

Scientific Communism

This book deals consecutively with basic aspects of scientific communism. It consists of four main sections. The first defines scientific communism's place among the social sciences and characterises its international substance.

In the second section, *The World Revolutionary Process and the Laws of Its Development*, the authors analyse the theory of socialist revolution and problems related to the revolutionary movement of the working class and to the national liberation movement.

In the third and fourth sections—*Establishment and Triumph of Socialism* and *Developed Socialist Society and the Gradual Transition to Communism*—they consider questions such as existing socialism's political system, the development of socialist democracy, and the scientific administration of society.

Scientific Communism

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Part I

SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM—COMPONENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied.

Frederick Engels

Chapter 1

SUBJECT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Scientific communism is an inalienable component of Marxism-Leninism. It studies the laws of the growth of the world revolutionary process and the laws governing the emergence and development of the communist system, which represents the highest stage of humankind's progress. These laws define the basic content of the social changes in our epoch, which is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

Society has undergone unprecedentedly profound changes since the Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished in Russia in 1917. A large group of countries is now building socialism. Imperialism's colonial system, which took centuries to build up, has collapsed. A powerful wave of working-class revolutionary movements is rising steadily higher in the capitalist countries and inexorable progress is being made by the struggle of peoples for national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. *The highroad of humankind's development is determined by the socialist world system, the international working class and all other revolutionary forces.*

In the process of breaking up obsolete social orders and building a new life, in a situation marked by an extremely acute struggle of the forces of socialism and progress against imperialism and reaction, there inevitably arise questions concerning society's development and the future of the human race. Marxism-Leninism offers the only correct answers to these questions, whose significance is decisive for the lives of millions of people.

History knows of no other socio-political theory that has

influenced the course of the world's development so greatly as Marxism-Leninism. This theory illumines for the working people of all countries the paths towards the creation of a new society. It serves as the guide to action for the Marxist-Leninist parties, the working class and other revolutionary forces in all parts of the globe in the struggle to reshape the world on the basis of socialist principles.

1. SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM'S PLACE AMONG THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Marxism-Leninism—an Integral Teaching

The Marxist-Leninist teaching is an integral and coherent system of mutually complementing philosophical, economic, and socio-political views. It is only the sum of these views that provides the theoretical foundation for resolving the problems involved in society's revolutionary transformation. In this broad sense *scientific communism* (or *scientific socialism*, which is synonymous) constitutes Marxism-Leninism. The attempts of the revisionists to tear this integral teaching apart, to counterpose various of its components to each other, spell out attacks on Marxism-Leninism. It is only a knowledge of this great teaching as a whole and of each of its components individually that gives an undistorted, scientific conception of human society's development.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism used the term "scientific socialism" also in its narrow sense, to distinguish one of the component parts of their teaching from philosophy and political economy. In systematising the Marxist doctrine in *Anti-Duhring*, Frederick Engels considers the problems of scientific socialism in an independent section of that book. He discusses in it the problems of the proletarian class struggle, the socialist revolution, and the building of the new society. Vladimir Lenin, in the articles "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism" and "Karl Marx", likewise distinguishes scientific socialism as one of the component parts of Marxism.

Scientific communism is based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy and political economy. Lenin wrote: "Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism."¹ On the basis of the philosophi-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, p. 28.

cal and economic teaching of Marxism scientific communism offers the theory substantiating the ways and means for capitalist society's revolutionary transformation into a socialist society.

As was noted by Engels, socialism became a science as a result of two great discoveries. These were the materialist understanding of history and the teaching on surplus value, which revealed the secret of capitalist exploitation. Scientific communism is thus the natural and indispensable conclusion drawn from Marx's philosophical and economic theory. On the other hand, the Marxist-Leninist teaching would have been incomplete without scientific communism. In stressing the significance of the teaching about the proletarian class struggle, a teaching that constitutes one of the key elements of scientific communism, Lenin wrote that "without *this* aspect, materialism is incomplete, one-sided, and lifeless".¹

As elements of the integral revolutionary doctrine of the working class, dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and scientific communism took shape and developed simultaneously. For the founders of Marxism the elaboration of philosophical and economic issues was not an end in itself. They conducted their research in philosophy and political economy in the context of revolutionary practice, in order to give a scientific picture of the prerequisites and ways for the liberation of the proletariat, the overthrow of capitalist rule, and the building of a communist society. The conditions for and ways of abolishing capitalism and building socialism and communism are a study subject of Marxism-Leninism as a whole, of all of its component parts, and of the entire spectrum of the social sciences. It is only as an integral system that the Marxist-Leninist teaching gives an all-sided view of the laws of and prospects for the world's revolutionary renewal.

The unity of all the component parts of Marxism-Leninism is thus due to the fact that they mutually complement and mutually predicate each other in resolving one and the same historical task, that of showing the proletariat and all other working people the ways and means for abolishing the exploiting system, putting an end to all forms of enslavement of man by man, and building a classless society. At the same time, each of them is a relatively independent science and has its own tasks and its own subject of research.

In what does the specific character of the component parts of Marxism-Leninism manifest itself?

The *philosophy of Marxism* is a science of the most general laws of the development of nature, society and knowledge. It

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1977, p. 75.

gives an all-embracing view of the world. From the dialectico-materialist teaching of development the conclusion is inevitably drawn that, like all the socio-political systems preceding it, capitalism is not eternal, that it is historically transient. On the basis of this general, fundamental proposition, political economy and scientific communism, each within the boundaries of its subject, substantiate the objective historical need for the transition (and the ways and means for this transition) from capitalism to the higher, communist, system. Relative to political economy and scientific communism Marxist-Leninist philosophy is a general theory and a method of research.

Historical materialism is the element of Marxist-Leninist philosophy most closely linked to scientific communism. Its subject is general sociological laws, i.e., laws that operate throughout the history of human society, in all socio-political systems, including the communist system.

General sociological laws exist exclusively in their concrete manifestations. Therefore, in analysing these laws historical materialism studies the specifics of their operation in various socio-political systems. For instance, it studies the specific character of the relationship between social being and social consciousness, and between the basis and the superstructure under conditions of the emergence and development of the communist system, revealing in this study a regularity such as the growth of the role played by conscious activity in the historical process. A knowledge of such specifics enables us to get a better understanding of *general* laws that constitute the direct subject of historical materialism. But as a philosophical science historical materialism does not specially research the concrete conditions, ways and means for the transition from capitalism to communism. This is the task of other sciences, notably of scientific communism.

Political economy studies the laws governing the production and distribution of material wealth at different stages of history. Like scientific communism, it researches the rise and development of the communist system. But in so doing, it analyzes economic relations only, showing the economic mechanism of the operation of a socio-economic system. On that basis it explains why one system is inescapably replaced by another and shows the inevitability of the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of communism as a result of the operation of economic laws.

However, the fact that capitalism's downfall is inevitable does not signify that this historical form of social production will vanish automatically, without a class struggle by the proletariat and without a socialist revolution. After the economic laws of capitalism's collapse were brought to light,

there arose the need and possibility for making conscious use of these laws in the class struggle of the proletariat.

Using the conclusions of historical materialism and political economy, scientific communism uncovers the socio-political laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of a communist society.

Definition of Scientific Communism

In broadly defining the aim of scientific socialism, Engels wrote that it is to "thoroughly comprehend the historical conditions and thus the very nature of this act /the proletarian revolution/, to impart to the now oppressed proletarian class a full knowledge of the conditions and of the meaning of the momentous act it is called upon to accomplish, this is the task of the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement, scientific socialism".¹

Scientific communism studies and substantiates what constitutes the core, the substance of Marxist-Leninist theory—the questions of the epoch-making mission of the working class and its political party, of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the building of socialism and communism, and of the development of the world revolutionary process. These are questions related chiefly to the socio-political sphere of society's life.

Scientific communism is a science treating of the proletarian class struggle and the socialist revolution, of the socio-political laws governing the building of socialism and communism, and of the world revolutionary process.

Socio-political laws operate in the sphere of relations among classes and among other social groups. The principal, determining elements in the sphere of socio-political relations are the relations among classes. The character of nation-to-nation relations (hostile or friendly) is determined by what classes head the given nations. The relations among classes are invariably political. Therefore, as long as there are classes in society, the relations among social groups will likewise be political and are called socio-political.

Society's material, economic relations are expressed in the socio-political relations prevailing in it. Society's class structure mirrors its economic structure. In turn, socio-political relations are the basis giving shape to society's intellectual life. In intellectual life the economic basis is reflected through the relations among classes. The interests and policy

¹ Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. III, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 151.

of this or that class directly influence ideology and the ideological struggle. All this indicates that socio-political relations are inherently complex because the character of the relations among classes is both economic, political and ideological.

Socialist reforms of socio-political relations are carried out exclusively on the basis of certain economic preconditions and chiefly in order to reshape society's economic basis in the interests of the working class and all other working people. That is why scientific communism devotes so much attention to the material conditions of the transition to socialism and communism. "Marx," Lenin noted, "deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the development of contemporary society. The socialisation of labour, which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms and has manifested itself very strikingly ... in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, provides the principal material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism. The intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this transformation is the proletariat, which has been trained by capitalism itself."¹ Of course, scientific communism studies also the conditions of the conscious building of the material and technical basis of socialism and communism, and reveals the social essence and significance of the ongoing scientific and technological revolution. Scientific communism shows the inverse impact of the processes taking place in socio-political sphere on society's economic development.

Socio-political relations are reflected in society's intellectual life. For instance, the contrasts between the classes of antagonistic society are responsible for the contrasts between their ideologies, and the ideological struggle is one of the forms of the class struggle in this society. Conversely, under socialism, because the relations between classes are friendly, the ideology of society's most advanced and conscious class, the working class, becomes the ideology of the whole of society. Similarly, in considering state-to-state, international, and other socio-political relations, scientific communism inevitably analyses intellectual relations.

Scientific communism regards society's intellectual life as part of the general process of socio-political transformations. It keeps its sights chiefly on questions such as the class struggle in ideology, the molding and upbringing of the all-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 71.

sidedly developed individual and the implementation of a cultural revolution as one of the key laws of socialist construction.

From the aforesaid it follows that socio-political relations and the laws expressing them require an integrated study. As a result of an integrated approach to the study of its subject, scientific communism offers a comprehensive picture of the development of the revolutionary process leading to the abolition of all forms of social oppression, and a similarly comprehensive picture of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism and communism. In this sense it may be said that scientific communism gives us knowledge of the general laws of the world revolutionary process, of the rise and development of the communist system.

Socio-political laws play a huge role in the emergence and development of communist society. Communism and capitalism differ fundamentally from each other, for these social systems are based on antipodal types of property—public and private. In contrast to capitalism, which takes shape spontaneously under feudalism, socialist social relations cannot appear under capitalism. Communist society is built through the purposeful efforts of the people led by a revolutionary party, on the basis of knowledge and application of the objective laws of its development. Also of paramount significance are such socio-political laws of the building of the new society as the leadership of the working masses by the working class, of which the vanguard is the Marxist-Leninist party, the accomplishment of a socialist revolution, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in one form or another, and the alliance of the working class with the bulk of the peasants and other strata of working people.

In this context, a special place is held in scientific communism by research into the role played by the subjective factor in the historical process of society's socialist transformation, in other words, by the conscious efforts of the working people and their organisations. By studying the patterns of social development and the mechanisms and methods of the conscious activity of the working masses, scientific communism comes forward as a general theory of the scientific management of social and political processes.

It researches two basic groups of socio-political laws. One includes the laws of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of capitalist countries against the bourgeoisie and the laws of the national liberation, anti-imperialist movement. The second group characterises the process of socialist and communist construction in countries that have embarked upon the road of socialist development. These groups of laws operate in close relation to each other. They mirror the con-

tent of the present revolutionary process as a single whole.

These laws express the essence of the socio-political processes in the advance to socialism and communism. Some operate only at specific stages of the formation and development of communist society. These include the laws of transition from capitalism to socialism and the laws of building communism. Others operate permanently in the communist system, expressing the main trends of its development. They include the conscious management of social processes, the planned and uninterrupted improvement of social relations, the all-sided development of the individual, etc.

In studying the general socio-political laws of the proletarian class struggle and of the building of socialism and communism, scientific communism simultaneously focuses on ascertaining the specific conditions under which these general laws manifest themselves in different countries at the different stages of their development.

Scientific communism gives an objective picture of the entire world revolutionary process, of the formation and development of the communist system. It substantiates the ways and means for society's revolutionary transformation along socialist lines, for the communist system's development from the lowest to the highest phase.

It combines the objective character of its conclusions with a clear-cut partisan and class character. The Marxist-Leninist teaching on the liberation struggle of the proletariat and on the building of socialism and communism scientifically reflects the processes taking place in society ever since the rise of capitalism and the appearance of the proletariat on the historical scene and leading to the triumph of communism. But in a society divided into classes reality can be reflected scientifically only from the standpoint of the most advanced class. One of Marxism's greatest achievements is that it revealed the historic mission of the proletariat, its special place and special role in the course and outcome of the class struggle in bourgeois society. On this point Engels wrote: "Communism, insofar as it is a theory, is the theoretical expression of the position of the proletariat in the struggle /the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie/ and the theoretical summation of the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat."¹ This conscious expression of the proletariat's class positions gives scientific communism its profound theoretical commitment and makes it consistent and scientific.

¹ Frederick Engels, "The Communists and Karl Heinzen", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, pp. 303-04.

Just as Marxism-Leninism in its entirety, scientific communism retains its class nature in socialist society as well. But under conditions where class antithesis has been abolished and society consists of friendly classes and social groups, scientific communism expresses the ideals and interests of the whole of society.

A key characteristic of scientific communism is that on the basis of its study of the laws of social development it indicates the ways and means by which these laws can be effectively used in the management of social processes. By virtue of this it is, along with other component parts of Marxism-Leninism, the *theoretical foundation for charting the scientific policy* of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist states. Herein lies an inexhaustible source of the ideological weapon of all the revolutionary forces.

The laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism were corroborated for the first time by the experience of the USSR. As a result of the dedicated work of the Soviet people and the theoretical and practical activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, humankind now has a really existing socialist society and a tested science of building socialism. The science of socialist transformation has now been enriched by the experience of a number of socialist countries.

2. THE INTERNATIONAL ESSENCE AND CREATIVE CHARACTER OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

International Essence of Scientific Communism

As the whole of Marxism-Leninism, scientific communism is an international teaching, providing the theoretical foundation for the strategy and tactics of the communist and workers' parties.

The Marxist-Leninist parties categorically condemn nationalism and national narrowness. They are opposed to all forms of national insularity and to all attempts at fragmenting scientific communism into "variants" and "varieties" on the geographical, national or any other principle.

Scientific communism is the theoretical expression of the interests of the working class of all countries. In its content is expressed the unity between the international and the national. It is therefore overt slander to assert, as do the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, that scientific communism ignores national specifics or, on the contrary, is nationally insular.

Scientific communism is the property of the working people of all countries. It is constantly enriched by the experi-

ence of the proletarian class struggle, the national liberation movement and socialist construction. The combination of the national and international tasks of the working people in their struggle for their common cause, for the transformation of the world along communist lines is an indispensable condition of the success of the international revolutionary movement.

The international character of scientific communism springs from the very nature of the communist movement, from the common basic interests and aims of the working-class struggle. The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are international forces. The exploiters continue, as they have always done, to confront the working class and all progressive movements not only as a national but also as an international force.

Underlying imperialism's bellicose policies is its striving to use all available means to erode socialism, suppress the national liberation movement, impede the struggles of the working people in capitalist countries and slow down the collapse of capitalism.

The strength of the working class lies in its organisation and international solidarity, in proletarian internationalism. The proletariat cannot fulfil its historic mission without uniting against the bourgeoisie globally. This is what prompted Marx and Engels to proclaim the words: "Working men of all countries, unite!" as the basic slogan of the communist and working-class movement. Subsequently, taking into account the movement of the peoples of colonies for national liberation, Lenin found that this slogan had to be extended: "Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 made it imperative to set the task of strengthening the solidarity of the working people of all countries with the young Soviet Republic. In the new situation and true to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the international communist movement advanced an appeal conforming to the modern enriched concept of revolutionary proletarian internationalism: "*Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!*"

Two antithetical principles, *internationalism and nationalism*, have always been present in the ideological struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Internationalism is a cardinal feature of the ideology of the working class; it is an ideological weapon helping the working class to unite all the national contingents of revolutionary fighters into a

single front of struggle against imperialism. Bourgeois ideologists make an all-out attack on proletarian internationalism precisely because they see it as a mortal threat to the rule of the exploiting classes. To counter it they make wide use of nationalism.

Proletarian internationalism is savagely attacked also by the reformists and by the right and "left" revisionists.

Despite the countless attempts of the ideologists of imperialism and their abettors to undermine the unity of the international working class and the unity of the socialist countries, the cohesion of all the revolutionary forces is steadily growing stronger in the struggle against imperialism. The ideological foundation of this cohesion is Marxist-Leninist theory and the principle of proletarian internationalism.

Creative Character of Scientific Communism

Marxism-Leninism is creative, and this quality manifests itself also in its component part, scientific communism.

This creative character of scientific communism is predicated on the essence and development of its subject, on the appearance of new tasks and new possibilities and forms of the working-class struggle for the triumph of socialism.

The framework of the subject of scientific communism is widening with the growth of the scale of the historical activity of the masses headed by the working class and its party. For Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, the central issues of revolutionary theory were the ways for the conquest of power by the proletariat and the strategy and tactics of its struggle against the bourgeoisie. The laws of the building of the new society were worked out only in general outline, to the extent to which the realities of 19th-century bourgeois society permitted judging some tendencies of humankind's development in the future.

The theory of the socialist revolution and the teaching on the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party were further developed by Lenin on the basis of the vast revolutionary experience of the masses in the epoch of imperialism.

The triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia marked the advent of a new epoch. For the first time new historical prospects opened up before the proletariat, which had taken over power. Correspondingly, the actual framework of the subject of scientific communism widened: it became of the utmost importance to study the laws governing the building of socialism.

The building and improvement of developed socialism in the USSR, the appearance and development of a socialist world system, and the continued extension and deepening

of the world revolutionary process led to a further growth of the range of problems facing scientific communism, to a widening of its subject. Moreover, there has now been a tremendous growth of the potentialities for the productive development of scientific communism: the revolutionary, transformative activity of the masses and their diversified experience have grown richer and more versatile, and there has been a significant rise in the ideological and theoretical level of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire world communist movement regard the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory as a key task, as an indispensable condition for the triumph of socialism and the successful building of communism. The Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfil its role if it does not concentrate unremitting attention on understanding all developments, on generalising the new phenomena of life, and on creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Communists are well aware that the assertion of the new society is a long and tireless struggle against imperialism and bourgeois rule, against the petty-bourgeois element and private-ownership ideology and psychology. No advance towards communism is conceivable without surmounting the difficulties linked not only to the fierce resistance of the old world but also to the many complex problems that have to be tackled in the building of the new society.

The balance between the struggling forces in the modern world and the situation in which they are acting is constantly changing. This requires a creative application of the tenets of scientific communism and a concrete historical approach to social phenomena. Scientific communism is incompatible either with a dogmatic numbing of thought or with revisionist distortions of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In any of its forms revisionism is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology in the international working-class and communist movement.

Scientific communism theoretically substantiates the ways and means of delivering humankind from all forms of economic, social, political and national oppression. Communism establishes a classless social system with a single system of public property, it asserts harmonious relations between the individual and society and turns human labour into a source of creativity and pleasure.

Scientific communism does not tolerate any form of bourgeois ideology that defends imperialism and neocolonialism, a system of exploitation and oppression. It is not accidental that the imperialist bourgeoisie has turned anti-communism into its ideological weapon. But it cannot halt the tri-

umphant advance of communism, it cannot reverse the onward development of human society.

Despite bourgeois propaganda's stepped up attacks on socialism, scientific communism is increasingly influencing large sections of working people throughout the world. The ideals of this great teaching inspire the masses in their struggle against imperialism, for democracy and socialism.

What is communism? What roads lead to it? How should one fight for the ideals of communism? These are questions occupying class-conscious people today. Scientific communism enables them to comprehend the laws of the class struggle; it shows them the ways and means for building the new social system; and it gives them a clearer understanding of their role and place in society and of the meaning of their own lives.

Scientific communism is the banner of the present epoch, the epoch of transition from exploiting pre-history filled to the brim with the grief and suffering of the working people to their real, communist history. It expresses the basic needs, ideals and aspirations of the masses. In this lies its strength and the guarantee of its triumph throughout the world.

Chapter 2

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

The way for the appearance of scientific socialism was paved by social conditions and the preceding development of social thought. Its direct ideological mainspring was 19th-century utopian socialism, which, despite being pre-scientific, anticipated some features of the future socialist society.

1. UTOPIAN THEORIES OF THE 16TH-18TH CENTURIES

In the form of folk legends ideas about a just social system date back to slave-owning and feudal societies. These were usually incoherent, lacking any system. The first major works of utopian socialism relate to the 16th and 17th centuries, i.e., to the period of the formation and development of bourgeois society. They were a specific type of protest against emergent capitalism with its inexorable drive of the wealthy for more wealth, and against the gross impingements on the interests and rights of the majority of the population by the bourgeoisie.

The rise and development of capitalism is linked to the period of the so-called primitive accumulation of capital. The bourgeoisie, which was in the formative stage, used all the means at its disposal to increase its profits. At the manufactory the working day was 13-14 and in some cases 16 hours long. Labour was backbreaking, and wages were pitifully small. Wide use was made of low-paid female and child labour. All this caused disaffection in the emergent working class.

The condition of the peasants was likewise miserable. Agriculture was adjusting to the requirements of the towns. Landowners intensified their robbery of the peasants, and in many cases drove them from the land. In Britain, for instance, the rapidly growing broadcloth industry was demanding much raw material. It was becoming profitable for landowners to breed sheep, using their land for pasture. This prompted them to fence off common ploughland and to

force the peasants off the land. The expanding industry could not provide employment for all the labour being released with the result that many peasants became beggars and vagrants against whom harsh laws were enforced. The utopian socialists saw the discontent of workers, artisans and peasants with vices generated by the capitalist system and reflected this discontent in their social theories.

More and Campanella

Utopian socialism was founded by the English humanist philosopher *Thomas More* (1478-1535). A highly erudite man, he held important posts in the English parliament and at the court of King Henry VIII. A keen observer of life around him, he offered some profound considerations on social problems. In 1516 he published a book on the organisation of social life on a hypothetical island, which came to be called shortly *Utopia*. The title of this book gave the name to a socio-political teaching of the 16th-19th centuries, *utopian socialism*.

More was the first to raise the question of the need to organise industry on the basis of public property in the means of production and gave a picture of the organisation of a future society. He was a committed opponent of private property. "For where eurye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe as much as he can," he wrote in *Utopia*, "and so a fewe deuide amonge themselves all the riches that there is, be there neuer so muche abundaunce and stoore." Hence, he maintained, public welfare could only be ensured if private property were totally abolished.

The new social orders prevailing on More's hypothetical island precluded parasitism and sponging. All the people worked. The basic production unit was the family; each family engaged in some craft. The combination of farming and handicrafts was achieved by each tilling the soil for two years as a member of a cooperative team following which he returned to the main branch of the economy—handicrafts. The working day was only 6 hours, and this gave the islanders plenty of time for activity in science and the arts. They delivered the fruits of their labour to storehouses, from which they received everything they needed gratuitously. The Utopians had no need for money among themselves, they used it only in their relations with other states.

Vindicating the possibility of free distribution according to needs, More wrote that, first, there was an abundance of everything and, second, nobody should entertain the apprehension that somebody wished to consume more than was

necessary. Why, he asked, should it be assumed that more would be demanded by a person who was confident that there would never be a shortage of anything?

More introduced elements of utopian communism. However, people's needs were reduced to a bare minimum. For example: each person was content with one suit of clothes usually for two years, and the cut of these clothes remained the same, unchanged and constant all the time. More's calculations were based on the meagre resources of his day, and hence his simplified interpretation of social distribution.

His *Utopia* bears the imprint of his day. On the island there were a small number of slaves, who, according to More, were needed to do the most unpleasant chores. These were prisoners-of-war, criminals, or persons sentenced to death in other states and ransomed by the islanders. True, given his conscientious work and exemplary behaviour, a slave could be manumitted. The community was ruled by a prince, who was elected but had autocratic powers. Suffrage was enjoyed not by all members of society, but only by fathers of families, and this mirrored the patriarchal idea originating in remote antiquity. More recognised that the inhabitants of his island had to have a minimum of religious faith.

His life ended tragically: he was executed for his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the king who proclaimed himself head of the church.

After More, humanism and social justice were passionately championed by the Italian philosopher *Tommaso Campanella* (1568-1639). He was born in southern Italy, which was then under Spanish rule. On a charge of conspiracy against the oppressors he was imprisoned and spent 27 years in a dungeon. An indomitable optimist, the shackled Campanella wrote his famous novel *Civitas Solis* (*City of the Sun*) (1602), the story of a Genoese traveller who supposedly saw a new social system in a distant country. In *Civitas Solis* life is patterned on approximately the same principles as in *Utopia*. But Campanella accentuates the organisation of work, the distribution of products, and the administration of society.

In *Civitas Solis* all that is produced goes to public store-houses, from where each person gets the means of life free of charge. The authorities make sure that nobody gets more than he needs, that everybody works and the process of labour develops in accordance with the common good. Citizens of the City of the Sun devote only 4 hours to public labour, spending the rest of their time developing their intellectual and physical abilities. Everything is done joyfully. Farming is compulsory for all members of society. The City of the Sun is ruled by a collegium of scientists. The chief administrator possesses the entire sum of knowledge and is

familiar with all forms of practical work. Campanella thereby expresses the idea that it is possible to administer society scientifically.

Winstanley, Meslier, Morelly, Mably, Babeuf

In the 17th and 18th centuries utopian socialism developed under the influence of large popular movements. As the bourgeois revolutions matured in Europe the struggle against feudalism was joined by the peasants and by plebeian elements of the towns, the predecessors of the proletariat. This gave the revolutions scope and strength. The masses taking part in them often put forward their own demands of equal right to property, equal plots of land, the proclamation of land as common property, and so on. Their sentiments influenced the more progressive minds of those days and were reflected in the latter's utopian theories.

This is strikingly exemplified by the 17th-century English utopian *Gerrard Winstanley* (1609-circa 1652), leader and ideologist of the poorest sections of the people and representative of the extreme left in the English bourgeois revolution. His principal work, *The Law of Freedom* (1652), is permeated with ideas of egalitarian communism. He believed that public property in the implements of labour and in land should be established in England, he called for a republic in which all citizens would work for the common good and there would be no parasites and idlers. The foundation of the new society's entire production structure would be the family, which would engage in farming or an artisan trade. Everything produced by families would be delivered to public storehouses. Winstanley urged the creation of model public workshops; this was a new idea compared with the theories of More and Campanella.

Winstanley's utopianism is seen distinctly in the fact that he hoped to translate his communist ideas into reality through legislation by a bourgeois government.

His utopian theory was an advance compared with the theories of his predecessors. It expressed not an abstract dream but realistic aims, which, as a participant in the revolution, Winstanley tried to link to the mass movement.

In pre-revolutionary 18th-century France communist ideas continued to be developed; they were augmented with the idea that the way to the new society lay through the struggle of the masses. This idea was first offered by the French utopian socialist *Jean Meslier* (1664-1729). He was a village priest and knew what life was like in rural communities. A witness of the ruthless exploitation of the peasants and of their bitter hardships, he levelled sharp and passionate crit-

icism both at feudal and capitalist practices and at religion. In his work, *Le Testament*, he wrote of a communist system based on collective ownership, of a life free of oppressors. He realised that without a revolutionary struggle it would be impossible to put an end to oppression and injustice and urged the peasants to rise in armed struggle.

"Peoples, unite!" Meslier wrote. "Help each other: this has to do with what is equally important to all peoples. Your undoing is that you are fighting each other instead of joining hands to fight for the common cause." *Le Testament* does not give a detailed description of the organisation of the future society.

An elaborate pattern of a new society founded on common property was given by another French philosopher, the utopian Morelly. In *Le Code de la nature* (1755) he boldly joined in a polemic with those who asserted that private property and inequality were implicit in the nature of man. He maintained that, on the contrary, private property spoiled and corrupted this nature. For that reason people had to return to former practices, to the Golden Age.¹ In the society founded on laws expounded by Morelly, there is no private property; the right to ownership is confined to objects of personal use and to implements of an artisan's trade. Morelly proclaimed the right to work and was the first to formulate the principle that people should work according to their abilities.

The ideas of *Gabriel Bonnet de Mably* (1709-1785) were widespread in democratic circles on the eve and during the French bourgeois revolution. In *Doutes, propose aux philosophes economistes sur l'ordre naturel et essentiel des societes politiques* (1768), *De la legislation ou Principes de lois* (1776) and other works he attacks the tyranny of the wealthy and inequality in property and propagates communist ideals for society's organisation.

Underlying Mably's teaching is the idea of the natural equality of people. Nature, he wrote, created all people equal. It endowed them with identical organs and needs, gave them all mental capacity. "Are not the blessings that it produced on earth," Mably wrote, "the property of all? ... Has it given anybody a special plot of land? Has it set boundaries in the fields? The answer to these questions indicates that it did not make people wealthy and poor."

Mably saw private property and social inequality as the result of the greed of some people and the idleness of others. The appearance of private property destroyed the

¹ This was seen by many ancient peoples as the earliest period of mankind's existence, when, like the gods, people knew neither cares nor pain.

natural equality in society and spoiled people's nature. It developed in them such repulsive qualities as greed, the desire to become rich, to acquire wealth, and so on. In order to bring humankind closer to the lost Golden Age Mably suggested the enactment of just laws to level out property among all members of society.

The idea of social justice was further developed during the French bourgeois revolution of 1789-1794. As the revolution progressed the people on the extreme left wing saw that it was leading to the making of new money barons and that the masses would not achieve the social justice they were striving for. In those years there appeared quite a few communist projects offering the important conclusion that in order to establish a society of justice there had to be a people's revolution and a revolutionary dictatorship.

The most radical conclusions in this respect were drawn by *Francois Emile Babeuf* who used the pseudonym Gracchus Babeuf (1760-1797). Babeuf and his supporters articulated the aspirations of the emergent French proletariat. Their manifesto declared that the French revolution was only the forerunner of another, greater revolution, which would be the last. Bourgeois equality, they said, was no more than a beautiful but barren fiction. The working people had to win power, establish a revolutionary dictatorship and use it to achieve actual equality. There should be neither rich nor poor, nobody would appropriate property, and work had to be a duty of all members of society.

The Babouvists argued in favour of a revolution that would establish social justice in the world. But they regarded revolution as the action of a handful of conspirators. However, their ideas were enunciated not as a tale about a distant, non-existent land, but in the form of a manifesto, of a programme document calling for revolutionary action.

2. 19TH-CENTURY UTOPIAN SOCIALISM IN WESTERN EUROPE

After the bourgeois revolutions in England (17th century) and France (late 18th century), capitalism began to develop even more rapidly. The bourgeoisie seized power and released industry from feudal fetters. The transition to machine production also fostered industrial growth. There was a sharp increase in the output of goods. The growing profits created ever greater opportunities for expanding industry. Factories mushroomed, gathering under their roofs increasing throngs of the proletariat.

There was a further polarisation of wealth and poverty. At one pole the bourgeoisie was gathering strength and at the other, as a consequence of the ruin of artisans and peas-

ants, there was a gigantic growth of the proletariat, the class denied property in the means of production.

The workers gradually began to realise that their status was that of slaves. More and more spontaneous actions were an indication of discontent with the hard working conditions and the almost total absence of political rights.

In the 19th century, under conditions of as yet undeveloped proletarian class struggle, utopian socialist theories that were the direct predecessors of Marxism became current in Western Europe.

Claude Henri Saint-Simon

The French philosopher *Saint-Simon* (1760-1825) was among the first to attempt to answer the new questions confronting society. He denounced the orders established by the bourgeoisie and prophesied that they would be inevitably destroyed. Capitalism, he said, would be unavoidably supplanted by a new, more just social system. "The Golden Age," he wrote, "which blind tradition has hitherto placed in the past, is ahead of us."

What was the road to the Golden Age?

Saint-Simon was an idealist and utopian. He relied on reason, believing that the human intellect was the dominant locomotive of historical process and that the propagation of the idea of a better social system was the chief means of implementing his theory. He was a proponent of harmonious social relations which, in his opinion, should unite the bourgeoisie and the workers into a single group of "manufacturers". He had no understanding whatever of the essence of the class struggle and of its role in society's development.

