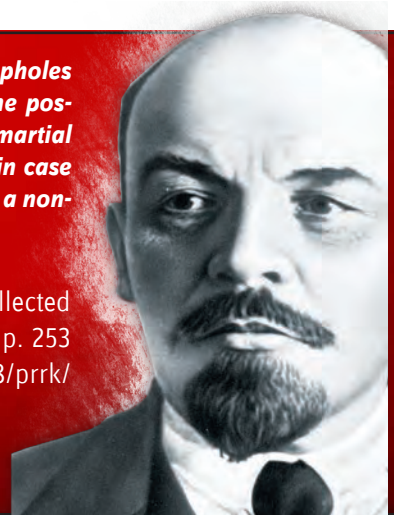
anti-venizelist, in the 1910's, or the "Trial of the Six" (1922), when the liberal group sent 6 prominent officials of the Popular Party, former prime ministers and ministers, to the firing squad in order to put the blame on them for the defeat in the Asia Minor in 1922. Global history is full of examples of anti-people regimes that were characterized by "emergency" measures to enforce order. Those kinds of regimes are usually temporary, and most of the times the transition to bourgeois parliamentary democracy is smooth and without serious consequences for a large number of their officials, which also proves the continuity of bourgeois power regardless of the form of governance. Those kinds of regimes have even been sup-

ported by other capitalist "democratic" states around the world. The example of the USA is characteristic. The country that is presented as the "land of the free", a state-zenith of democracy, has in its record hundreds of anti-democratic actions, imperialist interventions, imposition and support of dictatorships, attempts to overthrow governments etc., actions that served its interests. This is the democracy of the capitalists.

However, even if the bourgeois liberties existed and were "fully" functioning, they would still be historically outdated. A chasm is separating them from worker's democracy, the liberties and the rights under the conditions of the abolition of exploitation of man by man.

***T***here is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a "violation of public order," and actually in case the exploited class "violates" its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner."

B.I. Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Collected works, v. 37, editions "Sinchroni Epochi", p. 253  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1918/prrk/>







"Communist detachment, 1919"

By S.Luppov



# THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT: A HIGHER FORM OF DEMOCRACY

*The model that has dominated in all the countries of "actually existing socialism" was, with slight variations, that established in the period of Stalin's leadership. It was the Soviet model of concentration of all powers in the hands of the Communist Party, of generalized repression and oppression of all dissidents and opponents, of dogmatic ideological "monotheism", the authoritarian police and supervisory control of the entire society. The official ideology, in the name of the construction a classless and harmonious society, was fighting pluralism of any kind. It argued that the centralization of power, the dictatorial rule of the single party in society, the collectivization of the means of production and central planning had strong advantages.*

(Newspaper "Eleutherotipia", 7/11/2009)

The leap that takes place during the socialist construction, i.e. during the transition from capitalism to communism, is qualitatively higher than any previous one, since communist relations, as non-exploitative, cannot be formed in capitalism. The political revolution is the precondition for these new relations to be imposed and dominate, i.e. the conquest of power by the working class and the establishment of its own state, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is a basic difference in the transition to the communist socioeconomic formation in relation with the previous. In the framework of the transition from an exploitative socioeconomic formation to another, the new relations could be developed and dominate first in the confines of the previous socioeconomic formation and then, as the last part of this process, the class that was the bearer of the new relations struggled for and took

power. This happened for example in relation to capitalism. Capitalist relations were first developed and dominated within the confines of feudalism, which brought about an unavoidable conflict between the rising bourgeois class and the class of the feudal nobility that was declining. The great bourgeois revolutions completed the absolute domination of the bourgeoisie through the seizure of political power, which of course was necessary in order for the capitalist relations to dominate everywhere and become fully developed.

But, communist relations are non-exploitative relations. Only their preconditions are developed within capitalism. Their appearance and domination requires the abolition of capitalist ownership of the means of production, which can only be done after having overthrown capitalist power and its state.



Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat has a "double" duty. On the one hand to suppress and overcome the efforts of capitalists to retake the power, on the other to form and develop the new relations, a task that is long-term and includes the whole period of the socialist construction, which is the period of the social revolution.

The task of the revolutionary workers' power is to deepen and expand the communist relations in production and distribution, to form the new communist consciousness, the new man. This task is complex and long-term and includes economic, political, cultural, educational activity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the guidance of the Communist Party.

*"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuous fight, bloody or not, violent or peaceful, against the forces of the old society".  
(Lenin)*

### **The core of power and the character of the organs of power**

Revolutionary workers' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, expresses a higher form of democracy, having as a basic feature the active participation of the working class in the construction of the socialist society.

Democratic centralism is a fundamental principle in the formation and functioning of the socialist state the direction of the production unit, every social service. That is, the united will and action of society in the direction of socialist construction, the active participation in making and implementing decisions, the subordination of the will of

the minority to the will of the majority, the ability to elect and recall the organs of power.

Revolutionary workers' power will be based on institutions that will be born from the revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies. The bourgeois institutions will be replaced, after being overturned, by the new institutions of workers' power.

The Communist Party of Greece through its resolutions has set some basic principles regarding the characteristics of the workers' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The representatives in the organs of power will be elected and recalled (if necessary) by the assemblies of the workers in the production unit, decisions will be made, control will be exercised. The representatives for the intermediate institutions will be elected and recalled directly; there will be indirect representation through the assemblies of the representatives of the highest organs of power (i.e. the representatives to the intermediate organs will elect the representatives to the highest organs of power). The representatives will not have privileges, they will have responsibilities and they will be accountable "to those below".

The organs of power that are elected by the workers in the production units have as their tasks the specialization of the central planning, the implementation of the tasks of social production, the social services, the cultural development, the protection of the re-

volution. There, at the level of the production unit, the participation of the working class is established and ensured, from the "bottom" to the "top", as is the exercise of workers' control, the criticism of decisions and decrees, complaints about arbitrary and subjective attitudes, bureaucratic attitudes, weaknesses and deficiencies that can appear during the socialist period.

The workers' collectives are accountable and monitored in order to promote the collective decisions of the higher organs of the workers' power, which have the overall

responsibility of guidance, specifying the goals of each project that is decided on in the context of central planning. The effectiveness or otherwise of each project is associated with the ability to understand the scientific laws in order to produce for the expanded satisfaction of social needs. The effectiveness of the project is tested in life itself, by practical experience itself. It is confirmed by the participation of the working masses in the control and the management of power.

Workers' participation in the control and

**"The social revolution cannot be restricted only to the conquest of power and the formation of the economic base for socialist development, but is extended during the entire socialist course; it includes the development of socialism for the attainment of the higher communist phase. During this long-term transition from the capitalist to the developed communist society, the policies of revolutionary workers' power, with the Communist Party as the leading force, prioritize the formation, extension and deepening of the new social relations, their full and irreversible prevalence, not in a subjective manner, but based on the laws of the communist mode of production. "It is thus that the class struggle of the working class continues - under new conditions, with other forms and means- not only during the period when the foundations of socialism are being laid, but also during the development of socialism. It is an ongoing battle for the abolition of every form of group and individual ownership over the means and products of production, and of the petit-bourgeois consciousness that has deep historical roots. It is a struggle for the formation of an analogous social consciousness and attitude corresponding to the directly social character of labor. Consequently, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as an instrument of class domination and class struggle, is necessary, not only during the "transition period", for the consolidation of the new power, the realization of the measures for the development of the new economic relations and the abolition of the capitalist relations, but also during the development of socialism until its maturation into the higher, communist stage."**



18th Congress, Resolution on Socialism Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20th century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism.

## What were the Soviets?

The Soviets were councils of workers' representatives. They had been the form of socialist power in the USSR, the new form of political organization of the workers in the struggle for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They were created as a result of the workers' and other popular strata's revolutionary activity in the Revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia, as leading organs of the workers' strike struggle. Some Soviets in the great revolutionary upsurge emerged as leading organs of the armed uprising. Besides the workers' soviets, soldiers' and peasants' Soviets were created. The experience of the Soviets during the revolution of 1905-1907 played an important role in the new revolutionary upsurge of 1917. The Bolsheviks after winning the majority of the soviets of the large urban centers (St. Petersburg, Moscow) from the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who supported the bourgeois power after the victory of the bourgeois revolution in February 1917, took the lead in organizing the armed insurrection against the Provisional Government, the uprising that led to the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. The slogan "All Power to the Soviets" was implemented with the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

In 1922 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established, that came from the union of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Russia (SSR), of the SSR of Ukraine, of the SSR of Belarus and the Soviet Federal Socialist Republic of Transcaucasia (that consisted of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan). All these Republics had appeared after the October Revolution. The first Constitution of the Soviet Union (1924) regulated the union of the Soviet Republics in a single state. By the time, the SSR of Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan (October 1924), the SSR of Tajik (1929), the SSR of Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Armenia (1936) and the SSR of Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia and Estonia (1940) joined as Soviet Socialist Republics in the USSR.

The 3rd Congress of the soviets. January 1918.





the management of the power is guaranteed by the reduction of working time, which enables the development of the cultural and educational level of the workers. Besides, the dictatorship of the proletariat means just that: The state of the workers is based on the organization of the working masses and their participation in the management, the organization of the production and all services, the control of the administrative machinery, planning and its implementation.

With special provisions, it the participation in the organs of power for sections of the population who are not in the process of the production will also be ensured. For example, young men and women who are still out of production because they are in the educational process will take part in the election of representatives through the educational units. In a similar manner the participation of the non-working women, the pensioners, will be guaranteed etc.

The highest organ of workers' power is an organ of workers. It legislates and administers at the same time, within its framework there is a division between legislative, executive, supervisory and disciplinary powers. It is not a parliament. The representatives that participate are not permanent but subject to recall, they don't have financial or other benefits, they are not cut off from production, from their work, but they are detached for the duration of their term.

