**CPSU History: We Should Constantly Analyze and Learn From The Error in the guiding ideology of the Soviet Communist Party**

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 [Abstract] The key reason for the evolution of the Soviet Union is that after Stalin's death, when the Soviet Union was facing an important historical juncture to solve the drawbacks of the "Stalin model", the Soviet leaders from Khrushchev, Brezhnev to Gorbachev gradually abandoned the Marxist-Leninist guiding ideology, causing the party to lose its ideological and theoretical advancement and purity, thus leading to the collapse of the ruling party and the disintegration of the country. As early as 1956, the Communist Party of China began to be alert to the clues that the Soviet Communist Party's guiding ideology had fallen into a misunderstanding. For a long time, the CPC Party Central Committee has always attached importance to learning from the profound lessons of the Soviet Communist Party's guiding ideology mistakes, always holding high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, and promoting the process of sinicization of Marxism. The valuable experience of the Communist Party of China's guiding ideology keeping pace with the times has great and far-reaching significance.

　　**I. The serious harm and profound lessons of the Soviet Communist Party’s guiding ideology falling into error**

　　The October Revolution would not have been victorious without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the soul of the Bolshevik Party, the spiritual pillar of the masses, and the indispensable magic weapon for the Communist Party to govern. Khrushchev and his successors deviated from and then denied Marxism-Leninism, which led to ideological and theoretical confusion and social public opinion out of control, and eventually led to their downfall. This lesson is very painful.

　　**Chapter 1. The main manifestations of the Soviet Communist Party’s guiding ideology falling into error**

　　1. Theoretical error: rigid and dogmatic Marxism-Leninism.

　　From the late 1920s to the early 1930s, dogmatism gradually emerged within the CPSU. Stalin monopolized the right to interpret Leninism, generalized and deified Leninism, and made it dogmatic. At the same time, the CPSU combined dogmatism with personality cult. Stalin became the embodiment of the party and truth, and the "Stalin model" became a fixed model for socialist construction.

　　Although Khrushchev's "secret report" lifted the lid on Stalin's problems, because Khrushchev lacked the theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, he did not attach importance to the construction of the party's guiding ideology, continued to promote a system of excessive concentration of power and a line of eager transition to communism, and dogmatic habits still permeated the party and theoretical circles.

　　After Brezhnev came to power, the rigid dogma of Brezhnevism was formed. The stagnation of the party's guiding ideology caused the reform to lose its direction, the development to deviate from the road, and the governance to lose its foundation.

　　2. Ideological error: downplaying and instrumentalizing Marxism-Leninism.

　　Starting from the late 1950s, as the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries passed away one after another, most of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee leaders came from the economic and organizational departments. They had low Marxist-Leninist theoretical literacy and their faith in Marxism was gradually looked down upon and even seen through. In March 1985, Gorbachev took over as General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. Under the banner of "reform", he gradually promoted "humane and democratic socialism". [1] By 1991, the vast majority of Soviet people had undergone profound changes in their thinking. The Soviet Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism, and the socialist system had lost their prestige.

　　3. Party Conduct Error: weakening in the Belief of and nihilism Attitude towards Marxism-Leninism.

　　In 1956, Khrushchev made a "secret report" at the 20th Congress of the CPSU to launch the criticism of Stalin. Under Khrushchev’s instigation, the criticism of Stalin soon developed into a total negation of Stalin, leading to the disastrous consequences of serious ideological confusion in the Party and the people. Gorbachev, who called himself as the "child of the 20th Congress", further promoted the comprehensive de-Marxist-Leninist movement within the Party and the country during his tenure. In 1989, the reform of political theory courses in Soviet universities almost completely abolished the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The attitude of the "children of the 20th Congress" of the CPSU towards Marxism-Leninism will inevitably lead to the loss of Marxism-Leninism's guiding position in the field of ideology.