Although Saint-Simon gave an extremely vague picture of the new social system and indicated the wrong road to it, some of his surmises were highly significant. He was not an ideologue of the proletariat and he did not understand the proletariat's role in history. But he saw the distress of the working class. He said that it was his purpose to ease the lot of this class not only throughout Europe but in the whole world. He was the first to advance the idea that there could be a social system under which each person would work according to his abilities and receive according to his work. His idea that the state should be turned from an instrument of administering people into an instrument of organising production, of "administering things", was highly important.

Charles Fourier

The theories of another French philosopher, *Charles Fourier* (1772-1837), had a powerful impact on European society in the 19th century.

Like Saint-Simon, Fourier was sharply critical of the bourgeois system. If no new social organisation of society were created, he said, the development of production would bring the working people not happiness but disaster. A feature of bourgeois civilisation, Fourier wrote, was that production remained unregulated. Wealth was growing, but the producer was getting no part of this growth. "If in Saint-Simon," Engels wrote, "we find a comprehensive breadth of view, by virtue of which almost all the ideas of later Socialists that are not strictly economic are found in him in embryo, we find in Fourier a criticism of the existing conditions of society, genuinely French and witty, but not upon that account any the less thorough... He lays bare remorselessly the material and moral misery of the bourgeois world."¹

Criticism of capitalism is the strongest aspect of Fourier's philosophy. But his positive ideas are also important. For instance, he raises the question of how work, which was seen as a curse at the time, could and should be turned into a source of joy for people. In criticising bourgeois law, he accentuated the right to work, without which all the other rights were worth nothing. His ideas about labour emulation and about labour being a creative process generating enthusiasm are of progressive significance. Fourier arrived at the productive idea that labour had to be organised in such a way as not to condemn a person permanently to one and the same kind of activity but to enable him to change his trade in accordance with his inclinations and abilities. However, he was opposed to class struggles and revolution, believing that his theory could be realised through the propagation of socialist ideas among all classes, including the capitalists.

Robert Owen

Alongside the names of Saint-Simon and Fourier stands the name of the English utopian socialist *Robert Owen* (1771-1858), who played a big part in enlightening the English working class in the first half of the 19th century. Owen's views were strongly influenced by the fact that the England of his day was the most industrialised nation in the world.

¹ Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. III, p. 121.

Contrary to those who were inclined to see in technological and industrial progress the cause of all social evils, Owen thought highly of the industrial revolution, which was associated with the appearance and spread of machines.

He considered private property to be one of the principal obstacles to society's restructuring. Social, intellectual and moral progress, he wrote, required its abolition. He believed that the new social system would inevitably triumph. Just like Saint-Simon and Fourier, he felt that this would take place without a class struggle. He tried, but could not, of course, persuade now the British parliament, now Queen Victoria, now other monarchs that his projects were realistic and useful. Nor was he successful in his experiments with labour communes he set up in Britain (New Lanark) and America.

Lenin wrote: "Why were the plans of the old co-operators, from Robert Owen onwards, fantastic? Because they dreamed of peacefully remodelling contemporary society into socialism without taking account of such fundamental questions as the class struggle, the capture of political power by the working class, the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class."¹

3. UTOPIAN SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA

Feudal relations and serfdom, which obstructed social progress, were predominant in Russia up to the 1860s. The outdated social orders generated bitter disaffection among the peasants and were strongly denounced by Russian progressive socio-political thought. Discussion centred around ideas for replacing serfdom with a new social system. At the close of the 18th century *Alexander Radishchev* (1749-1802) came out with a programme for the forcible overthrow of the power of the tsar and the landowners, the abolition of serfdom and the establishment of a republican government. In *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow* and other books he advanced the idea of a peasant revolution. In 1825 revolutionaries belonging to the landed nobility rose in revolt against the autocracy. Pavel Pestel, Mikhail Lunin and some others of these revolutionaries showed a considerable interest in utopian socialism.

In the period preceding the commencement of the working-class movement and the spread of Marxism in Russia, theories about restructuring society by revolution and ideas of utopian socialism were expressed most vividly in the writings of Vissarion Belinsky, Alexander Herzen, Nikolai

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On Co-Operation", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, 1976, p. 473.

Chernyshevsky and Nikolai Dobrolyubov. In characterising this period, Lenin wrote: "For about half a century—approximately from the forties to the nineties of the last century—progressive thought in Russia, oppressed by a most brutal and reactionary tsarism, sought eagerly for a correct revolutionary theory, and followed with the utmost diligence and thoroughness each and every 'last word' in this sphere in Europe and America. Russia achieved Marxism—the only correct revolutionary theory—through the *agony* she experienced in the course of half a century of unparalleled torment and sacrifice, of unparalleled revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, practical trial, disappointment, verification, and comparison with European experience."¹

Utopian Socialism of the Revolutionary Democrats

In the 1840s socialist ideas were actively developed by the outstanding revolutionary democrat *Vissarion Belinsky* (1811-1848). He called socialism the "idea of ideas, the being of beings, the question of questions, the alpha and omega of faith and knowledge". Overcoming the basic flaw of most West European utopians, Belinsky came to the conclusion that the road to socialism lay through a popular revolution.

Russia's first revolutionary organisation guided by theories of utopian socialism was headed by Mikhail Butashevich-Petrashkevsky (known in literature as Petrashevsky) in St. Petersburg.

Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) was the first in Russia to try and give a detailed theoretical answer to the question of whether it was possible for Russia to develop in the direction of socialism. He denounced not only serfdom but also capitalism. Unlike many Western utopian socialists, Herzen emphasised the vital importance of the political struggle of the people. He showed the reactionary role religion was playing in the ideological and political struggle in Russia, wrote highly of the significance of philosophical materialism to humankind's progress, and saw the "algebra of revolution" in Hegel's dialectics.

He regarded the rural commune as the basis of social change and transition to socialism in Russia. He believed that equality and self-administration was a lasting feature of the commune and this would facilitate Russia's transition to the socialist system. "We call *Russian socialism*," Herzen wrote, "the socialism that comes from the land and the life

¹ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, pp. 25-26.

of the peasants, from the actual allotment and redistribution of fields, from communal ownership and communal administration, that along with the work artel /a cooperative team/ goes to meet the economic *justice* which socialism generally aspires to and which is borne out by science." However, enthusiasm for the idea of "Russian socialism" through the peasant commune prevented Herzen from seeing that rather than moving society towards socialism the conservation of the commune was an impediment on this road, that it was fettering the development of the productive forces and social relations.

The question of socialism was discussed more profoundly and consistently by *Nikolai Chernyshevsky* (1828-1889). A fervent opponent of serfdom, he waged a determined struggle against the autocracy and was subjected to brutal repression for his revolutionary activities: he spent a total of 27 years in prison and exile.

Chernyshevsky rejected the views of Saint-Simon and Fourier who believed that the socialist system could emerge at any stage of history. He regarded socialism as the outcome of society's natural development.

He was an ardent revolutionary democrat whose ideas inspired people to rise against tsarism and serfdom. He came to understand the great role of the masses, the political struggle and revolution in society's socialist transformation.

However, in the historical conditions of Russia's development at the time, Chernyshevsky failed to see the true road to socialism. He did not understand the role of the proletariat and believed that socialism would be achieved through a peasant revolution. Following in the footsteps of Herzen, he enlarged upon the idea of a communal socialism. However, he did not consider that communal ownership of the land was a ready cell of the new social system.

He believed that the basis of socialism was communal ownership and communal production using the achievements of science and technology and established in both town and countryside. The establishment of full-fledged socialism, he felt, was a complex task, and the implementation of communist principles was an even more complex and more remote task. "Communism," Chernyshevsky wrote, "uses a higher ideal than the principle of socialism as the basis of the social system. For that reason the epoch of communist forms of life evidently belongs to a future even more distant than that, perhaps likewise very distant, time when it will be possible to establish full-fledged socialism."

Nikolai Dobrolyubov (1836-1861) was a distinguished revolutionary philosopher associated with Chernyshevsky. He championed the idea that the historical process could be

accelerated in Russia, that it was possible to by-pass some stages of social development. "When taking a close look at the development of the nations of Western Europe," he wrote, "and assessing the situation they have now reached, we can have the seductive hope that our way will be better." Dobrolyubov explained that he did not mean that this would be some special way bearing no resemblance whatever to the one followed by the European nations. He felt that Russia had to follow "the same way, which is unquestionable and even in no wise distressing". But "still, our way will be easier," he declared with conviction, "still, our civil development may proceed somewhat faster through the phases which were passed so slowly in Western Europe."

Utopian socialism and revolutionary democracy were championed by outstanding writers and public figures from various nations inhabiting the Russian Empire: *Taras Shevchenko* (1814-1861), *Ivan Franko* (1856-1916), *Kastus Kalinousky* (1836-1864), *Michael Nalbandyan* (1829-1866), *Mirza Akhundov* (1812-1878), *Ilya Chavchavadze* (1837-1907), *Jan Rainis* (1865-1929) and many others.

Revolutionary Narodniks (Populists)

Alongside Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov, Lenin pointed to a brilliant galaxy of revolutionaries of the 1870s as predecessors of the Russian Social Democrats. The most prominent were the revolutionary workers Pyotr Alexeyev, Stepan Khalturin, Pyotr Moiseyenko and Viktor Obnorsky, and the Narodniks Andrei Zhelyabov, Nikolai Morozov, Vera Figner, Sofia Perovskaya and Alexander Ulyanov. The views expounded by the Narodnik ideologist Pyotr Lavrov and the well-known economist N. Flerovsky are of considerable interest. Their worldview was quite evidently influenced by progressive West European social thought, the powerful movement represented by the First International.

Narodism (Populism), the ideology of peasant democracy in Russia, combined in a contradictory manner utopian socialism and an expression of the actual needs of the peasants. The Narodniks of the 1870s sought contact with the working masses and turned to terrorist activity against the autocracy. Although this "going to the people" and acts of terrorism could not lead to the desired end—to a people's revolution and a remodelling of the social system—their activities helped to advance revolutionary thought in Russia.

Russian utopian socialism was of a class character, expressing the interests of the serf peasants. Outstanding spokesmen of utopian socialism in Russia came to recognising the

need for a class struggle and revolution as a means of reshaping society; they "urged Russia to take up the axe", to overthrow the autocracy by force. In other words, on Russian soil utopian socialism became more revolutionary. It was better to perish with the revolution than to find salvation in the almshouse of reaction, Herzen said.

But there were also many delusions in utopian thought in Russia. In particular, the revolutionary Narodniks failed to understand the actual significance of the working class in social development and pinned their hopes for a revolution only on the peasants or on strong personalities; they neglected to study the economic changes wrought by the development of capitalism in Russia. Their interpretation of the ways for the country's social development was in the long run basically utopian and idealistic. The negative aspects of revolutionary Narodism were followed up by the liberal Narodniks of the 1880s-1890s, who dissipated much of the revolutionary legacy of their predecessors.

But the ideas of the great revolutionary democrats Belinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov and the struggle by the brilliant galaxy of revolutionaries of the 1870s objectively paved the way for the future party of the working class and for the spread of Marxism in Russia. The activities of Pyotr Alexeyev, Stepan Khalturin, Pyotr Moiseyenko, Viktor Obnorsky and other revolutionaries clearly reflected the influence of the growing proletarian movement in Russia. Many of them not only disseminated socialist ideas but organised the first workers' study groups and unions.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries ideas of utopian socialism and revolutionary democracy became widespread in a number of countries. In Europe they were championed by *Edward Dembowski* (1822-1846) in Poland, *Khristo Botev* (1848-1876) in Bulgaria, *Svetozar Markovitch* (1846-1875) in Yugoslavia, *Karel Sabina* (1813-1877) in Czechoslovakia, *Sandor Petofi* (1823-1849) in Hungary and *Nicolae Balcescu* (1819-1852) in Romania. In China these ideas were spread by *Sun Yat-sen* (1866-1925) and others. In Cuba the great revolutionary democrat *Jose Marti* (1853-1895) fought for national and social equality, and against colonial rule.

The theories of democracy, utopian socialism and national liberation were the harbingers of Marxism in Europe, America, Asia and Africa.

4. PLACE OF UTOPIAN SOCIALISM IN HISTORY

The rise and development of utopian socialism is intimately linked to society's economic development, to the aggravation of social contradictions and the class struggle of the

working people. Having taken shape when capitalism was in its embryonic stage, utopian socialism flourished in Europe during the turbulent development of bourgeois relations in the 19th century.

Ideological Source of Scientific Communism

Utopian socialism's role in history is that it was the precursor of scientific communism, that it was one of the main ideological sources of Marxism. The utopian theories reflected the protest of the working masses against exploitation and oppression. These theories embodied ideas born in the thick of the exploited masses, they articulated the aspirations of the working people, whose social and moral ideals ranged beyond the framework of nascent bourgeois society. Utopian socialism was the forerunner of the class that towards the beginning of the 20th century grew into a formidable force capable of putting an end to the capitalist system.

The great utopians, Lenin wrote, "looked in the direction in which development was in fact proceeding; they, indeed, *were ahead* of that development".¹ Their imagination sometimes drew fantastic pictures of an ideal system, but in this fantasy it was possible to discern the embryo of the great ideas that were developed and put into effect by scientific communism. The emergence of scientific communism was prepared by the entire preceding development of theoretical thought, including the history of socialist ideas. The utopian socialists left a valuable ideological legacy to Marxism. In their writings the creators of scientific communism found profound judgements on many key problems of society's life and development. "German theoretical socialism," Engels wrote, "will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen—three men who, in spite of all their fantastic notions and all their utopianism, stand among the most eminent thinkers of all time and whose genius anticipated innumerable things the correctness of which is now being scientifically proved by us."²

In terms of humankind's ideological development the utopian socialists rendered a tremendous service by their scathing criticism of the capitalist system. They showed compellingly that a social system founded on private property and exploitation could give people neither freedom, nor equality nor a sense of brotherhood.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, 1977, p. 245.

² Frederick Engels, "Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. II, 1976, p. 169.

Some utopian socialists understood that revolution and the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship of the working people were the only way to abolish private property and ensure the transition from exploiting to socialist society. The link between communist ideas and those of revolution is clearly traceable in Jean Meslier's *Le Testament*, in the movement led by Gracchus Babeuf and his supporters, and in the theoretical and practical work of the Russian revolutionary democrats.

The utopian socialists brilliantly anticipated some features of the new society that would replace the exploiting system. Many of them felt that the future social system could arise, exist and develop solely on the basis of public ownership.

They believed that work as a duty of every citizen would be a key principle of the future society. Many assumed that in the future society work would be a matter of honour. The utopians set forward the progressive idea that it would be necessary to eradicate the distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by hand and by brain. They dealt at length with the question of fair distribution of material wealth and articulated profound views about distribution according to work and according to needs.

They spoke of turning the state from an instrument of administering society into an instrument of managing social production. Some of them noted that in the future society the state would wither away.

Utopian socialism contained elements of genuine humanism, of the humanism of the working masses. The utopian theories contained the idea of emancipating labour and of bringing people equality.

Historical Limitation of Utopian Socialism

Despite their striking surmises about the future society, much of what the utopian socialists spoke about was naive and primitive, and their views about the ways of building the new society were largely erroneous. Their principal shortcoming was that they did not understand the laws of social development, the role of the proletariat and its class struggle in destroying capitalism and building socialism, and could not discern the effective ways and means for restructuring society.

They regarded the working class as an ulcer of society, as an object of philanthropic concern, seeing it only as a suffering, not as an active class.

"Early socialism," Lenin wrote, "was *utopian* socialism. It criticised capitalist society, it condemned and damned it, it dreamed of its destruction, it had visions of a better order

and endeavoured to convince the rich of the immorality of exploitation.

"But utopian socialism could not indicate the real solution. It could not explain the real nature of wage-slavery under capitalism, it could not reveal the laws of capitalist development, or show what *social force* is capable of becoming the creator of a new society."¹

At a definite stage of social development utopian socialism played a great positive role. But subsequently it lost its significance as the proletariat's class consciousness grew.

With the appearance and spread of scientific communism any resurgence of primitive-egalitarian utopian views and the contrasting of these views, overtly or covertly, to scientific communism became a reactionary phenomenon. But this resurgence is historically possible because there remains the social soil (the petty bourgeoisie) on which various petty-bourgeois socialist doctrines can sprout, sometimes even under the guise of Marxism. Examples of such reactionary utopias in our day are the many right-opportunist and left-sectarian, anarchistic theories. Some of these theories go so far as to try and prove that it is possible to build socialism without a class struggle, without a socialist revolution and without the working class winning power.

Utopian socialism left the basic issues of the epoch unanswered. It could not serve as the theoretical substantiation of the class struggle by the proletariat and did not provide the ideological guidelines in its work to transform society. The social needs of the epoch imperatively raised the question of creating the theory of scientific communism. It was vital to show the historic mission of the proletariat and give it a knowledge of the laws of social development and a scientific programme of struggle for socialism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 27.

Chapter 3

THE RISE AND MAIN PHASES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

The appearance of scientific communism was a qualitative advance in the development of social thought. Utopian dreams gave way to a teaching on communist society as the natural outcome of social progress. *Socialism was turned from a utopia into a science.*

1. KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS—CREATORS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

Historical Conditions of the Appearance of Scientific Communism

The basic social preconditions for the appearance of scientific communism were the development of the capitalist mode of production, the aggravation of the class contradictions in bourgeois society, the rapid growth of the proletariat, and its emergence in the arena of historical struggle.

A tide of revolutionary movement with the working class as its main force swept across Europe in the first half of the 19th century. For the first time ever the proletariat came forward as an *independent social force* with its own class political and economic demands. Striking examples were the risings of the workers in Lyon, France, in 1831 and 1834 and the weavers in Silesia, Germany, in 1844, and the Chartist movement in Britain at the close of the 1830s and the early 1840s which Lenin described as "the first broad, truly mass and politically organised proletarian revolutionary movement".¹

Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895) were the first to understand the historic significance of the processes that were taking place under capitalism and to

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 309.

explain these processes scientifically. They evolved a coherent theory of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of political power by the proletariat. They proved that socialism is not the invention of visionaries but the unavoidable result of the development of bourgeois society. *Marx and Engels turned socialism from a utopia into a science.*

The creation of scientific communism gave the working class and its revolutionary vanguard the possibility of making conscious use of the laws of society, foreseeing the trends of historical development, and actively influencing the course of events. In the article "Frederick Engels" Lenin wrote: "The services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed in a few words thus: they taught the working class to know itself and be conscious of itself, and they substituted science for dreams."¹

Socialism—a Natural Phase of Society's Development

Two of the greatest discoveries in philosophy and political economy led to the creation of scientific communism: the materialist understanding of history (historical materialism) and the theory of surplus value.

Marx proved that the mode of producing material wealth, a mode representing unity between the productive forces and the relations of production, predicates the social, political and intellectual processes in society. The *productive forces* are the sum of the means of production (objects and means of labour) and the people operating them. The *relations of production* are the relations among people in the process of social production, exchange, distribution and consumption. Developing continuously, the productive forces of the capitalist system inescapably come into conflict with bourgeois relations of production, whose foundation consists of private property in the means of production. The deepening antagonism between the productive forces and the relations of production, manifested in economic crises, production declines, growth of unemployment, inflation and the rising cost of living, can only be resolved by a proletarian revolution that brings the working class to power and opens the road for socialist change. Marx rejected idealistic notions about the historical process, setting forth, instead, a scientific theory of social process that showed that the masses play the decisive role in history and that capitalism's collapse and socialism's triumph are inevitable.

Marx evolved the theory of surplus value that brought to

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Frederick Engels", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 20.

light the secret of capitalist exploitation. This theory became the cornerstone of economic theory as a whole, and the foundation of the analysis and criticism of capitalism. Marx's economic theory bared the main contradictions and trends of bourgeois society's development that inexorably lead to its destruction and to the victory of the proletarian revolution. "Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour," Marx wrote, "at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."¹

The philosophy and economic theory of Marxism helped establish that social development is a natural historical process of change of socio-economic systems. The conclusion drawn from consistent application of the materialist understanding of history and economic theory to analyses of capitalist society was that the emergence and triumph of socialism are a law-governed process.

Historical Mission of the Proletariat

As well as substantiating capitalism's inevitable replacement by socialism, Marxism identified the social force capable of fulfilling this task. This social force is the working class. "The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx," Lenin wrote, "is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society."²

Why is it only the working class, and none other, that can head the epoch-making struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation and bring about the triumph of socialism and communism?

The proletariat is the *most revolutionary class* of bourgeois society. It acquires the means of livelihood exclusively by selling its labour power. As the most exploited class of bourgeois society, denied property in the means of production, the proletariat is implacably hostile to capitalism. It is vitally interested in abolishing that system. The proletariat creates material values but in capitalist society these are disposed of by the bourgeoisie. No fundamental improvement of the condition of the proletariat is possible without ending bourgeois rule, and the workers have no alternative to destroying everything that protects private property and replacing it with public property.

The proletariat is the *most organised class*. The develop-

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 715.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, 1973, p. 582.

ment of large-scale industry leads to the growth of its numerical strength, militancy and influence. The character of labour at large industrial enterprises unites the workers in big work collectives and accustoms them to discipline and organisation. The proletariat sets up its own organisations to head its class struggle. The highest form of its class organisation is a Communist Party.

The proletariat is the *most conscious class*. It gets its political education, to begin with, in the course of the class struggle. But it becomes an invincible force and clearly sees the aims, tasks, ways and means of the struggle only when a Communist Party introduces socialist consciousness into the working-class movement. Marxism attaches paramount importance to bringing together scientific communism and the working-class movement.

The proletariat is a *profoundly international class*. The central common aim of the workers of all countries is to overthrow the rule of the exploiters and build socialism and communism. Capital is an international force and in order to put an end to its rule the workers must be allied on an international scale, be closely united and act together.

The working class is the spokesman of the interests of all working people. As it liberates itself from exploitation, it delivers the whole of society from the enslaving influence of private property, from all kinds of social and national oppression. Common basic interests are the foundation of the proletariat's alliance with other exploited classes and strata of capitalist society: the working peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and white-collar workers. In this alliance the working class plays the leading role.

Through their *teaching on the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat*, Marx and Engels charted the only correct road to the new social system.

Manifesto of the Communist Party

Marx and Engels set forth the basic tenets of scientific communism in *The Holy Family*, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, *The German Ideology*, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, *Principles of Communism* and other early works. These tenets are enunciated in their most concentrated form in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which was written by Marx and Engels on assignment from the Communist League, the world's first Communist Party (founded in 1847). The *Manifesto* was published in 1848.

This was the first programme of the revolutionary party of the working class. In it are formulated the key provisions

of scientific communism.

Marx and Engels showed that the proletariat is the most revolutionary class of bourgeois society and that its historic mission is that of grave-digger of the bourgeoisie and builder of a new society. The history of all hitherto existing society, they noted, is the history of class struggles. Under capitalism this struggle is motivated by the irreconcilable antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The class struggle inescapably leads to a socialist revolution and the overthrow of bourgeois rule. "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution," Marx and Engels wrote. "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."¹

The *Manifesto* formulates one of the key ideas of Marxism—the idea of the working class winning state power, i.e., the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."² The proletariat would use its political power to wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all the implements of production in the hands of the state and to increase the productive forces as quickly as possible.

Marx and Engels substantiated the idea that the proletariat had to have its own political party, a Communist Party, that would head the working-class movement.

The *Manifesto* sets out the fundamental tenet for the party's revolutionary tactics: the Communists fight for the immediate aims and interests of the working class, and in the present-day movement they simultaneously champion the movement's future. While resolving the nation's social problems by revolutionary means, they at the same time uphold the common, international interests of the proletariat. The working class and its party can be victorious only by rallying the broad masses, the democratic elements around themselves. "The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things ... they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."³

The basic principle of proletarian internationalism, "Working men of all countries, unite!", is formulated in this first programme document.

Lenin wrote about the historic significance of the *Manifesto*

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 519.

² *Ibid.*, p. 504.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 519.

of the Communist Party: "This little booklet is worth whole volumes: to this day its spirit inspires and guides the entire organised and fighting proletariat of the civilised world."¹

Development of Scientific Communism on the Basis of the Experience of Revolutions of 1848-1851

After the revolutions of 1848-1851 in Germany, France, Austria, Hungary and Italy, capitalism in Europe entered a period of rapid development. Industrial expansion was accompanied by a numerical growth of the working class. In the working-class movement there was a mounting tendency towards institutionalising itself as an independent force.

Marx and Engels devoted their efforts to gathering the revolutionary forces together, to educating the proletariat politically and promoting the workers' class consciousness. They sought to unite the forces of the working class in Germany and other countries on the basis of a revolutionary programme. In the "Address of the Central Authority to the League", written in 1850, they called upon the working class to organise and prepare for revolution.

They came out against the ultra-left trends that, ignoring the actual balance of class forces, were urging immediate revolutionary action. They sharply criticised adventurist tactics of this kind that disregarded work among the masses. Protagonists of petty-bourgeois leftism brought about a split in the Communist League and this was promptly used by the German government, which started harsh repression against the League. In 1852 the Communist League announced its self-disbandment.

The League played a major part in the history of the world communist movement, giving many revolutionaries considerable experience. Its activities prompted important theoretical works by Marx and Engels in which they generalised the experience of the revolutions of 1848-1851. Marx's *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* and Engels's *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany* and other works were published in 1850-1852.

The problems dealt with in these works are related mainly to the theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of trends emerging in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1848-1851 Marx and Engels advanced and substantiated their theory of uninterrupted revolution. Their point of departure was that the growing class antagonism between the proletariat and the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Frederick Engels", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 24.

bourgeoisie harboured the possibility of moving from the bourgeois to a proletarian revolution.

The works written in this period note that the proletariat had to form an alliance with the peasants. As Marx put it, in the person of the peasants "the proletarian revolution will obtain that chorus without which its solo becomes a swan song in all peasant countries".¹

In *The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850* Marx for the first time used the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" to designate state power of the working class during the transition from capitalism to socialism. In a letter to Josef Weydemeyer, dated March 5, 1852, he wrote that the class struggle would inescapably lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that this dictatorship would in itself be only the transition to the abolition of all classes, to a classless society.

The revolutionary events of 1848-1851 brought Marx and Engels to yet another important conclusion, namely, that it was crucial to break the bourgeois state machine. "All revolutions perfected this machine instead of breaking it,"² Marx wrote. In *The State and Revolution* Lenin noted that this postulate spelled out the principal point of Marxism about the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution relative to the state.

The First International

A world economic crisis broke out in 1857, causing a drastic deterioration of the condition of workers and peasants. There was a new upsurge of the international working-class movement and a wave of peasant risings. It became imperative to replace the socialist and semi-socialist groups with an effective organisation of the working class. This was the mission of the International Working Men's Association, the First International.

It was founded on September 28, 1864 at an international meeting in London. In the Inaugural Address and General Rules of the International Working Men's Association, both written by Marx, it is stated that in the vicious framework of capitalist society any new development of the productive forces inevitably aggravated social antagonisms. The Address declared that like slave and serf labour, wage labour was only transient and must give way to associated labour done voluntarily, willingly and with inspiration. The Ad-

¹ Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, 1979, p. 193.

² *Ibid.*, p. 186.

dress offered the conclusion: "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes."

The publication of *Capital*, Marx's main work, was of immense significance for the development of the international working-class movement. The first volume came out in September 1867. The second and third volumes were prepared for the press and published by Engels after Marx's death.

Capital is more than an economic treatise. In it Marx enlarges on his philosophy and the theory of scientific communism, and demonstrates why capitalism must inevitably collapse and be supplanted by socialism. The 3rd Congress of the First International, held in 1868, highly evaluated *Capital* and recommended that workers study it in order to be able to conduct the struggle for their liberation successfully.

The growth of Marxism and the first international revolutionary organisation of the working class involved a fierce fight against bourgeois ideology and also petty-bourgeois socialism and anarchism which did as yet have considerable influence among the workers in a number of countries.

Struggle Against Petty-Bourgeois Socialism and Anarchism

The ranks of the working class swelled rapidly as it was joined by ruined peasants, artisans and small shopkeepers. They were bringing with them the legacy of various petty-proprietary illusions and notions. During the initial years after the First International was founded the greatest danger to the cause of the working class came from the Proudhonists.

Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), a petty-bourgeois leader and one of the fathers of anarchism, postulated the preservation and reinforcement of small property. He and his supporters were opposed to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and to the conquest of power by the workers. *Louis Blanc* (1811-1882), a French petty-bourgeois socialist, was a persistent advocate of conciliation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The preachings of the Proudhonists and other petty-bourgeois socialists urging the working class to abandon the political struggle, seriously hurt the cause of the proletariat. They slowed down the creation of its political class organisation, its party.

Marx and Engels attacked the Proudhonist programme as expressive of the utopian aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie.

Of great importance was also their fight against *Ferdinand Lassalle* (1825-1864), who founded one of the first forms of

opportunism in the working-class movement. Lassalle had contributed to the formation of an independent labour party in Germany but felt that its aims should be reduced to peaceful campaign for universal suffrage. He refused to recognise the need for the class struggle and revolution. In showing Lassalle's opportunism for what it was worth, Marx and Engels noted that Lassalle was introducing bourgeois ideology into the working-class movement.

Marx and Engels brought to light the errors of the Blanquists, followers of the French utopian communist *Louis-Auguste Blanqui* (1805-1881). Blanqui's theory was that a revolution should be accomplished by a closed group of conspirators. His supporters failed to see that the working class had to have a political party and kept aloof from the mass organisations of the proletariat.

A large role in exposing the untenability of petty-bourgeois socialism and anarchism was played by Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847), *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859).

After the ideological defeat of Proudhonism, the working-class movement, particularly in economically undeveloped countries, found itself seriously endangered by the Bakuninists. As distinct from the Proudhonists, who refused to recognise the significance of the revolutionary struggle, the Bakuninists engaged in empty "leftist" rhetoric, demanding the immediate hatching of conspiracies and popular risings. The ideologue and organiser of the anarchists was the Russian petty-bourgeois revolutionary *Mikhail Bakunin* (1814-1876) who had emigrated to the West. The Bakuninists attacked scientific communism from the platform of reactionary utopianism. As Engels wrote, Bakunin's theory was a mixture of Proudhonism and communism. He believed that the principal evil that had to be extirpated was not capital but the state. His followers denied that working-class state power had a role to play in the fundamental restructuring of society.

Marx and Engels devoted *Fictitious Splits in the International*, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*, *The Bakuninists at Work* and other works to combating the petty-bourgeois champions of leftist verbiage. The exposure by Marx and Engels of the misleading concept of the Bakuninists was of considerable significance for the entire subsequent struggle of the Marxists against petty-bourgeois revolutionism, against various manifestations of voluntarism, phrase-mongering and adventurism in the world revolutionary movement.

In evaluating the significance of the struggle conducted by Marx in the First International against petty-bourgeois so-

cialism and anarchism, Lenin wrote: "In uniting the labour movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of non-proletarian, pre-Marxist socialism ... and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries."¹

The Experience of the Paris Commune

The Commune, a new type of state, came into being in 1871 as a result of a revolutionary rising of the workers of Paris. "Look at the Paris Commune," Engels wrote. "That was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."²

On April 17, 1871, when the revolutionary events in Paris were at their height, Marx wrote: "With the struggle in Paris the struggle of the working class against the capitalist class and its state has entered upon a new phase. Whatever the immediate outcome may be, a new point of departure of world-wide importance has been gained."³

The Paris Commune was the first proletarian revolution. It embarked upon the break-up of the bourgeois state machine and upon its replacement with a new organisation of power. Its first decree disbanded the old army and then it struck at the police-bureaucratic state apparatus by proclaiming the electivity and recallability of all civil servants. It broke with the "division of authority" principle of bourgeois parliamentarism and united the legislative and the executive authority. The Communards proclaimed the separation of church and state and began to introduce universal education.

All this signified the implementation of the principles championed by the Communists. Marx offered the leaders of the Commune advice and guidelines, explained the substance of what was happening in Paris, and acted, to quote Lenin, as though he were a participant in the mass struggle.

The Commune awakened the creative, revolutionary initiative of the masses. In this lay its strength. Marx called the Paris Communards heroes prepared to storm the skies. But this great social energy was displayed spontaneously, and in this lay the weakness of the Commune. The Paris proletarians had neither a workers' party nor the needed preparation and proper training. The theories of the Blanquists and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 49.

² Frederick Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. II, p. 189.

³ "Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, April 17, 1871", Marx/Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 248.