On the basis of the new relations of production, social ownership, central planning, workers' control, a new revolutionary constitution and legislation is formed to correspond to these new social relations and defend them. Similarly the entire legal system, all the legal

establishment of the new social relations is also formed. A new judicial system is established, which is based on revolutionary popular institutions of justice. The new courts are under the direct responsibility of the organs of the workers' power. They consist of people's judges that will be elected and recalled by the people itself, and by a permanent judicial staff that will be accountable to the institutions of workers' power.

The revolutionary workers' power replaces all the old mechanisms of administration that receives with new ones, corresponding to the character of the proletarian state.

The new organs of the revolutionary protection and defence are based on the workers' and peoples' participation, but also on permanent professional personnel. In place of the bourgeois army and the repressive forces new institutions are created on the basis of the armed revolutionary struggle in order to crush the resistance of the exploiters and to defend the revolution and socialist construction.

### **Historical experience of the USSR**

The new state power that emerged from the October Revolution had to face a lot of problems and complex conditions; the working class was a minority within a population of farmers that were in a state of political and cultural backwardness. It was from the very first moment encircled by the counter-revolutionary activity and imperialist attack. A huge part of the vanguard of the working class was lost because of the imperialist intervention and the civil war. Initially, it had to utilize sections of the old bureaucracy and bourgeois

specialists in sectors of the economy, production and administration, while the kulaks (the bourgeoisie in the villages) maintained great power in the countryside; they even had the control of the rural soviets. The establishment and stabilization of soviet power was not an easy or quick task.


The new power was based on the institutions that were borne from its revolutionary struggle. The institutions of socialist power were the soviets, the councils of the workers representatives, the representatives of military and afterward the farmers' soviets, hence the name Soviet Union.

The new state that was constructed was the revolutionary workers' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Based on the social ownership of the concentrated means of production and on the cooperative of peasants from the 1930's onwards, it expressed the interests of the majority of the exploited that overthrew the power of the minority of the exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat proved to be a superior form of demo-

cracy, since workers' power led the working masses into participation, control and administration of the power and of the social life in general, it drew the masses from the sidelines. Through the organization of power in the production unit, the working class was able to develop organization and discipline. Through participation in the control and administration of the production unit, there had been steps in order to change the consciousness, in order to put the social interest above the individual.

Apart from the institutions of the workers' power, the soviets, a vast number of mass organizations were also developed; trade unions, cultural, educational, women's, youth, where the majority of the population was organized and participated.

The direct participation of workers took place until 1936 through the nuclei of the workers' power at the factory, the production unit, the village, but also through the function of a series of mass organizations. During the procedures for the approval of



**" Soviet power, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the other hand, is so organized as to bring the working people close to the machinery of government. That, too, is the purpose of combining the legislative and executive authority under the Soviet organization of the state and of replacing territorial constituencies by production units—the factory."**

B.I. Lenin, First Congress of the Communist International, Collected works, v. 37, "Sinchroni Epochi", p. 499-501



**Workers-Red Guards of the factory "Elektrosila" in Petrogard.**

The dictatorship of the proletariat is based on the active participation of the working class. The keystone of the workers' power is the production unit. The workers' assembly in the production unit functions through direct and indirect workers' democracy, the principle of control, accountability and the right to recall.

significant state laws, i.e. the constitutional amendments, assemblies of the nuclei of the workers' power were held, where the workers expressed their opinion and, through voting, their position.

The direct participation of workers was accompanied by the indirect election in the representative bodies as was established in the first Constitution of the USSR in 1924. The representatives were accountable and the collective unit had the right to recall them and elect others in their position. The indirect electoral representation ensured the will and participation of workers in the institutions of

the soviet power. In that way the will of the majority was established.

The soviets were not only responsible for the decision making but also for their application. During the assemblies, the nuclei of the workers' power discussed the central and particular plans of the branches, the decisions that they made, they implemented them as working organs, with delegates that were not cut off from production.

In the Constitution of 1936, direct electoral representation was established through geographical electoral wards (and not through the production unit). As it is stated in the Res-



## The constitution of the USSR

In 1918, the Constitution of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) was approved. In 1922, after the end of the civil war, the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was created and in 1924, its first Constitution based on the Constitution of 1918 was passed. In the course of social construction, there have been changes in the Constitution of the USSR (1936, 1977), the KKE today has a critical stance to some of these changes. However this does not negate the fact that the Soviet Constitution, based on the social ownership of the means of production, could establish social rights and liberties that no bourgeois Constitution could and cannot do.

A formal example is how the Soviet Constitution of 1936 addressed the right to labor: "Article 118. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality. The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the constant growth of the productive forces of the Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment." For leisure it states: "Article 119. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure. The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, the institution of annual vacations with full pay for workers and employees and the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people."

The experience of the USSR also highlights important information about the institutional consolidation of the participation and control of the organs of power by the workers. For example, the article 92 of the Soviet Constitution of 1977 defines the organs of people's control: "Soviets of People's Deputies shall form people's control bodies combining state control with control by the working people at factories, kolkhozes, institutions, and organisations. People's control bodies shall check on the fulfillment of state plans and assignments, combat breaches of state discipline, localist tendencies, narrow departmental attitudes, mismanagement, extravagance and waste, red tape and bureaucracy, and help improve the working of the state machinery." Article 104 safeguarded the non-professional character of the soviet representatives and their exclusion from any special material benefit: "Deputies shall exercise their powers without discontinuing their regular employment or duties. During sessions of the Soviet, and so as to exercise their deputy's powers in other cases stipulated by law, Deputies shall be released from their regular employment or duties, with retention of their average earnings at their permanent place of work." Moreover, article 107 described the deputy's obligation to report for his work and the possibility to be recalled: "Deputies shall report on their work and on that of the Soviet to their constituents, and to the work collectives and public organisations that nominated them. Deputies who have not justified the confidence of their constituents may be recalled at any time by decision of a majority of the electors in accordance with the procedure established by law".



Bolsheviks marching to Smolny.1918

olution of the 18th Congress of the KKE: "The critical approach to these changes focuses on the need to study further the functional downgrading of the production unit as the nucleus of organisation of workers' power, due to the abolition of the production unit principle and of the indirect election of delegates through congresses and assemblies. We need to study its negative impact on the class composition of the higher state organs and on the application of the right of recall of delegates (which according to Lenin constitutes a basic element of democracy in the dictatorship of the proletariat)."

After the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 and under the weight of more general weaknesses, a deviation, a retreat in the Party's perception was expressed, regarding the

class-oriented revolutionary character of the state and the rejection of the scientific law for the continuation of the class struggle during socialist construction.

Nevertheless, in the USSR the institutions' functioning expressed an unprecedented participation of the masses in political action. According to statistical data of 1977, the local organs of state-power (i.e. the soviets of representatives) were more than 50,000 all over the country. In these soviets there were more than 2,200,000 elected representatives, namely around 1% of total population of the Soviet Union. It is also estimated that within 41 years, from the Constitution of 1936, more than 25 million people participated in the soviets. In addition, it is estimated that in the organs



**Assembly of women in a village of the Soviet Union. 1920.**

Soviet power had been proved a superior form of democracy. It drew the masses from the sidelines and led them to participation, control and administration.

of people's control, at the production units, the services and the kolkhozes (production cooperatives) were elected every 2 years at the workers' assemblies and that about 9.2 million workers participated in these organs. Comparing to this, the bourgeois parliamentary democracy seems like a joke...

In the soviet constitution, despite any criticism that may be made, the nature of the organs was safeguarded. For example, even in the Constitution of 1977 (a period in which the opportunist turn of the CPSU was already a fact and there are serious problems in its strategic and the socialist construction), article 104 described the non-professional nature for the elected delegates and their exclusion from privileges: "Deputies shall exercise their powers without discontinuing their regular employment or duties". In addition, article 107 specified the obligation of the deputies to

report on their work and the possibility to be recalled; "Deputies shall report on their work and on that of the Soviet to their constituents, and to the work collectives and public organisations that nominated them. Deputies who have not justified the confidence of their constituents may be recalled at any time by decision of a majority of the electors in accordance with the procedure established by law."

However, in that process there were some weaknesses. The procedure of the socialist construction constantly creates new problems that seek new solutions, and this is when the ability of the workers' power is judged. First of all, is judged the ability of the CP to lead in accordance with the scientific laws.

In the Soviet Union, the legacy of the old social system weigh heavy, as the new one



emerged from its bowels. For example, from the first years of the social construction problems of detachment from the interests of the working class arose re-employees of the state mechanism and especially by those who came from the old, tsarist state mechanism.

The adoption of the thesis concerning the "state of the whole people" (consolidated in the constitutional revision of 1977) cancelled out the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat as workers' power, rejected the vanguard role of the working class as the bearer of communist relations.

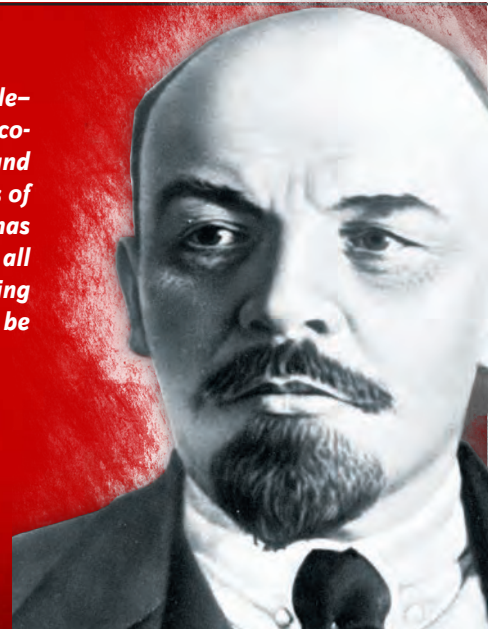
The sharpening of the problems in soviet power was a consequence of the weakening of the socialist economy through the adoption of the market reforms (q.v. first part of the publication "Truths and Lies About So-

cialism"), which led to the reinforcement of the individual and group interests vis-a-vis the overall interests of society. As a result, the forces that had an interest in the overthrow of socialism and the restoration of capitalism gained strength.