　　4. Propaganda error: vilifying and demonizing Marxism-Leninism.

Gorbachev's confidant Yakovlev said: "In our country's practice, Marxism is nothing but a new religion that succumbs to the interests of the autocratic regime and its capricious demands." [2]

In 1988, A. Zipko, a staff member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published a long article "The Roots of Stalinism" in three consecutive issues of the magazine "Science and Life". The article started by breaking through the ideological taboos by implementing the policy of openness, tracing back from Stalin's "crimes", and completely negating Marxism. [3]

Soon after, various articles reflecting on and negating Soviet history and critically analyzing Marxism-Leninism flooded in. In the anti-Soviet, anti-communist, and anti-Marxist propaganda, the Soviet people's thinking gradually reversed, laying the seeds for the Soviet Union's dramatic changes in 1991.

　　2. The main reasons why the Soviet Communist Party’s guiding ideology fell into error

　　The Soviet Communist Party's guiding ideology fell into error due to many reasons, among which cutting down its own flag, losing its composure and destroying its own Great Wall were the most fatal mistakes.

　　1. Misjudgment of the international and national conditions and the Party's situation, and loss of the objective basis and direction for the Party's guiding ideology to keep pace with the times.

　　After the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev completely denied Stalin, put forward theoretical viewpoints such as "Three Harmonies and Two Perfections", and implemented a policy of external expansion, concentrating more than 70% of the Soviet Union's human and material resources to engage in an arms race with the United States. Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko also continued to implement this policy, which made the Soviet people poor and the economy collapsed. Gorbachev's "new thinking" ignored the national conditions and reality of the Soviet Union and used hümanist world viewpoints as the criterion for explaining international and domestic issues. Gorbachev openly proposed "diversification of the party's guiding ideology", advocated super-class democratization and openness, and copied the Western democratic system. This approach will inevitably cause ideological confusion and political turmoil.

　　2. Criticizing leaders, distorting history, and losing the inheritance foundation and losing solid position of the Party’s guiding ideology that keeps pace with the times.

In 1956, Khrushchev’s “Secret Report” set off a wave of anti-Stalinism in the name of opposing the cult of personality. Many people then denied Lenin and Leninism. After Brezhnev came to power, Kruschev continued the bad habit of the successor leader denying the previous leader and made similar criticisms of Khrushchev. Gorbachev went even further on this path. In order to achieve his own political goals, he advocated “new thinking” and advocated copying the Western presidential system, parliamentary system, and multi-party system. Gorbachev directly pointed the finger at the legitimacy of the leadership of the Communist Party, proposed to “cancel” the “spiritual monopoly” of Marxism-Leninism, and advocated ideological pluralism. [4]

The Soviet Communist Party abandoned Marxism-Leninism, which led to political turmoil and collapse.

　　3. Faced with the infiltration of Western values, laissez-faire has been allowed and the Party’s guiding ideology has lost its value orientation and subject support that keeps pace with the times.

　　In order to promote their values ​​and lifestyles, Western countries established free radio stations to broadcast to the Soviet Union. Every day, they used multiple languages ​​to promote Western lifestyles and values ​​to the Soviet people, deny the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, exaggerate the problems of the Soviet Union, and support so-called "dissidents" by directly using them to carry out anti-Soviet and anti-communist propaganda and subversive actions. A considerable number of pro-Western factions emerged in the Soviet party and intellectual circles, advocating bourgeois liberal ideas. These people became the support force for Gorbachev's "reforms."

　　4. The leadership’s ideological beliefs and theoretical literacy are increasingly deviating, and the Party’s guiding ideology lacked the internal motivation and innovative vitality to keep pace with the times.

Since Lenin's death, several generations of Soviet leaders have had an unscientific attitude towards Marxism-Leninism, an incorrect style of study, and biased methods. Although Stalin committed dogmatic errors, he still had a good grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory.