Proudhonists confused the Paris proletarians. This was the prime source of the serious errors of the Commune. The biggest of these was its refusal to confiscate the funds and securities of the French Bank. The Commune underrated the significance of relentless fight against counter-revolutionary propaganda and subversion, it did not organise an assault on the forces of the counter-revolution, and it failed to establish links with the peasant masses. Taken together, these blunders hastened its fall.

The experience of the Commune is analysed profoundly in Marx's *The Civil War in France* and in Engels's *Introduction* to that work. They drew important theoretical and political conclusions from that experience: that the working class could triumph only if it was headed by a revolutionary party relying on a scientific theory of social development; that the wide-ranging initiative of the masses, their revolutionary thrust had to be combined with organising and inspiring role of the Communist Party; that the socialist revolution had to crush resolutely the resistance and counter-revolutionary attempts of the exploiting class, break the old state machine and build up a new one. The Commune, Marx wrote, was a political form, finally discovered, that could bring economic emancipation of labour.

Victory of Marxism in the Working-Class Movement

The growth of the working-class movement and the work of the First International cleared the way for the formation of independent labour parties in many countries. At the London Conference of 1871 and then at the 1872 Hague Congress of the First International Marx and Engels initiated the passage of a resolution recognising the need for creating a party of the working class in every country. On account of police harassment and the activities of splitters, the offices of the International had to be moved to New York, but there it could not carry out its role to any effective degree. The International resolved to disband at a conference in Philadelphia in 1876. In assessing the work accomplished by the International Engels wrote that everywhere in Europe the working-class movement was growing not only successfully but also rapidly. Proponents of Marxism were active in many countries. Following the Paris Commune proletarian parties were springing up in all the leading capitalist countries while Marxism was swiftly spreading and vanquishing all the theories about a non-class socialism. Constant, regular contacts were being established between the workers' parties.

From the 1870s onwards Marxism became the leading ide-

ology and theory in the international working-class movement. A big role in disseminating scientific communism and in elaborating its postulates was played in the 1870s-1880s by *August Bebel*, *Dimitr Blagoyev*, *Jules Guesde*, *Antonio Labriola*, *Paul Lafargue*, *Wilhelm Liebknecht*, *Franz Mehring*, *Georgi Plekhanov* and other distinguished personalities of the international working-class movement.

After the Paris Commune of 1871 the founders of scientific communism continued to enlarge upon their doctrine and fought the emergent opportunist tendencies in the social democratic movement.

In this period Marx wrote his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, in which he analysed the opportunist errors in the programme of the German Social Democratic Party and formulated a number of principled tenets of scientific communism. He showed that there would be two phases in the development of a communist society: socialism and communism. He gave a substantive characteristic of both these phases. He advanced and explained the important postulate of the necessity of a transition period from capitalism to socialism. It was at this time that Engels likewise wrote the fundamental works *Anti-Duhring* and *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* and comments on the draft Erfurt Programme of the German Social Democratic Party.

Marx and Engels closely followed developments in Russia. In the early 1880s they came to the conclusion that Russia was an advanced contingent of the revolutionary movement in Europe and that this time the revolution would begin in the East.

The successful growth of the working-class movement placed on the agenda the question of forming a new international association of workers. This association, the Second International, was founded with Engels's close participation. Its first congress was held in Paris in 1889, and this congress proclaimed May 1 an international festival of the working people. In the first stage, the Second International helped to spread Marxism, to establish contacts among workers' parties and muster the forces of revolution. But it was later infected by the virus of opportunism and this led to its downfall.

Thus, Marx and Engels evolved a coherent, genuinely scientific teaching of socialism and communism, a teaching that spelled out the theory and programme of the revolutionary working-class movement. This teaching was created and developed in fierce clashes with opportunism and in the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

2. THE LENINIST STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

From the very outset of his revolutionary work Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924) firmly espoused Marxism and showed himself a staunch champion of the interests of the working class, of all working people, and a worthy successor of Marx and Engels. He ushered in a new phase in the development of Marxist theory, enriching all its component parts—philosophy, political economy and scientific communism.

Lenin studied the laws of the imperialist stage in the development of capitalism and generalised the experience of the international working-class and entire liberation movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His theoretical and practical revolutionary work proceeded in a period when the centre of the international revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia.

Lenin answered the most pressing questions raised by the course of history and developed comprehensively the theory of the socialist revolution and the building of communism. He armed the international revolutionary movement with scientific strategy and tactics and headed the struggle of the working class for putting the ideals of socialism into practice.

While Marx and Engels turned socialism from a utopia into a science, Lenin's name is associated with the further development of this science and its translation into the social practice of millions of people.

Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of colonialism and the victory of national liberation movements, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of communist society.

The Leninist stage of the development of Marxism continues in the theoretical work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other Marxist-Leninist parties.

Communist Party—Leader of the People

The founders of Marxism-Leninism regarded the creation of a Communist Party by the working class as an indispensable condition for the successful accomplishment of a socialist revolution and the building of the new society. Under imperialism, in the period of imminent proletarian revolutions, the question of forming such a party becomes particularly acute.

On the basis of the theoretical foundations of Marxism and the experience of the class struggle Lenin evolved an

integral theory about the new type of party in *What Is to Be Done?* (1902), *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* (1904) and other works. This elaboration of the theoretical, tactical and organisational principles of the new type of party is a major contribution by Lenin to the theory of scientific communism.

His other major service was that he founded a new type of party, the Bolshevik¹ party. The formation of this party opened a new stage in the Russian and international labour movement. For the first time ever the proletariat had an organisation capable of successfully heading its struggle for social emancipation under new historical conditions.

The party, Lenin wrote, is the vanguard of the working class. It is indissolubly linked with its class and all the non-proletarian working masses. It is the highest form of class organisation and the militant headquarters of the working class, directing its struggle.

The main feature of the new type of party is that it is revolutionary, irreconcilable relative to capitalism, and fights for a communist society. All its work is aimed at preparing the working class to take political power and head the building of socialism and communism.

The party of the working class can grow, acquire strength and successfully perform its leading and organising role in the struggle for communism only if it is armed with Marxist theory and creatively develops this theory by analysing specific historical conditions and generalising the experience of the revolutionary movement.

In order to maintain and increase its action capacity and successfully fulfil its mission of organiser and inspirer of the revolutionary struggle of the working people, the party has to ensure the unity of its ranks. Its foundation consists of ideological unity. But the party of the working class has to have more than that. It has to be consolidated by organisational unity: its internal life is based on norms and rules that are mandatory for all its members. The party's underlying organisational principle is democratic centralism. "Unity on questions of programme and tactics," Lenin wrote, "is an essential but by no means a sufficient condition for Party unity, for the centralisation of Party work... The latter requires, in addition, unity of organisation."²

¹ In the elections to leading organs at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (1903) Lenin's supporters comprised the majority (the Russian word being *bolshinstvo*—hence the name Bolsheviks), while the opportunists found themselves in the minority (the Russian word being *menshinstvo*, hence the name Mensheviks).

² V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back", *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, 1977, p. 387.

The party concentrates and multiplies the energy of the masses, politically educates them, and unites and mobilises them for the revolutionary struggle and the building of the new society.

Struggle Against the Petty-Bourgeois Socialism of the Narodniks

Lenin developed the Marxist doctrine in relentless struggle against hostile currents and trends in and outside Marxism. During the first phase of Lenin's activity special significance was acquired by the struggle against petty-bourgeois socialism—the liberal Narodniks (Populists) of the 1880s-1890s, who broke with the finest traditions of revolutionary Narodism. In the course of this struggle Lenin showed that Narodnik socialism was a petty-bourgeois ideology. He developed the propositions of Marx and Engels on the historic role of the proletariat and the alliance between the working class and the peasants. He attacked the theoretical views, political programme and tactics of the Narodniks in his *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* (1894), *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book* (1895), *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899) and other works.

In studying the development of capitalism in Russia, Lenin gave special attention to how it was infiltrating agriculture. He revealed the forms of exploitation in rural communities and the social structure of the peasantry under capitalism and elaborated on the question of the proletariat's attitude to the various classes and strata of the rural population.

He countered the Narodnik policy of running a dividing line between the peasant and the working-class movements with a policy of alliance between them. He saw this alliance as a huge force in the democratic and socialist revolution and in the subsequent building of the new society.

Lenin's Fight Against Right and "Left" Opportunism

By the end of the 19th century Marxism had triumphed and ousted the various theories of petty-bourgeois socialism. Under these new conditions petty-bourgeois socialism modified its tactics and forms of fighting Marxism. As Lenin noted, "It is continuing the struggle, no longer on its own independent ground, but on the general ground of Marxism, as revisionism."¹ Alleging that the nature of capitalism had

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, 1982, p. 33.

undergone fundamental changes, the revisionists and right-wing opportunists persevered in their attempts to revise Marxism, to emasculate it of its revolutionary content. On the basis of this revision they sought to get the workers to abandon the revolutionary struggle in favour of a struggle for partial reforms within the framework of capitalism.

Revisionist trends had begun to appear in the working-class movement in the lifetime of Marx and Engels. The opportunists became particularly active after Engels died (1895). In his book *Preconditions of Socialism and the Tasks of Social Democracy* (1899) Eduard Bernstein maliciously attacked the theory of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He rejected the very possibility of scientifically substantiating socialism. He declared that the principal aim of the working-class movement should be to secure reforms that would improve the economic condition of the proletariat under capitalism.

In 1908 Lenin wrote in *Marxism and Revisionism*: "A natural complement to the economic and political tendencies of revisionism was its attitude to the ultimate aim of the socialist movement. 'The movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing'—this catch-phrase of Bernstein's expresses the substance of revisionism better than many long disquisitions. To determine its conduct from case to case, to adapt itself to the events of the day and to the chopping and changing of petty politics, to forget the primary interests of the proletariat and the basic features of the whole capitalist system, of all capitalist evolution, to sacrifice these primary interests for the real or assumed advantages of the moment—such is the policy of revisionism."¹

In the early years of the 20th century opportunism became an international phenomenon, a tendency to one degree or another apparent in all socialist labour parties (Bernstein and Vollmar in Germany, Millerand in France, Vandervelde in Belgium, the Austro-Marxists in Austria, the "legal Marxists", Economists, Bundists and Mensheviks in Russia, and so on). Reformism gradually became the ideology of most of the parties of the Second International.

In view of the imminent socialist revolution in Russia revisionism and right-wing opportunism were a serious threat. The opportunists rejected the class struggle, revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, reducing everything to changing capitalism gradually, by means of reforms. Under the guise of "freedom of criticism" and "renewing" Marxism they dissociated themselves from the revolutionary doctrine

¹ Ibid., pp.37-38.

of the working class. Lenin showed that opportunism was a form of bourgeois ideology's attack on Marxism, a bourgeois emasculation of Marxist truths, an attempt to jettison the "old" Marxism and replace it with a "new" bourgeois teaching.

Lenin's fight against "left" opportunism, against petty-bourgeois adventurism and sectarianism was also of immense historic significance. "Little is known in other countries," he wrote, "of the fact that Bolshevism took shape, developed and became steeled in the long years of struggle against *petty-bourgeois revolutionism*, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter and, in all essential matters, does not measure up to the conditions and requirements of a consistently proletarian class struggle."¹ The "left" opportunists argued that the historical process had to be hastened, that in the final analysis revolution depended upon the will of revolutionaries.

Lenin was irreconcilably opposed to "vulgar revolutionism" and leftist "ultra-revolutionism". He was uncompromising in his criticism of ultra-leftist verbiage and exposed the capitulatory, petty-bourgeois character of the views of those who engaged in this verbiage. He showed that revolutionary adventurism was a reflection of the fury of the terrified petty bourgeois, the small proprietor, whose revolutionism is unstable and superficial and who lacks proletarian self-command, organisation, discipline and staunchness.

He saw the creative development of Marxism and its skilful application in tackling urgent problems of the revolutionary movement as the most effective way of fighting both right and "left" opportunism. His strength in the fight against the opportunists consisted precisely in that he was an exceptional innovator in theory, he developed and enriched Marxism and applied it creatively in practice.

Development of the Theory of Socialist Revolution

In a number of works, particularly in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), Lenin demonstrated that although the nature, the exploiting essence, of capitalism had not changed, capitalism itself had undergone major modifications at the turn of the century. It entered its highest and last stage, the stage of imperialism.

The principal feature of imperialism is that it is monopoly capitalism. It is by virtue of this feature that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism and represents the eve of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 32.

socialist revolution. Monopoly domination spells out a dramatic increase of the exploitation of the working class and an aggravation of the contradictions between labour and capital with the resultant intensification of the class struggle of the proletariat and its allies against the exploiters. The monopolies exacerbate to a bursting point the contradictions between capitalist countries, which leads to an armed struggle for a repartitioning of a world already partitioned, to imperialist wars that further fuel the working people's hatred for the capitalists. The enslavement of all nations of the world by a handful of "great powers" and the redoubling of colonialist oppression inevitably fosters the growth of the national liberation movement and promotes unity between the workers of capitalist countries and the peoples of colonies in the struggle against imperialism.

Lenin disclosed the process of monopoly capitalism growing into state-monopoly capitalism and showed that this growth was drawing mankind closer to socialism.

In the epoch of pre-monopoly capitalism Marx and Engels considered that socialism could be victorious *only if it were established simultaneously* in all or in most of the advanced capitalist countries. They pointed out that under conditions of capitalism's ascendant development a revolution in any separate country would be inescapably crushed by the concerted efforts of the capitalists of other countries. This was borne out by the experience of the Paris Commune.

Lenin put the question of the triumph of socialism in a new way. He noted that under imperialism development was proceeding very unevenly, spasmodically, with the result that, first, the economic and political conditions for the socialist revolution did not mature at one and the same time in different countries and, second, the contradictions between capitalist countries grew steadily more acute and this, in turn, eroded imperialism's strength and created the conditions for breaking its chain in the weakest links.

In *On the Slogan for a United States of Europe* (1915) and *The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution* (1916) Lenin, proceeding from the law of the uneven economic and political development of monopoly capitalism, drew the brilliant conclusion that socialism could be victorious initially in several or even one capitalist country taken separately. This conclusion was a model of creative development of Marxism and a major scientific advance.

Lenin showed how immensely important it was to combine correctly the democratic and socialist tasks of the proletariat. On the basis of the experience of the revolutions of 1905-1907 and February 1917 in Russia he pinpointed the specifics of the bourgeois-democratic revolution under conditions

of imperialism and proved the necessity of proletarian leadership in this revolution and a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Creatively enlarging upon Marx's theory of uninterrupted revolution at the monopoly stage of capitalism, he evolved a theory of the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

He further developed Marx's theory of the ways and means of carrying out a socialist revolution and building socialism. He showed that the basic, essential features of the transition from capitalism to socialism coincided in different countries but that each country also had specifics of its own in this transition.

He enriched the theory of Marx and Engels on the dictatorship of the proletariat with new important postulates and safeguarded this theory in an acute struggle with revisionism. Lenin put forward propositions of immense theoretical and practical significance concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of class alliance between the proletariat and the non-proletarian working masses with the workers playing the leading role in this alliance, the correlation between the violent and creative aspects of the proletarian power, the diversity of the political forms of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviets as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the system, the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Communist Party's leading role in that system.

Lenin devoted much thought to the agrarian question. Many of his works deal specially with this problem: *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the Russian Revolution* (1908), *The Tax in Kind* (1921) and others. His point of departure on the agrarian question was the recognition that there was an indivisible link between the agrarian revolution and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and the understanding of the peasant question as a question of the ally of the working class in the proletarian revolution. Lenin drew up the party's revolutionary agrarian programme, a programme for the nationalisation of the land.

In *On Co-Operation* and other works written after the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin enriched the theory on the agrarian question with important conclusions about the ways of the socialist restructuring of agriculture. He elaborated on the question of setting up socialist state farms in rural communities and uniting the small producers in co-operatives.

One of his most important services was his elaboration of the Communist Party's theory and policy on the nationalities and national-colonial questions. In *Critical Remarks on the*

National Question (1913), *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1914), *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1916) and other works he showed the linkage between the nationalities and colonial questions and that these could only be fully resolved by the socialist revolution, by the overthrow of imperialism's domination and the unhampered national development of the formerly oppressed peoples of colonies and dependent countries; he substantiated the thesis that the liberation movement of oppressed peoples would inevitably link up and merge with the socialist movement of the proletariat in a single revolutionary front against the common enemy—imperialism.

He saw the key condition for a high level of militancy on the part of the workers of all countries in unbreakable solidarity among them. He believed that it was the sacred duty of all Marxist parties to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the world revolutionary movement. Indispensable prerequisites for the formation of a common revolutionary anti-imperialist front were the consistent application of the principle of proletarian internationalism, the extirpation of great-power chauvinism and nationalism, and the utmost support by the working class of the ruling nations for the liberation movement of oppressed peoples. In the struggle with bourgeois-nationalistic currents Lenin undeviatingly championed the right of nations to self-determination and independent statehood, stressing the significance of drawing the working people of all nations together on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

In keeping with his conclusion that socialism would not triumph at one and the same time in different countries in the epoch of imperialism, Lenin evolved the principles underlying the foreign policy of the socialist state: peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and assistance to the liberation struggle of peoples of other countries.

Plan for the Building of New Society

With the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 it was urgent to develop further the theory of scientific communism and to apply it to the practice of building socialism. Whereas before the October Revolution the focus of this theory was on the question of destroying capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, after the revolution's victory the accent moved to the building of a new society.

Lenin substantiated concrete ways of building socialism

and created and headed the world's first proletarian state. The Communist Party's first and second programmes and the start of the country's transformation along socialist lines are associated with his name. Lenin developed Marx's theory of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the two phases of the communist system, and of the laws governing socialism's evolution into communism.

He linked the building of a new society with the country's industrialisation, the formation of cooperatives in agriculture, the solution of the nationalities question, and the carrying out of a cultural revolution.

From the first years of the revolution he attached immense importance to enhancing the role of the Communist Party and the Soviet government in guiding socialist society. "We, the Bolshevik Party," he wrote, "have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the working people. Now we must *administer* Russia."¹ He exhorted the Communist Party to substantiate its practical work scientifically, to raise the whole of its work in the leadership of society to the level of Marxist science.

He regarded the promotion of democracy, the enlistment of working people into the administration of society's affairs and the political activity of the masses as a major means of implementing socialist reforms and building communism. He wrote that it was imperative to take the interests and will of the people constantly into account, to study their experience meticulously and with trust, to rely on their support for political decisions and to feel constantly the pulse of society's life.

The Third International

Lenin was the leader and great teacher of the international proletariat, of all working people, and of the Communists of all countries. He stood at the beginnings of the present-day world communist movement.

The Second International died eroded by opportunism. The line towards an alliance with the bourgeoisie led it to betray the interests of the working class and brought about its downfall. The world working-class movement was thus confronted with the task of getting all the genuinely revolutionary forces together in a new proletarian organisation. The October Revolution that resulted in the formation of the world's first socialist state laid the beginning of a new phase

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1977, p. 242.

of the working-class and communist movement. It had a tremendous revolutionising impact on the proletarians, on the working people of the whole world. The founding of communist parties and the rallying of revolutionary forces internationally now became a historic imperative.

While in the midst of the enormous preparations for setting up an international organisation of revolutionary forces Lenin tirelessly fought international opportunism. In 1918 he wrote his *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, in which he creatively developed the theory of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and exposed the opportunism and treachery of Karl Kautsky and other leaders of the Second International.

The spread of the revolutionary movement of the working class under the impact of the October Revolution led to the formation of communist parties in many countries. A realistic possibility appeared for uniting them in a new international organisation. This was accomplished with the founding of the Third, Communist International (Comintern) on Lenin's initiative. The First (Constituent) Congress of the Third International took place in Moscow on March 2-6, 1919.

The Comintern charted the general line of the communist movement in the new historical situation. It helped the young communist parties to crystallise ideologically and organisationally and to master the experience of the Russian Communist Party and the whole of the international working-class movement. The Comintern did much to draw the peasant masses and oppressed colonial peoples into the revolutionary movement and supported the Marxist-Leninist groups and parties of the Orient.

"The First International," Lenin wrote, "laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.

"The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries.

"The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and *has begun to implement* the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹

Development of Scientific Communism by the CPSU and Fraternal Parties

Marx, Engels and Lenin foresaw that swiftly developing events would confront scientific communism with more and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 307.

more new problems and that the Communists would have to develop theory constantly. This became the paramount task of all the Marxist-Leninist parties.

A large contribution to the theory of scientific communism was made by the Communist International. As it accumulated the creative thought of the Communists of all countries, the Comintern offered a Marxist-Leninist analysis of capitalism's emerging general crisis and showed the role played by the world's first socialist state in developing the world revolutionary process. It worked out the theoretical questions of the working-class movement and of the struggle for socialism in the period following the Great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and concretely defined a programme for combining the national liberation movement with the struggles of the proletariat of industrialised countries. One of its major achievements was that it developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and revolution and scientifically substantiated the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement. It put forward and persistently promoted the idea of a united popular front against imperialism, against fascism. The Communist International raised high the banner of scientific communism and did much to disseminate this theory among the masses.

Much was accomplished in developing scientific communism by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In keeping with the Leninist principle of unity between theory and practice and generalising the experience of building the new society, it upheld the fundamental propositions of scientific communism on the building of socialist society in the struggle against the Trotskyists¹, right opportunists, and bourgeois nationalists, and enlarged upon these propositions in their application to new historical conditions and tasks.

A further advance was made in developing Lenin's theory of the ways of building socialism and of the possibility of socialism triumphing in one country. The resolutions of congresses of the CPSU developed the theory underlying the country's socialist industrialisation and the collectivisation of agriculture. Important conclusions were drawn on fundamental questions of the socialist restructuring, planning and management of the national economy, and on promoting social relations. There was a further elaboration of questions related to the party, the socialist state, the theory of ethnic

¹ Trotskyism—a petty-bourgeois ideological and political current in the working-class movement, hostile to Marxism-Leninism and disguising its opportunism with "leftist" phrases. It derives its name from its ideologist, Leon Trotsky.

relations and the problems of socialist ideology and culture.

The building of socialism proceeded in the USSR under conditions of capitalist encirclement and a complex international situation, in the face of a constant threat of imperialist aggression. This made it incumbent upon the CPSU to adopt an innovative approach to many pressing issues, including those of war and peace, the strategy and tactics of the communist movement, and the world liberation struggle. A number of new, exceedingly complex and acute political problems were posed by the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against Nazi Germany (1941-1945). All were successfully resolved by the party and this helped to defeat fascism.

The CPSU is making a great contribution to Marxist-Leninist science at the present stage. The Party Programme, the resolutions of congresses and other party documents contain important conclusions on the necessity of accelerated socio-economic development of the USSR and the development of the world revolutionary process.

The concept of improvement of socialism and gradual transition to communism, worked out by the party on the basis of Lenin's ideas, is of great theoretical and practical significance. The party has charted concrete ways and means for building the material and technical basis of communism, reshaping socialist into communist relations, promoting the communist education of the people, molding the all-sidedly developed individual and raising the living and cultural standards. The party gives much of its attention to further elaborating questions related to improving the socialist way of life and enhancing the efficiency of the administration of socialist society.

The party has advanced a number of propositions concerning the further improvement of society's structure and ethnic relations, consolidation of the state, development of socialist democracy, and the Communist Party's greater leading role in the period of communist construction. The party has demonstrated the validity of the proposition that with the building of mature socialism the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat evolves into a state of the whole people and proletarian democracy becomes democracy of the whole people. A major place in the theoretical work of the CPSU is held by questions of consolidating peace, furthering the world revolutionary process, and strengthening the unity of socialist countries and of the international communist movement. Further, the party devotes much of its attention to exposing bourgeois ideology and reformist and revisionist concepts.

The 1977 Constitution of the USSR introduced much that

was new into the theory and practice of building a communist society.

Important problems of the development of Soviet society and the socialist world system, and the strengthening of peace have been further elaborated in documents of the CPSU Central Committee.

The proposition that the Soviet Union is at the initial stage of developed socialism and that the principal content of the work of the party and the Soviet people at this stage is to perfect developed socialist society is of considerable significance to theory and practice. On this basis special attention in party documents is given to questions related to ensuring the consistent implementation of the principles of socialism, raising efficiency in production, improving socialist relations in society, increasing the effectiveness of the ideologico-political, moral and labour education of Soviet people, reinforcing state and labour discipline, promoting people's initiative and activity and drawing growing numbers of them into the administration of the state. In putting the question in this way, the party is guided by Lenin's precept that the USSR influences the world revolutionary process mainly through its economic policy.

A substantial contribution has been made to the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism by the world communist movement. The innovatory theoretical work of the Marxist-Leninist parties is reflected in the programme documents of the 1957, 1960 and 1969 international meetings of communist and workers' parties.

These give a scientific characteristic of the present epoch and reveal its basic content. Research has been conducted into new phenomena in the development of present-day capitalism stemming, in particular, from the scientific and technological revolution, and into the mounting influence of world socialism on the development of the international working-class and national liberation movements. The general laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction, revealed by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, have been formulated in a systematised form. Research has also been conducted into the ways of developing the socialist revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat under present-day conditions, and into the question of correctly combining peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle for power. The strategy and tactics of the world communist movement and the principles governing the relations between Marxist-Leninist parties have been elaborated on a scientific basis. The proposition has been substantiated on the defence of socialism as an international duty of the Communists of all countries, and on the unity of the national

and international tasks of the communist and workers' parties. The basic directions of the struggle against imperialism and of the criticism of bourgeois ideology and modern revisionism have been defined. Using the tested instrument of creative Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU and the fraternal parties have given a scientific answer to new questions posed by national liberation revolutions, and enriched the Leninist theory on the alliance between the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement. On the basis of an objective assessment of the balance of strength in the world, the Communists have drawn the conclusion that there now are realistic possibilities for a successful struggle to prevent a global war.

Together with the communist and workers' parties of other socialist countries, the CPSU has enlarged the treasure-store of Marxism-Leninism with experience of building the new society. Through collective effort the Marxist-Leninist parties have shown the general regularities of the socialist world system's development, defined the basic principles underlying the relations among socialist states, and substantiated the ways and means of ensuring the collective security of the community of socialist countries. The study and generalisation of the experience of these countries helps a more precise understanding of the general laws and specific features of the building of socialist society in different countries, and provides a fuller picture of socialism's basic features.

Society's rapid onward march in the present epoch is raising a growing number of tasks and problems that require in-depth study and theoretical generalisation. On the basis of the fundamental theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the communist and workers' parties are answering pressing questions and enriching revolutionary theory with new conclusions.

Part II

THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS AND THE LAWS OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

Chapter 4

THEORY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. THE MODERN EPOCH AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The socialist revolution is a necessity in the transition from capitalism to socialism. It establishes the power of the working class in alliance with other working people, the political rule of the working class, in other words, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and asserts socialist property in the means of production. The socialist revolution is a definitive act, a qualitative advance in the process of reshaping capitalist into socialist society.

1. THEORY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The socialist revolution is historically inevitable. It stems from the objective laws of capitalist development and is accomplished by the revolutionary popular masses headed by the working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Objective Conditions of the Transition to Socialism

Under capitalism the production process reaches such a high level of socialisation that the further development of the productive forces becomes increasingly incompatible with the narrow framework of private capitalist property and the anarchy of production caused by it. The socialisation of production proceeds at an especially rapid rate in the epoch of imperialism. The high concentration of production, the evolution of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism and the etatisation of entire industries demand a centralised approach to raw materials sources and markets and to the distribution of labour. What is required is economic planning. However, under capitalism accounting and planning serve the selfish interests of the monopolies. This aggravates

the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. The economy as a whole develops spontaneously, arhythmically. Severe crises and prolonged declines are evidence that the capitalist system has outlived its age, that it is obstructing the further development of the productive forces. As Lenin put it, socialism now looks at us through all the windows of modern capitalism. "State-monopoly capitalism is a complete material preparation for socialism, the *threshold* of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called socialism *there are no intermediate rungs*."¹

By concentrating huge masses of workers at mills and factories capitalism gives production and labour itself a social character, but the fruits of labour are appropriated by the bourgeois class. This gives rise to the *fundamental contradiction of capitalism—between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation, the contradiction that is the basic cause of the exacerbating class struggle*.

At the monopoly stage of capitalism's development its contradictions run especially high. They include the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production that manifests itself in crises, production slumps, chronic unemployment, a rising cost of living, and other calamities. They also include contradictions between the enormous potentialities of the scientific and technological revolution and the obstacles that capitalism erects to the use of these potentialities in the interests of the whole of society, between labour and capital, between the monopolies and the majority of the nation and others.

Capitalism constantly reproduces conflicts and contradictions on a steadily broader foundation. However, the development of the productive forces does not halt under imperialism. As Lenin wrote, "On the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before."² Meanwhile, the pressure of internal contradictions on the relations of production and socio-political relations increases.

This makes the socialist revolution a compelling need.

A Revolutionary Situation

For a socialist revolution to be accomplished the class struggle has to reach a high level of tension and there must be an aggravation of all of capitalism's contradictions, with

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, 1977, p. 363.

² V. I. Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1977, p. 300.

the resultant general revolutionary ferment bringing large masses of people into active struggle.

The sum of objective changes that generate a severe socio-political crisis in society is called a revolutionary situation. Its basic indications are as follows.

First, a "crisis at the top", in other words, the inability of exploiting classes to preserve their domination unchanged. The crisis of the policy of the upper crust creates an opening for the resentment of the oppressed classes, who seek to change the established way of life. For a revolution to come about, Lenin said, it is not enough that the lower classes should not want to live in the old way; it is also imperative that the ruling classes should be unable to live in that way.

Second, an intense exacerbation of social antagonisms between the ruling class and the oppressed masses. It may be linked to economic hardships, to the widening of the gap between the requirements of the working people, of the working class, and the extent to which these requirements are met. The causes of this exacerbation may stem from the denial of rights to and oppression of the working masses. It may grow out of the mass struggles against monopoly capital domination and arbitrary rule or against imperialism's aggressive policies. Whatever the specific reasons for the eruption of mass disaffection and anger, they are always associated with the hardships that capitalism places on the shoulders of working people.

Third, a considerable growth of the political activity of the masses. The revolutionary classes shake off the passive and inert attitudes implicit in periods of "tranquil" development. Militant feeling grows swiftly, passions boil over to the surface. Masses turn to politics, to revolutionary action.

In the final analysis, a revolutionary situation has its roots in the contradictions of the mode of production. However, these contradictions are refracted through the prism of a complex system of socio-political, class relations. They generate a revolutionary situation only at certain moments of history. The rise, form and development rate of a revolutionary situation depend on the condition of the state machine, on its ability to control the situation, on the strength of the proletariat and its links with other classes, in short, on the entire socio-political situation in the given country. The international situation is also a factor of the appearance and development of a revolutionary situation.

A revolutionary situation is indispensable for a political upheaval. But in itself it does not lead to a socialist revolution. For this, apart from objective conditions, there has to be a matured subjective factor, i.e., "the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action *strong*

enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls', if it is not toppled over".¹ A key element of the subjective factor is the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class able to lead the masses. If the subjective factor is not developed the revolution either does not unfold at all or is defeated.

For the socialist revolution to triumph there has to be a combination of the objective and subjective conditions taking the form of a national crisis and drawing the mass of the working people, the majority of the people, into the revolutionary struggle. This is the *fundamental law of revolution* borne out by all historical experience, in particular by the three Russian revolutions in the 20th century. This law has been corroborated by the socialist revolutions accomplished after World War II.

Motive Forces of Revolution

The working class is the principal motive force of the socialist revolution. Its mission is to deliver humankind from exploitation, wars and class and national antagonisms, to take society onto the highroad of communist progress. "The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country," Lenin wrote, "is far greater than the proportion it represents of the total population. That is because the proletariat economically dominates the centre and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, and also because the proletariat expresses economically and politically the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people under capitalism."²

As the class struggle progresses the proletariat organises itself into a powerful socio-political force, sets up its own political party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and reinforces the international solidarity of the working people.

The working class is not alone in the struggle for socialism. Other strata of working people also have a profound interest in the victory of the new social system. Lenin showed the untenability of the right-opportunist notions about the proletarianisation of the majority of the population of a given country being necessary for carrying out the socialist revolution and moving to socialism. He comprehensively developed the fundamental proposition of Marxist theory that the peas-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 214.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1977, p. 274.

antry is the main ally of the working class not only in the bourgeois-democratic but also in the socialist revolution. Socialism is consonant with the vital interests of the vast majority of the peasants and this gives the working class the possibility of rallying the peasantry and leading it to socialism.