This development influenced the structures of power and the workers' control which had attained a formal character. In the decade of the 1980s, through perestroika, which was the final attack by the counter-revolution, the soviet system degenerated into a bourgeois parliamentary organ with a division of the executive and legislative functions, a permanence of office holders, an undermining of the right to recall, high remuneration, etc. i.e. everything negative that was developed was an element of the forms of the bourgeois power.

***T***he dictatorship of the proletariat means a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit in millions and tens of millions is a most formidable force. Without a party of iron that has been tempered in the struggle, a party enjoying the confidence of all honest people in the class in question, a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, such a struggle cannot be waged successfully."

" B.I. Lenin, Left-Wing" Communism: an Infantile Disorder, Collected works, v. 41, editions "Synchroni Epochi", p. 27  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/lwc/>





РСФСР

3

КРАСНАЯ  
МОСКВА

СЕРДЦЕ

RED

ПРОЛЕТАРСКОЙ

МИРОВОЙ  
РЕВОЛЮЦИИ

MOSCOW

the

heart

of the World

Soviet poster of the 1920's

"Red Moscow. The heart of the world revolution"

Revolution



## DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT OR “DICTATORSHIP OF THE (COMMUNIST) PARTY”?

*“It is a fact the socialist ideas and the struggle of those who were committed with them changed the world. But, it is also a fact that in all the countries that the communist parties had power, the dictatorship of the proletariat ended up as a dictatorship of the party's nomenclature...”*

(Newspaper “Eleutherotipia”, 3/9/2009)

Often, they say that socialism is a dictatorship of the (communist) party, a one party system, a dictatorship “over the proletariat”, that the Communist Party did whatever it wanted, etc. And they add: “In fact don’t you say that the overthrow happened from the inside and above”?

### **What is the role of the Communist Party in the socialist construction?**

The division that the bourgeoisie and the opportunist make between the Party and the working class is false. There does not exist a situation where you have on the one side the Party's interests and on the other side the interests of the working class, because the Party is a part of the working class, its leading section. The Party can be detached from the working class only by losing its revolutionary character, when it loses the ability to relate to and guide the working class in the construction of the new relations.

At the center of the discussion must be the ability of the Communist Party to fulfill its

leading role in the process of socialist construction. The leading role and responsibility of the CP in the construction of the new society comes from the fact that the communist relations are not formed spontaneously but consciously and based on that fact political action has to be the priority. The formation of the communist consciousness of the workers takes place at when new relations dominate. Communist consciousness is not formed uniformly in the entire working class, because the differentiations that exist in the working class itself in capitalism are inherited by socialism, such as differences in the specialization of its sections, differences between intellectual and manual work.

From the above, it is necessary the CP, not only in capitalism, but in the socialist construction to fulfill its guiding role with the formation of the new relations. The Party has to form a consciousness that is ahead of the consciousness that the working class has in general.

This duty is directly related with the communist attitude towards the working class.



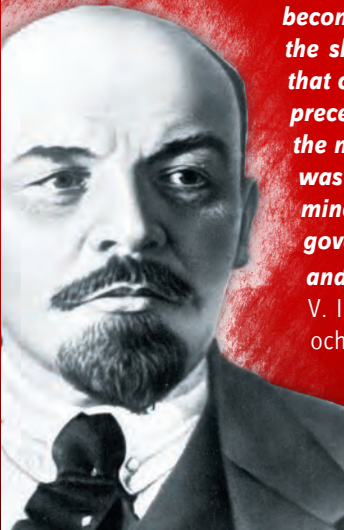
The attitude of the communists has to be a pioneering one at work, they must understand and show in action that the individual work of everyone is a part of the social labor in general, and thus the fulfillment of individual needs is directly related with the goals that the new society sets. So, it is about the subjugation of the individual interest to the collective and the cognizance that only by promoting the social interest can the individual needs be fulfilled that is to be a process of harmonization, the elimination of the contradictions between

the individual and the collective. The leading role of the communists arises from their active participation in all of the parts of the socialist construction without any material privileges.

In the USSR this was expressed with the thousands of the members and leaders who made sacrifices during construction, in their effort to educate the rural masses in the countryside and to organize agricultural production, through their altruism and vanguard stance towards socialist labor, the leading workers that were increasing productivity, the

**W**hen the ruling classes not only see but also feel the invincible might of the oppressed masses, then the entire question—both to the theoreticians and the leaders of practical policy—reduces itself to an exact class definition of the revolution. However, without the concept of "dictatorship", this precise class definition cannot be given. One cannot be a revolutionary in fact unless one prepares for dictatorship. (...)Major questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda'. (...)And since such a situation has arisen, since the bayonet has really become the main point on the political agenda, since insurrection has proved imperative and urgent—the constitutional illusions and school exercises in parliamentarianism become merely a screen for the bourgeois betrayal of the revolution. (...)It is precisely the slogan of dictatorship that the genuinely revolutionary class must advance, in that case. (...) That is the main feature that distinguished this new authority from all preceding organs of the old regime. The latter were the instruments of the rule of the minority over the people, over the masses of workers and peasants. The former was an instrument of the rule of the people, of the workers and peasants, over the minority, over a handful of police bullies, over a handful of privileged nobles and government officials. That is the difference between dictatorship over the people and dictatorship of the revolutionary people.

V. I. Lenin, "The Question Of The Dictatorship", Lenin's Collected Works, "Sichroni Epochi" , vol.41, p.369-391





Voting procedure in Soviets

altruism and the contribution of the Communist Saturdays. So, the pioneering and guiding role of the CP is enshrined in action.

### **What happened in the USSR?**

The party of the Bolsheviks came face to face with unprecedented duties and situations that affected its features, its function, its composition, etc. From a party of some tens of thousands it became a party of hundreds of thousands and from a party of leading the class struggle of the working class in the struggle for the power, it became a party of guidance for workers' power and socialist construction. The process of the construction of the new society, without any previous

experience, brought new and complex problems that had to be solved.

In any case, a study of the CP's course in the Soviet Union must take account of the socio-economic changes that took place at different periods of socialist construction. For example, it should bear in mind that from 1917 until the middle of the 1930s the exploitative classes has not been eliminated, there were still contradictions and inequalities, the great losses of communists during the 2nd World War that had negative consequences etc.

In the first period after the Revolution, the Party of the Bolsheviks had to stabilize soviet power against a lot of undermining actions. But, what happened to the other parties? The other parties were not banned by a decree.



### The attempt to assassinate Lenin

On August 30, 1918- a period that started with the armed imperialist intervention to smash the revolution- there was also an assassination attempt against Lenin, leader of the Bolshevik party and the newborn Soviet state. The attacker was Kaplan, a member of the Esers party, who shot him with poisoned bullets, several times after his speech at a rally of workers in the Michelson factory.)

They were confronted with repressive measures the moment they took up arms against soviet power. Only on a path where those parties (the Cadets, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, anarchists) acted in an open counter-revolutionary way, supported the armed counter-revolution, attacked and killed Bolsheviks, took the part of the foreign imperialist intervention etc, the Soviet government

took action against them.

It is characteristic that the Cadets' party ("institutional democrats"), which expressed the interests of the bourgeois class, was not prohibited immediately. Only in late November 1917, when it openly supported the preparation of a counter-revolutionary rebellion, was its action prohibited, but it continued to publish its newspaper until the summer of



1918, when in conditions of civil war it became the mouthpiece of the armed enemy, i.e. the imperialist forces that intervened against the Soviet Union.

The Bolsheviks followed a more flexible approach towards the “non-bourgeois” parties; they did not treat them like they were counter-revolutionary parties, as they showed themselves to be with their own attitude then. In the days of the October Revolution the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries refused to recognize the power of the soviets and left the Congress of Soviets. The Socialist-Revolutionaries, immediately took armed action against soviet power, they resorted to individual terrorism, killed Bolsheviks, during the civil war openly supported the counter-revolution. Nevertheless, soviet power didn't dissolve the party of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and let them run their newspapers.

The “Left Socialist-Revolutionaries” (which had split from the Socialist-Revolutionaries before October 1917) participated for some months in the Soviet government, but then they disagreed with the conclusion of peace with Germany (“peace of Brest-Litovsk”) and came to an open break with the Bolsheviks at the 5th Congress of soviets in July 1918. The speech of a representative of the left Socialist-Revolutionaries at the 5th Congress was characteristic. She stated that they would take immediate action and that she was ready to face the Bolsheviks herself with the revolver or a bomb in her hand. The next day, in fact, people who were saying that they belonged to the left Socialist-Revolutionaries murdered the ambassador of Germany in Moscow, hoping that the war would resume and led an armed uprising in Moscow. In August 1918, the Social-

ist-Revolutionary Kaplan attempted to assassinate Lenin and injured him seriously. Here is what the Bolsheviks and the workers who had the power in their hands had to deal with!

All these forces by attacking the Bolsheviks, in reality, attacked the Revolution itself. For example, the slogan of the middle strata and the anarchist forces during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Kronstadt 1921 “Soviets without the Bolsheviks”, generally meant the disputing of the CP's role and substantially the middle strata to take over the power of the working class, which of course they would themselves been unable to hold and would have handed over to the bourgeoisie. So, it almost all the counter-revolutionary forces, were supported by the bourgeois press in the capitalist countries. Thus, the attack on the Bolshevik party and its leading role was an attack against workers' power itself.

The above facts show from the one side how far from the truth are the various slanders against the Bolsheviks and from the other side that the parties who are against the workers' power and act directly or indirectly in a counter-revolutionary way, whether they call themselves “socialists”, “revolutionaries”, etc., should be confronted decisively by workers' power. They became tools of the capitalists to regain the power they lost.