 Khrushchev's political theory level was not high. Brezhnev's interest in and level of Marxist-Leninist theory were even lower than Khrushchev's, but he was hailed as a "Marxist-Leninist theorist" by the Soviet Communist Party. Andropov and Chernenko were both short-lived in office and were both practical men. Although Gorbachev had received a good national education, and Although he was a "product of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party," he spared no effort to deny Marxism-Leninism and yearned for capitalism, and ultimately denied the Soviet Communist Party, the history of socialist revolution and construction, and the Soviet socialist system, opening the door to the ideological disintegration of the Soviet Communist Party. Therefore, it can be said that the Soviet Communist Party leaders' deviation from and betrayal of Marxism-Leninism was one of the important reasons for the demise of the Soviet Communist Party. [5]

　　3. Serious consequences of the Soviet Communist Party’s erroneous guiding ideology

　　1. The impact on the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism has caused the banner to fall and the Party backbone to be lost.

　　The Soviet Communist Party's rigidification and dogmatism of Marxism made Marxist theory lose its ability to understand and create social reality, stifled people's innovative spirit, fettered people's thinking, and made the socialist system rigid. The Soviet Communist Party's pragmatic attitude and instrumentalization of Marxism made Marxist theory a "pseudo-science", losing the theoretical essence and living soul of Marxism, providing an excuse and basis for people to deny Marxism, and ultimately led to the deviation and abandonment of the guiding ideology of Marxism.

　　2. The loss and failure in the advancement and purity of the party’s guiding ideology reduced the soft power of the CPSU’s rule.

　　The CPSU fell into the trap of guiding ideology, unable to timely and accurately reflect the changing actual situation, and unable to give convincing answers to the issues of public concern. This theory lost its appeal and attraction to the public. The CPSU's mistakes in guiding ideology turned Marxism, which was originally full of vitality and kept pace with the times, into a solidified and rigid dogma, thus losing its ideological brilliance and lacking theoretical appeal. Various anti-Marxist trends took the opportunity to spread. The CPSU abandoned the guiding ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and also abandoned the fundamentals of the ruling party and the country, undermined the foundation of its own survival and development, and disintegrated the value system that united the people. The final result would cause ideological confusion, organizational disintegration and social unrest. Without the backbone of the guiding ideology, the party will not be able to exert the strong cohesion, appeal and combat effectiveness of the leadership core.

　　3. Weakening of the theoretical authority of the Party Central Committee, led to demoralization and uncontrolled public opinion.

　　Marxism has always emphasized that only the people can push history forward. But this should not exclude or underestimate the role of leaders. The Soviet Communist Party's total negation of Stalin caused the minds of the majority of party members, cadres and the masses to fall into confusion and chaos. Some people began to doubt whether the path the Soviet Union had taken for decades was correct, and their ideals and beliefs were shaken. Due to the party's mistakes in guiding ideology and the loss of theoretical authority, in the later period, party members and cadres were alienated from the party, and ordinary people found it even more difficult to consciously obey the party's leadership.

　　4. The crisis of faith in Marxism-Leninism has become a reality, seriously shaking the ruling foundation of the Party.

　　Khrushchev's "secret report" dealt a heavy blow to people's faith in Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev denied the Marxist-Leninist doctrines on classes, class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, spread abstract humanism, and brought about great changes in the ideological field. At this time, Gorbachev was in his youth, when his worldview was being formed, and belonged to the generation of the "20th Congress Generations". Khrushchev's practice of completely denying Stalin and the history of the CPSU, as well as his theories of "all-people party" and "all-people state", had a profound impact on Gorbachev. It was no accident that Gorbachev promoted the diversification of the party's guiding ideology after he came to power, and went further and further on the road of deviating from Marxism-Leninism. The party's guiding ideology has changed, the party and the people's faith has been lost, the thoughts have been confused, and the people's hearts have been scattered, which will lead to political turmoil and the destruction of the party and the country.