Lenin insisted that it was necessary to unite non-proletarian allies—large sections of the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and white-collar workers—around the working class. Because monopoly capital exploits all these sections, the objective logic of the development of capitalism and the aggravation of its contradictions push and will go on pushing them to the side of the proletariat, uniting them around the banner of the socialist revolution. The social base of this revolution is expanded by capitalist development. The socialist revolution, Lenin indicated, could triumph also in countries where the proletariat did not constitute the majority of the population but relied on allies, thus achieving the necessary preponderance of strength.

Lenin substantiated the idea of the proletariat's leading role in the struggle for democracy and socialism. As distinct from the working class, its allies, due to their position in social production, are apt to be inconsistent, to vacillate on many issues of the class struggle. It is only political leadership by the proletariat, which champions the vital interests of all working people, that can unite the fragmented non-proletarian strata into an effective political force of the socialist revolution, organise them and instill them with confidence and militancy.

The alliance of the working class with the peasants and other strata of working people under proletarian leadership is one of the crucial conditions for the triumph of the socialist revolution.

Struggle for Democracy and Struggle for Socialism

In the course of its struggle for its end goals—socialism and communism—the working class has to tackle not only socialist but also democratic tasks. The latter may be of a dual nature: first, the democratic tasks left unresolved by bourgeois revolutions and inherited by the working class; second, the democratic tasks generated by the fact that capitalism, especially at its imperialist stage, leads to an intensification of reaction and cuts back civil freedoms.

Various democratic movements that do not pursue socialist aims proper take shape under capitalism. Between these movements and the proletarian revolution there is a deep-lying inner bond. By shaking imperialism and drawing large

sections of the people into the struggle against it, the democratic movements prepare the ground for and facilitate the victory of the working class.

The organic link of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism was brought to light by Lenin in the doctrine of the democratic revolution developing into a socialist revolution. On the basis of Marx's theory of uninterrupted revolution, Lenin demonstrated that in the epoch of imperialism the bourgeois-democratic revolution acquired new features. Although directed against feudalism, it acquires an anti-imperialist character. Under these conditions the working class can be not only an active participant in but also the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This draws the democratic revolution close to the socialist revolution and creates the foundation for the former's development into the latter. On this point Lenin wrote: "From the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organised proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way."¹

The question of the link of the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism concerns all capitalist countries, including those that have gone through the stage of bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Monopoly domination in the epoch of imperialism is accompanied by the growth of authoritarian tendencies, attempts to concentrate all the levers of power in the hands of the puppets of big capital, and an assault on democratic freedoms. This policy meets with increasingly determined resistance from the working class and other strata of the population.

Being the epoch's most advanced class, the working class unites all the main forces of the democratic movement and thereby acquires a broad, mass base. The struggle for democracy in the epoch of imperialism is intrinsically linked with the struggle of the proletariat for the socialist restructuring of society. "Not a single fundamental democratic demand," Lenin wrote, "can be achieved to any considerable extent, or with any degree of permanency, in the advanced imperialist states, except through revolutionary battles under the banner of socialism."² Democracy cannot be implemented in full and consistently if an end is not put to

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Social-Democracy's Attitude Towards the Peasant Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, 1972, pp. 236-37.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Peace Programme", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 167-68.

monopoly domination, and this is a task that only the working class can fulfil on the road to socialism. In turn, the general democratic movements create favourable conditions for the socialist revolution, paving the way for it and drawing the petty-bourgeois and semi-proletarian masses into the struggle for socialism.

It is alien to Marxism to counterpose the socialist revolution to democratic reforms. The reformists, as is well known, reject revolution, banking exclusively on reforms. The "left" opportunists, on the contrary, reject reforms. As for the Marxists, they assess reforms in the context of the prospect for fundamental revolutionary changes. They seek to turn every serious reform into a bulwark, into an intermediate phase of the offensive against the power of capital, into preparation of conditions for the socialist revolution.

In the present epoch, when the capitalist world system has as a whole matured for the proletarian revolution, every significant incursion by the working people into the structure of capitalist society's economic and socio-political relations threatens the domination of monopoly capital. As the forces of the working class and its allies grow on an international scale and in individual countries, profound democratic reforms increasingly acquire a revolutionary content and may play the role of transitional measures bringing the socialist revolution nearer. Lenin called democratic reforms such as the nationalisation of trusts, syndicates and banks and far-reaching agrarian reforms steps towards socialism.

A broad coalition of progressive forces united around the working class takes shape in the struggle for democratic reforms.

The national liberation movement likewise has a democratic thrust. It shatters the colonial system, erodes the foundations of imperialism, and thereby clears the way for radical revolutionary changes.

The struggle for democracy is thus a component part of the struggle for socialism. However, it does not spell out the latter as such. The socialist revolution by no means boils down to a sum of democratic reforms. It signifies a total rupture with capitalism, a revolutionary advance towards socialism.

Forms of Revolution—Violent and Peaceful

The basic issue of the socialist revolution is that of the conquest of power by the working class, of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. Depending on the situation, the socialist revolution can proceed peacefully or non-peacefully, in other words,

without or with the use of armed force.

In a situation where the exploiting classes use violence to suppress the masses, the resistance of the reactionary forces cannot be crushed without an armed struggle. In countries where monopoly rule has acquired the most obnoxious forms, where militarism is strong and the bourgeoisie has recourse to terrorist methods, the socialist revolution will most likely be accomplished in a non-peaceful way, with the use of armed force.

Marx, Engels and Lenin attached considerable significance to armed uprising as a means of the revolutionary overthrow of the exploiters and of the conquest of political power by the working class. They regarded uprising an art.

In order to be successful, Lenin noted, an uprising has to rely not on any conspiracy and not only on the party, but on the advanced class, on the revolutionary upsurge of the people. It has to come at a turning point in the development of the revolution such as when the advanced forces of the people are most active and when disarray among the enemy reaches its highest point. Marxism-Leninism has defined the principal rules of an armed uprising as an art:

- never play with uprising, and upon beginning it there must be the firm knowledge that it has to be brought to completion;

- muster a large preponderance of strength in the decisive place at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, with his better training and organisation, will destroy the insurgents;

- once the uprising is started it is vital to act with the utmost determination and to go over unconditionally to the offensive: defence rings the death knell of an armed rising;

- every effort must be made to catch the enemy by surprise, to take advantage of the moment when his troops are scattered;

- achieve daily, even if small, successes, and maintain a moral superiority at all costs. Triple boldness is an indispensable condition of an uprising.

In cases when reaction acts arms in hand against the will of the people the class struggle may turn into a civil war. An armed struggle against exploiters often takes the form of a guerrilla war of the masses.

Given favourable conditions the working class of one country or another may, by means of a mass struggle, achieve a socialist revolution peacefully. Such conditions include the existence of a minimum of democratic freedoms giving the working class and its allies wider opportunities for organisation and unity. In the latter half of the 19th century Marx believed that there was a possibility of revo-

lutions developing peacefully in England and the USA since at the time the political systems in these countries were relatively democratic and they did not have a developed military-bureaucratic machine.

The possibility for a revolution coming to a head peacefully took shape in Russia after the autocracy was deposed in February 1917. In that period there was, in addition to the bourgeois Provisional Government, another real power—the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies that relied on the armed people. As a result, there was a possibility of the bourgeois-democratic revolution evolving peacefully into a socialist revolution through the transition of all power to the Soviets. However, this possibility was not turned into reality on account of the conciliatory policy pursued by the petty-bourgeois parties (the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries).

Experience shows that the peaceful conquest of power by the working class is most likely if it is preceded by a deep-going democratic revolution and if the army ceases to be a reliable bulwark of the exploiting classes and at least part of it goes over to the side of the revolution. In this case the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution proceeds quicker and simpler. Such was the case in some of the People's Democracies. In these countries, the victory of a democratic revolution achieved in armed struggle was followed by its evolution into a socialist revolution relatively peacefully, without a civil war.

In each country the mode of transition to socialism is determined by its own specific conditions, by the dynamics of the alignment of forces in the course of the struggle. The experience of history is that revolution always unfolds in sharp struggle with counter-revolution. For that reason it may start in a peaceful way and then, as a result of mounting resistance by the exploiting classes, erupt into an armed struggle. Conversely, revolution may begin with armed violence rapidly crushing the centres of reaction and creating the conditions for its subsequent peaceful development. The peaceful process of a socialist revolution presupposes such a preponderance of strength on the part of the working class and its allies over the counter-revolution that paralyses the latter's ability to offer armed resistance.

Marx, Engels and Lenin always warned against both underestimating and absolutising the role of armed violence in the struggle for socialism.

Confrontation with counter-revolution is a law of the development of any revolution. For that reason whether it is accomplished peacefully or non-peacefully a socialist revolution includes violence relative to exploiters resisting the will of

the people. Subversion by counter-revolutionary forces is a constant reminder that a revolution must be able to defend itself. Violence is by no means an aim or main content of revolution. The functions of violence are limited—it is a means of breaking the resistance of the exploiters. It yields the expected results only when it is in keeping with the vital interests of the masses, with the immediate requirements of progress in the given country.

Proponents of the vulgar "theory of violence" often count on the revolution being prompted from without, on spreading revolution to other countries on bayonets. Rejecting this adventurist tactic, Lenin said: "Of course, there are people who believe that revolution can break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement. These people are either mad or they are provocateurs."¹

It is right and imperative for the masses to resort to violence against oppressors in their own country, against impingements by foreign imperialists on their freedom and independence. Acceleration of revolution in other countries by armed interference from without, the "export of revolution", is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism. A socialist revolution is the outcome of internal development in each country, of the exacerbation of internal social contradictions.

Unity and Diversity of the World Revolutionary Process

In whatever country a socialist revolution takes place it is, given all its national significance, profoundly international, for it is prepared and unfolded in close association with the development of the entire system of social relations on the world scene. The character of capitalism's contradictions, which make the socialist revolution inevitable, is international. In their drive for super-profits the monopolies penetrate the remotest parts of the globe, striving to entangle all countries in a web of economic and political dependence. In this situation, the socialist revolution, wherever it occurs, erodes the entire imperialist front and influences all development in the world.

Although the capitalist system has on the whole matured for revolution, the rate of growth of the contradictions is dissimilar in its various links on account of the unevenness of capitalism's development. Hence the different extent and acuteness of the contradictions in the various countries. By

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow, June 27-July 2, 1918. Reply to the Debate on the Current Situation, June 28, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 480.

virtue of these circumstances, weak links naturally appear in the system of imperialism, where the most conducive conditions take shape for breaching it.

In studying capitalism at its imperialist stage Lenin drew the conclusion that the proletarian revolution and socialism can triumph initially in several or even one capitalist country alone. Lenin linked this conclusion to the law of capitalism's uneven development, which in the epoch of imperialism becomes conflict-laden and spasmodic.

As a result of the uneven economic development of capitalist countries some of them forge far ahead. They are then overtaken by other countries. Under the conditions of struggle for world supremacy and spheres of influence this generates bitter conflict and military collisions between imperialist powers, which, in turn, aggravates the contradictions of the capitalist system, above all in its weakest links. This leads to uneven political development, which is seen also in the fact that in the different countries the revolutionary processes develop differently. And from this stems the difference in the time when capitalism is brought down by revolution in different countries.

Lenin formulated his conclusion in the following words: "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone."¹

The world socialist revolution thus goes through several stages with long or short intervals between them. The revolutions in individual countries become relatively independent links of a single world socialist revolution embracing a long historical epoch.

In each country the revolutionary process unfolds in specific national and historical conditions. This results in the large diversity of ways to socialism. No socialist revolution is or can be a simple repetition, a copy of some other revolution. But the general, basic, inalienable features of the socialist revolution and socialist construction remain and retain their force. In any such revolution the central issue is that of the power of the working class in alliance with other strata of the working people. The transition to socialism can only be achieved with the abolition of bourgeois socio-economic rule, with the leading role played by the working class and its vanguard, the Communists, and the ability of the revolution to defend itself against the class enemies.

There is yet another aspect of the unity of the world revolutionary process. Given the motley character and the hete-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 342.

rogeneity of the democratic and national liberation movements involved in it, all of them objectively have a common anti-imperialist orientation, which draws them close to the main force of the epoch, the international working class. In noting the complexity of the world revolutionary process, the diversity of the conditions of its development in different countries, and the steep twists and turns along its path, Lenin wrote that the party of the working class had "not to lose /its/ way in these zigzags, these sharp turns in history, in order to retain the general perspective, to be able to see the scarlet thread that joins up the entire development of capitalism and the entire road to socialism".¹

2. THE PRESENT EPOCH AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The present epoch is replete with events of enormous historic significance. A new society is under construction in socialist countries. In the capitalist states the working class and other sections of the working people are tenaciously fighting monopoly oppression. In the countries that have won liberation from colonialism people are working to consolidate national independence and put an end to economic and cultural backwardness, and some of these countries have adopted the socialist orientation. In all this intertwining of social phenomena it is important to establish the principle line of historical development. For this it is imperative to ascertain the epoch's character.

Character of the Present Epoch

Underlying history's division into epochs is the development and change of social systems or individual stages of these systems. Some periods of world history have the features of transition epochs characterised by the demise of the old and the emergence of a new socio-economic system.

With all the diversity of the social movements implicit in it, any historical epoch is distinguished by its universal main content. In showing the essence of the Marxist approach to characterising an epoch, Lenin wrote: "We cannot know how rapidly and how successfully the various historical movements in a given epoch will develop, but we can and do know *which class* stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its develop-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 6-8, 1918. Report on the Review of the Programme and on Changing the Name of the Party, March 8", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 130.

ment, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc.”¹

The October Socialist Revolution opened the present epoch of world history—the epoch of the assertion of socialist forms of social relations on earth. In defining its character, Lenin wrote: “The abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order comprise the content of the new era of world history that has set in.”²

With Lenin’s postulate as their point of departure and taking into account fundamental changes that have taken place in the world since the October Revolution, the communist and workers’ parties have substantively defined the present epoch. *Our epoch, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism is an epoch of historic competition between the two world socio-political systems, an epoch of socialist and national liberation revolutions and of the disintegration of colonialism, an epoch of struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states and the mass democratic movements—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for democracy and social progress.*

This Marxist definition of the present epoch allows identifying the typical features and specifics of our day.

First of all, this is an epoch of *transition*: the old socio-economic system (capitalism) is being replaced by a new one (communism). This is the main trend, the main direction of historical development. Of course, this is a complex process with inevitable individual deviations from the main direction. But what runs through all the collisions of the various social forces is humankind’s inexorable movement towards new and most progressive, communist forms of society’s organisation.

The present epoch is an epoch of *competition between two opposing social systems*. The transition from capitalism to socialism represents a whole period of history during which the new system of social relations exists in countries that have accomplished the socialist revolution side by side with the old system in the capitalist countries. A tense struggle is going on between the two systems. It is going on in the economy, in politics and in ideology, and it represents a specific form of class struggle between the state-organised bourgeoisie and the state-organised proletariat. Communism’s vic-

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Under a False Flag”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 145.

² V. I. Lenin, “On the Struggle Within the Italian Socialist Party”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 392.

tory is ultimately determined by the superiority of its socio-economic system that removes the fetters hampering society's productive forces and creates unlimited opportunities for social progress and for the individual's development.

The present epoch is an epoch of *socialist and national liberation revolutions*. This definition reveals the epoch's revolutionary character. The communist socio-economic system is born in struggle with the forces of reaction defending their power and privileges. The transition to socialism requires a fundamental break-up of the old structure of exploiting society. This task is carried out by the socialist revolutions. Since imperialism has created a world-wide system of colonial oppression, national liberation becomes for many peoples the preliminary condition for their advance towards socialism. This condition is created by the national liberation revolutions. By striking at imperialism the socialist and national liberation revolutions pave the way to the future for humankind.

The present epoch is the epoch of the *downfall of colonialism*. Although imperialism still exists and influences the course of history, it has lost its predominant position in the world once and for all. It is historically doomed. This is seen in the deepening of capitalism's general crisis, in the capitalist system's inability to resolve the problems with which the course of history confronts humankind. The decline of world capitalism is expressed also in the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. Capitalism had for ages relied on its colonial possessions, drawn from them the resources for its growth and enrichment, for resisting the revolutionary movement. The colonial system's disintegration deprives capitalism of one of the main sources of its strength and thereby accelerates its downfall.

The present epoch is the epoch of *struggle of world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the newly free states and the mass democratic movements against imperialism, and for democracy and social progress*. "The constant growth of these forces and their interaction," the new edition of the CPSU Programme says, "are a pledge that the hopes of the peoples for a life of peace, freedom and happiness will be translated into reality. The advance of humanity towards socialism and communism, despite all its unevenness, complexity and contradictoriness, is inevitable."

Our day is characterised not only by revolutionary socio-economic changes but also by unparalleled progress in science and technology, by the latter's growing influence on all aspects of society's life. Some bourgeois ideologues and revisionists are using this fact to try and make people be-

lieve that the scientific and technological revolution comprises the main content of the present epoch, to set this revolution off against the social revolution. Actually, these two revolutions are closely interrelated. In itself the scientific and technological revolution does not resolve the socioeconomic problems of our time. Contrary to the assertions of capitalism's apologists, it does not remove the antagonisms and vices of the capitalist system. It aggravates the contradictions of capitalist society and makes the need for the transition to socialism more vital than ever.

Such are the main features of the present epoch that characterise it as an integral historical process of humankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

Great October Revolution—Start of the Present Epoch

The present epoch consists of several stages, each of which has its own specifics and represents an advance along humankind's road to socialism and communism.

The *first stage* of the present epoch began with the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. This revolution marked the beginning of the revolutionary process of humankind's liberation from the yoke of capitalism and the establishment of the communist system. A country occupying one-sixth of the earth's land surface dropped out of the capitalist system. By breaching imperialism's front, the socialist revolution in Russia shook the entire edifice of capitalism to its foundations; the world split into two opposing systems. Capitalism entered the period of general crisis affecting all its aspects: the economy, politics and ideology.

The October Revolution ushered in a new stage in the working-class movement. Under its ideological and political influence communist parties of the Leninist type sprang up in most of the capitalist countries and the modern world communist movement emerged.

The October Socialist Revolution precipitated the crisis of imperialism's colonial system. It awakened the East and gave a mighty impulse for the growth of the national liberation movement of the peoples of colonies and dependent countries.

The *second stage* of the present epoch is linked with the victory of socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries and the appearance of the socialist world system. The myth of anti-communism, alleging that the socialist revolution in Russia was a specifically Russian phenomenon, was exploded. The fact that more countries took the road of socialist construction proved that the transition to the communist system has become a pressing historical need, that the

laws of socialist construction are universal.

The victory of the working people of socialist countries is the direct continuation of the historic cause of which the Great October Revolution was the beginning.

The *third stage* of the present epoch is characterised by socialism's conversion into the decisive factor of world history, the growth of a developed socialist society in the USSR, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism's triumph world-wide, the collapse of imperialism's colonial system, and the adoption of the non-capitalist path of development by some of the nations that have liberated themselves from colonial oppression.

Basic Contradiction of the Present Epoch

The October Socialist Revolution and the world's division into two systems changed the character of the class struggle and extended its front. Alongside the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the capitalist states, a class struggle has unfolded on the world scene. A sharp confrontation is taking place in economics, politics and ideology between the socialist system created by the international working class, and the capitalist system headed by the monopoly bourgeoisie.

The contradiction between capitalism and socialism is the main contradiction of the present epoch. Its development determines the principal trend of humankind's onward movement: from the capitalist socio-economic system to socialism and communism.

Lenin noted the decisive role of this contradiction: "World political developments are of necessity concentrated on a single focus—the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, around which are inevitably grouped, on the one hand, the Soviet movements of the advanced workers in all countries, and, on the other, all the national liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities."¹

The contradiction between the two social systems is global. Without reckoning with it it is impossible to understand a single major development or process of modern history.

In terms of its social essence the contradiction between the opposing social systems is of the same type as the contradiction between labour and capital in bourgeois society. It sprang up as the direct consequence of the development and resolution of the capitalist system's contradictions in one part

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 146.

of the world with the preservation of this system elsewhere. On the international scale the antagonism between labour and capital manifests itself as the antagonism between opposing social systems. Since the transition from capitalism to socialism constitutes the main content of the present epoch, this contradiction has become the mainspring of the historical process. The direction and rate of world developments depend on it to a decisive extent. Moreover, it influences capitalism's internal antagonisms.

The main contradiction of world development determines the in-depth processes of present-day history. The struggle between socialism and capitalism on the world scene is the axis of the revolutionary changes taking place on our planet. It erodes the capitalist system's stability throughout the world and aggravates class antagonisms. As socialism's advantages are seen more clearly capitalism loses all its historical justification and the working masses of capitalist countries increasingly understand that basic revolutionary changes are imperative.

For capitalism, as formerly, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private form of appropriation remains basic. For that reason the struggle between labour and capital, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the popular masses and the monopolies, is the motive force of domestic development in each capitalist country. But this is powerfully influenced by changes in the world-wide balance of strength between socialism and capitalism.

The struggle for liberation and social progress by peoples oppressed by imperialism is dependent largely on the main contradiction of our epoch. The development of this contradiction and the steady growth of the strength of its leading progressive party, socialism, are the factor creating the conditions for the transition to a more progressive social system by all countries and peoples, including the peoples that have won deliverance from colonial dependence.

Inter-relationship of the Present-Day Revolutionary Forces

The principal revolutionary forces of our day are: world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, newly free states and mass democratic movements.

Every contingent of the world liberation movement has specifics of its own. It is no easy matter to coordinate their actions. Efforts in this direction are not free from friction and contradictions. Nevertheless, the experience of history makes it increasingly evident that unity is the guarantee of success for the entire world revolutionary movement and

each of its contingents. In our day there is an objective foundation for unity. The revolutionary forces have a common enemy, imperialism, and the struggle against it draws them closer together.

Naturally, existing socialism, notably the community of socialist states, is the core of the unity among the revolutionary forces. As the highest achievement of the international working class it embodies the advanced mode of production, is the principal force opposing imperialism, the bulwark of peace and the base of the entire world revolutionary process. It extends material, political, military and moral assistance and support to all the other revolutionary forces. The more powerful socialism becomes in economic, military and political terms, the less chances are left to imperialism to export counter-revolution and the greater become the possibilities of the working class of capitalist countries and the forces of national liberation for winning decisive victories.

There is a two-way connection between the revolutionary forces of our epoch. The working-class and national liberation movements in the non-socialist part of the world reciprocate by supporting world socialism in its drive to carry out the tasks confronting it. During the early years of the socialist state, when it was ringed by an imperialist blockade, the working people in capitalist countries launched a powerful movement of proletarian solidarity under the slogan of "Hands Off Russia!" This movement helped the first socialist republic to surmount enormous difficulties.

Today imperialism and reaction throughout the world see the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as their main enemy and for that reason target their blows chiefly at them. The practice indicates that the policy and ideology of anti-Sovietism and imperialism's attacks on existing socialism are aimed at undermining the entire world liberation movement, all the contingents of that movement. The defence of socialism is therefore the internationalist duty of all revolutionaries.

A common platform of struggle is needed in order to unite the anti-imperialist forces in a broad political alliance. This platform must take into account the social composition, specific aims and features of all the revolutionary forces and, at the same time, envisage the common aims that unite these forces.

The communist and workers' parties come out as the initiators of a militant programme of united anti-imperialist actions. At their 1969 Meeting they adopted a wide-ranging programme of anti-imperialist struggle, in which progressive democratic demands are organically combined with the socialist interests of the proletariat. This is a realistic political

platform of unity among all revolutionary forces. It is acceptable to all strata of the working people and is in keeping with the fundamental class aims of the proletariat because it is directed against imperialism and creates the most favourable conditions for fighting for the end goals of the working-class movement.

The ongoing process of world revolution brings all the revolutionary socialist and democratic forces into a single torrent. Theoretically substantiated by Marxism-Leninism and started in practice by the Great October Revolution the movement towards communism comprises the general direction of human society's development.

Chapter 5

SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM—THE LEADING REVOLUTIONARY FORCE OF OUR DAY

The socialist world system is our epoch's main progressive force in opposition to imperialism. Its interests coincide with those of the working people of all countries. The successes of the peoples of socialist countries in building the new society facilitate the struggle of all peoples for peace and democracy, the development of the international working-class and national liberation movements, and the triumph of socialism throughout our planet.

1. FORMATION OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM AND THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES

The formation of the socialist world system is the most significant historical event after the October Revolution and the establishment of socialism in the USSR. It changed the world balance of strength in favour of socialism.

The socialist world system consists of all countries advancing along the road to socialism. The vast majority of them comprise the community of socialist countries. At present these are: Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

The community of socialist countries rests on an unprecedented, new type of relations between nations. These relations, based on the principle of socialist internationalism, are just, equitable and fraternal in the true sense of these words. Underlying them are ideological unity, common aims and comradely cooperation imbued with respect for the interests, specific features and traditions of each country. The countries of the community combine their efforts in the economic, political and cultural spheres in order to build the new society.

Formation and Development of the Socialist World System

The process of the formation of world socialism was started by the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. However, as a world system, socialism was established only after World War II as a result of victorious socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries. These revolutions grew out of the struggle of classes for social emancipation and the national movements for liberation from oppression by foreign exploiters. Favourable conditions were created for the revolutionary upsurge by the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II, in which the decisive role was played by the Soviet Union.

In the People's Democracies the socialist revolutions took place in a new historical situation: these revolutions triumphed in a situation of the further weakening of capitalism and they had a powerful mainstay in the world's first socialist state. The fact of the Soviet Union's existence prevented imperialism from strangling these revolutions by an armed intervention. Moreover, the Western states failed in their efforts to enforce an economic blockade against the People's Democracies and dictate terms to them. Soviet political and economic support made it easier for the revolutionary forces of these countries to carry out basic democratic and then socialist reforms and reinforced their international standing.

By approximately 1948-1949, the smashing of the bourgeoisie as a class had been completed in the People's Democracies. The nationalisation of industry dealt the final blow to the local exploiters and to the domination of foreign capital. Further, it gave the people's democratic system its production base. It now became possible to plan economic development on the basis of public property. Agrarian reforms led to the abolition of landowners as a class and gave land to the peasants. Socialist revolutions prevailed in the People's Democracies.

Thus, by the early 1950s the socialist world system had taken shape.

The years following the war were a period of intensive work for the peoples of socialist countries, a period of formation and consolidation of the socialist world system. The Soviet Union made conspicuous headway in all areas of economic and political life and in science and culture, and entered the stage of a developed socialist society.

Some of the fraternal countries have got down to building a developed socialist society, while others are building the foundations of socialism.

The advantages of the new social system and mutual assistance between the socialist countries are enabling them to cope with the difficulties of development more successfully.

While in the capitalist world the strongest states impose their will on other countries and peoples and create agrarian and raw materials "provinces", entirely different principles govern the socialist world. The socialist world system is developing on the basis of sovereignty and voluntary choice, and in accordance with the vital interests of all the states involved.

The consistent Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy of the socialist community's communist and workers' parties, their unbreakable militant alliance, and their unity of ideology, aims and will constitute the decisive factor of the building of socialism and communism.

In parallel with the development of every socialist nation and the consolidation of the sovereignty of the socialist states, the relations between them are growing ever closer and an increasing number of common elements are appearing in their politics, economy and public life. In their development they are gradually coming level with each other. The process of the gradual drawing together of socialist countries is now quite definitely manifesting itself as a law.

Change in the Balance of Strength in Favour of Socialism

The formation of the socialist world system was a staggering blow to capitalism. However, the combined forces of imperialism were in that period still superior to the socialist states economically and militarily.

The situation had changed radically by the mid-1950s. The new system in the People's Democracies not only grew stronger but was able to ensure high rates of economic progress. The socialist world system reinforced its political and economic unity.

The downfall of the colonial system also contributed to the weakening of imperialism. Together with the newly free nations the socialist countries are waging a struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Industrial development and rapid scientific and technological progress have enabled the socialist countries to increase their defence capability and create defensive means that dependably guarantee their security. The economic, political and military reinforcement of the socialist system led to an entirely new balance of strength in the world.

Even before the socialist world system was formed the Soviet Union had been exercising a colossal revolutionising in-

fluence on working people throughout the world. Even when imperialism clearly had the military and industrial edge it was unable to crush the Soviet Union, to prevent it from becoming a powerful country and the centre of attraction of the forces that had risen to fight imperialist oppression and fascist enslavement.

With the formation of the socialist world system the new social system acquired further considerable potentialities for influencing the entire international situation in the interests of peace, democracy, national independence and social progress.

The change of the balance of strength in the world in favour of socialism was fiercely resisted by the imperialists. In their fight against the People's Democracies the imperialist powers had recourse to counter-revolutionary conspiracies, blackmail, all sorts of pressure, subversive propaganda campaigns and, in some cases, military intervention. This policy failed. In the People's Democracies the new system gained strength and the working people united ever closer around the communist parties.

Having failed in its frontal assault on socialism, reaction is now seeking to breach individual links of the socialist system. The imperialists and their accomplices laboured in vain to overthrow the socialist system in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. A further attempt to erode socialism was undertaken in 1980-1981 in Poland by internal counter-revolutionary forces with the vigorous support of the United States and other imperialist states. This attempt was foiled by the determined measures taken by the Polish government.

A major victory was won by the Vietnamese people. Nothing came of imperialism's most massive post-World War II armed attempt to destroy a socialist country and crush a national liberation revolution. The reason for this was the heroism of the Vietnamese people, who were assisted by socialist countries and the progressive public throughout the world. The people of Laos have taken the road to socialism. An outstanding result of the combined efforts of the socialist community countries was the universal recognition of the GDR's sovereignty and of the inviolability of the western frontiers of the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The imperialists are staking mainly on undermining the socialist world system from within, on splitting it. They are using the most subtle means to disunite the socialist countries, to sow distrust among them. In this situation special significance is being acquired by the persevering efforts to ensure the utmost strengthening of unity in the socialist world system.

2. THE LEADING ROLE OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

In the confrontation between socialism and capitalism it becomes increasingly important to use the potentialities inherent in the new social system and unfold the advantages of its economic and socio-political organisation. Socialism sets the whole world an example of a free life without exploiters, of building a society administered by the working people, of genuine democracy and welfare, of placing science and culture in the service of the people and of creating the conditions for the harmonious development of the individual.

Competition Between the Two Systems

Economic competition is central today to the confrontation between the two opposing social systems.

The alignment of today's principal forces on the international scene and the extent of their political influence are determined to a large extent by the correlation of the overall economic potentials of the socialist and the capitalist countries.

Socialism was at a distinct disadvantage when it entered the economic competition with capitalism. On the eve of World War I (1914-1918) industrial output in Russia was one-eighth that of the USA. During the world and the civil wars its economy shrank dramatically. However, the Soviet system ensured high development rates in the USSR. Whereas the USA, Germany and Britain took from 80 to 150 years to increase industrial output roughly 30-fold, the Soviet Union accomplished this in approximately 40 years, of which nearly 20 years were spent on wars against foreign invaders and on the post-war restoration of the economy.

In 1980 industrial output in the USSR was up 165-fold over 1913, and almost 240-fold over 1917. In the course of the 1970s the volume of industrial production in the USSR was nearly doubled. The same achievement took the USA 18 years, France 19 years, the FRG 20 years and Britain 30 years. The Soviet Union is currently ahead of the USA not only in terms of the average annual growth rate of industrial output but also of the absolute increment of many products. The USSR today produces, among other major items, more oil and steel than the USA.

Other socialist countries are also rapidly expanding their economy. The countries of the socialist community now account for over half of the world's increment of industrial output, their cumulative industrial capability being larger than that of all the West European countries combined. In

the 1970s the economic growth rate of the CMEA countries was double that of industrialised capitalist countries.

The growth of the people's welfare is the highest aim of social production under socialism. In 1980, compared with pre-war 1940, the real incomes of industrial and office workers in terms of per working person increased 4-fold, while the real incomes of the collective farmers¹ rose 6.9-fold. The living standards are rising rapidly also in other socialist countries.

The competition between socialist and capitalist countries in the sphere of material production has lately grown more acute and tense. Making the maximum use of technological progress and the "integration" of the capitalist economy and resorting to state-monopoly regulation of the economy, monopoly capitalism is trying to end the disparity in growth rates. However, only a few capitalist countries are succeeding in this and only for a relatively short time. Capitalism's economy remains unstable and constantly under the influence of such crisis phenomena as production slumps, inflation, unemployment, the rising cost of living and so forth.

In the 1970s the economic growth rate of Western countries fell by 60 per cent while the inflation rate, on the contrary, rose by 150 per cent. In the same period unemployment roughly doubled. Due to the catastrophic inflation, the real incomes of the working people in a number of countries began to shrink with the resultant inevitable rise of social tensions in the capitalist world. Inflation, unemployment and other socio-economic ills of capitalism lead to an increase of the number of people living below the poverty line. In the United States, for example, these today add up to about 25 million.