Also, during this period the Soviet government had to face a series of problems concerning the backwardness, the ignorance and illiteracy that were inherited from the previous regime, and which resulted in the use of a substantial part of officials of the old state in the administrative mechanism. With the victory of the new power in Russia, opportunist elements, which were aiming to serve their in-

dividual interest, adhered to the Party and the state mechanism. Ignorance and illiteracy impeded the control of these social strata by the workers. More generally, what was concerning was the acceleration of the domination of the new relations in production which would also reflected in the improvement of workers' control, simplifying and overcoming the complexity of the administrative mechanism.

Such problems were highlighted in the party documents and texts of Lenin and Stalin. In the early 1920s the measure for clearing and Re-registration of party members was taken to exclude from the Party the opportunist elements and to improve the orientation for securing the working class composition of the Party. The need to improve the social composition of the Party

with industrial workers came also as a result of the need to move a large number of leading members of the Party from the industrial units to the military front after the imperialist intervention, to the management of the state mechanism, after the victory of the Soviet power. For this reason, specific goals were set for growing the party with industrial or agricultural workers, as they are by their position in the production the bearers of the social labor, of the communist relations.

These problems were at the center of attention of the party organs in order to solve them. In various party documents of the ARCP (b)/ CPSU were identified and underlined various aspects, such as the organizational laxity in the Party, the change of its social com-

**«The scientific and class nature of the policies of the CP is a crucial precondition for socialist construction. To the extent that these features become lost, opportunism grows and, if it is not dealt with, it gradually develops into a counterrevolutionary force... The opportunist turn which took place during the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956) and the subsequent gradual loss of the revolutionary characteristics of the Party, a governing party which was, at the same time, the target of imperialist aggression, made the awakening and mobilization of consistent communists more difficult... History has shown that at the 28th Congress (1990), on the eve of the final assault of the counterrevolution, there co-existed within the CPSU bourgeois, opportunist and communist forces. The communist forces did not have the strength to prevail, to prevent the victory of the counterrevolution, although they offered resistance during the 28th Congress and later on... Despite such resistance, a revolutionary communist vanguard, with ideological political clarity and cohesion, capable of leading the working class, ideologically, politically and organisationally against the developing counterrevolution, was not formed in time.»**



18th Congress of KKE, Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20th century, focusing on the USSR, KKE's perception on socialism, editions of the CP of KKE, p.59-64

position, the underestimation of ideological work, phenomena of prettifying the situation and concealment of the weaknesses, selfish motives of managers of production units and the administrative apparatus.

The above indicate how far from reality the mythology about "totalitarianism" of the soviet power and especially during the "Stalin era" is. Regardless of whether these problems were solved or not, there was the direction that these phenomena could be overcome to the extent that the Party plays its guiding role during the process of the socialist power by establishing, reinforcing and developing communist relations.

Throughout this entire course, despite weaknesses, even the bourgeois admit certain distinctive aspects of a CP, to the extent that it hasn't mutated. For example, they admitted that the leading cadres of the CP until the decade of 1950's did not have material benefits, earnings.

A typical example is what is said about Stalin even by his hostile biographers, about his austere and simple life.

Due to the opportunist turn and retreat of the CPSU towards the commodity relations, as indicated in the Resolution of the 18th Congress of the KKE: "The income differentiation among the individual agricultural producers, the kolkhozniks, widened, as well as their opposition to the tendency to strengthen the directly social character of agricultural production. A portion of the peasants and of the managerial cadre of the kolkhozes who

were getting rich was strengthened as a social layer hampering socialist construction. The social differentiation in industry was even more pronounced through the concentration of "enterprise profits". The so-called "shadow capital", the result not only of enrichment through enterprise profits, but also of the black market, of criminal acts of embezzlement of the social product, sought its legal functioning as capital in production, i.e. the privatisation of the means of production, the restoration of capitalism. The owners of

**The CP as the ideological-political vanguard of the working class constitutes the leading force of workers' power.**

this capital constituted the driving social force of the counterrevolution. They utilised their position in the state and party mechanisms. They found support in sectors of the population which were more vulnerable,

due to their objective position, to the influence of bourgeois ideology and to wavering, e.g. a significant part of the intelligentsia, sections of the youth, such as the university students. These forces, directly or indirectly, influenced the Party, strengthening its opportunist erosion and its counterrevolutionary degeneration, which was expressed through the policies of "perestroika" and sought the institutional consolidation of capitalist relations. This was achieved after perestroika, with the overthrow of socialism."This is the negative aspect of the experience of the socialist construction in the USSR in the 20th century. A number of factors -some of them are stated above- contributed to the loss of the revolutionary traits of the CP.

Also, the theoretical, ideological weak-



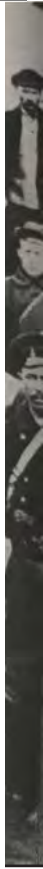


Picture from 1918. Before the departure of the detachment for the village to seize cereal crops. This is how the soviet power was forced to solve the issue of food supplies during the civil war when encircled by the enemy. These detachments were called "Food-Requisition Detachments".

nesses of the CPSU and the retreat of the political Marxist educational level in the leadership of the CP and overall in the Party played an important role in this course and had as a result the lack of prompt responses to new problems. This development was not according to scientific laws. The leading activity of the Party in every stage of the developing class struggle and during socialism is a law of socialism. Despite the tragic turn that the events in the USSR took, they give us at the same time a valuable experience for the new effort of constructing the work-

ers' power in the 21st century. Therefore, the objective assessment and conclusions for this course made by KKE from a position of defending socialist construction does not at all prettify the situation or on the other hand indulge in nihilism, but is an important legacy.

In addition, it was proven that for the communists, heroism has other requirements in the battlefields and others in the field of constructing the new relations. What is crucial for the CP is to adapt to the new conditions



and responsibilities that it has to face, guaranteeing its vanguard role in each phase.

The detachment of the Party from the working class, from its interests, is connected to the loss of its traits as a revolutionary Party. This is what happened when the capitalist remnants were not combated during every stage of socialist construction. On the contrary, they adopted market principles, profit as a criterion of efficiency of the socialist production unit, the reinforcement of material incentives for the contribution in social production.

Nevertheless, it was proven that the workers can construct their own power, create their own institutions, their own democracy. As the communist relations deepen and steps are taken to the socialization of the means of production, to the participation, control and administration of production, as the communist stance towards labor develops, so the communist conscience is developed, in the context of the convergence of social and individual interests. At that time, corruption is an isolated phenomenon and can be dealt decisively provided that there is the direction and vigilance to combat any alien phenomena that continue to survive in socialism.

All these things demonstrate that everything that is said and written by the bourgeois and opportunist mechanisms about the dictatorship of the proletariat in their attempt to identify it with the non-parliamentary forms of exercising the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (e.g. fascism, military regimes etc.) is pure libel and defamation. Despite the weaknesses, worker's power was the widest and higher form of democracy ever known to humanity. The main conclusion is the need for ongoing confirmation of the CP's vanguard role.

## **Dictatorship of the Proletariat or "socialism with democracy and freedom"?**

The opportunists are at the side of the bourgeois that accuse the communists as "enemies of democracy" and the socialist state as "anti-democratic", who in order to differentiate themselves from the theoretical basis of socialism- communism and also from the socialist construction of the 20th century, speak of a "socialism with democracy and freedom", in opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. They hate the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We can see here that the bourgeois ideology and opportunism in the end coincide at the core of their polemic against the workers' state. Besides, let's not forget that the vehicles of the contemporary opportunism have made their own important contribution in the propaganda of "totalitarian regimes", the vulgar equalization of fascism and communism under the fake label of totalitarianism.

The core of the bourgeois and opportunist argumentation is not new, as well as the more general opportunist theory, which is presented as "left and renewing". Over 100 years ago, Karl Kautsky formed it against the proletarian revolution and revolutionary workers' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Kautsky, a once great theoretician of Marxism, who had long before betrayed the working class, became a renegade of Marxism and fought against the socialist revolution in Russia.

The opportunist polemic against the dictatorship of the proletariat has its roots in the perception about the state, its class essence

as an organ of class domination. Precisely because opportunism does not have a clear position on the state, it regurgitates for over one century the same talk about democracy. This is the common denominator between the old and the newer revisionists of Marxism. Marx himself fought in his time to clarify the class character of the state. For example, when the German socialists spoke of a "free popular state", then Marx in his work "Critique of the Gotha Program" argued that something like that cannot exist since every state, and the workers' state, is an organ of oppression. The workers' state is an organ of oppression of the exploiters- capitalists. The opportunist view at its core has the idea that the bourgeois state can be reformed, that it can change in favor of the workers. Kautsky blamed the Bolsheviks that they remembered to insist on this "little word" of Marx for the "dictatorship of the proletariat". A "little word"! The "Euro-communist" revisionists of Marxism, many years later, argued that in a democratic road to socialism there is no reason for breaking or destroying this mechanism and that the bourgeois state will be conquered "through parliament" and it will be put to the service of socialism.

This is the view that the bourgeois state can be reformed, a dangerous view for the proletariat, as it can lead to its submission to the bourgeois state. When the opportunists talk generally about "democracy", they

forget that democracy is class-oriented, that it constitutes a veil of class exploitation and oppression. Therefore, they end up deifying bourgeois democracy, because for the opportunists bourgeois democracy is presented as being the most perfect political expression, "pure" democracy. Thus, they deny and undermine the role of the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat for the preparation, the conduct and the victory of the revolution, the formation of the organs of the new power. For example, counter to the slogan of the Bolsheviks "All power to the soviets", Kautsky replied that the soviets should not take the power, become state organs. In reality, by arguing that the soviets should remain "militant organizations" of the working class, of control and correction of the bourgeois power, he allowed for the bourgeois class to remain power and for the soviets to become its support. A submission, therefore, of the proletariat to bourgeois power. A new version of this opinion is the political proposal of SYRIZA for "popular governance" elected by the bourgeois parliament that will be controlled and supported by the "movement".