　　II. The successful experience and great significance of the CPC's guiding ideology keeping pace with the times

　　In the era of globalization, the guiding ideology and practice of any country or political party are inherited. We should neither stand still and make no progress, nor deny everything and start anew. The basic characteristics and successful experience of the guiding ideology of the Communist Party of China that keeps pace with the times are to treat Marxism scientifically, develop while adhering to it, innovate while inheriting it, and make breakthroughs while advancing it, thus achieving a new historic leap in the sinicization of Marxism.

　　1. Treat Marxism with a scientific attitude and develop Marxism in a way that is consistent with the times and keeps pace with the times

　　Keeping pace with the times is the theoretical quality of Marxism. Classical Marxist writers believed that their theories were guides to action, not dogmas that would never change. The process of the CPC’s guiding ideology keeping pace with the times shows that every theoretical innovation is the result of combining the basic principles of Marxism with China’s specific reality and constantly pursuing truth and boldly exploring. This combination is the unity of upholding Marxism and developing Marxism. [6] In response to the shift in the theme of the times from war and revolution to peace and development, our Party creatively formed the theory of socialist reform and opening up; in response to the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, which caused socialism to fall into a low ebb, the Party consciously innovated its governing theory and formed the important thought of “Three Represents”; in the face of unprecedented challenges and opportunities in the new century and new stage, the Scientific Outlook on Development came into being in order to seize strategic opportunities, and on this basis, the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics was formed. In contemporary China, adhering to the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is truly adhering to Marxism.

　　2. Arm the whole Party with the Party’s innovative theories and continuously improve the overall theoretical level of the ruling party

Because our Party has achieved a new leap forward in the sinicization of Marxism in the new era and has attached great importance to theoretical education and ideological education, a strong immunity and error correction mechanism has been formed in our Party, which has enabled socialism with Chinese characteristics to ride the wind and waves and advance triumphantly. [7]

Over the past 90 years since the founding of the Communist Party of China, "the Party has timely summarized the new experiences created by the people in leading the Party, focused on major issues in economic and social development, made new theoretical generalizations, and maintained the vigorous vitality of scientific theory." "Every step forward in theoretical innovation is followed by a step forward in theoretical education. This is an important experience of our Party in strengthening its own construction." [8]

　　3. Consolidate the development foundation and support system of the Party’s guiding ideology that keeps pace with the times

　　The so-called development foundation and support system of the party's guiding ideology means that the popularization and development of the party's ideological and theoretical system must have a profound cultural background, institutional foundation, and obtain a general sense of identity within the party and social subjects. As the latest achievement of the party's guiding ideology that keeps pace with the times, the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics has not only received widespread support from party members and cadres and the general public at the beginning of its formation, but also, after years of practical testing, this support is still expanding.

　　This is a "three-in-one" support system: First, subject support: the Party and the government, the theoretical community and the people pay close attention to and agree with it. Second, system support: the support and guarantee of the ideological system and the core value system. Third, cultural support: the excellent culture of the Chinese nation and the advanced socialist culture are the foundation for the survival and development of the Party's guiding ideology. The above three aspects are a unified whole, reflecting the development law and valuable experience of the Party's guiding ideology that keeps pace with the times.

　　4. Hold high the banner, advance the cause, and uphold the high degree of unity of the path, theory, and system.

　　The process of opening up the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics is also the process of establishing the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the socialist system with Chinese characteristics; the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the experience summary, theoretical sublimation and scientific guide of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the socialist system with Chinese characteristics; the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, as the institutionalized and standardized result of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, is the concentrated embodiment of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the primary symbol of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the system and the theoretical system are closely linked and inseparable, and they are organically unified in the whole process of building and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics. The theoretical system is the guiding ideology and an important prerequisite for ensuring the correct path and scientific system; the path and the system are the concentrated embodiment of the practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Only when the path is correct can the system be improved; only when the system is scientific and perfect can the path be bright and the future be promising. The dialectical unity and development of the path, theory and system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental guarantee for the Chinese nation to move towards modern civilization and achieve great rejuvenation.