Scientific and technological progress is the key sector of the peaceful economic competition between socialism and capitalism. The socialist community countries now concentrate chiefly on promoting production efficiency and economic ties among themselves, this being of immense significance for making better use of socialism's basic advantages.

Socialism's successes are in keeping with the interests of the peoples of socialist countries and with the interests of the revolutionary and liberation movements as a whole. Peaceful economic competition is one of the areas in which socialism influences the world revolutionary process.

¹ Members of collective farms, large agricultural cooperatives uniting farmers who run their economy on the basis of commonly owned productive assets and collective work.

A Powerful Progressive Force of Our Day

The socialist system plays a steadily growing role in humankind's development. This is having an ever greater impact on world politics. In it are reflected the changes that have taken place in the world's balance of strength.

As the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties noted, "The swift economic development of the countries belonging to the socialist system at rates outpacing the economic growth of the capitalist countries, the advance of socialism to leading positions in a number of fields of scientific and technological progress, and the blazing of a trail into outer space by the Soviet Union—all these tangible results, produced by the creative endeavours of the peoples of the socialist countries, decisively contribute to the preponderance of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism over imperialism."

The socialist system is exercising a growing influence on the course of world developments and is increasingly becoming the key factor of historical development. There is no country in the world today that is not affected, directly or indirectly, by the impact of world socialism.

The socialist system is powerfully influencing the popular revolutionary struggles in capitalist countries.

The growth of the productive forces, the improvement of socialist democracy, the political and cultural progress and the superiority of moral values make socialism ever more attractive for working people throughout the world. People can now evaluate socialism not only by its programmes and slogans but also by the benefits it brings society and its every citizen.

The advances registered by the socialist countries are contributing to the growth of the political consciousness of the working people of capitalist countries.

The socialist world system is exercising a huge influence on the national liberation movement. World socialism's achievements have opened up new vistas for the peoples fighting for national liberation and genuine independence.

The alliance of the socialist countries with Asian, African and Latin American peoples rests on a community of interests in the struggle against imperialist aggressors, for peace and for the abolition of every form of colonialism and neo-colonialism. This alliance is helping to turn many new nations from a passive object of imperialist policy to an important independent factor of international relations, to foster their role on the world scene. Support for developing nations that have been turned into targets of military gambles by imperialist countries and their hirelings is a key task of the so-

cialist countries. Political, economic and military assistance was extended to Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and other countries at the request of their lawful governments.

Because there is a socialist community of nations the countries that have shaken off colonial oppression have the opportunity to compare and choose the road and forms of their economic development. The rapid growth of the productive forces and of science and culture in the socialist countries and their advances in the competition with capitalism attract the close attention of the newly free states. They see the socialist countries as the practical embodiment of their ideals and aspirations. World socialism is showing them a dependable way of resolving their problems.

Solidarity and support for the struggle of the new states against imperialism to reinforce their independence and achieve full equality comprise the Leninist principles underlying the policy of socialist community countries relative to countries that have won liberation.

At present the CMEA¹ countries are extending economic and technological assistance to 92 developing nations. Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are working at construction projects, in industry and agriculture, in hospitals and at educational institutions in Asian and African countries.

Along with modern implements of production the developing nations acquire advanced technological expertise from socialist countries. The assistance that the socialist states extend in training national cadres of specialists and skilled workers and in promoting science and culture is of great significance. Thousands of undergraduates, post-graduates and apprentices from developing countries are studying at institutions of higher learning and vocational schools in the CMEA states.

Support from the socialist world enables the peoples of liberated countries to opt for non-capitalist development. It gives them the possibility of coping successfully with matters related to the promotion of the public sector, the abolition of feudal landownership and the nationalisation of foreign-owned production facilities aimed at giving the new states effective sovereignty over their natural resources.

The socialist states are a powerful factor mobilising the forces of peace and progress against imperialism and war. The new balance of strength in the world has created favourable prospects for the struggle of the peoples for peace, to prevent a global thermonuclear war. Fundamentally new conditions have appeared for the foreign policy of small

¹ Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, an international economic organisation of socialist countries.

countries. While before the emergence of the socialist world system all or almost all small states had to follow in the wake of the big imperialist powers, to align themselves with the latter's military alliances, they now have the possibility of successfully countering pressure from the imperialists, of pursuing a foreign policy independently of the big capitalist nations. The time has gone forever when imperialists arbitrarily decided whether or not there would be a war and when they could keep the peoples of whole continents in bondage.

Relying on its steadily expanding economic and defensive might, the community of socialist countries restricts imperialism's ability to export counter-revolution. The militant co-operation of socialist countries played the principal role in defending the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Cuba against US imperialist aggression. The strength of this cooperation was demonstrated strikingly in the defence of Vietnam against the US aggressors.

While influencing the development of the world revolutionary process, the socialist system gets the support of the proletariat of capitalist countries and the peoples of the zone of the national liberation movement. The struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism erodes imperialism's positions and hinders the kindling of hotbeds of war. All genuinely revolutionary forces are united in concerted opposition to imperialism's acts of aggression and see their duty in safeguarding socialism's achievements.

"The formation of the socialist world constitutes an integral part of the class struggle being waged in the international area," stated the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. The defence of socialism is the internationalist duty of the Communists of all countries.

Progress by socialist countries powerfully stimulates the further development of the world revolutionary process. As socialism displays its advantages, its ideas win an ever growing number of supporters and the class struggle of the working people gains further momentum. As Lenin said, "socialism has the force of example. Coercion is effective against those who want to restore their rule. But at this stage the significance of force ends, and after that only influence and example are effective. We must show the significance of communism in practice, by example."¹ Having considerable and compelling experience of restructuring society, world socialism is, by force of its example, carrying humankind forward, to the triumph of the communist system.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organisation of the R.C.P.(B.), December 6, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 457.

Chapter 6

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS

The working class of capitalist countries is a major force of the present world revolutionary process and of human-kind's social progress. It heads the struggle of the masses against monopoly power, for peace, democracy and socialism. The revolutionary movement of the working class is steadfastly gaining strength, shaking the positions of the imperialist bourgeoisie and clearing the way for socialist revolutions. It is developing in a situation of the deepening general crisis of capitalism.

1. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism is experiencing a general crisis. This is a natural outcome of the inner contradictions of the capitalist mode of production at its imperialist stage. Further, it is a result of the world's division into two opposing social systems and the all-embracing struggle between these systems. The crisis affects not just some individual country or some aspect of bourgeois society, but this society as a whole. The general crisis of capitalism signifies the beginning of capitalism's world-wide downfall, of its revolutionary replacement by socialism.

A New Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism

Capitalism has gone through several stages of its general crisis. The *first stage* began with World War I (1914-1918) and the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. The birth of the Soviet socialist state made a breach in the world system of capitalism.

The start of the *second stage* of this crisis is linked with World War II (1939-1945) and the triumph of socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries. International imperialism's assault forces, German fascism and Japanese militarism, were smashed. A socialist world system began to take shape and socialism and democracy won stead-

ily stronger positions in the world.

At the close of the 1950s capitalism entered the *third stage* of its general crisis. A feature distinguishing this stage is that it began not in connection with a world war but under conditions of a peaceful competition and struggle between the two systems.

What changes in world development determined the start of the third stage of capitalism's general crisis?

First, the establishment of socialism in a group of countries and a powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world. The sphere of capitalist domination shrank steadily and its influence waned. At the same time, the socialist countries won greater influence on the course of world developments.

Second, the downfall of imperialism's colonial system as a result of national liberation revolutions and of many formerly oppressed nations embarking on independent development.

Third, a sharp exacerbation of all of imperialism's contradictions, notably the contradiction between the modern productive forces and capitalist relations of production. This aggravated the capitalist world's internal difficulties and led to a further growth of the working people's revolutionary struggle.

The steady deepening of capitalism's general crisis increasingly broadens the objective foundation of the world revolutionary process.

Growth of Capitalism's Internal Contradictions

To a large extent the specifics of capitalism's development in the 1960s and 1970s sprang from the fact that it found it had to adapt itself to a new world situation. The monopolies strove to make wider use of scientific and technological breakthroughs to reinforce their positions and intensify the exploitation of the working people. State-monopoly regulation also came much into play to achieve these ends, making it possible, in particular, to carry on an uninterrupted arms race. Armaments industries became in fact the principal consumers of scientific and technological achievements.

Within certain limits all this served to stimulate economic growth. However, this neither could nor did lead to the stabilisation of capitalism as a social system. On the contrary, its internal contradictions grew more acute than ever.

First and foremost, there was an aggravation of the contradiction between, on the one hand, the productive forces that in view of the scientific and technological revolution

and the further internationalisation of production and exchange are acquiring an increasingly accentuated social character, and, on the other, the relations of production dominated by monopoly capital.

A striking indication of capitalism's descent is that the periodic crises of the economy are growing increasingly more severe. The last two cyclical production slumps, in 1973-1975 and in 1979-1983, were unquestionably the most harsh and protracted of the last 4 decades. A cyclic fever, first noted early in the 19th century, is again shaking capitalism with growing strength in the last quarter of the 20th century.

The gravity of this disease is compounded by its fusion with what are now called structural crises. These include prolonged, 10-year and longer, crises of overproduction in various industries (steel, textile, automotive, ship-building), crises that are, one way or another, linked to under-production in extracting industries (energy, raw materials, food), chronic ailments in circulation (inflation, credit-finance, and monetary crises), long-lasting tendencies towards a slowing down of the growth of industry and labour productivity, and the aggravation of the ecological crisis. In all Western countries unemployment has reached what can only be described as catastrophic proportions.

In recent years the limited potentialities and internal contradictions of the policy of adaptation, which the bourgeoisie saw as a panacea for its difficulties, have come plainly into view. Neither the state regulation nor the efforts to organise the capitalist world market on the basis of various international monopoly agreements helped to ward off crisis phenomena.

In this situation the socio-political contradictions and class antagonisms grew more acute than ever. Socio-political instability became a hallmark of the situation in all the leading capitalist countries.

One of the most significant, characteristic features of present-day capitalist development is the substantial deepening of the crisis of the system of relations between imperialist states and developing nations. Underlying this crisis is, in the first place, the policy of neocolonialism that holds up the economic growth of countries which have shaken off colonial rule, and widens the disparity in the economic level of imperialist powers and of most of the developing nations. Because of imperialism enormous numbers of people in the former colonial world are suffering from poverty and starvation.

Life is thus producing, again and again, irrefutable facts to bear out the grave charge leveled by Lenin against mod-

ern capitalism as early as 1913: "On all sides, at every step one comes across problems which man is quite capable of solving *immediately*, but capitalism is in the way. It has amassed enormous wealth—and has made men the *slaves* of this wealth...

"Civilisation, freedom and wealth under capitalism call to mind the rich glutton who is rotting alive but will not let what is young live on."¹

Aggravation of Inter-Imperialist Contradictions

Swift scientific and technological progress and the assertion of state-monopoly relations are intensifying the operation of the law of capitalism's uneven development. The balance of strength between the principal imperialist powers is changing rapidly. While during the first decade after World War II the USA dominated the capitalist economy, Western Europe later overtook and then surpassed its American partner in a number of indicators. Japan has become an independent major centre of strength in the capitalist economy, winning important positions not only in Asia but also in European and American markets. Economic growth is giving many Latin American states an independent role to play in the capitalist world economy and aggravating the contradictions between them, on the one hand, and the USA and other imperialist powers, on the other.

Monopoly capital is looking for new ways and means for repartitioning markets. In recent years there has been a particularly striking growth of the role played by international, multinational monopolies. These giant firms which embrace various branches of the economy and operate in scores of countries in a way personify the exploiting, rapacious essence of present-day capitalism. Their operation makes the competitive struggle sharper and more ruthless.

An attempt has also been made to resolve the problem of markets through monopoly integration. This is most strikingly exemplified by the state-monopoly agreement of the financial oligarchy of a number of European countries on the formation of a Common Market (European Economic Community). The Common Market has fostered some development of production but it has by no means turned Europe into a zone of conflict-free capitalism. To say nothing of the contradictions between the EEC and other European countries and also the USA and Japan, a competitive struggle is gathering momentum within this association itself. The attempts to turn the Common Market into a political or even military-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Civilised Barbarism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 389.

political association are in practice only leading to a further hardening of competition.

Since the mid-1970s the leading imperialist countries have tried to employ a new method of settling their conflicts, arranging regular summit conferences. However, after every such conference the situation in essence only further deteriorates.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the deepening of economic contradictions between capitalist countries was complemented by a sharp conflict over how to build the relations between West and East, in other words, between capitalist and socialist states. The USA's attempts to reduce to a minimum the volume of West European and Japanese commercial relations with the socialist world generated a new round of argument.

Although, because of the interests of their common struggle against socialism and the national liberation movement, the ruling circles of imperialist countries endeavour to settle the conflicts that flare up between them these attempts, as a rule, yield insignificant results. Inter-imperialist rivalry is mounting.

Intensification of Political Reaction

The deepening of imperialism's socio-economic contradictions is accompanied by its growing propensity for methods of extreme political reaction. Capitalist society's political organisation is being geared to cope with the new demands of the class struggle against the proletariat on both the national and the international levels.

"Imperialism," it was noted at the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "gave birth to fascism—the system of political terror and death camps. Wherever it can, imperialism wages an offensive against democratic rights and liberties; it tramples underfoot human dignity and cultivates racialism." But the overtly fascist dictatorship discredited itself in the eyes of the peoples. This is inducing the ruling quarters of the imperialist states to camouflage their political designs more subtly.

Under state-monopoly capitalism, control by big capital over the functioning of bourgeois governments is growing more manifest and impudent. The billionaires and their puppets more and more frequently take the helm of state administration.

The fact that reaction is increasing is seen also in the bureaucratisation and militarisation of the domestic life of bourgeois states. The military and police-repressive apparatus has grown colossally. The reinforcement of the executive

arm at the expense of legislature, the dwindling of the role of parliament in policy-making, the harassment and restriction of revolutionary and democratic organisations, the encouragement of fascist groups and the extension of anti-labour legislation characterise the present development of the imperialist states. Constant interference in the private life of citizens, telephone tapping, corruption that has spread even to the highest echelons of the state machine have become customary in the bourgeois world.

However, despite its obvious aspiration for absolute, totalitarian dictatorship, the monopoly bourgeoisie has not only to preserve some democratic freedoms but, in a number of cases, widen these freedoms to a certain extent. Bourgeois propagandists use this circumstance to glorify the "free world". But in fact it is compelling evidence of the strength of the working class fighting for democracy.

The higher level of the working people's militancy and consciousness is forcing the monopolies to take extraordinary measures to brainwash the masses politically. Considerable significance is attached to measures to sustain and widen the split in the working-class movement, to encourage the activity of right-wing reformist parties and organisations.

At the same time, the monopolies are reinforcing their own political organisations. To befuddle the people politically, the bourgeoisie is playing up the multiparty system it has created, giving it out as the highest manifestation of democracy.

In capitalist countries there are, as a rule, several bourgeois political parties championing the interests of different groups of the bourgeoisie. But all combined these parties are an instrument of monopoly capital rule. In the USA, for instance, the political scene is shared by two main parties, the Republican and the Democratic. The rivalry between them in fact boils down to a fight for government office, for the settlement of the question of which of the monopoly groups would have the job of suppressing the people in the course of the next 4 years.

All the actions of the circles ruling capitalist countries are ultimately aimed at paring down bourgeois democracy and lead to a further deepening of the contradictions between monopoly capital and the masses, to an extension of the social base of the struggle against the monopolies, for democracy and socialism.

Under conditions of capitalism's general crisis all of bourgeois ideology's main dogmas failed the test of time, displaying their lack of credibility.

Bourgeois ideologues had maintained that capitalism was eternal, but developments demonstrated that it was transient. They had asserted that society could not exist without private property, and that exploitation of man by man was the natural law of any society. However, a large proportion of humankind has already put an end to private property and exploitation. Capitalism's apologists considered spectral even the dream of socialism. Nevertheless, socialism has become a reality in many countries. The bourgeoisie believed that the colonial system was immutable, but with the support of socialist countries the oppressed peoples rose and crushed colonialism.

This bankruptcy of bourgeois ideology's basic postulates and the inability of the ideologues of the dying class to answer the questions raised by actual developments and formulate a realistic forecast for the future have brought about the degradation of bourgeois social thought.

Today the bourgeoisie lauds not the names of great enlighteners but medieval theologians, eulogising the persecutors of the ideals of freedom. In the writings of thinkers of the past it hunts out what comprised the reactionary aspect of their teaching, the ideas of conservatism, all that questions the potentialities of human knowledge, the objective character of the laws of social development.

Basically, the new bourgeois theories pursue the same aims. Their essence is that they deny the inevitability of the triumph of socialism and its superiority over capitalism. Unable to conceal socialism's great achievements, the ideologues of the old world are trying to belittle their significance, to prove that capitalism can parallel these achievements. Another school of present-day bourgeois thought asserts that time will erase the difference between the two systems, that in future the two antagonistic systems will "converge". The reactionary essence of these and similar theories is obvious.

Social pessimism and hopelessness are the hallmarks of modern bourgeois ideology. These are seen with particular clarity today on account of the old society's relentlessly severe economic and political crisis. Even leading organs of the Western press are debating whether capitalism can survive (the American magazine *Time*), whether it can still be saved (the West German magazine *Stern*), and whether there is a future for capitalism (the French newspaper *Le Monde*).

Bourgeois ideology is trying to find salvation, a way out

of the impasse in anti-communism. It uses anti-communism as a weapon to attack socialism's ideals and the communist movement, as a weapon to split the left-wing, democratic forces. The policy of repressing and harassing progressive forces is linked indivisibly with anti-communism in ideology.

Simultaneously, bourgeois ideology extols money-grubbing and individualism, personal success at all costs. Violence and pornography became constant themes of films, television and literature eroding the elementary principles of morality. Crime and drug-addiction are rampant in the leading imperialist countries.

The "ideals" of the bourgeois way of life are steadily losing their hold on people's minds. Among the masses there is a growing striving for a sweeping renovation of society and a mounting interest in socialist ideals. The working class and its communist parties are winning ever broader recognition as society's intellectual vanguard.

2. REVOLUTIONARY WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

The victory of the October Revolution placed the working class in the centre of the modern epoch. Moreover, it created a new situation for the international proletariat's struggle for its immediate and end aims. The further development of the international revolutionary working-class movement was linked to the victory of socialist revolutions in a number of European and Asian countries. There appeared a qualitatively new contingent of the world working class—the *working class of socialist countries*, totalling about 30 per cent of the world's army of labour. Its successes in building socialism and communism strongly influence the condition of the proletariat in capitalist countries, its class struggle and the entire course of world development.

Another important and increasingly militant contingent of the revolutionary working-class movement consists of the *proletariat of capitalist countries*.

The youngest but already numerous contingent, the *proletariat of formerly colonial countries*, comes out as an increasingly active force.

In the present epoch the role played by the international working class is growing visibly.

Growth of the Numerical Strength, Consciousness, and Organisation of the Proletariat

The ideologues of anti-communism are trying to prove that the working class is losing the importance it once enjoyed. The most zealous of them are alleging that under cap-

italism the numerical strength of the working class is diminishing steadily. They claim that there no longer are proletarians in the classical sense of the word, and that the epoch of class struggle and revolution has receded into the past. These assertions conflict with the processes actually taking place in capitalist society.

The army of wage labour is growing in all capitalist countries. The vast majority of the able-bodied population of industrialised capitalist countries consists of persons deprived of ownership of means of production and living by selling their labour. We are witnessing a numerical growth of the international working class and, within it, of the industrial proletariat.

In analysing the composition of the working class Marx distinguished 3 basic groups: the industrial proletariat as the backbone of the working class, the agricultural proletariat and workers in commercial firms. These basic groups of the proletariat exist to this day, although the correlation between them has changed and continues to change.

In the mid-19th century in Britain, then the most developed capitalist country, the factory proletariat comprised almost 60 per cent of the total number of workers. A hundred years later its proportion exceeded 65 per cent, while in all the developed countries combined it was between 53 and 55 per cent. The development tendency is such that in most of the industrialised states and in all the developing nations the numerical strength of the industrial proletariat continues to grow; its relative magnitude, i.e., proportion relative to the total number of workers, may diminish. But in the foreseeable future the industrial proletariat will remain the largest section of the working class.

During the past few decades there has been a significant growth of the number of workers employed in transport, building, utility services, and communications. The number of wage workers is steadily growing in the non-productive sphere. In the latter sphere there are many manual workers (porters, drivers, repairmen and so on) and office employees whose functions bring them close to the status and way of life of blue-collar workers (especially in view of the increasing mechanisation and automation of labour in commerce and offices).

The structural changes in the working class of capitalist society and its further numerical growth are increasing the strength and influence of the proletariat.

By generating structural changes in the working class the scientific and technological revolution is leading also to a rise of the educational and skill level of workers. These processes are creating favourable conditions for the rise of

the organisational level and consciousness of the working class.

In order to halt the proletariat's political and intellectual development the bourgeoisie is using all the levers at its disposal: from partial political concessions—to give the masses the impression that there can be a reformist improvement of capitalism—to all sorts of obstacles closing for young workers the road to enlightenment and education. Bourgeois-reformist influence over the workers is fostered by the fact that their ranks are joined by ruined petty and middle bourgeois elements of town and countryside.

Despite these negative factors, the political consciousness of the working class is growing. To a large extent this is due to the efforts of the communist and workers' parties and to the influence and achievements of the socialist world and the force of its example.

The rise of the organisation level of the proletariat of capitalist countries is the most striking expression of the fact that the masses are becoming more conscious in political terms. Communist and workers' parties function in the vast majority of countries of the non-socialist world. They unite the most conscious and militant segment of the proletariat and other contingents of working people. The numerical strength of organised workers is likewise growing. Whereas in 1913 the trade unions world-wide numbered 15 million members and on the eve of World War II they had 60 million members, today they have over 300 million members. Nearly 130 organisations in 114 countries are affiliated to the Women's International Democratic Federation. The World Federation of Democratic Youth unites more than 270 national youth organisations in 112 countries. The working class forms the backbone of these democratic organisations, rallying all working people for the struggle for their vital interests, against monopoly rule.

In the present-day conditions, the status of the bulk of engineers and technicians is close to that of the working class for they have become an object of capitalist exploitation. The scientific and technological revolution is making the social differentiation among intellectuals more pronounced. Monopoly capital is striving to harness the elite of the intelligentsia with fat salaries and high posts, to form an "intellectual aristocracy" as its bulwark, much as the "labour aristocracy" and "labour bureaucracy" were nursed as an instrument for splitting the working class. The majority of engineers and technicians are losing their privileges in social status, while their economic condition is only a little better than that of highly-skilled workers.

Unabashedly distorting theory and reality, the revisionists

deny that the working class plays the decisive role in the revolutionary movement. They use the changes wrought in society's social structure by the scientific and technological revolution as a pretext for belittling the revolutionary potential of the proletariat and, at the same time, exaggerating the role of other strata, notably, the intelligentsia and also its reserve, the students. Their attempts to present the working class as dispersed among the other classes and strata, to replace its leading role with a leading role of the intelligentsia is tantamount to a striving to decapitate the revolutionary movement, to plunge it into chaos and confusion.

Basic Features of the Proletariat's Class Struggle

In the present epoch the working class is winning a growing role as the leading revolutionary force. Some improvement in the proletariat's living standards in citadels of capitalism have not in the least eased the social oppression to which it is subjected. Exploitation is being intensified and the proletariat continues to be denied participation in deciding basic economic and political questions. The natural growth of the material and intellectual requirements of the working class, on the one hand, and the rising pressure brought to bear by the monopolies, on the other, intensify the social protest and the economic and political motivations of the class struggle, giving birth to new directions and forms of this struggle.

It would be wrong to see the class struggle of the proletariat as a simple mounting process. Under present-day conditions as well the class struggle experiences upswings and declines, and acquires different dimensions in the various countries and in different periods. It is influenced by the domestic situation in individual states, the depth of the class contradictions, the various level of the people's consciousness and organisation, anti-communist propaganda, the subtle social tactics of the bourgeoisie and so on. The course of the class battles is increasingly affected by international factors—the balance of strength in the world, the competition between the two social systems, and the international situation. For example, an easing of international tension stimulates a change of the alignment of forces in capitalist countries in favour of the working class and its allies, to the detriment of the most reactionary and aggressive groups of capital. On the contrary, when tension increases right-wing, reactionary forces become prominent in political life.

What are the basic features of the class struggle today?

A characteristic feature of the proletariat's class struggle is the growing scale of its strike struggle. As compared with

the pre-World War II level, the number of wage workers in capitalist countries has increased by 50 to 100 per cent, but there has been a more than 3.5-fold growth of the number of strikes. The attempts to blunt the edge of the class struggle by social reforms prove to be futile. All the imperialist countries without exception, including those only recently advertised as islands of "social peace" (Sweden, Denmark, Norway and the FRG) have now become theatres of sharp class battles.

In recent years the proletariat has been particularly active in advancing *economic and social demands*. Despite the difficulties of the crisis years it has on the whole succeeded in countering monopoly pressure and preserving and, in some instances, strengthening its positions. The continuing monopoly assault on the rights and interests of the masses is leading to a further increase of the struggle over jobs, wages, taxes, rents, and social security.

In addition to purely material grievances, the working class is pressing ever harder for democratic nationalisation, trade union control of the management of industrial enterprises, free access to culture and education for all working people and effective measures to protect the environment. These demands express the essence of the present stage of the class struggle, whose main direction is the fight to eradicate the effects of the crisis, to end the subordination of the state and its policies to the interests of the monopolies and to restrict the power of the monopolies in society. In this situation the *proletariat's economic struggle aimed at state-monopoly capitalism inevitably acquires a political character*. The day-to-day and long-term aims of the working class are steadily converging. The struggle for democracy is fusing with the struggle for the socialist prospect.

At the same time, we are witnessing a *growth of the number and dimensions of politically motivated actions of the working class*. The defence of democratic rights and freedoms increasingly threatened by monopoly reaction, the struggle against attempts to set up dictatorial or pro-fascist regimes, and the steadily growing scale of the actions against the arms race and war preparations are characteristic features of the working-class movement today.

In view of the fierce ongoing struggle against the unlimited power of the monopolies, the problem of unity is of the utmost importance for the growing working-class movement in the industrialised capitalist countries. The central issue of this problem is to ensure joint actions by all the organised contingents of the working class, notably the communist, social democratic and socialist parties and the trade unions. There has been some headway along this path in recent

years. The biggest strikes staged in the capitalist countries during this period were often marked by solidarity actions on the part of trade unions of various trends.

The struggle for unity in the working class is going on not only in individual countries but also internationally. There is increasing solidarity between the proletarians of capitalist countries and the working people of socialist states, increasing interaction between the communist parties of the socialist community and social democratic parties, above all on questions concerning the struggle against the threat of war.

The working class of capitalist countries is energetically supporting the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples. The working people of France displayed genuine internationalism during the years of the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese and Algerian peoples against French colonialism. Concerted actions by the working class and all other democratic forces of Portugal and fighters for national liberation in the former Portuguese colonies brought an end to imperialist domination in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. The struggle of the peoples of Kampuchea, Afghanistan, the Middle East, South Africa and Central America against the export of counter-revolution, neocolonialism and imperialist gambles has the support of working people throughout the world.

The struggle by the working people of industrialised and developing countries against the arbitrary actions of the transnational monopolies is gaining in scope.

The international links and solidarity of the workers of capitalist countries are steadily expanding. An important development of recent times has been the joint struggle of the working people of different West European countries against the anti-labour policies of the transnational monopolies. In opposition to the "Europe of trusts" they are fighting for a "Europe of working people, against the monopolies".

This refutes the inventions of the bourgeois ideologues, reformists and right and "left" revisionists that the working class of capitalist countries has lost its revolutionary spirit, that its political activity is slackening, that it has lost its vanguard role in the struggle for social progress.

The Struggle for an Alliance of All Anti-Monopoly Forces

Lenin said more than once that in industrialised capitalist countries the revolutionary battles cannot be regarded as a struggle of two clearly delimited class armies (proletarian and bourgeois) deployed on either side of the barricades. Large numbers of non-proletarians are also involved in this struggle. Objectively, in bourgeois society the interests of the

intermediate strata of the population coincide with the basic interests of the working class: like the proletariat they would gain from an end to monopoly rule and then to capitalism as a whole. However, by virtue of the status of these strata, which are composed mostly of working people who are, at the same time, proprietors, they vacillate between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The working class is profoundly interested in having an alliance with the intermediate strata in the struggle against big capital. The importance of such an alliance is compellingly demonstrated by the experience of the socialist revolutions that have triumphed.

In the industrialised capitalist countries there is now a growing possibility for forming a broad alliance between the working class and non-proletarian middle strata in their common struggle against the monopolies. This is due, in the first place, to the objective processes that stem from modern capitalism. During recent decades, as a result of the technological revolution that spread also to agriculture and of the monopoly penetration of agricultural production there has been a conspicuous acceleration of the ruin and proletarianisation of small farmers. In the developed capitalist countries the number of the farmers has fallen cumulatively from 84.7 to 31 million in the period from 1920 to 1978. Large numbers of farmers are rising in active struggle against the monopolies and the anti-farmer policies of bourgeois governments.

The peasantry can deliver themselves from monopoly oppression only in alliance with the working class, by joining in the common struggle for democratic reforms. While supporting and heading the peasant movement for land, against monopoly domination and landowner bondage, the working class orients the peasant masses towards a political struggle for a fundamental improvement of the economic and social condition of all working people.

In the industrialised capitalist countries the proportion of the peasantry and the "traditional" urban middle strata (shopkeepers, artisans) diminishes. At the same time, there is a growth of the numerical strength of persons belonging to the "new middle strata" engendered by the scientific and technological revolution (intellectuals, all sorts of middlemen, persons associated with the services industry and so on). They essentially have no private property and are mostly wage workers. Being cogs of the monopoly apparatus, these strata are subjected to capitalist exploitation and can, for that reason, be consistent opponents of capitalism and militant allies of the working class. The Communists do much to strengthen the links between the working class and the "new

middle strata", especially the intelligentsia.

The course of the post-World War II development of the class battles shows that the middle strata, both rural and urban, increasingly gravitate towards an alliance with the proletariat. Growing numbers of people belonging to these strata join the movement of solidarity with the working class. Many of them vote for candidates of labour parties at general and local elections. In developed capitalist countries the middle strata more and more frequently militate against the policies of the monopolies, especially against the arms race and war preparations. But, as a whole, these strata do not abide by working-class positions. Their alliance with the proletariat is at the formative stage.

The communist parties devote considerable attention to work with young people, particularly with students. Mass actions by worker and student youth express the growing protest against monopoly oppression and often develop into militant action against imperialism as a system. The communist parties see their task in spreading the doctrine of scientific communism among young workers and students and ensuring broad cooperation with them, in exposing the right and "left" opportunists, the Trotskyists, who flirt with young people and draw them away from the actual revolutionary struggle. It is only a close link with the working-class movement and its communist vanguard that can give young people a real revolutionary prospect.

In capitalist society a growing number of women is employed in production. They become increasingly active in the class struggle of the proletariat, in the anti-monopoly movement. Working women demand complete equality in civil rights, an end to wage discrimination, mother and child care measures and so on.

Growing numbers of religious people join in the struggle for democratic rights and against the threat of nuclear war emanating from imperialism. The fusion of these movements with the general struggle of the working class and all working people broadens the front of revolutionary forces.

In this way the conditions are gradually taking shape for uniting all the democratic movements opposed to the unlimited power of the financial oligarchy into a single world anti-monopoly current.

The anti-monopoly struggle unfolding in the industrialised capitalist countries under working-class leadership has a general democratic thrust. Its aims are to achieve fundamental democratic reforms, restrict the power of the monopolies, and win for the working people more influence on the foreign and domestic policies of governments in the interests of the masses. Under present-day conditions the anti-monop-

oly, general democratic struggle is the most expedient way of leading the masses towards the struggle for socialism.

In the course of the struggle for democratic reforms the Communists work to strengthen working-class unity, to further the cohesion of the political army of the socialist revolution, to strike at the monopolies and create the political and organisational prerequisites for the transition of power to the proletariat and its allies.

In the course of united anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist actions favourable conditions are being created for uniting all democratic currents in a political alliance capable of significantly curbing the role played by the monopolies in the economy, putting an end to the power of big capital, and enforcing fundamental political and economic reforms that would ensure the best possible conditions for continuing the struggle for socialism. The working class is the principal force of this democratic alliance.