Both the theory of the scientific communism as well as the historic experience confirm the bankruptcy of the view that in the conditions of capitalism, if the working class uses its universal right of vote, it can bring "revolutionary changes" from inside the bourgeois parliament.



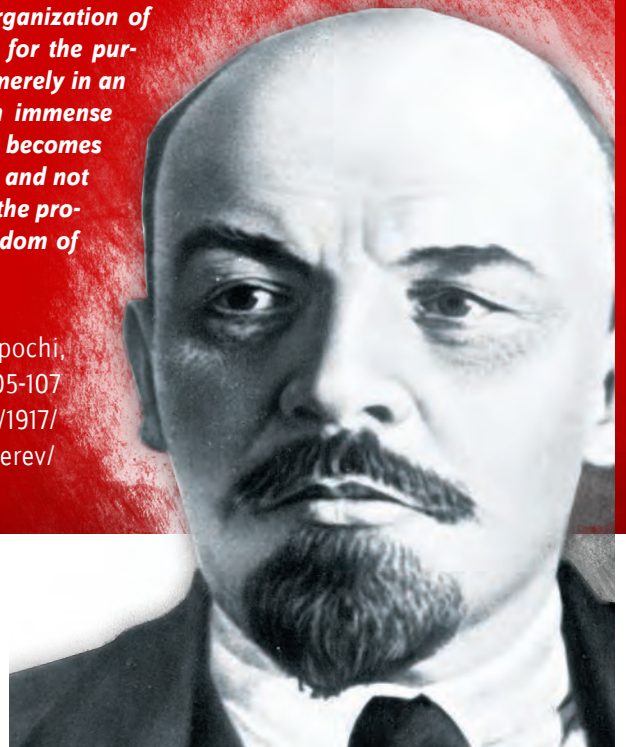
**W**hat, then, is the relation of this dictatorship (of the proletariat to democracy?)  
[...]

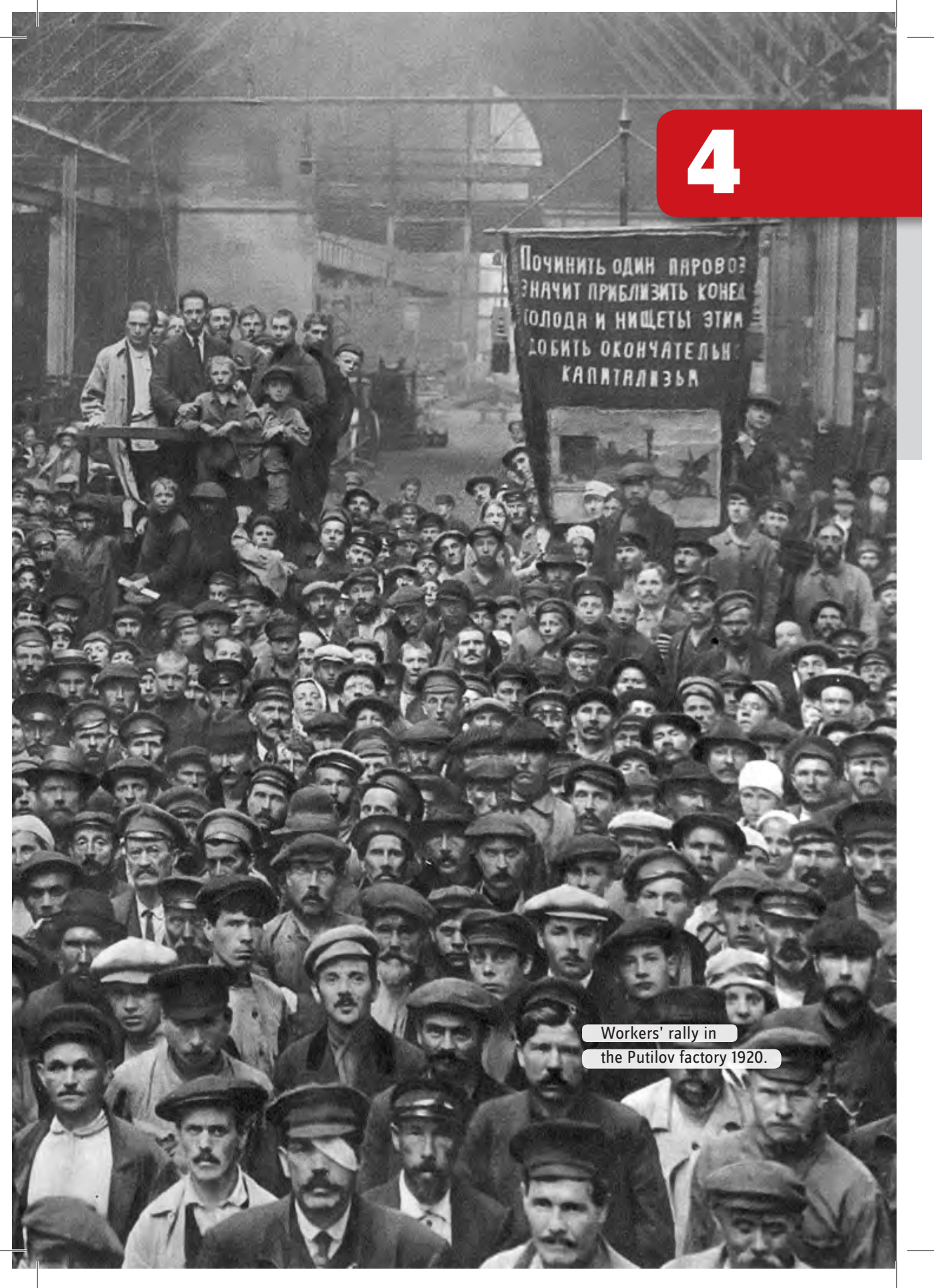
.. In capitalist society, providing it develops under the most favourable conditions, we have a more or less complete democracy in the democratic republic. But this democracy is always hemmed in by the narrow limits set by capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in effect, a democracy for the minority, only for the propertied classes, only for the rich. [...]

But from this capitalist democracy--that is inevitably narrow and stealthily pushes aside the poor, and is therefore hypocritical and false through and through--forward development does not proceed simply, directly and smoothly, towards «greater and greater democracy», as the liberal professors and petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, forward development, i.e., development towards communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise, for the resistance of the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone else or in any other way.

And the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed as the ruling class for the purpose of suppressing the oppressors, cannot result merely in an expansion of democracy. Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the money-bags, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists [...]."

V.I. Lenin, State and Revolution, Synchroni Epochi,  
pg. 105-107  
[https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/  
staterev/](https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/staterev/)



A black and white photograph capturing a massive gathering of workers inside a large industrial building, likely a factory. The workers, including men, women, and children, are densely packed, filling the lower two-thirds of the frame. Many are wearing flat caps and heavy coats, suggesting a cold environment. In the upper center, a large banner is held up, featuring a small illustration of a steam locomotive and a factory. The banner contains a Russian slogan in bold, capital letters. The background shows the structural elements of the factory, such as beams and a high ceiling, with some light coming from windows or skylights. The overall atmosphere is one of a significant public demonstration or rally.

ПОЧИНИТЬ ОДИН ПАРОВОЗ  
ЗНАЧИТ ПРИБЛИЗИТЬ КОНЕЦ  
ГОЛОДА И НИЩЕТЫ ЭТИМ  
ДОБИТЬ ОКОНЧАТЕЛЬН  
КАПИТАЛИЗМА

Workers' rally in  
the Putilov factory 1920.

## “IS THERE FREEDOM IN SOCIALISM?”

*“Freedom and equality are the components of democracy. Freedom means someone not to subject to the will of the other. Particularly, in modern democracy, freedom means the unhindered opportunity by any external coercion of development of our personality. All citizens enjoy this possibility equally. Therefore, automatically a limit is set to the freedom of everyone; the freedom of others. What does it mean in practice the unhindered opportunity of development of our personality? That I can do whatever I want, I can go wherever I want, I can express myself as I want, in a few words I can do in practice what I want in order to feel that I define my life. “*

(“Politics and Law”, 2nd grade of High School)

Particularly popular are the opinions that in capitalism can exist quite “wrong” things but there is freedom and “everyone can do whatever he wants”, that is “the society of opportunities” and “is a matter of each one particularly to grab them”, while in socialism there are no individual liberties, there are restrictions, that in USSR the regime was illiberal.

### **What is freedom and how the bourgeoisie uses its meaning**

Firstly, let's see, what is freedom? Freedom, and as we said earlier about democracy, is a concept much discussed but also full of confusions in its content. It has a very wide field of use and through time it has been meditated philosophically, morally, politically. Without being able to go into all the details we can roughly say that the bourgeois philosophical perspective mainly treats the concept of freedom with a schematic, mechanical way of

“lack of restrictions.” So, the notorious “free will” is reflected in the freedom of thought, will, act of a person with no external restrictions, constraints.

The Marxist philosophy doesn't see freedom as an imaginary independence from the laws of nature and society. Freedom, instead, consist of the knowledge of these laws, the human capacity to act in line with goals, a capacity that arises precisely from that knowledge. What applies to the natural laws applies also to the social evolution laws. Man is free when he knows them and can use them in a planned, scientific way. He cannot be free if he is adrift to the laws of nature and society. Freedom of will therefore is the ability

Man therefore is not generally “free” to do “whatever he wants”, he becomes freer as much as he is aware of the reality and he consciously intervenes to change it. For example, man is not free to fly, but he can by using the laws of physics to make airplanes and





In capitalism, freedom for the worker is the freedom to be exploited by the capitalists. If he doesn't sell his labor power to the capitalist, he cannot ensure the means for his survival. The worker is tied to the capital "more solid than the wedges of Hephaestus were holding Prometheus tied to the rock" as Marx said.


spacecraft. However, the man of the Middle Ages could not do this because he had not developed in comparable level the scientific knowledge of nature.