　　III. Further Advancing the Party’s Guiding Ideology to Keep Pace with the Times under the New Situation

　　1. Vigorously strengthen the construction of Marxist theoretical projects

　　Marxism is the most important component of my country's socialist ideology. It is not only the foundation of philosophy and social sciences, but also the foundation of party and state governance. [9] After the reform and opening up, Marxism, as a belief system, has been continuously strengthened in the ideological discourse system of the party and the state, but its belief and spiritual support have been weakened among the general public and even some party members and leading cadres. Some people in the academic and educational circles are confused on some major issues, and their interpretation of Marxism is inconsistent, unclear and contradictory. They even put forward the so-called "ideological Marxism", "academic Marxism", "official Marxism" and "folk Marxism", which diversifies Marxism. [10] As a Marxist ruling party, the Communist Party of China must unswervingly adhere to the basic principles of Marxism by vigorously strengthening the construction of Marxist theoretical projects. At the same time, it must continuously enrich and develop Marxism in light of new realities. In particular, cultivating Marxist consciousness among party members, cadres and young students is of special significance to our party. Without a large number of truly qualified Marxists, it is difficult to promote the advancement of the party's guiding ideology with the times.

　　2. Promoting the construction of the socialist core value system together with the Party’s guiding ideology

During the Soviet Union’s rule, the party’s guiding ideology was not innovative or progressive, and the Party also failed to propose a socialist core value system to transform Marxism-Leninism into the people’s value identity and ideological recognition through values, making Marxism-Leninism neither abstract nor popular. The rigidity and lack of core values ​​were the deep-seated reasons for the Soviet Union’s defeat. In contrast, our party attaches great importance to the construction of the socialist core value system and the refinement of socialist core values, which has important historical and practical significance. In the information society and the Internet era, various cultures are stirring, values ​​are diverse, and the development of economic and social material civilization is often in line with people’s new spiritual and cultural value pursuits. The socialist core value system has an invisible spiritual force and spiritual bond that can generate strong cohesion and centripetal force and gain the understanding, support and support of the people. [11]

At present, we have implemented and integrated the party’s guiding ideology and socialist core values ​​into the banner, path, cause, theoretical system, institutional system, common ideals and other fields of socialism with Chinese characteristics, which is conducive to demonstrating the vitality and value orientation of socialism with Chinese characteristics from the perspective of core values. Condensing the core socialist values ​​with the Party’s guiding ideology will help resist and dissolve the Western “universal values” with the core socialist values.

　　3. Leading diversified social thoughts with a unified guiding ideology

　　With the advancement of reform and opening up and the development of the socialist market economy, my country has seen an increasing trend of diversification in economic elements, organizational forms, employment methods, interest relations and distribution methods. This has led to the diversification of people's value orientations, ideas and ways of thinking. This is an inevitable phenomenon of social development. While recognizing diversity, we must not forget the dominant nature. The lessons of the disintegration of the Soviet Union show that in the case of inevitable contradictions and struggles in ideology, the ruling party must maintain a clear understanding and actively handle issues in the field of ideology. We must adhere to the guidance of Marxism, respect differences, tolerate diversity, and calmly observe and dialectically analyze diverse social trends. We must correctly distinguish the nature and boundaries of academic issues, ideological issues and political issues. For academic and theoretical issues, we must adhere to democratic discussion and equal communication; for ideological issues, we must adhere to facts, reasoning, and positive education to convince people; for political principle issues, we must stand firm and take a clear stand, and never take it lightly or let it go; we must remain highly vigilant, strengthen prevention, and resolutely fight against the ideological infiltration and provocation of hostile forces. [12]

　　On the eve of the 18th CPC National Congress, various social thoughts were guided by mainstream ideology, mainly by the latest theoretical achievements of the Party's guiding ideology, namely, the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is a strategic measure and the only way to ensure that the Party's guiding ideology keeps pace with the times.

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