The growth and strengthening of the socialist world system and the new balance of strength in the world are opening up new potentialities for socialist revolutions, for the conquest of power by the working class and its allies. The general weakening of capitalism, the aggravation of its antagonisms, the growth of the political maturity, organisation and cohesion of the working class, and the strengthening of the communist parties in almost all capitalist countries are creating a situation conducive to fundamental social reforms, to a victorious struggle for socialism.

Throughout the world the future belongs to working people. The way to this future lies through the class struggle and the socialist revolution.

Chapter 7

NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The national liberation movement is a component of the world revolutionary process. In the years since World War II it has spread to vast areas of the former colonial and semi-colonial world with mounting strength. Peoples that only recently were fettered in colonial chains have embarked upon the road of national independence and progress.

1. HISTORICAL PLACE OF MODERN NATIONAL LIBERATION REVOLUTIONS

Imperialism divided humankind into a handful of privileged great powers and the majority of the peoples of the world oppressed by them. In 1919 colonies and dependent countries had 72 per cent of the world's territory and 69.4 per cent of its population. The colonial system spells out national oppression and exploitation in their most inhuman and barbarous forms.

Downfall of the Colonial System

The peoples of colonial and dependent countries never reconciled themselves to oppression. They fought colonialism courageously, producing thousands of champions of freedom and independence. But the forces were unequal and the military machine of the colonialists ruthlessly suppressed popular risings.

The October Revolution of 1917 in Russia undercut imperialism's positions and changed the direction of the historical process. It inspired the oppressed masses of the colonies and semi-colonies to rise in struggle, drawing them into the general torrent of the world-wide liberation movement. The colonial system entered a period of severe crisis.

In the past period of more than half a century the national liberation struggle was stimulated by many factors. These included the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and its

experience of delivering the more than hundred nations and nationalities inhabiting tsarist Russia from social and national oppression; the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II; the victory of socialist revolutions and the building of socialism in a number of countries; and the growth of the revolutionary working-class movement in capitalist states. The struggle of the oppressed nations reached unprecedented proportions, embracing the entire colonial world. In the new international situation imperialism was no longer able to keep the colonial system intact. It collapsed under the blows of *national liberation revolutions*. In the post-World War II period some 100 new sovereign states came into being on the territories of former colonies and semi-colonies.

Bourgeois ideologues claim that the imperialists granted freedom to their colonies. In fact, national independence was won by the peoples from the colonialists as a result of long and tenacious struggles. In some cases these were armed actions in which patriots displayed heroism and revolutionary determination. In a number of colonial and dependent countries, for example, in Vietnam, Korea, Algeria, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola and Nicaragua, these actions erupted into wars of national liberation. The popular character of these wars profoundly affected subsequent social processes in these countries.

In many other cases the national liberation movement did not evolve into armed actions but, nevertheless, bore the stamp of open struggle against the colonialists, a struggle which involved large masses of people.

The collapse of the colonial system and the attainment of political independence by imperialism's former colonies and semi-colonies marked a steep revolutionary turn in the life of peoples comprising nearly two-thirds of the world's population. This was an event of immense historical significance and a great achievement of all humankind.

Political independence creates the conditions enabling former colonies and semi-colonies to resolve vital national problems and work for social progress. The prospects are opening up for ending socio-economic backwardness in vast regions of the world, for making rational use of enormous manpower resources and natural wealth, and for ridding many peoples of hunger and poverty. Countries that imperialism had held in the backwaters of history have become an important and active factor of world politics. They are making a large contribution to the solution of international problems.

Role and Character of National Liberation Revolutions

The historical place of national liberation revolutions was defined scientifically for the first time by Marxism. Marx and Engels linked the national-colonial question to class relations and to the class struggle. They showed that national oppression was a distinctive feature of capitalist society. The basis of this oppression lies in private property relations which determine the interests and policies of the exploiting classes. The founders of scientific communism proved that the national liberation of enslaved peoples was closely connected with the working-class struggle for socialism. They saw peoples in the liberation movement as an ally of the working class in the struggle against a common enemy. Marx and Engels demonstrated that the proletariat was uncompromisingly opposed to any national and colonialist oppression. Their winged words that "a people that oppresses other peoples cannot be free" became the fighting motto of proletarian internationalists.

The reformists who set the tone in the European working-class movement after the death of Marx and Engels came forward as apologists of colonialist policy and set out to isolate the proletarian movement from the national liberation struggle. They maintained that the oppressed peoples were "not ready" for independence. They portrayed the economic changes being effected in oppressed countries by the export of capital to these countries as the prerequisites that imperialism was allegedly creating for their political independence, for their automatic "decolonisation".

After World War II, when the colonial system was disintegrating and the national liberation struggle spreading, the social democratic parties adopted documents that formally condemned colonialism and denounced racism and racial discrimination. But in fact many right-wing leaders of these parties followed in the wake of the imperialist bourgeoisie's colonialist policy. More, this policy was in many cases implemented with the hands of these leaders.

Lenin enlarged upon the ideas of Marx and Engels on the national-colonial question in the epoch of imperialism, when the liberation movement was increasingly acquiring the nature of a single global process leading ultimately to the triumph of socialism. In this situation, Lenin wrote, the national liberation movement was becoming an inalienable part of the world revolutionary process, turning it into a single torrent of proletarian and national liberation revolutions. Lenin foretold that "the social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries

and a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations".¹ He stressed that in this process the leading role would be played by the international working class.

The question of working-class solidarity with peoples fighting for national liberation grew particularly acute after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Lenin said: "We now stand, not only as representatives of the proletarians of all countries but as representatives of the oppressed peoples as well."²

By creating a community of socialist countries the international working class reinforced its vanguard role in the world revolutionary process. It is only in alliance with the world socialist system that the national liberation movement can triumph.

In terms of their social content the national liberation revolutions are *democratic revolutions of a new type*. In what is this expressed?

First, their orientation is anti-imperialist. At the same time, in most countries these revolutions are aimed against feudal and, in some cases, pre-feudal relations backed by imperialism.

Second, the task of national liberation revolutions is to liberate former colonies and dependent countries not only politically but also economically. The attainment of political independence does not mean that these countries have freed themselves from imperialist exploitation. They remain the "world village" of the capitalist economic system. As a rule, the foreign monopolies retain complete or partial control over their economies. This system of imperialist control and exploitation is precisely what confronts the national liberation revolution with the task of achieving economic emancipation.

Third, in the course of national liberation revolutions former colonies and dependent countries choose the way for their development. When they overthrew foreign domination in the past epoch the national liberation revolutions merely removed the medieval roadblocks to capitalist development. In that epoch the national movements were either bourgeois or bourgeois-democratic. But today the national liberation revolutions can lead to the creation of the prerequisites for a transition to socialist transformations. In the past there was

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, 1974, p. 60.

² V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organisation of the RCP(B), December 6, 1920". *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 453.

only *one road*—the capitalist road. Today there are *two options* for development—socialist or capitalist.

2. IMPERIALISM—THE CHIEF ENEMY OF PEOPLES FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE

Imperialism has been and remains the chief enemy of the national liberation movement. Monopoly capital tries to perpetuate the system of oppression of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to intensify their exploitation.

The Neocolonialist Policy of Imperialism

Imperialism continues to regard Asian, African and Latin American countries as sources of raw materials, spheres of investment and marketing, and founts of multimillion profits. Imperialism's colonialist policy has resulted in an appallingly low economic development level, the hunger of millions of people, a life-expectancy half that in developed countries, and mass illiteracy.

To maintain their rule the imperialists have wide recourse to intervention, coups, bribery, blackmail, the assassination of leaders they see as unsuitable and the kindling of ethnic and tribal strife. They strive to put their puppets in power, divide former colonies, and ignite separatist movements.

At the same time, they look for new ways and means of fettering nations that have won independence. One of imperialism's principal aims today is to safeguard world capitalism against further losses and hold these nations in its orbit. *The imposition of capitalist development upon the newly free states is the keynote of the plans laid by the present-day colonialists.*

The diverse forms and means used by imperialism to hold the developing countries in subjection are called *neocolonialism*.

The new forms of colonialism are particularly dangerous because they are camouflaged. The principal among them are economic forms, in particular those that come under the heading of "aid". Its purpose is to prevent sovereign nations from choosing their own road of development in keeping with their interests and make it easier for monopoly capital to infiltrate them. This "aid" is in many cases accompanied by terms that strike at national sovereignty. Much of it is spent on military aims, thereby strengthening militarist cliques.

The imperialists have expended much effort to reinforce their social bulwark in Asian, African and Latin American

states. Without entirely cutting off support to their former agents, the feudal-compradore circles and the tribal elite, they are striving to "domesticate" the national bourgeoisie, especially its right wing, by involving it as a junior partner in the exploitation of the resources and peoples of these states. Increasing attention is accorded to the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie, to technocratic elements and to students.

In their attacks on the national liberation movement the imperialist powers employ methods of collective colonialism. To this end they use agencies of a military-political and economic character, for instance, NATO and the EEC.

Crisis phenomena in neocolonialism came clearly to view in the 1970s under the impact of the liberation struggle of the peoples of developing countries, supported by world socialism. Deep cracks became visible in its political structure. Many agreements limiting the sovereignty of the new nations and giving the former colonial powers or other imperialist states various privileges, ranging from military bases to exclusive rights to the exploitation of strategic raw materials, were annulled. The military blocs entangling these countries fell apart or are in deep crisis. Neocolonialist economic relations, which condemned developing nations to the status of an exploited appendage of the capitalist world, began to fall apart.

In this context imperialism is trying to reconstruct neocolonialist policy, to adapt it to the changed conditions. The substance of this reconstruction is in the attempt to use a series of measures—from intensified penetration by transnationals to financial handouts and aid for limited economic and even industrial progress in the new nations—to foster dependent capitalist development in these countries and accelerate their integration with the capitalist world system. The imperialists are hoping that this line of action will be more palatable to the ruling groups in many new nations and serve as the basis for agreement with them, for it would give the privileged strata of these countries wide opportunities for enrichment. More than ever before, the neocolonialists are making use of anti-communism.

Neocolonialism's latest plans are a serious threat to the peoples of developing countries. Imperialism still has powerful levers for influencing them—technical, economic, financial, commercial, military and political. In the early 1980s the industrialised capitalist countries, which have somewhat over one-fourth of the population of the non-socialist world, accounted for over 85 per cent of the total industrial output of that part of the world. In the 1971-1982 period the debt of the developing countries to the industrialised capitalist

states increased more than 10-fold to total over 600 billion dollars.

However, there are many weak points and short-sighted calculations in neocolonialism's plans and these have been responsible for its set-backs in recent years. The main thing is that these plans clearly underrate the determination of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples to put an end to dependence on imperialism and to follow the road of freedom and social progress.

US imperialism is colonialism's mainstay and the most dangerous enemy of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. American propaganda is going all out to peddle the legend that the USA is not a colonialist power. In fact, the USA rules a number of colonial and semi-colonial territories. Moreover, scores of formally sovereign countries are in shackling dependence on the USA. US imperialism is the initiator and chief architect of the latest plans for enslavement of developing countries. The Pentagon's Rapid Deployment Force plays the role of a military truncheon against these countries and against the national liberation movement.

3. NEW STAGE OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND PROSPECTS FOR NON-CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

The uneven development of the national liberation revolutions is due to the great diversity of socio-economic and political conditions in the colonial and semi-colonial world and the dissimilar alignment of strength in the different countries between the colonialists and the freedom fighters.

There still are peoples living in colonial bondage and fighting for political independence. But, on the whole, the liberation struggle of the peoples now develops in a situation in which the colonial system has been, in the main, eradicated and the anti-imperialist movement has reached new historical milestones in many countries. Its main line of development is a deepening of the content of national anti-imperialist revolutions and a struggle against exploiting relations, both feudal and capitalist. The national liberation revolution does not end with the attainment of political independence. This independence becomes a fiction if the revolution does not give effect to profound social and economic changes and does not carry out the urgent tasks of national revival.

Economic Liberation—a Central Task

In countries that have won political independence the national liberation revolution enters a new stage, the stage of struggle for economic liberation, for consolidation, on this

basis, of state independence and for social progress. The question of the direction of social development is decided in the course of the struggle for economic liberation. A hallmark of the new stage is the gradual fusion of national liberation tasks with social reforms, the role of which grows steadily as they move to the forefront. This by no means signifies that the national anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist element fades—it retains its importance. It only means that there has been a change in the balance between it and the social factor on which the fulfilment of pressing national liberation tasks now also depends increasingly.

The sharp contradiction between newly won political independence and the continued economic dependence, the continued exploitation of the new nations, intensifies their conflict with imperialism and stirs them to action. This was compellingly borne out by the events of the 1970s. Confronted by imperialism's unyielding striving to go on controlling their economic life, the developing countries took determined steps. A wave of nationalisation of foreign companies swept across virtually the entire Third World. The purpose was to restore the sovereignty of the developing countries over their natural wealth and to win economic independence. Not confining themselves to this, the new nations began to insist on a fundamental restructuring of their economic relations with the capitalist world and getting these relations reconsidered in a spirit of equality and equal benefit. In other words, they began to press for a new international economic order. A restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic basis, on the basis of equality, is historically justified.

The peoples of the newly free states have set about breaking up the colonialist socio-economic structure. They try to implement a democratic programme of deep-going social reforms. Various methods are used to restrict and oust the imperialist monopolies. The most radical of these is nationalisation of their property.

The creation of a *public sector* and its conversion into the dominant factor of the economy are an important way of winning economic independence, speeding up the development of the productive forces and consolidating the material foundations of social progress. Control of commanding heights such as foreign trade, the banking system, industry producing the means of production, transport and energy places the public sector in a position to play an immense role in smashing the colonial economic structure and creating a new one. It can, moreover, subordinate the foreign capital permitted to operate in a given country to national requirements.

The socio-economic content of the public sector is dissimilar in different countries. It depends chiefly on the character of the regime and the alignment of class forces. If the public sector is subordinated to national interests, if it is not an appendage of private capitalist enterprises it becomes a powerful socio-economic and political factor in opposition to the foreign monopolies and to the spontaneous operation of private enterprise. In this case the public sector can serve as the material basis for a transition to non-capitalist development, a basis for the revolutionary-democratic policy of progressive regimes.

Agrarian reforms are likewise of great significance in the struggle for economic independence, for full liberation from imperialism.

In developing and dependent countries the peasants suffer from acute land-hunger, primitive forms of production, absence of modern equipment, and brutal exploitation by feudal landlords and other landowners, usurers and foreign companies. For example, in Latin American countries nearly 60 per cent of the peasants are landless and have to rent it from landowners on onerous terms. The parasitical stratum of feudal rent receivers and usurers appropriate and squander a vast proportion of national wealth and condemn rural working masses to hopeless penury.

There is a profound socio-political significance in the agrarian problem. The road chosen by a country that wins liberation depends in large part on who the peasants support. By virtue of the specific features of individual countries the concrete programmes for resolving the agrarian question may differ markedly. A common characteristic is that the democratic forces demand that agrarian reforms should be put into effect with the participation and in the interests of the peasants, that an end should be put to feudal and foreign property in land, to feudal and pre-feudal vestiges, and that the peasants should be given every assistance by the government in developing the land they receive and in setting up cooperative forms of farming.

Promotion of the cooperative movement on a genuinely democratic foundation creates the prerequisites for a transition to non-capitalist development in rural communities. This can be fostered by the formation of state farms, especially where big segments of the direct producers were separated from the land as a result of a capitalist restructuring of agriculture and where foreign monopolies operated large plantations and estates.

The attainment of economic independence is indivisible from the abolition of monocrop specialisation and the creation of a diversified national economy. For economically

backward countries it is historically indispensable to build up an industrial capability of their own.

The *democratisation of social life* is part and parcel of the democratic programme at the new stage of the revolution. This envisages: the break-up of the colonial administrative apparatus and the appointment in all areas of new leaders coming from the midst of the people and knowing their requirements; broad popular representation in political and administrative bodies; the curbing of reaction and the creation of conditions for the consolidation and unhampered activity of all the forces opposed to imperialism; recognition and extension of the rights of trade unions and of peasant and other mass organisations; enhancement of the people's living standards and the promotion of public education and the health services.

Lastly, a vital part of the democratic programme consists of an active anti-imperialist foreign policy, the fight for peace and security of nations, and cooperation with socialist countries.

Capitalism Leads into an Impasse

In the newly free states the national bourgeoisie tries to slow down the revolutionary development and achieve economic progress on the capitalist road. In the former colonies and semi-colonies where capitalist relations develop the imperialist monopolies, as a rule, retain important positions. The role of the public sector as an instrument for the building up of the national economy is seriously undermined by the fact that it is subordinate to the interests of the local bourgeoisie, which in many cases refuses to conduct a determined offensive against foreign capital.

By virtue of urgent needs of economic development and under pressure from the peasant movement the ruling circles of the national bourgeoisie have in some countries launched measures that are helping to extirpate outdated relations of production in agriculture. However, the central issue—that of land—is not settled in favour of the peasants: the landowners who go over to capitalist methods of farming hold on to a large proportion and in some cases the bulk of the arable land. Moreover, the peasants suffer from harsh forms of exploitation and arbitrary action by usurers.

In many of the countries governed by the national bourgeoisie, constitutions have been adopted that have abolished estate, caste and religious-communal privileges, proclaimed political rights for all citizens and eradicated the flagrant inequalities and discrimination planted by the coloni-

alists. But there has been no genuine democratisation of political life. Power is in the hands of privileged classes. Bureaucracy and corruption have woven nests for themselves in the state apparatus. The state obstructs the activities of progressive parties and organisations and brings repression down on the forces representing the interests of the masses.

In some countries there has been some improvement of the condition of the working people. However, exploitation still retains many colonialist features. Wages are extremely low and in most cases allow for but a miserable living. The hardships of the workers are compounded by mass unemployment. In effect, there has been no change in the living conditions of artisans and small shopkeepers. The majority of the peasants have likewise to contend with enormous hardships. The lot of the agricultural semi-proletariat is even bleaker. Those who fought and made the greatest sacrifices for national liberation have not shaken off exploitation and poverty. Meanwhile, the exploiting strata are growing richer.

The experience of some newly free states headed by the national bourgeoisie thus provides irrefutable evidence that capitalism does not resolve the problems of the national rejuvenation of former colonies and semi-colonies.

A neocolonialist type of economy is taking shape in countries ruled by a pro-imperialist, pro-colonialist bourgeoisie. In these countries foreign monopolies enjoy virtually unlimited freedom and extract growing profits by intensifying their exploitation of the working people.

The general democratic programme of the national liberation revolution does not fit into the framework of capitalism.

Non-Capitalist Development

Non-capitalist development delivers the peoples from the torments of capitalism and ensures rapid socio-economic progress. That such development was possible was indicated by Marx and Engels. The idea of non-capitalist development for former colonies and semi-colonies with support from countries where the proletariat has triumphed was enlarged upon by Lenin. He showed the untenability of the assertions that capitalist development was inevitable for countries that break with colonial oppression but as yet have no material and other conditions for a transition to socialism. Lenin pointed out that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet /socialist/ system and, through certain stages of develop-

ment, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage.”¹

The Marxist-Leninist idea of moving to socialism without going through the stage of capitalism has acquired special significance today when there is a socialist world system and experience of development along that road. In the lifetime of a single generation the Soviet republics of Central Asia have turned from backward semi-colonial territories into socialist industrial-agrarian regions. The Mongolian People's Republic has likewise developed along the non-capitalist road.

Under non-capitalist development the material prerequisites of socialism, which form spontaneously in capitalist society, are created consciously and purposefully: these are modern productive forces in industry and agriculture, a genuinely national economy, a growing working class with a mounting role in social life, a strengthening of the positions held by scientific socialism and the formation of the national democratic intelligentsia. Survivals of feudal and other pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and oppression are weeded out along this road. The nation takes shape and develops on the basis of socio-economic and cultural reforms.

All these changes are a component part and logical development of the democratic programme of the national liberation revolution. At the same time, these changes pave the way for the transition to a higher stage of development, when mainly socialist tasks are carried out.

Non-capitalist development requires a fundamental transformation of the whole of society's political superstructure. This involves a regrouping of class forces and the growth of the political role and influence of the proletariat. On this road, the *national liberation revolution—a new type of democratic revolution—evolves gradually into a socialist revolution.*

The experience of socialist-oriented countries, the new edition of the CPSU Programme says, confirms that “with the existing world alignment of forces, the formerly enslaved peoples have greater possibilities for rejecting capitalism and for building a future without exploiters, in the interests of the working people”.

Many factors of an internal and an external order foster the adoption of the socialist orientation by new nations. These include: the weakening of imperialism's positions, the strengthening of the socialist world system and the growth

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Second Congress of the Communist International”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 244.

of the international working-class movement; political, economic and cultural assistance from socialist countries; availability of experience of transition to socialism through non-capitalist development; consolidation of anti-imperialist solidarity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America; numerical growth of the working class and an expansion of the social base of the forces fighting for the socialist way of development; rise of the level of class and national self-awareness of the working people of former colonies and semi-colonies, reinforcement of the positions held by Marxist-Leninist parties, and the emergence of revolutionary-democratic parties embracing the theory of scientific socialism. Capitalism's increasing loss of creditability in the eyes of the wide public of the new nations is also of enormous significance in this respect.

The new nations choose the direction of their further development in acute class collisions. In these countries there are forces that are making every effort to hinder social progress and ensure the triumph of capitalism. The local reaction bitterly resists progressive development. It relies on active political, financial and, in many cases, military support from imperialism. Anti-communism is the ideological and political weapon of reaction.

The possibility for successful socialist-oriented development depends chiefly on whether the forces of democracy and social progress are able to take over the state administration of society in the course of the struggle for economic liberation and the completion of the national liberation revolution. Relying on support from the international proletariat and the community of socialist countries, the revolutionary-democratic forces are able to carry out the socio-economic reforms leading to such development.

Socialist-oriented states develop dissimilarly and have to cope with complex conditions. But the basic directions are the *same*. These are: a gradual whittling down of the positions held by imperialist monopolies, the local big bourgeoisie and the feudals and restriction of the activities of foreign capital; control by the people's state of the command heights in the economy, transition to the planned development of the productive forces and encouragement of the co-operative movement in rural communities; enhancement of the working people's role in social life and a gradual reinforcement of the state apparatus with national cadres loyal to the people; anti-imperialist foreign policy. The revolutionary parties articulating the interests of the working masses grow steadily stronger in these countries.

The socialist-oriented newly free states rely on socialist countries in their struggle for independent and progressive

development. A clear-cut anti-imperialist course in foreign policy, close cooperation with socialist countries and solidarity with anti-colonialist, liberation movements are, just as progressive domestic reforms, a hallmark of the socialist orientation. The revolutionary-democratic parties heading socialist-oriented countries promote links with the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties. For its part, *the CPSU steadfastly pursues a course towards the development of cooperation between the USSR and newly free states and the consolidation of world socialism's alliance with the national liberation movement.*

Imperialism and local reaction have not abandoned their efforts to return these countries to the capitalist road. In parallel with their attempts to remove progressive regimes by force, the neocolonialists try to orchestrate the reactionary degeneration of these regimes and a gradual change of their domestic and foreign policies with the aid of bourgeois-bureaucratic and right-wing nationalistic circles, whom they do their utmost to encourage.

Experience shows that the subversive actions of imperialism and its allies are effectively resisted in the newly free states and social progress is promoted successfully when the progressive regime relies on the masses and mobilises them, when reactionary designs are countered by the unity of all the forces dedicated to democracy and socialism.

Success by the revolutionary forces depends considerably on their ability to administer the economy, ensure economic growth and a gradual rise of the people's living standard, correctly combine the development of the various sectors of the economy under effective state control, and scrupulously take the interests of the small producer into account.

Serious difficulties stem from glaring socio-economic backwardness, a huge predominance of non-proletarian, petty-bourgeois elements in the population and a social heterogeneity of the forces at the helm of power. In countries headed by revolutionary democrats, the state itself is the arena of struggle between various class currents. Anti-communism or distrust for the Communists on the part of some proponents of revolutionary democracy are particularly dangerous.

Nor should one discount the noxious petty-bourgeois influence of the various "left" revisionist elements who inject confusion in the leadership of the developing countries, stirring up nationalism and even racist sentiments.

The formation and consolidation of mass, well-organised revolutionary parties capable of consciously expressing the striving of the peoples for socialism and fulfilling the role of vanguard is of special significance to the destiny of the progressive development of these countries.

In some former colonies and semi-colonies capitalism has made considerable headway. In these countries the local bourgeoisie is closely linked to imperialist monopolies and fears the people's movement most of all, seeing it as a threat to its privileges. Here the deepening, capitalist-bred class contradictions may create a situation in which the road to social progress will be opened by a socialist revolution.

4. MOTIVE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE AFTER INDEPENDENCE IS ACHIEVED

Under colonial rule almost all classes and social groups are oppressed by the colonialists and for that reason participate in the liberation movement to one extent or another. However, already then the various classes and groups pursue their own objectives, being committed differently to the attainment of national aims.

After the colonialist regimes are abolished the programme for revolutionary democratic reforms serves as a common platform of struggle. The working class, the peasants, the democratic intelligentsia, the urban petty bourgeoisie, patriotic army circles and a section of the national bourgeoisie unite around this programme.

The *working class* is the most determined opponent of imperialism and internal reaction and the staunchest fighter for the consistent and full implementation of the programme of democratic reforms. The role and tasks of the working class grow when the question of the way for the further development of former colonies and semi-colonies is being decided.

In developing countries the proletariat grows rapidly in number and strength. At the same time, there are factors that check the growth of its self-awareness and its consolidation as a class. A large segment of the industrial workers is scattered among small enterprises. The proletariat is continuously reinforced by people from the semi-proletarian strata and the peasantry with the result that petty-bourgeois ideology penetrates the working-class milieu. Despite this, in many former colonies and semi-colonies the proletariat set up communist parties as early as the first stages of its development. The Communists are the people who most fully articulate the vital interests of the nation and hold high the banner of the liberation struggle. They call for unity among all progressive and patriotic forces and press for the completion of the national liberation revolutions and for development in the direction of socialism.

The influence enjoyed by the proletariat depends directly on the extent of its unity with the peasants and with all the other working masses.

The *peasants* are the proletariat's main ally. They comprise nearly two-thirds of the population of the developing nations and have a considerable revolutionary potential. The awakening of the peasants and their mass actions against the colonialists have played an immense role in bringing about the downfall of colonialist regimes. The attitude of the peasant masses is of great significance also to the further destiny of the national liberation movement. In many countries these masses constitute the principal motive force of revolution. The peasants demand land and a fundamental improvement of their living condition. They are vitally interested in abolishing feudal relations, enforcing an agrarian reform, expelling foreign monopolies and democratising social life.

As the experience of a number of countries demonstrates, a large role in the liberation struggle after independence has been achieved can be played by the urban petty bourgeoisie and the urban lower strata. The *petty bourgeoisie* is linked to private property. But, as a rule, it takes a direct part in the work process, is exploited by the imperialists, and in countries where capitalism has reached a higher level of development is oppressed by the big bourgeoisie. The *urban lower strata* consist of semi-proletarian elements of the urban poor, who are eager to be delivered from penury, lack of culture and uncertainty of the future. The radical sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the social and political groups linked to them are interested in the enforcement of democratic changes and are capable of assaulting the positions of the bourgeoisie. But a certain conflict of interests and ideological instability of these forces in some cases enable reaction to use them against progressive elements.

Patriotic, democratic intellectuals, including students, play a large role in the national liberation movement. Large sections of them are imbued with militant anti-imperialist sentiments. This milieu often produces leaders and ideologues of the national liberation movement. World socialism's achievements and the scientific, technological and cultural progress of the socialist countries have an especially profound influence on the segments of the intelligentsia standing closest to the masses.

The *national bourgeoisie*—those of its groups that by virtue of their anti-imperialist sentiments can support socio-economic reforms—may also participate in the liberation struggle. The national bourgeoisie's dual attitude to the liberation movement was seen in bold relief already during the struggle against colonialist regimes. Its hostility to the foreign intruder is often muted by its fear of the militancy and independent actions of the masses. At the new stage of the national liberation revolutions the political behaviour of the national

bourgeoisie grows particularly contradictory. Some of its sections tend increasingly to cooperate with foreign monopolies, with imperialism and with internal reaction.

Whichever way and in whatever form the liberation struggle proceeds in the developing countries, a key condition for its further successful advance is the formation of a *united national anti-imperialist front of all of the nation's social and political forces able to participate in this struggle and play a progressive role at this stage of the revolution*. Practical steps towards an organisational formalisation of such fronts have been taken in a number of developing nations.

The creation of a united front does not lead to a cessation of the class struggle. In addition to championing national interests the various classes have their own distinctive interests. Although the conflict with imperialism and the local reaction remains the principal contradiction, internal social contradictions grow increasingly more acute at the same time. This is the most characteristic feature of the development of class relations in the newly free states at the present stage. The elements underlying this process are, above all, the deepening social differentiation, the changes in the social structure as a result of economic development, the establishment of institutions of national statehood and the build-up of a system of public education.

Social contradictions are especially aggravated by the attitudes of the various social groups and strata to the new tasks of the national liberation revolution. The very character of the new phase, when the diverse social forces come face to face with the question of the way their country will develop, stimulates an understanding and accentuation of their class interests and, consequently, the surfacing of social divergences. This is what explains the fact that in most developing nations at the present stage it is no longer the peasantry as a whole but mainly its toiling and exploited strata that are able to come forward as the motive force of the liberation struggle, while the national bourgeoisie ceases to be a revolutionary and motive force of this struggle (although some, even influential, sections may participate in a united anti-imperialist front).

Today it is of ever growing significance to ensure close-knit unity among all the progressive forces in the developing countries, especially between revolutionary democrats and Communists, and to enhance the militancy and organisation of the working class and all other working people. The weakness and inadequate influence of the proletariat in these countries are to some extent compensated for by the revolutionising impact of the socialist world system and the international working-class movement, which carry out the function

of the proletarian vanguard on a global scale. However, it is only the struggle of the democratic forces of the developing nations themselves against imperialism and internal reaction that decides the destiny of these countries.

5. IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The national liberation revolutions gather momentum in an acute ideological struggle. A distinctive feature of this struggle in countries that have shaken off colonial tyranny is, on the one hand, their visible socio-economic backwardness and, on the other, the fact that the problem of national liberation remains the highest priority of society's life. The imperialists mobilise all their potentialities to prevent the intellectual emancipation of these peoples and erect barriers to progressive ideas.

The national liberation movement has dealt a crushing blow to racism, the ideology of the old colonialism. The imperialists now formally recognise the right of nations to self-determination and equality. However, in order to retain the newly free states in capitalism's sphere and poison the consciousness of the masses, they are making every effort to put over the idea that the West has a "civilising" role to play, they laud bourgeois ideology and bourgeois democracy, "the Western way of life" and "free enterprise". To spread their ideology the colonialists use the services of local reaction which is drawing steadily closer to imperialism spiritually as well.

Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are imperialism's main ideological and political weapons in its efforts to keep the former colonies and semi-colonies within its orbit. Imperialism uses these instruments to try and split the national liberation movement, isolate its vanguard, prevent the new nations from promoting their relations with socialist countries and lull public vigilance relative to the intrigues of the neocolonialists.

In many of the new nations survivals of patriarchal, tribal thinking and religious prejudices still make themselves felt. Local reaction and the imperialists endeavour to use this to kindle internal discord and attack the democratic forces. For their part, the revolutionary forces strive to place folk customs and the traditions of communal collectivism in the service of progressive development and disseminate scientific knowledge.

Nationalistic ideas are widespread in former colonies and semi-colonies. Scientific communism regards nationalism in a specific historical context, with account of the interests of social progress. It distinguishes between the nationalism of

an oppressor nation and that of an oppressed nation. The nationalism of the imperialist bourgeoisie preaches chauvinism and racial exclusiveness. This is most strikingly exemplified by the racist ideology of fascism and of the most aggressive segments of the present-day American bourgeoisie. The nationalism of oppressed nations is quite a different thing. "The bourgeois nationalism of *any* oppressed nation," Lenin wrote, "has a general democratic content that is directed *against* oppression, and it is this content that we *unconditionally* support."¹

For the overwhelming proportion of the masses that has yet to rise to the level of class ideas, notably for the millions of peasants, nationalism is the initial phase of the anti-imperialist consciousness. This nationalism is historically justified, and the Communists support its progressive thrust. Needless to say, scientific communism sees also the other aspect of nationalism in the new nations or the countries winning independence, an aspect that is primarily an expression of petty-bourgeois prejudices or an ideological and political cover for the interests of the local exploiters. In waving the flag of nationalism, the exploiting classes usually present their selfish interests as national, and this slows down the growth of the class consciousness of the working masses.