### **Economic and political "freedom" in capitalism**

Therefore, we see that someone telling that freedom means to do "whatever I want" is a phrase without content. The same is true in the economic and political level, in relation to

what is displayed as freedom from the capitalists. Indeed, as the bourgeoisie say, can anyone do "whatever he wants" in capitalism? More important, can the worker, the unemployed, the youngster of a popular family do "whatever he wants" under the yoke of the monopolies, the domination of the bourgeois class?

The concept of freedom has not a neutral content but class content. The class nature of freedom is not only about what is institutionalized or the range of political rights. It has



to do with the economic basis of the society, a dominant element of which is the ownership of the means of production and this is what determines the limits of freedom. The life of the waged employee is determined by his position in the social production. That is, by the fact that he is exploited because he has not any ownership of the means of production. All he has is his ability to work. This is the basis of economic slavery in capitalism. Free is the one who understands that slavery and its causes but also understands the possibility to abolish the private ownership of the means of production, so he fights to make it true. It is not a coincidence that the concept of freedom is identical with the struggle of the exploited, since the era of Spartacus' slaves until nowadays, for the liberation from the shackles of class exploitation.

In slavery, the slaves themselves belonged to the slave-owners and were forced to work with the lash. In feudalism, the serf was committed by force to a means of production, the land, while the biggest part of the product was expropriated by the landlord. In capitalism, we have the appearance of the "free" worker with a double concept: free from the means of production, meaning that he doesn't have in his property any means of production and therefore, his only option, "freedom", is to sell his labour power. So, he is an absolute prisoner of the relation of the wage labour that is a precondition for his survival. It is a freedom that hides the deep exploitation as the relation of the wage slavery appears as an agreement between "free" trading parties. The economic dependence of the worker is concealed by the fact that he periodically enters into a work "contract" (e.g. convection), that he negotiates

with the employer on working time, salary, etc. This freedom "offers" to the worker the alienation from the product of his work and the cover only of those needs that are strictly necessary to substitute his ability to work, i.e., to re-enter the exploitative capitalist production.

To see how free the worker is in capitalism it is enough to see the real life behind the lofty words of the bourgeoisie. Any of his desires is determined by the needs of the capitalist production, the profitability and the competitiveness of the business groups, from the phase of the capitalist development, the possibilities and difficulties of the extended reproduction of the capital. The fulfilment of the needs of the employees is constantly left far behind their production abilities, the society's abilities in general.

Respectively, also their desire for social struggle and their political choices are limited. The workers, the young people of the popular families are afraid to claim a better life, to go on strike when they have over their heads the employer terrorism. They become slaves of the briberies, of the various buy-off mechanisms, of the dismissal. How can the workers and their children express themselves freely, when the capitalists are those owning the media, the newspapers, the channels, the internet.

At the same time, the ideology of the economically dominant class, the bourgeois class, diffuses from the entire education system. Its economic domination is enshrined legally; it is imposed in all ways and by all mechanisms such as the army, the police, and the judicial-disciplinary system. All these constitute the monopoly of the capitalist violence that defends the capitalist ownership of the

means of production.

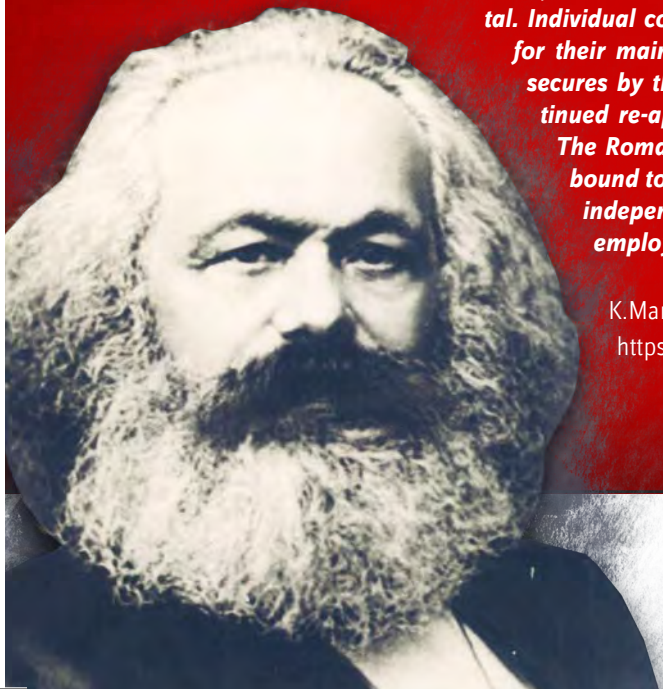
The consciousness the working class forms "spontaneously" is the one that comes from the surface of the production relations, the "appearances" of exploitative relations hiding their essence, it is a "false" consciousness. Many workers think that they live thanks to work that the capitalist "gives" them and not as it happens in reality that the capitalist and his entire class live by the work of the worker. The weapon of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is necessary in order to tear the veil of the "false" consciousness and reveal the capitalist reality, to develop the class consciousness of the working class with the action of its vanguard, the Communist Party.

Therefore, the case of the development of

the consciousness, the personality of a man is not strictly a personal matter. Besides, man is shaped by the social relations. The key element of every society is the relations in which the people come together for the production, in order to live. Their main feature is the ownership relations of the means of production that determine also the ownership on the product. So, the life of a worker, of a young man belonging to a working class family is not unobstructed at all. After all, a man's choices are determined by the class and the social stratum in which he belongs. It is true as a general tendency that the child of the worker becomes a worker, an employee whom exploits the capital and not an owner of means of production. The

**" From a social point of view, therefore, the working class, even when not directly engaged in the labour process, is just as much an appendage of capital as the ordinary instruments of labour. Even its individual consumption is, within certain limits, a mere factor in the process of production. That process, however, takes good care to prevent these self-conscious instruments from leaving it in the lurch, for it removes their product, as fast as it is made, from their pole to the opposite pole of capital. Individual consumption provides, on the one hand, the means for their maintenance and reproduction: on the other hand, it secures by the annihilation of the necessities of life, the continued re-appearance of the workman in the labour-market. The Roman slave was held by fetters: the wage labourer is bound to his owner by invisible threads. The appearance of independence is kept up by means of a constant change of employers, and by the fictio juris of a contract.**

K.Marx, "Capital", "Sinchroni Epochi", Volume 1, p.593-594  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/>







*Never in the world has there been a state which has done so much to remove the actual inequality, the actual lack of freedom from which the working peasant has been suffering for centuries. But we shall never recognize equality with the peasant profiteer, just as we do not recognize "equality" between the exploiter and the exploited, between the sated and the hungry, or the "freedom" for the former to rob the latter.*

V.I.Lenin, "Economics And Politics In The Era Of The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat", Collected Works, "Sinchroni Epochi", vol.39, p.279

bourgeois ideology consciously misinterprets the fact that freedom is not individual but social and argues that "the freedom of the one is limited where the freedom of the other begins." Thus, it supports, for example, that the freedom of the worker to go on strike is limited by the freedom of the capitalist to operate his business. Thereby, it equates unequal freedoms; the freedom of the working class with the freedom of the bourgeois class, which has the financial power, the power,

the mechanisms of ideological and political manipulation. The freedom of the vast majority of the working class and the popular strata, is limited, is suspended in practice by the freedom of the existence and the action of a small minority, of a handful of capitalists. Therefore, in capitalism truly "free" is only the class of the industrialists, the ship-owners, the bankers, the merchants; the class that enriches by the work of the others.

## **The liberation of man in socialist - communist society**

With the overthrow of the capitalist relations, the abolition of the exploitation, man is freed from the capitalist slavery, from the chains of the exploitative relations in the economy. He conquers a higher level of freedom, as now, the worker himself, as a direct producer expresses the social ownership of the means of production. Simultaneously, he learns to direct the economy in a planned way, on the basis of the knowledge of laws through the new social relations, participating in the organs of power, from the bottom to the top, with the workers' control in the administrations-directions at all levels.

The development course of the socialist-communist relations it is also a development course of the communist consciousness, of the formation of the new man. While the heavy, manual, monotonous work eliminates, as the man and the woman of the working class acquire competences in the control, the executive work, as the level of their life and their working conditions are improving, so the conscious, communist attitude towards work, towards the product will develop, it will be their own cause the revolutionary working power, the effectively participation in the organs of power, it will take a conscious and planned character of everyone's contribution in the development of the new society in order to broaden the people's welfare, it will line the individual with the collective interest. All these are elements of the radical change that occurs at the level of the economy and the political consciousness, are elements that lead man to true freedom.

This is marked by the massive participa-

tion of the working class, of the people in the entire range of the organs of power, the core of power "down" in the production unit, the worker's-social control. Also, this is expressed in the character of the organs and the institutions of power. The explosion in the development of the productive forces, the rise of productivity of work of the free conscious direct producers in developed communism, it will free from any economic compulsion, it will transform the work from a means of survival to a prime necessity of life.

Then, all the members of the society can enjoy unimpeded the achievements and the progress of the production, the science, the technological innovations, the educational and cultural development. The bourgeoisie display freedom "negatively", i.e., that "it is not prohibited" to do one or the other formally. For the working man it is about the conquest of freedom "positively", i.e., to be able to do consciously one or the other. Only in a society like this "the free development of each is the precondition for the free development of all" as Marx and Engels wrote at the "Communist Manifesto".

## **The defense of the revolution - the defense of the freedom of the working class**

In socialism, as the first immature phase of communism, the class struggle continues. The continuation of the class struggle requires also measures to defend the new society. We have already said that the dictatorship of the proletariat will take measures against the remains of the bourgeois class that seek to overthrow the new power and to return to capitalism.