Hence, support for the general democratic content of nationalism does not rule out a struggle by the working class and all the progressive forces against reactionary manifestations of nationalism. Devotion to the people and a passionate desire to serve its interests constitute the bridge that makes it easier for the revolutionaries of oppressed nations to accept internationalist ideology.

In the newly free states a sharp struggle goes on among the various forces over the ideology and policy of nationalism. The anti-popular forces try to damp down nationalism's general democratic content and accentuate its reactionary features, to give it an anti-communist slant. In addressing the Communists of the East, Lenin noted: "You will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening, and must awaken, among those peoples, and which has its historical justification."² In parallel, it is today of the utmost significance to repulse reactionary nationalistic tendencies, the attempts of imperialism and internal reaction to further their own interests against the aspirations of the masses and against tested friends of the new nations, the socialist coun-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, 1972, p. 412.

² V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

tries. Lenin pointed out that the international proletariat is the sole ally of the exploited peoples of the East. The way of the former colonial peoples to national revival does not lie across nationalistic exclusiveness, which leads to isolation from the forces of world progress and to the triumph of internal reaction. It lies across close internationalist unity of all peoples, regardless of race and nationality, in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism.

A characteristic feature of the present intellectual life of former colonies and semi-colonies is that concepts of "national socialism" have become current. In many countries these concepts have been adopted as the official state doctrine. Adjusting to the sentiments of the masses the exponents of the interests of the exploiting classes often try to use the popular socialist slogans to further their own class aims and hinder the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism. Their theories are permeated with hostility for communism.

Although in the newly free states various concepts of socialism are often pure demagoguery by the reactionaries or are a cover for the attempts of the bourgeoisie to establish capitalist relations, the fact that such concepts are being disseminated is evidence of the attractive power of socialist slogans in former colonies and semi-colonies. That the bourgeois or pro-bourgeois governments of many developing countries have not risked coming out openly in favour of capitalist development is evidence of the depth of anti-capitalist feeling in these countries and of the stinging ideologico-political defeat that has been suffered by capitalism.

The doctrines advanced by the revolutionary democrats have a fundamentally different significance. Unquestionably, they contain quite a few utopian and unscientific postulates. Nor are they free from the influence of nationalistic ideas. But to a considerable extent they mirror the aspirations of the working peasants, the semi-proletarian elements and the urban petty-bourgeois strata siding with them. These concepts are advanced by forces that sincerely strive for socialism and regard it as the only way for the development for their countries. They have absorbed many provisions of scientific socialism and serve as the ideological banner for a policy aimed at enforcing radical socio-economic reforms leading to non-capitalist development. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that these doctrines are not something definitive and final. Their content reflects the transient nature of the socio-economic relations in the new nations and the political level of the masses. The possibility of evolution is implicit in them, and they are indeed being modified and specified in the process of the national liberation struggle. Under certain circumstances the doctrines of the revolutionary

democrats may be a stage in the transition to scientific socialism.

Scientific socialism grows steadily stronger in the developing countries. The prestige of its ideas is fostered by experience. It shows the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching. It disperses the slander of its enemies that scientific socialism is "inapplicable" to the specific conditions obtaining in the former colonies and semi-colonies and to the national liberation struggle.

Chapter 8

THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS TODAY

The struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is one of the key tasks of our day. It is inseparable from the struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism. It expresses the common interests of socialist countries, of peoples who have embarked upon the road of national revival and the working people of capitalist states. It is consistent with the needs of the progress of all humankind.

1. IMPERIALISM—SOURCE OF WARS AND THE THREAT OF WAR

The creation of the conditions for excluding war from society's life is linked to the emergence and development of socialism and its influence on international life.

A Burning Issue of Our Time

Wars have been fought throughout millennia. Their inevitable consequences are the death and suffering of people and the destruction of the material and spiritual values created by humanity. As antagonistic society developed, wars became increasingly more destructive, especially so in the epoch of imperialism. During World War I (1914-1918) the toll was 10 million people killed, double that number maimed and millions of deaths from hunger and epidemics. In other words, that war carried away as many lives as did all the wars in Europe in the course of the preceding thousand years. Nearly 50 million people were killed and tens of millions were wounded or crippled in World War II (1939-1945). More than 20 million Soviet citizens lost their lives in that war. On Soviet territory the Nazi invaders destroyed 1,710 towns and industrial townships and over 70,000 villages and hamlets.

Humankind's very existence is menaced by modern weap-

ons of mass destruction—thermonuclear bombs and chemical and bacteriological weapons.

The most crucial task today is to ensure world peace, to avert the threat of a global thermonuclear war. In documents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union it is stressed that there is today no more important task for every nation than to preserve peace, to ensure to every person the most cardinal right, the right to life.

The local wars kindled by reactionary imperialist circles are a hindrance to social progress and a cause of people's suffering. These circles try to use local wars as a means of disuniting the anti-imperialist forces and achieving the aims of their aggressive policy. Local wars erode the foundations of universal peace and open the road to a world war. That is why it is the duty of all the peace forces to take a determined stand against the imperialist policy of fermenting local wars.

The discourses of imperialism's ideologues and political leaders about the possibility of fighting a "limited", "protracted", or any other kind of nuclear war are particularly ominous.

Humanity is facing a global alternative: either the creation of prerequisites for the progress of every nation under conditions of peace or an unparalleled catastrophe that would put civilisation's attainments in jeopardy.

The question of universal peace, of the ways for achieving it has long been raised by progressive thinkers. A scientific reply to this question has been given by Marxism-Leninism.

The founders of scientific communism considered this question on the basis of a concrete analysis of actually prevailing conditions and the actual social forces capable of ensuring peace on earth. They proved that in place of the old, exploiting society "with its economical miseries and its political delirium" there would come a new society "whose international rule will be *Peace*, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—*Labour!*".¹ They showed that the alliance of the workers of all lands would rule out all wars, that the simple human laws of morality and justice would become the highest principles of the relations between nations. The struggle for this international policy, Marx noted, "forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes".²

The advent of the working class on the historical scene

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 39.

² Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. II, p. 18.

and its struggle against the exploiters signified that a tangible force had appeared that was capable of putting an end to wars. "Union of the working classes of the different countries," Marx wrote, "must ultimately make international wars impossible."¹ The founders of Marxism pointed out that even before it comes to power the working class should not be indifferent to the wars planned and conducted by the bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels urged that under capitalism, too, the working people should fight for peace, against wars of aggrandisement, intervene actively in foreign policy questions and uphold the interests of peace. They regarded the eradication of hostility between nations as a component of the general revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the working people.

The emergence of socialism signified that the might of a state-organised proletariat was blocking the road to imperialist wars. Socialism has become the dependable bulwark of the struggle for peace. "An end to wars," Lenin wrote, "peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence—such is our ideal."²

Causes and Sources of War in the Present Epoch

Wars are not an everlasting curse burdening human nature. They are the product of definite socio-economic conditions. Their foundation is private property and the class antagonisms and international conflicts resulting from its existence. The exploiting classes have used wars as an instrument of their policy, as the continuation of it by violent, armed struggle. "War," Lenin wrote, "is a continuation of policy by other means. All wars are inseparable from the political systems that engender them. The policy which a given state, a given class within that state, pursued for a long time before the war is inevitably continued by that same class during the war, the form of action alone being changed."³

Militarism and a policy of aggression are linked to the class interests of exploiters. History demonstrates that the causes of military collisions between states have been territorial, economic and political expansion and encroachments upon the national sovereignty of peoples by ruling exploiting

¹ "Record of Marx's Speech on the Attitude of the International Working Men's Association to the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom. From the Minutes of the General Council Meeting of August 13, 1867", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, 1985, p. 426.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Peace", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 293.

³ V. I. Lenin, "War and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, 1974, p. 400.

classes seeking to increase their wealth. As a rule, wars were unleashed by states where militarism flourished and acquired predominance. In the 20th century domination by the imperialist monopolies has created fertile soil for militarism. Some foreign sources have estimated that in the epoch of imperialism there have been over 130 wars and armed conflicts.

Imperialism's aggressive expansionist ambitions, its drive for world supremacy, is the principal source of the war threat in the 20th century. The claims of monopoly capital of each imperialist power to world hegemony came into conflict with the same claims of its rivals. This led to World War I. The aspirations of imperialist countries for world supremacy brought on World War II.

In the period since World War II imperialism's aggressive actions have time and again created the threat of another world war. On the pretext of combating the "communist menace" imperialism has girdled the globe with a network of military bases and formed a system of aggressive military blocs. The imperialist powers started the policy of cold war with its adventurist strategic doctrines of "deterrence", "preventive war", "rolling back" and "containing" communism, "balancing on the brink of war", and so forth. In this period imperialism has unleashed dozens of aggressive local wars against peoples fighting for national independence and social progress.

The radical change of the world balance of strength in favour of socialism and the growth of the working-class and national liberation movements have reduced imperialism's possibilities for embarking upon military adventures.

Nonetheless, to this day imperialism remains the generator of dangerous aggressive tendencies. Although its chances in this respect have been dramatically diminished, its nature has not changed. In the West there has been an activation of the most bellicose groups, whose class hatred for socialism transcends the sense of reality and sometimes simply common sense. The imperialist forces are creating flashpoints of international conflicts, imperiously interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples, exporting counter-revolution and escalating the dangerous arms race.

In an effort to whitewash imperialism and absolve it of the responsibility for bellicose policies, bourgeois ideologues are offering a specious interpretation of the causes of wars. Some see these causes in people's psychology or in natural conditions. For instance, the Malthusian and geopolitical theories assert that wars break out as a result of demographic pressures or geographical factors.

The subterfuges of bourgeois propaganda notwithstand-

ing, the peoples increasingly realise that the social causes of wars can only be removed with the removal of their source, imperialism, from the historical scene.

Just and Unjust Wars

In the long run, all wars spring from the antagonistic, exploiting system, but they differ in nature and objectives. There are just and unjust wars.

Just wars pursue the objective of liberating working people from class and national oppression, of safeguarding peoples against attempts to enslave them. These wars are a means of struggle by the masses against reaction when it seeks to use force to prevent the solution of pressing problems of social progress. The slave risings of the antiquity, the peasant wars of the Middle Ages, the revolutionary wars of the period of bourgeois revolutions and the civil wars of the epoch of struggle for socialism accelerated the extinction of outworn social systems and paved the way for new ones. The defeat in World War II of German fascism and Japanese militarism was a victory over the assault force of imperialist reaction. This victory paved the way for a new upsurge of the working-class revolutionary struggle and the national liberation movement and helped a number of countries to embark upon the road to socialism.

Today just wars are, first, wars in defence of the socialist homeland; second, civil wars directed against counter-revolution endeavouring to restore and perpetuate the system of exploitation and oppression; and, third, national liberation wars.

The Communists are in the forefront of the fighters for social and national liberation. For that reason they support just wars. Since they side with the oppressed, they "cannot be opposed to wars whose purpose is democratic or socialist struggle against oppression".¹

The Communists do not accept abstract pacifism. While they sincerely condemn the threat of a world nuclear war, the pacifists reject all, including just, wars. Their argument is that since wars bring death and destruction (and today the scale of such destruction is particularly great) the distinction between just and unjust wars loses its meaning.

If this argument is accepted, one will have to condemn the just struggle of peoples for social and national liberation. One will then have to oppose social progress on the grounds that it threatens to upset the existing order and generate

¹ V. I. Lenin, "An Open Letter to Boris Souvarine", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 196.

civil and liberation wars. This approach is not only utopian but also reactionary because it conflicts with the laws of historical development. The threat of war comes not from the just struggle of the masses for their rights and interests, but from the reactionary forces prepared to take any gamble to preserve or restore their rule.

Unjust wars, as distinct from just wars, are fought by the exploiting classes either to seize foreign territory or repartition spheres of influence or to suppress a liberation movement. Unjust wars brought humankind incalculable distress and reduced entire nations to slavery and oppression for centuries on end.

2. SOCIALISM AND PEACE ARE INDIVISIBLE

From the nature of socialism stems its international policy which is a policy of peace and friendship among nations.

Principles of Foreign Policy

The fact that the socialist revolution is not accomplished simultaneously in all countries means that socialist and capitalist countries have inevitably to coexist for a long time. The October Revolution made the coexistence of the Soviet socialist state and capitalist countries a reality. Proceeding from the new international situation, Lenin charted the foreign policy of the Soviet state. This is a policy of struggle for lasting peace, for the prevention of war, a policy of peaceful coexistence with capitalist states, consolidation of international solidarity with the working people of all countries and the oppressed peoples of colonies, a policy of uniting the revolutionary and democratic forces against imperialism and militarism, a policy of involving the working masses in discussing international issues and in policy-making.

The essence of the policy of peaceful coexistence was expressed by Lenin as follows: "peaceful coexistence with all peoples; with the workers and peasants of all nations".¹

The historic mission of first applying socialist principles of international policy fell to the Soviet people and their Communist Party. Lenin's famous Decree on Peace (1917), adopted on the day after the working class of Russia triumphed, was a challenge to the old society. It was addressed directly to the peoples and not only to the governments of the belligerent countries, thereby drawing the working masses into

¹ V. I. Lenin, "In Reply to Questions Put by Karl Wiegand, Berlin Correspondent of Universal Service", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 365.

the discussion and settlement of the cardinal issue of world politics, the question of war and peace. The Decree was an expression of the foreign policy programme of the proletariat. Submitting the decree for endorsement by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Lenin raised the question of the socialist state's attitude to the existing system of international law, to the practice of treaties and agreements. He said: "The predatory governments ... not only made agreements between themselves on plunder, but among them they also included economic agreements and various other clauses on good-neighbourly relations." The socialist state differentiated such provisions and agreements: "We reject all clauses on plunder and violence, but we shall welcome all clauses containing provisions for good-neighbourly relations and all economic agreements; we cannot reject these."¹ The Soviet government declared that it was prepared to promote good-neighbourly relations and economic links with all states, regardless of their social system.

Lenin showed that there was an inseparable bond between peaceful coexistence and peaceful socialist construction. He stressed that under conditions of peace the Soviet state would much more quickly end the backwardness inherited from tsarism, achieve a high level of economic and cultural development, and prove the advantages of the new social system.

He identified the factors making peaceful coexistence possible. The most important of these are: the nature of the socialist system in which there are no classes or social groups interested in wars; socialism's growing economic, political and military might that checks imperialist aggression; conformity of socialism's policy of peace with the interests of all the peoples of the world; growth of the political militancy and consciousness of the working masses of capitalist states, colonies and dependent countries, and their growing readiness to uphold peace and friendship among nations; the ineradicable inter-imperialist contradictions that make it hard for the imperialists to start a war against socialism; the desire of some bourgeois circles to promote business relations with the socialist state.

The impact of these factors grew as socialism grew stronger and developed and the peoples became more active in the struggle for peace. Socialism's might increased and the socialist policy of peace won growing prestige.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1977, p. 255.

Realistic Possibility of Averting War

At the first stage of its development socialism could not yet act as a determining force on the international scene. Capitalism had the edge both economically and militarily. The Soviet state made every effort to prevent the outbreak of another world war. But its strength and that of the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, a movement that was divided, proved to be inadequate. Imperialism started a second world war for global supremacy. Its principal objective was to destroy the world's first state of workers and peasants.

The emergence of a community of socialist states, the growing might of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the spread of the revolutionary communist, working-class and national liberation movements marked the beginning of a new stage in international relations. The world balance of strength changed with the conditions arising under which imperialism was no longer in a position to determine the course of world events. Socialism was now able to play a leading role in settling world problems. On the basis of their assessment of the new international balance of strength, the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties drew the conclusion that in the modern epoch it was possible to avert a global war.

Of course, as long as imperialism exists there will be the threat of war. But humankind now has the forces and means for preventing a world war, for curbing and isolating the warmongers, and crushing militarism.

What are these forces?

First and foremost, the *growing economic and defence capability of the community of socialist states*. This capability is a constant reminder for the imperialist aggressors that the days of unpunished brigandage in international affairs have gone for good. Lenin noted that "whoever forgets about the danger that is constantly threatening us and will never cease as long as world imperialism exists, whoever forgets about this forgets about our working people's republic."¹

The banner of peace is borne on high by the *working class of capitalist countries*, which unites all the democratic forces around itself. It is the bedrock of a broad peace movement that responds vigilantly to peace-threatening political actions on the part of the imperialist states. The ruling circles of capitalist countries have to reckon with the fact that the working class and all other sections of the democratic public

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 519-20.

are determined to prevent another world war.

The countries that have liberated themselves from colonialism are coming forward more and more vigorously as an independent force on the world scene. A large contribution is being made to the struggle for peace and security by the non-aligned movement, of which the majority of the developing nations are members.

A major factor preventing another world war is the *broad popular anti-war movement*. The suffering and horrors of past wars have taught people a lot. The appearance of nuclear weapons which have increased the threat of mass destruction has spurred the growth of the peace movement. It unites large segments of society regardless of their views, religious beliefs, social affiliation and nationality. Democratic international organisations act effectively in defence of peace.

It must be taken into account that among the bourgeoisie there are people insisting on the settlement of outstanding issues by negotiation. Fear of retaliation and the understanding that a nuclear war will bring no economic or political benefits compel sober-thinking quarters of the bourgeoisie to turn to a policy of peace as the most constructive international policy of our time.

The Communists are in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for the prevention of a world war.

Imperialism's repeated attempts since the end of World War II to unleash a global holocaust have been cut short by the unremitting, vigorous actions of the peace forces. These actions have demonstrated in practice that a world war can be averted.

The scales of world politics are steadily tilting in favour of peace. But this is no reason for complacency. Aggressive imperialist tendencies continue to surface. They are stimulated by the anti-popular interests of the military-industrial complex, which consists of the leading monopolies closely linked with the bourgeois state. Militarism and the arms race are being escalated to unparalleled proportions. The imperialist monopolies, the military and the fascist groupings form the triumvirate of world reaction that wants a war in order to put back the clock of history, destroy socialism and suppress the working-class and national liberation movements.

Peace can be safeguarded only by determined struggle. The most effective way to universal peace is not the paying of any price, not the appeasement of aggressors, which, as the experience of history has shown, paves the way to war, but the waging of a determined struggle against the forces of aggression.

The main objective of the concrete and realistic programme of struggle for peace and international cooperation is to achieve a decisive turn from international tension to detente and mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of world socialism's strength and its widening alliance with the forces of progress and peace. The CPSU's foreign policy programme envisions measures to quench flashpoints of war, ensure peace and collective security, promote international cooperation, halt the arms race, create the conditions for disarmament, sweep away the last colonial regimes and promote the fight against racism and apartheid.

The Peace Programme has led to profound changes in world developments. That this is a realistic and effective programme is borne out by the fact that already in the initial years following its adoption a number of major steps were taken to put in practice the principles of peaceful coexistence and improve the situation world-wide.

The hotbed of war in Vietnam and then in the whole of Southeast Asia was extinguished thanks to the heroism of the Vietnamese people who had the support of socialist countries and progressive opinion throughout the world. The treaties signed with the Federal Republic of Germany by the USSR and other socialist community states provided the prerequisites for stable peace and good-neighbourly cooperation in and outside Europe. These beneficial changes were codified by a European Conference held in Helsinki in the summer of 1975 and attended by the leaders of 33 European states, the USA and Canada. This conference's Final Act contains a code of principles governing state-to-state relations entirely in keeping with the requirements of peaceful coexistence.

Further, the principle of peaceful coexistence materialised in the 1970s in the rapid expansion of economic, scientific, technological and cultural relations between states with different social systems.

The struggle for general and complete disarmament has a large role to play in ensuring peace. "When many cannon are stockpiled they begin to fire by themselves," says an old piece of conventional wisdom. The more means of destruction there are the greater becomes the threat of a world war. The material damage that a world thermonuclear war can inflict defies calculation. According to United Nations estimates, the nuclear weapons presently stockpiled have a 15-fold overkill capacity. This makes it increasingly imperative to conduct a determined struggle in order to ensure the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear and other

weapons of mass destruction.

General and complete disarmament is the end goal of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. In view of the difficulties involved in achieving this goal the fraternal socialist countries are working for progress in individual sectors of the road leading to it as well. Some steps have already been taken in that direction. But they have been made against the background of a continuing arms race initiated by imperialist quarters interested in sustaining international tension.

A major way of preserving and reinforcing peace is through mutually beneficial trade. Little wonder that the adversaries of the peace policy are attempting to wreck the signed treaties and introduce discrimination in the trade relations with socialist countries. Although, in the long term, this short-sighted policy boomerangs against its orchestrators it is prejudicial to international cooperation. For that reason the Soviet Union consistently presses for the broad development of international commerce, for the consolidation of economic relations. Motivated by commercial interests, West European states and monopolies are moving more and more openly towards economic cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries. This is seen in the expansion of the economic, scientific and technological relations of the socialist countries with many capitalist states. "There is a force," Lenin said, "more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us."¹

The changes for the better that took place in the 1970s have become known as detente. It benefited the overall development of world affairs and enhanced the prestige of existing socialism. That explains why in the late 1970s and early 1980s imperialist reaction started a massive assault on detente in order to disrupt it and return the world to the cold war.

Socialism counters imperialism's aggressive policies with fresh efforts to remove the threat of war and reinforce international security. The USSR and other countries of the socialist community are initiating important steps to preserve peace. The USSR has unilaterally undertaken a no-first-use of nuclear weapons commitment. The USSR and its allies have proposed that the member-states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation sign a treaty on mutual non-use of military force in the re-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 155.

lations between them. The USSR has tabled a proposal on stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear arms the world over by the year 2000.

The initiatives of the socialist countries are motivated by the principle of equality and equal security. The USA and other NATO powers are opposing these initiatives with proposals designed to give them unilateral advantages, to secure the unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union. These proposals are clearly unacceptable to the socialist community states.

Peace is an imperative of the present stage of humankind's development. It is consistent with the vital interests of socialism, the working class and other working people, of all nations. In order to uphold peace it is essential to break the resistance of imperialism, to prevent it from kindling the fire of another world war.

3. STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The preservation and consolidation of peace are a problem that concerns the entire human race. A thermonuclear war would not spare a single continent. But this problem is being tackled in a situation in which there are two opposing social systems, one of which, socialism, represents the future of humankind, and the other, capitalism, its past. The problem of peace can be fully resolved and war can be excluded from society's life solely by socialism. This means that the problem of war and peace is inseparable from our epoch's main content, the transition from capitalism to socialism. The relationship between the struggle for peace and the social revolution of our time is one of the key questions dealt with by the theory of scientific communism.

Peaceful Coexistence and Social Progress

The ideologues of the bourgeoisie try to use the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence to protect the capitalist system. They claim that lasting peace and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems imply an end to the class struggle and the perpetuation of the capitalist system wherever it exists. As they interpret it, peaceful coexistence means the consolidation of the status quo, a sort of freezing of social progress. They portray all forms of the liberation movement as an infringement of the norms of peaceful coexistence and detente.

Showing their total contempt for the rights and aspirations

of peoples, imperialism's aggressive circles are endeavouring to depict the liberation struggle of the masses as "terrorism". They aim to achieve the impossible—to erect a barrier to progressive changes in the world and retrieve their role as the arbiters of the destinies of nations.

Detente and peaceful coexistence do not in any way stop the natural historical process of society's development, nor do they annul the objective laws of class struggle and social revolution.

Peaceful coexistence characterises the relations between states with different social systems. Naturally, these are complex and contradictory relations. Peaceful coexistence covers various aspects of the relations between socialist and capitalist countries.

First, it spells out general democratic principles and norms of state-to-state relations: renunciation of war as a means of resolving disputes among nations and the settlement of these disputes by negotiation; equality, mutual understanding and confidence among states and an account of each other's interests; non-interference in internal affairs, recognition of the right of each people to resolve independently all matters relating to its country; unconditional respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries.

Second, it means mutually-beneficial economic and cultural relations, and cooperation in the settlement of international political problems.

Third, it signifies confrontation that stems inevitably from the differences between socialism and capitalism as social systems. This confrontation is seen in economics, in politics and especially in ideology. It is a law of world development in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

All three aspects of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are closely inter-related. None can be written off without distorting the essence of this concept. Consequently, peaceful coexistence means not any cessation of the class struggle on the international scene but rather a categorical rejection of war as a means of struggle, the waging of this struggle in forms that do not clash with the democratic principles of international relations and do not hinder mutually beneficial cooperation.

Peace is a staunch ally of socialism. The policy of peaceful coexistence helps to strengthen the socialist world system economically and enhances the prestige of socialism, of communist ideals. This policy enables the socialist community to unfold the new system's advantages more fully and win the economic competition with capitalism more quickly.

The strengthening of socialism's position and the development of the world revolutionary process are closely linked

to the struggle of the peoples to prevent another world war. Experience compellingly bears out Lenin's thesis that peace "will further our cause infinitely more than war", that "any peace ... will open channels for our influence a hundred times wider".¹ The new system's triumph in the economic, scientific and technological competition with capitalism is of decisive significance in bringing all peoples to choosing the road of social progress.

The struggle against imperialist aggression and militarist ideology clears the ideological and political atmosphere of the hysteria of nationalism and chauvinism, helps to rally the masses around the working class and unite the forces of socialism and democracy, and brings the working people to understand the need for putting an end to monopoly capitalist domination as the principal source of aggressive policies and international conflicts.

The policy of peaceful coexistence inhibits the attempts of the imperialists to surmount their internal contradictions and difficulties through the fanning of international tension and hotbeds of war. It thereby facilitates the development of the liberation struggle against imperialism on the national and the global scale.

On the other hand, any aggravation of international tension plays into the hands of reaction and helps it to deceive the working people. The reactionary forces of the imperialist states use the myth about a "military threat" from socialism to attack the internationalist unity of the working people and vilify the communist and working-class movement.

The struggle for peace makes it hard for imperialism to export counter-revolution, to interfere in the internal affairs of nations that have opted for independent development. A situation in which peace reigns helps the newly free states to enforce socio-economic reforms that strengthen the foundations of economic independence and raise the people's living standard and cultural level. This explains why the policy of opposing imperialist aggression and safeguarding peace is so popular among the peoples of the developing countries. They justifiably associate this policy with the possibility of building a new life, of fighting off the attacks of the old and new colonialists and speeding up their national revival.

Modern history refutes the ultra-left assertions that peaceful coexistence signifies "aid for capitalism", that it leads to a decline of the class struggle. "Can a Communist," Lenin wrote, "with the slightest understanding of the mentality and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Ninth Congress of the RCP(B)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 452, 453.

the conditions of life of the toiling and exploited people descend to the point of view of the typical declassed petty-bourgeois intellectual with the mental outlook of a noble or *szlachcic*, which declares that a 'peace mentality' is 'inactive' and believes that the brandishing of a cardboard sword is 'activity'?"¹

The Marxists have never regarded war as the indispensable condition or cause of revolution. They reject the ultra-leftist thesis: "Either war leads to revolution, or revolution will prevent war". The socialist revolution is the natural outcome of the internal development of each country. For that reason the need for it matures also under conditions of peace, which creates the most beneficial situation for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Peaceful Coexistence and the Ideological Struggle

Some ideologues maintain that peaceful coexistence should extend also to ideology, that it should lead to "ideological peace". They assert that the struggle between bourgeois and communist ideologies conflicts with the principles of peaceful coexistence. Moreover, among bourgeois ideologues there are those who see "ideological reconciliation" as the preliminary condition for an easing of international tension, for disarmament and the settlement of all disputes and conflicts.

In these arguments they confuse different issues. Peaceful coexistence pertains to state-to-state relations. The ideological struggle is the sphere of the relations between classes with conflicting interests. Each of these classes has its own ideology. The very fact that there are opposing ideologies means that a clash is inevitable between them. Ideologies cannot be reconciled, just as the interests of antagonistic classes cannot be reconciled.

The ideological struggle cannot be halted by interdictions or agreements, for there are classes with opposing interests and aspirations. A struggle between ideologies is inevitable as long as there are hostile classes. The proletariat will never accept the ideology of oppression and wars, while for its part the bourgeoisie has no intention of voluntarily stepping down from the historical scene.

While it preaches "ideological reconciliation" and "ideological coexistence", the bourgeoisie by no means thinks of renouncing its ideas or its attacks on communist ideology. It carries on a bitter war against the Marxist worldview. Does this not make it obvious that an "ideological peace" would be

¹ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 328.

tantamount to the surrender of communist to bourgeois ideology, that would then be able to spread without hindrance.

"Either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course... Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology *in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree* means to strengthen bourgeois ideology."¹ This precept formulated by Lenin holds good to this day.

Detente and peaceful coexistence depend in large measure on the ideological struggle. They require a determined exposure of all who try to torpedo detente, who cling to cold war mentality and ideology.

The argument that detente rules out the ideological struggle is likewise untenable. Changes for the better on the international scene create beneficial possibilities for disseminating the ideals of socialism. However, the imperialist states simultaneously reinforce their propaganda apparatus to enable bourgeois ideology to penetrate socialist countries. Detente leads to an expansion of contacts between countries with different social systems and this means that the ideological struggle between the two systems becomes more active.

It is thus a matter not of abandoning the ideological struggle but of preventing it from turning into an obstruction to detente. Peaceful coexistence makes specific demands on the means and forms of the ideological struggle. It is clear, for instance, that the "psychological warfare" methods (including slander and misinformation) used against communism by some imperialist propaganda centres are at variance with the principles of peaceful coexistence and hinder detente.

There neither is nor can be room for neutrality and compromise in the ideological struggle conducted by the CPSU and all the fraternal communist and workers' parties under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, 1977, p. 384.

Chapter 9

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The world communist movement plays the leading role in uniting the revolutionary forces into a single current, working out scientifically the prospects for their struggle against imperialism, and determining the correct path leading to victory.

1. THE MOST INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL FORCE OF OUR TIME

No political movement has ever had to face such tests of strength and not one has won such great victories as the communist movement.

Source of the Communist Movement's Strength

At the time the October Revolution of 1917 was accomplished there was a Communist Party only in Russia. Communist groups existed in Germany, Bulgaria and some other countries. Today there are communist parties in all continents and in almost all countries. The world communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time and the most significant factor of social progress. By its dedicated struggle for the cause of the working class and all other working people it has won enormous prestige among the masses.

What are the sources of the communist movement's strength and influence?

The communist parties constitute the vanguard of the working class championing the interests of all working people, of the most revolutionary class of our time which fulfils the great mission of remaking the world. The unbreakable bond with the working class, with the popular masses is the source of the communist movement's invincibility.

The communist movement is armed with Marxist-Leninist theory that enables it to correctly explain the past and present, to foresee the course of events and work out scientific strategy and tactics.

With Marxism-Leninism to draw upon the Communists see

the essence and perspective of the processes in the world more profoundly and unerringly than anybody else, and deduce the right conclusions for their struggle for the interests of the working class, the working people of their countries, for democracy, peace and socialism. All the triumphs of the international communist movement have been achieved on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism, whose propositions show the way to carrying out the tasks advanced by life.

Unity between theory and practice is the hallmark of the Marxist-Leninist parties. They are in the vanguard of the struggle for the revolutionary reshaping of the world and head the building of socialist and communist society. The Communists have the backing of world socialism's great moral, political and economic prestige.

The communist movement has accumulated vast and diverse revolutionary experience as no other political movement of our time has. The Communists are committed proponents of the unity of progressive forces and fight consistently for the cohesion of these forces on the basis of a common democratic, anti-imperialist platform.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are parties of proletarian internationalism. In the struggle for their aims they rely on the international solidarity of the working class, of the working people, on the international alliance of the socialist countries, the proletariat of capitalist countries and the national liberation movement.

The communist parties draw their strength from their high level of organisation, their fidelity to the Leninist principles of party building, the awareness of their historical responsibility to the people and their staunchness and courage. The Communists devote all their energy to the cause of the working class.

The communist movement today enjoys tremendous influence among the people and has won outstanding successes. The experience accumulated by the CPSU in the struggle for the triumph of the working class and in socialist and communist construction is, as the fraternal parties acknowledge, of fundamental significance to the entire international communist movement.

Main Contingents of the Communist Movement

There are communist parties in 95 countries. Each party is linked to the entire communist movement by bonds of class kinship, by common ideological principles and end goals of the struggle. At the same time, each of them functions in a specific situation.

In terms of the conditions of struggle and the character of the tasks confronting the various parties the world communist movement can be divided into several contingents. The strongest of these consist of the *communist and workers' parties of socialist countries*. These head the building of the new society. Another major contingent consists of the *communist parties of capitalist states*. Many of them have acquired extensive experience of class battles and evolved into an influential force of the political life in their countries. An important role is played in the movement by the *communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean*. Many of them are functioning under the hard conditions of secrecy and in the face of repressions. Yet another contingent of the communist movement consists of the *communist parties of the developing nations of Asia and Africa*.