This will not be just a "snapshot", but it will be accompanied by a systematic effort of the bourgeois class, that it will not give up the planned attack on the new socialist state. The bourgeoisie still have power, their experience in the organization of production and their influence on specialized staff, their alliances with the bourgeois class in other capitalist countries. For example, after the October Revolution in Russia, the bourgeois class organized an international imperialist intervention of 14 states (including Greece), economic isolation against the new Soviet state. The young

Soviet government fought in a civil war until 1921 when it managed to be established. The attempts of the bourgeoisie took all forms, open military intervention- undermining of the socialist economy.

The period when the foundations of socialist construction were laid, part of the specialized personnel refused to work or tried to sabotage the production. Teachers, leading workers of soviet power that were sent to the villages to eradicate illiteracy and organize kolhoz, were murdered by the capitalists of agricultural production.

Farmers' protest under the slogan: "We eliminate the kulaks as a class on the basis of the full collectivization".







The French, bourgeois revolution. 1789. Execution with the guillotine. Painting by Pierre Antoine De Massy

In socialism, there are still social forces that aim for the return of the old society with the help of the surrounding imperialists, which act against the new situation that socialism created, which is the abolition the exploitation of man by man.

The working class with its state has the duty to defend itself against the capitalists, to organize the defense and repression against it, which by necessity will be accompanied by measures of defense of the new relations against the existence of the old, just like the bourgeois did in their revolutions. These

measures concern the organized attempts of enclaves that will obstruct and undermine socialism, as well as the elements of habit, the remnants of the past that create obstacles. Even though the nurturing character of the new power has a primary role and the organized work for the reformation of social groups that are used to anti-social behavior, the new power is also obliged to use forceful measures, e.g. against those who steal or misappropriate part of the social goods. This kind of behavior will be eradicated in the course of deepening the communist relations and

## French bourgeois revolution- the bloodiest one in history

The bourgeois are pretending when they seem to ignore the rough form that the class struggle takes during revolutionary periods. The bloodiest revolution in history was not the October Revolution, but the bourgeois French Revolution of 1789. The experience from the French Revolution has shown not only the violent form of the conflict with the old regime, but also the violent confrontation that broke out amongst the revolutionary forces.

During the great bourgeois French Revolution, the class struggle was expressed in many ways. Among the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary forces there was a merciless class war with thousands of victims. The king and the old aristocracy went to the guillotine. The leaders of the European states rallied against the new regime in order to bring back the old feudalist absolutism. The French revolution fought a tough war against Austria and Prussia, confronting at the same time the open cooperation inside and outside of the country of the aristocrats that had lost their privileges. The imposition of the new regime occurred in a revolutionary way, not via "peaceful" measures. Momentous historical events show vividly the merciless attitude of the bourgeois revolutionaries: Robespierre (the leader of the Jacobins), on December 1793 called the National Convention to sentence the king to death: "Peoples do not judge like the courts. They do not announce verdicts, they throw a thunderbolt. They do not convict the kings, they throw them to non-existence." When Saint-Just (a leading member of the Jacobins) was put in charge of the war in Strasbourg, he came up against the lack of food, the low morale, the sabotage of the counter-revolutionaries. When they informed him that ten thousands soldiers did not have shoes, he answered: "Gather all the shoes of the aristocrats and bring them to the headquarters by tomorrow at ten in the morning"! That is how the bourgeois treated the old power...

However, the class struggle took on a rough harsh form amongst the revolutionary forces as well, expressing the confrontation among the different interests of social forces within the revolution, especially between the proletarian masses and the bourgeois class, but also inside the bourgeois class itself, with the most characteristic conflict being between the Jacobins and the Girondins. The Jacobins expressed radical revolutionary democratic parts of the bourgeois class. The Girondins expressed interests of the big bourgeoisie that tried to slow down the progress of the revolution. They took charge of governing in 1792 and were overthrown in 1793 by the popular uprising that was led by the Jacobins.

The Jacobins imposed a democratic revolutionary dictatorship. Inside the Jacobins differences were developed between the supporters of the relaxation of the dictatorship measures with Danton as their leader and the "left" Jacobins with Hebert as their leader. The basic body of the Jacobins joined Robespierre and as a result Dantonists and Hebertists were executed. In the end, the Jacobins were overthrown by the counter-revolutionary thermidorian (named after the month Thermidor of the Revolutionary Calendar) reaction and their leaders Robespierre and Saint-Just were executed without a trial in 1794. All these conflicts expressed the conflicts of social forces.

Today, of course, the bourgeois class does not "take pride in" the terrorism of the Jacobins, without it however or without the terror of the English bourgeois revolution of 1640, it would not have been able to impose its dominance.

V. Markov- A. Shabul, "1789. The great revolution of the French", *Sinchroni Epochi*



## The "purges" of Stalin and the "Trials of Moscow"

The bourgeois say: "...In the case of Stalin the enemy was not outside the borders, but inside. Thus, his genocide took place mostly against his compatriots, who the security authorities executed with summary processes as "Enemies of the People". (Kathimerini 9/5/2010)

Let's see what the truth is. The period that followed the imperialist operations (1918-1921) and until the beginning of World War II was a difficult 20-year period for the soviet state. Soviet power was waging a life-or-death battle under circumstances that forced it into a temporary retreat from socialist construction (NEP period), conditions of imperialist encirclement, class struggle against the social forces of the old system that continued to exist and resist the industrialization and collectivization and of course the intense ideological- political confrontation that concerned first of all the Communist Party. Furthermore, these were conditions, when especially from the end of the decade of 1920s everything indicated the preparation of a new imperialist war.

In these conditions, no one needed to "create" enemies, nor did they need to have a "persecution complex", as the bourgeois propaganda tries to present.

The struggle itself inside the CP concerned the existence of the USSR. From two seemingly opposite sides (Trotsky group, Bukharin group) and using real problems and difficulties (for example the vast extent of agricultural production, unevenness etc) the same issue was in essence doubted: i.e. whether the USSR was able to march towards the construction of socialism or if it would be for many years obliged to compromise and retreat in the face of the bourgeois elements and the international negative correlation of forces.

The defeat of these groups after a wide inner-party discussion and also discussions in the soviets, did not cancel their action. On the contrary, on an international level groups and organizations were formed that opposed the USSR, the CP. This action objectively was connected to the class opponent, it was used by them. There is a lot of evidence of attempts of assassinations or even assassinations (e.g. Sergey Kirov's, member of the PB) of leading members of the Bolsheviks, sabotage in production, plans for coups, conspiracies under the guidance of the apparatus of Nazi Germany, G. Britain etc. This activity led to a dynamic reaction from the socialist state. A reaction that did not take place behind closed doors, but with a mass campaign to mobilize the working class against these plans.

In these conditions of tough class struggle for the survival of socialism it is unavoidable that mistakes and excesses will occur. From the first moment of this process attempts were made in order to avoid excesses and distortions starting with the CP itself.

Publication of the Ideological Committee of the CC of KKE,  
"Anticommunism yesterday and today", "Synchroni Epochi", pg. 25-35





the development of the communist consciousness, as well as the eradication of all commodity relations in sectors of the production that at first will not be fully socialized and will feed the market, profit and enrichment which are the enemies of the new society.

As was proven by the experience of the USSR, opportunism is not just a theoretical or a practical disagreement. It expresses the social forces that resist the development of communist relations and can become the force that acts against socialist construction and develop into a counter-revolutionary force. The historical experience has proven that the struggle with opportunism does not limit itself to the ideological-political confrontation, but it also takes the form of violent conflict, especially in the circumstances when the issue of the power is on the agenda, as it basically reflects the class struggle inside the workers' movement. The class struggle, as has been demonstrated in history, took the form of confrontation inside the communist party as well in the conditions of socialist construction. The conflict did not limit itself to inner-party procedures, when groups that opposed the leadership of the CP (in the 1920s and 1930s) and organized factional groups planned demonstrations, secret plans to undermine workers' power etc. In these circumstances the ideological reaction is not enough and the defeat of these tendencies in the processes of the party, but also it is necessary to take measures to deal with their undermining actions. Besides, that is how the opportunist tendencies acted when they managed to dominate a CP, for example the persecutions of communists in Hungary by Imre Nagy, in the Czechoslovakia by Dubcek, in Yugoslavia by Tito. Even

after the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956) a lot of communists were persecuted because they disagreed with the right opportunist turn, and so were those who resisted the attempt to overthrow of socialism during the period of 1989-1991.

Anyone who does not recognize the need of workers' power to defend itself, basically does not recognize the right of the working class to construct the new society, they recognize the right of the bourgeois to overturn the new state leading to social regression, to capitalist restoration, to the return of class enslavement. Social reality, the class struggle is merciless.

The need to defend revolutionary legality it is not, of course, something that concerns only the socialist revolution. Enough is said just by looking into what happened during the bourgeois revolutions. During the great French bourgeois revolution against the enemies of the revolutionary regime, the cruelest measures were taken. Besides, inside the then revolutionary bourgeois class there was a confrontation, differentiation among its sections, that is between the petty-bourgeois - farmers and the capitalists, and as a result some revolutionaries of 1789 were led to the guillotine. Similarly, after the victory of the Greek revolution of 1821, sections of the bourgeois class came into conflict, leading fighters were sent in prison, such as Kolokotronis, who was imprisoned on the charge of high treason. Let us not forget that during the revolution an armed conflict broke out among sections of the revolutionary Greek people, which lasted from 1823 to 1825. And in the case of France, as well as Greece, we can see that the defense of the new power and the abundance of legality turned against eminent personalities of the



A session of the soviet of Petrograd

revolutions.

The need to defend socialist construction, takes each time specific forms that the historic circumstances dictate. The whole period of the socialist construction in the USSR and the other countries in the 20th century was scarred by the constant confrontation between the two systems, between capitalism and socialism. The socialist states were obliged to take measures of protection against the direct capitalist aggression and also the multifaceted undermining attempts.

On this basis, we should look at the prohibitions and restrictions that took place under the circumstances of the workers' power in the USSR and other socialist states of Cen-

tral and East Europe (e.g. the Berlin Wall, the restriction of travel to capitalist countries), the activity of services that had as a goal the defense of the workers' power (e.g. NKVD, STASI, KGB) and the treatment of the activity of equivalent organizations and services of imperialism, as well as judicial and repressive measures (e.g. trials). At the same time, a series of restrictions had to do with economic reasons such as problems related to currency that impeded foreign travel, in the GDR measures to rebuild shattered industrial production in a socialist direction and at the same time to protect it from exposure to the capitalist economy. Of course mistakes were made, excesses and violations of so-

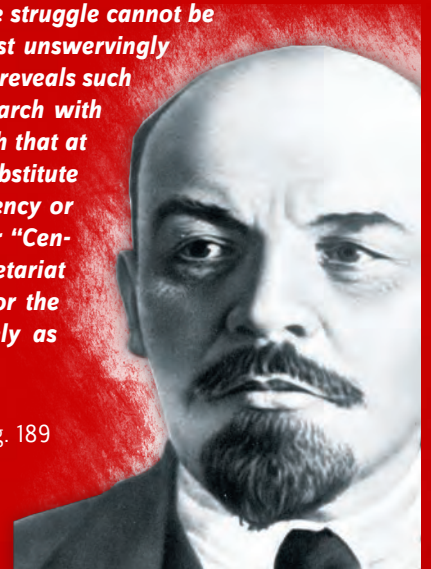
cialist legality, some of which were made by the Communist Parties. At the same time, as the socialist construction and the character of the workers' power became weaker, these kinds of measures lost their context, creating discontent amongst sections of the population.

This situation is deployed in the propaganda of the bourgeois and opportunists in order to slander socialism. It is brazen of the bourgeois to present themselves as alleged protec-

tors of the "individual freedoms", the same people who keep their own peoples oppressed and use the whole web of state and para-state mechanisms, secret services, provocateurs, methods of surveillance (that today with the development of technological communications take explosive dimensions through the internet, web pages of social networks, mobile telephones, laptops etc.). All these are expressions of the class struggle.

***T***he proletariat's conquest of political power does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it renders that struggle most widespread, intense and ruthless. Owing to the extreme intensification of the struggle all groups, parties and leaders in the working-class movement who have fully or partly adopted the stand of reformism, of the "Centre", etc., inevitably side with the bourgeoisie or join the "waverers, or else (what is the most dangerous of all) land in the ranks of the unreliable friends of the victorious proletariat. Hence, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat calls, not only for an intensification of the struggle against reformist and "Centrist" tendencies, but also for a change in the character of that struggle. The struggle cannot be restricted to explaining the erroneousness of these tendencies; it must unswervingly and ruthlessly expose any leader of the working-class movement who reveals such tendencies, for otherwise the proletariat cannot know who it will march with into the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle is such that at any moment it may—and actually does, as experience has shown—substitute criticism with weapons for the weapon of criticism.[6] Any inconsistency or weakness in exposing those who show themselves to be reformists or "Centrists" means directly increasing the danger of the power of the proletariat being overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which tomorrow will utilise for the counter-revolution that which short-sighted people today see merely as "theoretical difference"."

V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, book 41, "Sinchroni Epochi" , pg. 189







Lifting the flag

Painting by G. Korzef



# EPILOGUE

The Paris Commune of 1871 was the first attempt by the working class to conquest the power and fed the global proletariat, the communists with important conclusions, for the revolutionary struggle, for the need of the decisive confrontation and smashing of the bourgeois state as a precondition for the workers' power, for the need of the creation of its own state by the working class.

The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 was the first victorious effort. The socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other socialist states in the 20th century, gave considerable experience, positive and negative, conclusions from the unprecedented achievements as well as from the weaknesses and deviations, the study of which is currently a precondition for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

From this historic experience we get inspired, we defend it against the bourgeois class and the opportunism, and we study it in order to become more able to fight for socialism-communism today.

The capitalist system is full of contradictions, but it will not fall apart on its own by them. The great sharpening of these contradictions will lead to conditions of revolutionary situation, in conditions of big sharpening of the class struggle and there will be seen the ability, the will, the determination of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

The overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the new, socialist-communist society will liberate the working class and with it the whole humanity, will lead "from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."

## **"Good, October poem"**

*Against the first democracy of the workers and the farmers/ All with bayonets, lightnings, shots / As well the masters of the world, they're here too/ Against us launched armies and fleets/ May you, the moldy kingdoms and democracies be damned/ With all your big words of "fraternity, equality"/ They launch raging against us/ Your batteries are red-hot iron/ Within the guns, the thunders of the shotguns, remains/ Moscow, an islet and on that islet/We, the ravenous, the miserable/ Only with a revolver on one hand/ And with Lenin in our heads.*

Vladimir Mayakovski

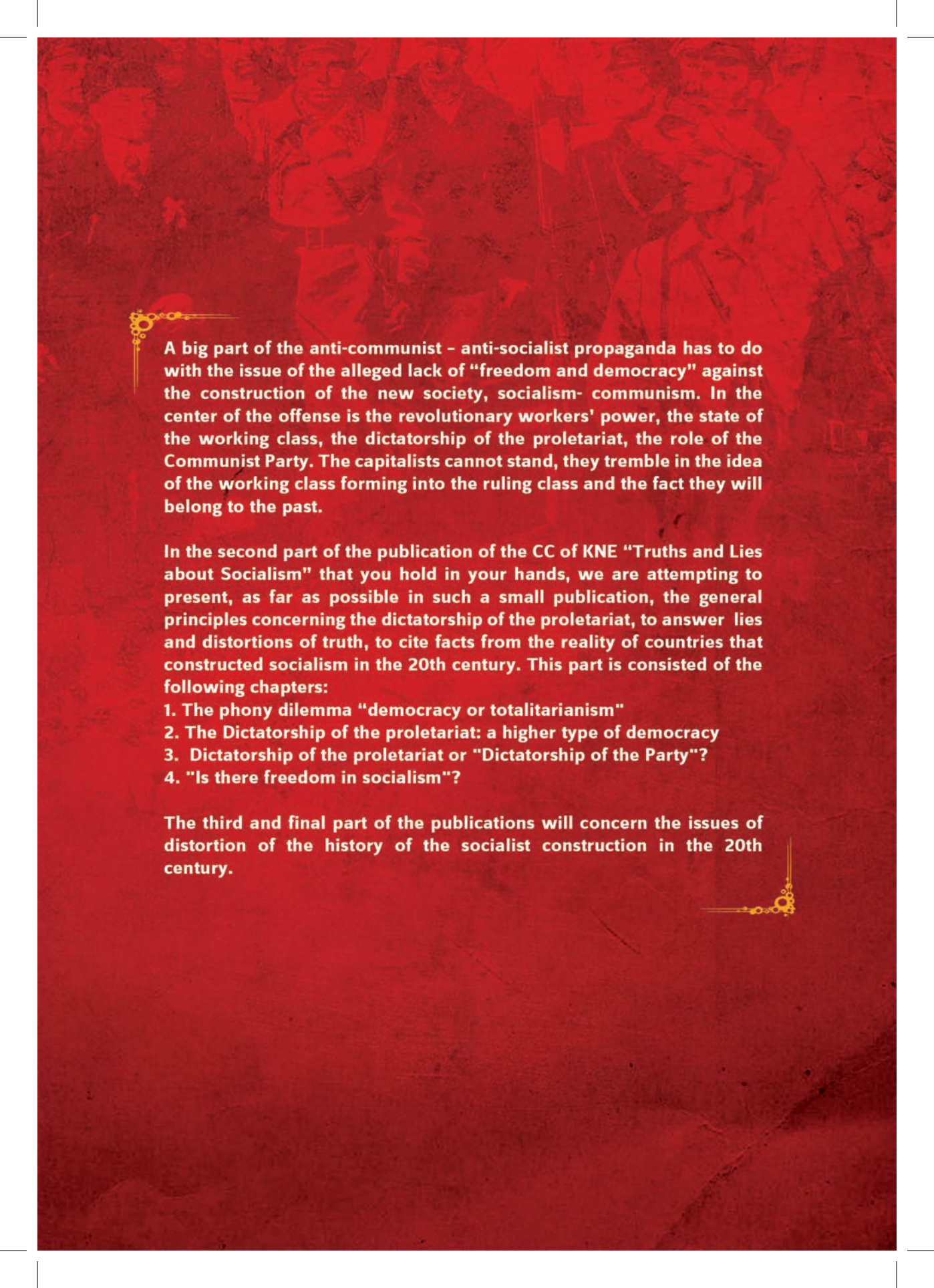




**CENTRAL COUNCIL OF KNE**  
**TRUTHS AND LIES ABOUT SOCIALISM**  
**2. On the socialist power**

Typographical correction - Pagination:  
"Odigitis" Printing - Binding: Typoekdotiki SA  
November 2012 SINCHRONI EPOCHI PUBLICA-  
TIONS SA





A big part of the anti-communist - anti-socialist propaganda has to do with the issue of the alleged lack of "freedom and democracy" against the construction of the new society, socialism- communism. In the center of the offense is the revolutionary workers' power, the state of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of the Communist Party. The capitalists cannot stand, they tremble in the idea of the working class forming into the ruling class and the fact they will belong to the past.

In the second part of the publication of the CC of KNE "Truths and Lies about Socialism" that you hold in your hands, we are attempting to present, as far as possible in such a small publication, the general principles concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat, to answer lies and distortions of truth, to cite facts from the reality of countries that constructed socialism in the 20th century. This part is consisted of the following chapters:

1. The phony dilemma "democracy or totalitarianism"
2. The Dictatorship of the proletariat: a higher type of democracy
3. Dictatorship of the proletariat or "Dictatorship of the Party"?
4. "Is there freedom in socialism"?

The third and final part of the publications will concern the issues of distortion of the history of the socialist construction in the 20th century.