The road being traversed by the communist movement to the lofty aims for which it is fighting on behalf of the working class and all other working people is not an easy one.

Serious difficulties have to be surmounted by the communist parties of socialist countries, which are building the prototype new society for all humankind. They face many complex problems requiring profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, creative quest for solutions and a correct application of the laws governing the building of a socialist and communist society under the distinctive conditions in the given country. The differences in the development, class structure, experience of the party cadre in socialist countries and other causes sometimes generate different views and even disagreement between parties over the ways of tackling these problems, and this requires collective efforts to work out a common stand. The relations between the fraternal parties of the socialist community countries are an example of stable internationalist links. They have achieved a fundamental unity of views on all major problems of socio-economic development and of international politics. This is the result of the constant interaction of these parties.

The present stage of monopoly capitalism's development and the new tactics adopted by the bourgeoisie confront the communist parties of capitalist states with very serious problems. The bourgeoisie is using new means for camouflaging the contradictions of the capitalist system, for its reformist modernisation, and having recourse to subtle ways of deceiving and corrupting the working class and its organisations. The ruling classes resort to anti-communist and anti-labour legislation, to the harassment and mass dismissals from enterprises of Communists and other progressive workers, to blacklisting and loyalty checks, and to police repression against the democratic press. The bourgeoisie em-

ploys on a larger scale the tactic of stolen slogans. Its purpose is to steal popular ideas from the Communists, distort them and use in the interests of capitalism. This tactic causes complications for the revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries.

Considerable difficulties are encountered also by the Communists of the newly free states of Asia and Africa. In these countries, the working class—the main social base of the communist parties—is numerically small and in most cases poorly organised. The backwardness of the peasant masses and nationalistic and tribalist sentiments that are widespread among them are used by reaction to sow anti-communist prejudices. Imperialism's neocolonialist conspiracies are directed against the Communists in the first place.

In Latin American states the communist parties face the combined forces of the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy, the semi-fascist military, and the external imperialist reaction. As the example of Chile has shown, these forces do make use of terror and murders to suppress the revolutionary movement.

But however great the difficulties they cannot break the communist movement which stems from the requirements of society's development and articulates the interests of the working people.

Since the acuteness of the class contradictions and the development level of the proletariat's class consciousness differ greatly in different countries, the communist movement itself develops unevenly. In many countries it makes rapid headway, in others it builds up its strength, and in still others it at times suffers setbacks. But, as a whole, it spreads and gains in strength.

Principles of Relations Among Communist Parties

Initially, the Third, Communist International was the organisational form of the international unity of the communist movement. It restored and reinforced the links among the working people of various countries, that had been damaged by the treachery of the leaders of the Second International. It demonstrated the enormous significance of the unity of the world communist movement. In many countries the Communist International helped to unite the vanguard of the workers in Marxist-Leninist parties and train ideologically mature and politically staunch militants in them. The Comintern upheld and enlarged upon the key propositions of scientific communism, notably the teaching on the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the allies of the working class. On the basis of the theory and

practice of Leninism it charted the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary labour movement and the national liberation struggle and widely disseminated the ideas of scientific communism among the working people.

In 1943, taking into account the growing diversity of the conditions and objectives of the working-class movement in each individual country and the numerical growth and political maturity level of the communist parties and their leading cadres, the Presidium of the Comintern's Executive Committee proposed the disbandment of the organisation. This was endorsed by all communist parties.

Following the disbandment of the Comintern the Communists collectively worked out forms of liaison among their parties that were consistent with the new historical situation and the objectives springing from it. Bilateral and multi-lateral meetings and regional and international conferences of communist and workers' parties stemmed from this collective initiative.

A meeting of representatives of communist and workers' parties of socialist countries was held on November 14-16, 1957. It drew up and adopted a Declaration. On November 16-19, 1957 there was a meeting of representatives of communist and workers' parties of 64 countries which adopted a Peace Manifesto and endorsed the Declaration. The Declaration characterised the present epoch and contained an analysis of the changes in the world power balance and of the problem of peace and war. In it were formulated the laws, common for all countries, governing the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

Another meeting of communist and workers' parties was held in November 1960. It was attended by delegations from 81 parties. This meeting passed a Statement and an Appeal to the Peoples of the World. The Statement spoke of the growing role played by the socialist world system as a factor of world development, of the ways and means of struggle by all progressive forces to prevent another world war and ensure peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, of the prospects for the national liberation revolutions after the downfall of the system of colonial bondage, and of the new opportunities for the struggle of the communist and workers' parties for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

An international meeting of 75 communist and workers' parties took place in June 1969. It drew up and passed a document under the heading of "Tasks at the Present Stage of the Struggle Against Imperialism and United Action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and All Anti-Imperialist Forces".

The historic significance of this meeting is that it analysed basic problems of our time and worked out and proclaimed the concrete international objectives of the Communists in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism at the present stage. Moreover, the importance of this meeting is that it dealt with the question of the form of contacts and cooperation among fraternal parties in the new historical conditions.

The documents of the 1957, 1960 and 1969 meetings named the following principles governing the relations between communist parties:

- fidelity to Marxism-Leninism; ideological unity on the basis of common end objectives of the struggle identified in the theory of Marxism-Leninism which is the foundation of the communist movement's unity;

- proletarian internationalism, concern for the utmost cohesion of the communist movement, coordinated actions in the joint struggle for common aims, voluntary compliance by each Communist Party with jointly adopted assessments and conclusions concerning common aims of the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism;

- independence and equality of Marxist-Leninist parties; sovereignty in working out policy consistent with the conditions prevailing in each country and in keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism; a sense of responsibility to the working class and all other working people of the party's home country and to the international working-class and communist movement;

- unfailing compliance with the Leninist norms of party building and party life;

- inadmissibility of factional activity within the communist movement;

- uncompromising struggle against right and "left" opportunism, against revisionism, dogmatism and nationalism;

- settlement of all disputes between communist parties by consultation and comradely meetings.

The Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties in June 1976 was a major landmark in the life of the communist and working-class movement. In the conference's final document it is stated: "The struggle of each Party for socialism in its own country and its responsibility towards the working class and the people of that country are bound up with mutual solidarity among working people of all countries and all progressive movements and peoples in their struggle for freedom and the strengthening of their independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace." The conference defined the guidelines for the strug-

gle of the working class, of all working people, against the arms race, for the consolidation of detente, and for social progress.

2. POLITICAL STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Definition of Strategy and Tactics

The strategy and tactics of the communist movement comprise the science and art of providing the class struggle of the proletariat with political leadership. Lenin emphasised the need to chart "increasingly correct and accurate working-class tactics and strategy".¹ The objectives of strategy and tactics are determined in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory, on the basis of an analysis of specific conditions.

Every party draws up a programme in which it indicates its long-term and immediate aims, and the character and direction of its work. A programme aim is the point of departure for a strategic plan which is worked out with due account for the specific situation and the balance of strength in the given country and on the international scene. The efforts to give effect to this plan comprise the content of a party's political line.

Strategy and tactics are the two sides of the Marxist-Leninist parties' integral policy. The demarcation line between them is relative. Strategy stems from the more stable and long-term factors of political development, while tactics takes the more mobile, constantly changing conditions of the situation into account.

Strategy determines the fundamental direction of the working-class struggle at each major stage of history. It is modified when one historical stage of the proletariat's struggle is changed by another, for instance, when the democratic revolution evolves into a socialist revolution. At each of these stages strategy remains more or less immutable.

The strategy of the working-class party includes the cardinal objective of the struggle at the given stage, indicates the direction of the main assault on the principal class enemy whose resistance must be broken if this objective is to be attained, and determines the allies of the working class and the attitude to the intermediate strata.

An example of strategy is Lenin's definition of the objectives of the proletariat of Russia at the stages of the bourgeois-democratic and socialist revolutions: "*The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to completion, allying*

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Letter to the German Communists", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 523.

to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the auto-
cracy's resistance by force and paralyse the bourgeoisie's in-
stability. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revo-
lution, allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian ele-
ments of the population, so as to crush the bourgeoisie's re-
sistance by force and paralyse the instability of the peasantry
and the petty bourgeoisie."¹

Tactics deals with the party's political behaviour, the char-
acter, methods and forms of its work, in a specific situation.
Tactics stems from strategy and undergoes changes depend-
ing on the situation. Its purpose is to ensure the implementa-
tion of the strategic plan and the attainment of the strategic
objective.

The aims of tactics include: to weaken and isolate the prin-
cipal enemy, to pave the way for his defeat by successive
blows; to paralyse the conciliators; to win allies; to deter-
mine the most expedient means of struggle for each mo-
ment, the ways by which the working class is to assume
power and then go about building socialism.

Lenin wrote: "Under no circumstances does Marxism con-
fine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence
at the given moment only, recognising as it does that new
forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given
period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation changes."²
The proletariat has to learn to use all forms of struggle and
to be prepared for the speediest and unexpected change of
these forms. It is the party's mission to train cadres for legal
and underground work, for parliamentary and extra-parlia-
mentary activity. The forms of struggle can be correctly de-
termined only by drawing upon the historical experience of
the world revolutionary movement in combination with a
sober, strictly objective assessment of the alignment of class
forces in the given country and in the world.

A paramount principle of policy is to get the masses to
draw lessons from their own experience and thereby move to
revolutionary positions. It is important that the party should
utilise every, even the least, opportunity for open action
against the exploiters, that all its activity should be permeat-
ed with the spirit of revolutionary struggle, and that it
should demonstrate to the working class that it articulates
and champions the workers' basic interests. The communist
parties must advance slogans that lead the masses forward,
that illumine their road, that make them rise above the direct
aims of the moment.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revo-
lution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 100.

² V. I. Lenin, "Guerrilla Warfare", *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, 1972, p. 213.

The ability to combine end objectives with immediate aims, with the vital interests of the working class and all other working people, is an indispensable requirement of revolutionary strategy and tactics.

In line with the formula that "movement is everything, the end goal is nothing", the spokesmen of reformism advocate solely the satisfaction of some of the day-to-day grievances of the working class within the framework of capitalism, sweeping aside the end objectives of the proletariat and rejecting the need for the socialist revolution. Various "ultra-revolutionaries" urge the immediate attainment of the end goals of the working class under the motto "all or nothing". In fact they obstruct the preparations for the revolution, the efforts to bring the mass of the working class and its allies to the revolution.

Strategy and tactics are not only a science but also the art of political guidance of the masses by the Marxist-Leninist party and its leading bodies. "It is, in fact," Lenin wrote, "one of the functions of a party organisation and of party leaders worthy of the name, to acquire, through the prolonged, persistent, variegated and comprehensive efforts of all thinking representatives of a given class, the knowledge, experience and—in addition to knowledge and experience—the political flair necessary for the speedy and correct solution of complex political problems."¹

In the run-up to and during the Great October Socialist Revolution the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin set a marvelous example of strategic and tactical art, of an accurate account of the situation that was shaping out, and of the utilisation of the relevant forms of struggle and organisation at each stage. The peaceful development of the revolution, the winning of the majority of the armed forces to the side of the proletariat, the preparations for and the conduct of a victorious armed uprising, the fight against the counter-revolution in the Civil War, and the multiparty system during the early period of Soviet power—all was tested by the party. Although, for a number of reasons, the revolution in Russia did not develop peacefully to the end and the coalition government was in existence for a little over half a year, the party's tactics on these issues is of international significance. The experience of the October revolution is an inexhaustible source of strategic and tactical skill.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 68-69.

*General Principles of Communist Strategy and Tactics
and the Specifics of Their Employment*

The strategy and tactics of the Marxist-Leninist parties are based on an analysis of general laws governing the development of the revolution and the building of socialism and communism. Mirrored in the theory of Marxism-Leninism and borne out by practice, these laws were formulated substantively at international meetings of fraternal parties. A profound understanding of these general laws and reliance on them in combination with a creative approach to the conditions prevailing in each country have been and remain an inalienable feature of Marxists-Leninists. The policy pursued by communist parties, wherever they function, expresses the vital interests common to all contingents of the working class and is based on the common principles stemming from these class interests. These principles include: loyalty to the aims of scientific socialism, a class approach to evaluating society's life, proletarian internationalism and implacable opposition to right and "left" opportunism.

The communist parties function under various conditions and tackle dissimilar concrete tasks. Their strategy and tactics are mapped out in accordance with these realities. For that reason in the policy of communist parties there can be no standardisation, no imposition of stereotypes and patterns ignoring the specifics of this or that country. As Lenin noted, the practical application of the basic principles of communism should be such as would "*correctly modify* these principles in certain *particulars*, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state distinctions".¹

Socialism and communism are the common objective of all Communists. However, in the struggle to attain this objective the strategy employed by each Marxist-Leninist party depends on the socio-economic development and the actual situation in its country.

All Communists apply the Leninist strategy of broad class and political alliances in the struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism. But as implemented by the different parties this strategy has specifics of its own which depend on the composition of the allies of the working class in this or that country, the alignment of forces on the political scene, the character of the tasks confronting the working class and its vanguard and other features of each country's socio-political development.

The tactics of the communist parties of different countries are devised on the basis of the general principles of Marxist-

¹ Ibid., p. 92.

Leninist policy: subordination of the means of struggle to revolutionary aims, conformity of these means to concrete conditions, ability of the party to meet new challenges, utilisation of international experience, and so forth. But the forms of struggle and organisation used by communist parties in different countries are themselves diverse. The predominant method of struggle, peaceful or non-peaceful, by armed force, depends on the situation in the country concerned; in some countries the communist parties function mainly by legal means, in others they are compelled to employ clandestine methods of work.

What are the hallmarks of the strategy and tactics of the Communists in various regions of the world?

The *communist parties of socialist countries* see their main objective in building socialism and communism, reinforcing the socialist world system to the utmost, demonstrating the advantages of the new system in practice, resolutely and vigorously supporting all forms of the liberation struggle against imperialism and steadfastly safeguarding world peace.

The building of developed socialism and communism is the great international duty of the peoples of socialist countries and the central element of the present-day world revolutionary process. The progress made by the socialist countries in building the new society, enhancing the efficiency and quality of social production, promoting socialist democracy, and increasing their own might serves as the material and moral support for all the revolutionary forces. It obstructs the export of counter-revolution, and deters the forces of militarism and war. The communist parties of socialist countries are in the forefront of the class battles on the world scene.

The *communist parties of industrialised capitalist states* direct their blows mainly at the capitalist monopolies as the bastions of exploitation, reaction and aggression, and at the system of state-monopoly rule, which protects monopoly interests. They proceed from the fact that the working class is the principal motive and mobilising force of the revolutionary struggle in the citadels of capitalism. In addition to the proletariat, the majority of the nation—the peasants, the democratic intellectuals, the rank-and-file salary earners and the urban petty bourgeoisie—has a vital stake in ending monopoly rule. For that reason the Communists steer a course towards the formation of working class-led broad social alliances of all the anti-monopoly forces.

The working class and its communist vanguard work unflaggingly to improve the life of the masses, to safeguard and extend their democratic rights and liberties. The participation of the masses, headed by the working class, in

this effort fosters their political militancy and brings them round to understanding the aims of the socialist revolution.

Even before capitalism is overthrown the working class of many countries can compel the bourgeoisie to institute measures that go beyond the bounds of conventional reforms and are of vital significance to the working class and its further struggle for a triumphant revolution, for socialism, and to the majority of the nation. The programme of anti-monopoly transformations calls for the ascension to power of a democratic, popular government, nationalisation of the big monopolies, organisation of democratic control over the system of state regulation of the economy, worker participation in the management of production, establishment of a system of state protection of the interests of the working class and of all other working people, enforcement of a radical agrarian reform, protection of the interests of small entrepreneurs, extension of the political and social rights and liberties of the masses and promotion of their standard of living, the extirpation of militarism and the implementation of a foreign policy of peace. Quite obviously, the fulfilment of such a programme would spell out an end to the unchallenged rule of the monopolies and a profound erosion of the entire system of capitalist relations. It would lead to the abolition of this system and to a revolutionary transition to socialism.

The *communist parties of countries with a medium level of capitalist development* (among these are most of the Latin American states) regard as their cardinal objective a democratic anti-imperialist revolution that would eradicate pre-capitalist relations that have fused with rapidly growing national monopoly capital, and ensure independence from foreign imperialism. In fighting for a radical development of the democratic revolution, the Communists proceed from the prospect of its evolution into a socialist revolution, as has already been the case in Cuba. The communist parties direct their efforts chiefly against the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy, the reactionary military and foreign imperialism which exploits these countries and encourages the internal counter-revolution. The Communists strive to unite around the working class, the main force of the democratic revolution, a broad alliance of progressive forces: the peasants, the urban middle strata, the radical intellectuals, patriotic elements among the military and members of the clergy who militate against reaction.

The communist parties advance a programme of far-reaching agrarian reforms aimed to abolish the landed estates and turn the land over to the peasants. Their programme

calls for the nationalisation of local and foreign monopolies, the assertion of the nation's sovereign right over its natural resources, the development of the national economy, the overthrow of fascist and other reactionary dictatorships, the formation of national democratic governments expressing the interests of the people and the implementation of an independent foreign policy.

The *communist parties of countries that have won liberation from colonialism* see their principal objective in completing the national liberation revolution and ensuring a stable socialist orientation in the development of their countries. In working for social progress, the communist parties strike out chiefly at imperialism and the internal reaction supporting it. They seek to mobilise all patriotic, democratic forces for wide-ranging, effective steps to strengthen national independence and to totally abolish the system of colonialism and neocolonialism.

The national, democratic aims comprising the platform for uniting the progressive forces of the new states are to reinforce political independence, carry out agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasants, eradicate feudal relations, encourage the cooperative movement in rural communities, restrict the foreign monopolies in the economy and then drive them out, build up and develop national industry, move to planned economic development, ensure the control over the economy by the popular government, raise the population's living standard, democratise society, enhance the role played in it by the working masses, bolster the state apparatus with national cadres devoted to the people, pursue an anti-imperialist foreign policy, and expand economic and cultural cooperation with socialist countries.

Alongside general basic principles, the policy of all Marxist-Leninist parties has common aims and tasks in the class struggle on the world scene.

In carrying out the mission of revolutionary vanguard of the international working class, the communist movement fights against imperialism, and for the world-wide triumph of socialism. The main areas of its activity on the world scene are: reinforcing the position of socialism as the bulwark of the world revolutionary process, promoting the international working-class and national liberation movements, consolidating the unity of all anti-imperialist movements, and uniting the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism, for social progress.

The persevering struggle waged by the Communists for peace, against imperialism's aggressive policies and the arms race, which threatens the peoples with nuclear catastrophe, is a solid foundation for unity and a powerful factor fos-

tering the cohesion and prestige of the world communist movement.

The efforts of the international communist movement are directed towards merging in a single anti-imperialist torrent the efforts of the peoples building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries, the national liberation struggle of oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement. In the alliance of anti-imperialist forces the decisive role is played by the international working class and its main achievement—the socialist world system. Cooperation and mutual assistance between socialist countries and the cohesion and unity of the international communist and working-class movement are the major conditions for the successful fulfilment of the historic tasks confronting the Communists.

Struggle to End the Split in the Working-Class Movement

Division remains one of the principal impediments preventing the working class of capitalist countries from attaining its objectives. The basic interests of the workers make it imperative to end this division. The Marxist-Leninist parties urge unity of action by all contingents of the working class.

The Communists and the Social Democrats constitute two fundamentally different currents—revolutionary and reformist. The Communists believe that the capitalist system has to be deposed by a socialist revolution in one form or another. The Social Democrats argue that the problems of the working class can be resolved within the bourgeois system by “improving” and “reshaping” that system. The essence and practical results of these ways have been tested by experience. Under the leadership of the Communists the bourgeois system has been overthrown in a large group of countries which are now building socialism and communism. For their part, the Social Democrats have been in power in many countries over the past 30-40 years but nowhere have they been able to deliver the working class from the burden of capitalist exploitation.

Social democracy now finds itself in a contradictory posture. On the one hand, it remains a proponent of bourgeois influence in the working-class movement. Social democratic parties pursue a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie. In many countries they have forged close links with the system of state-monopoly capitalism. On the other hand, the lessons of history, the achievements of the socialist countries under the leadership of the Communists, and the aggravation of capitalism’s general crisis are radicalising also

those segments of the working class who make up the mass base of the social democratic parties. As a result, in these parties there is ferment, growing disenchantment with reformist policies, and tendencies that come into conflict with the policy of class collaboration.

Differentiation is growing increasingly visible in the social democratic parties. The right-wing leaders, fossilised in anti-communism, endeavour to perpetuate the split in the working-class movement, and persevere in their advocacy of reformism and conciliation. The left-wing currents and groups, for their part, are assessing the situation more soberly, taking the interests of the working class into account, and beginning to show a leaning for cooperation with the Communists.

There has been a significant expansion of the possibilities for united action by Communists and Social Democrats in the struggle for peace and democracy, for the vital interests of the working people. A major advance in this direction has been made on the initiative of the CPSU and other fraternal parties of socialist countries that have established cooperation with West European social democratic parties on the issues of peaceful coexistence and international security. Steps have been taken towards unity of action by the two political contingents of the working-class movement in some capitalist countries as well.

The experience of the People's Democracies has demonstrated that the Communists and Socialists can cooperate in the struggle for the socialist revolution and for the building of socialism. Moreover, practice has reaffirmed that socialism can be built also under a multiparty system, in which the Communists enlist and unite in a common front organisations of non-proletarian strata of the working people under the leadership of the working class.

The road to unity of the working-class movement lies through a sharp struggle against the anti-communism of the right-wing leaders of the Social Democrats, through compromises with those leaders and groups that are beginning to realise that there is a need for unity in the working-class movement. All this makes it imperative for the Marxists-Leninists to pursue a principled and, at the same time, flexible policy.

3. STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST RANKS

In order to unite the working class and all other progressive forces it is vital that there should be unity, above all, among the Communists on both the national and the international scale. This unity is achieved in struggle against

nationalism, right and "left" opportunism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

Causes of Opportunism

Lenin made an in-depth analysis of the causes of opportunism in the working-class and communist movement. "The inevitability of revisionism," he wrote, "is determined by its class roots in modern society."¹

The ranks of the proletariat grow steadily with the influx of people of other classes and social groups. As Lenin noted, "the enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new 'recruits', the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes, by a temporary reversion to antiquated views and antiquated methods, and so forth. The labour movement of every country periodically spends a varying amount of energy, attention and time on the 'training' of recruits."²

Apart from the working class there are large segments of the petty-bourgeois population in the revolutionary movement. To quote Lenin, they bring all their prejudices in the struggle they join. Penetrating the labour movement in various ways, these prejudices are a source of revisionist tendencies.

Currently, the composition of the forces opposed to imperialism has expanded significantly. It includes large groups of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, white-collar workers and students. A growing number of countries, including those with a low development level, a numerically small proletariat and a predominance of social strata of pre-capitalist society, are embarking upon the road to socialism. Hundreds of millions of people inhabiting former colonies and dependent countries are becoming politically active. The social base of the anti-imperialist movement has widened, but at the same time there has appeared new fertile soil for the reproduction of non-Marxist views that influence the labour and communist movement.

A major circumstance accounting for the tenacity of opportunism and revisionism is the pressure that the bourgeoisie brings to bear on the proletariat. There is no wall separating the working class from the other classes and social strata of bourgeois society, and hence it feels the impact of their influence. The bourgeoisie uses all political, ideolog-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 38.

² V. I. Lenin, "Differences in the European Labour Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, 1977, p. 348.

ical and propaganda instruments to impose upon the working class a system of views and notions that divert it from the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Through the bourgeois state big capital compels the enactment of anti-labour legislation and laws against communist parties. It employs a system of bribery of the privileged elite of the working class, the so-called "labour aristocracy", and also of the right-wing leaders of reformist trade unions ("labour bureaucracy"). This numerically small but influential substratum is the social mainstay of opportunism in the working-class movement and helps the bourgeoisie to disseminate bourgeois ideology and reformism among the proletariat.

Opportunism in the working-class movement is alive also due to modifications of the tactics used by the bourgeoisie. It employs two methods to fight for its interests: the method of violence, of supporting all old and obsolete institutions, and the method of "liberalism", of reforms and concessions. The use of the method of "liberalism" usually reanimates opportunism in the working-class movement.

It must be noted that even after power is won by the working class the soil for the appearance of revisionist and nationalistic tendencies remains for some time in socialist countries. Orienting themselves on revisionist elements in socialist countries the ideologues of imperialism hope there will be a gradual "erosion" of Marxism-Leninism and then a "softening up" of the socialist system. Although these are empty hopes, experience shows that ideological subversion by imperialism can activate revisionist currents in socialist countries as well.

The working-class cause cannot be victorious without a struggle against and the defeat of opportunism.

Essence and Forms of Opportunism

Opportunism is a current within the working-class movement that seeks to adapt it to the ideology and policy of the bourgeoisie. Revisionism is a variety of opportunism operating within the communist movement and rewriting the basic principles of Marxism. Both these currents mislead the working-class movement and strive to divert it from the correct path. There are two principal forms of opportunism: right and "left" opportunism.

Right opportunism strips Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary content and, in place of the principles of the theory and policy of the working class, offers reformist ideology and policy. From these positions opportunism revises the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle and socialist revolution. To this end it embellishes capitalism, obscures

its contradictions and depicts the maturing of the material prerequisites of the socialist mode of production in the bosom of state-monopoly capitalism as the "transformation" of the capitalist system into socialism. The right opportunists reduce the objectives of the proletariat's class struggle to partial reforms, to the social "patching" of capitalism.

Right opportunism renounces Marxism-Leninism's main proposition, namely, that of the historic mission of the proletariat.

The right opportunists refuse to accept that the working class plays the leading role in the revolutionary process and instead of the idea of power of the working class and its allies, the dictatorship of the proletariat, offer vague notions about a non-class or supra-class pluralist democracy. Their attacks are directed chiefly at the Marxist-Leninist party. The reformists and revisionists reject the party's leading role in the revolutionary movement and the building of the new society. Hence their efforts to undermine the Communist Party's ideological and organisational unity, their opposition to democratic centralism as the principle underlying the party's organisational structure and life, and their advocacy of a renunciation of party discipline. The revisionists resort to every subterfuge in order to turn the Communist Party from a militant class party, a party of the masses and struggle, into a debating club, into an amorphous organisation incapable of effective revolutionary *action* against the capitalist system.

Instead of the socialist revolution the right opportunists urge a smooth and gradual evolution within capitalism. They magnify the significance of peaceful forms of struggle, absolutise parliamentary methods and belittle the role of extra-parliamentary mass actions.

A characteristic feature of right opportunism is negation of the historic significance of the achievements of socialism in practice, attempts to vilify its experience.

Right opportunism can surface also after the working class has assumed power, when complex problems of socialist construction arise. At the same time, the deposed bourgeoisie aspires to restore old practices and influence some sections of the people. In socialist countries right opportunism was seen in attempts to undermine the leading role of the working class and its political vanguard and in departures from the principles of socialist internationalism, from cooperation among socialist countries. Revisionist policy can lead to the abandonment by socialism of positions that have been won, to surrender to anti-socialist forces.

The social soil for right opportunism is provided by the views and sentiments of the "labour aristocracy" and the

"labour bureaucracy", sections of the working class held captive by consumerism and that part of the petty bourgeoisie that fears revolutionary methods of struggle.

Using the cover of ultra-revolutionary rhetoric, "left" opportunism is out to supplant Marxism-Leninism with vulgar anarchist notions. It is characterised by the primitive view of revolutionism as spontaneous rebelliousness with misery and poverty as its sole spurs. The "left" opportunists do not recognise intermediate stages on the road to socialism and deny any significance to the struggle for democratic reforms, to the need for a wide-ranging general democratic programme of anti-imperialist struggle, to combining general democratic and proletarian class aims and interests. They absolutise armed forms of struggle for power.

"Left" opportunism questions the revolutionary character of the contemporary working class, and regards the peasants and the semi-proletarian sections of the population as the leading force of the revolutionary process. In the interpretation of the "left" revisionists the dictatorship of the proletariat spells out nothing more than naked violence by means of which they intend to "introduce" socialism and even communism.

The "left" opportunists deny the role of existing socialism in the world revolutionary process. They slander socialism, alleging that it is degenerating into capitalism. They conduct divisive activities in the revolutionary movement and try to devitalise world socialism's alliance with the national liberation movement.

Usually combined with dogmatism, "left" opportunism ignores the prevailing historical situation and the changes taking place in the world and strives to fit actual life into ready-made formulas and patterns. Its dogmatic approach to theory and to methods of struggle inescapably leads to sectarian stagnation.

"Left" opportunism is nourished by the views and sentiments of those segments of the petty bourgeoisie that have risen against imperialist oppression but, unlike the proletariat, are unable to conduct the struggle systematically and staunchly.

Right and "left" opportunism have much in common—the aspiration to replace the integral internationalist doctrine of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, with diverse variants of "national" or "regional" communism, attempts to counterpose the principles of proletarian internationalism with "autonomy" concepts, and rejection of the principle of democratic centralism. Both right and "left" opportunism sap the militancy of communist parties, undermine the revolutionary stand of the working class, of all fighters against

imperialism, and obstruct the development of the world revolutionary process.

Both right and "left" opportunism are linked with nationalism, which is a growing danger in the communist movement. Nationalism can only debilitate the unity of the socialist camp and cohesion of the Communists of the world and split the national contingents and the entire communist movement.

The ideological exposure of the anti-Leninist essence of all opportunist currents and the defence and creative development of Marxism-Leninism are an indispensable condition for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement and consolidating the cohesion of the socialist countries.

For Unity of the Communist Movement

The communist movement is international by nature. At the same time, each Communist Party functions within national boundaries and independently maps out its policy in keeping with the situation prevailing in its country. This is the context in which arises the problem of the unity of the communist movement, of coordinating the actions of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The communist movement is by no means an arithmetic sum of individual parties. It is an integral movement.

The Communists are united by a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism. They have a common enemy, imperialism, and a common objective, socialism and communism. Such are the objective prerequisites for unity in the world communist movement.

The 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties was of exceptional significance in promoting the unity of the world communist movement and elaborating a militant, meaningful programme for its work and struggle. The Meeting advanced a concrete programme for uniting all the anti-imperialist forces and, as the prime condition for attaining this objective, uniting the communist movement itself. "*Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism, and dedicated and devoted service in the interests of their peoples and the common cause of socialism,*" states the Document adopted by the Meeting, "*are a requisite for the efficacy and correct orientation of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, a guarantee that they will achieve their historic goals.*"

The Meeting's Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin" was of fundamental importance. It reiterated the staunch fidelity of the Communists to Leninism

and stressed Leninism's universal, international significance. The statement outlined the ideological foundation of the unity of the international communist movement, which has been and will always be Marxism-Leninism.

The diversity of the modern world and the dissimilar circumstances under which the various communist parties function may generate divergences of views and attitudes relative to this or that issue. The tasks confronting the communist parties grow ever more complex and varied with the extension of their influence. In turn, this in some cases gives rise to dissimilar assessments and distinctions in the approach to specific issues of the class struggle and triggers debates among parties. This is quite natural. Among the communist parties there have been instances of views differing on various matters. But, as experience shows, even when there are divergences it is possible and necessary to promote political collaboration in the struggle against the common class enemy. Time and practice are the supreme arbiter in settling problems.

The ways and methods for transcending divergences and reinforcing the unity of the communist movement are joint actions against imperialism, expansion in every way of contacts among fraternal parties, correlation of the theoretical work of parties and, on that basis, the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the defence of its principles and underlying ideas.

Divergences between Communists are surmountable if these are not fundamental differences between revolutionaries and reformists, between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism or ultra-left adventurism. Today, as in the lifetime of Lenin, there can be no compromises on basic issues. The struggle for the unity of the communist movement requires a struggle against right and "left" opportunism, revisionism and dogmatism.

The cohesion of the communist movement is not a fossilised unity that excludes distinctions. It is a living system of views, attitudes and actions of fraternal parties diverging among them on one point or another but linked by common basic principles of the theory and policy of the working class.

Chapter 10

THE BATTLE OF IDEAS IN THE WORLD TODAY

The ideological confrontation between the two systems, the uncompromising struggle between socialist and bourgeois ideologies, constitutes a key pattern of social development in the present epoch. This pattern now operates in a situation of continued exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, a society that has no future. The influence exercised by Marxist-Leninist theory and the example of existing socialism grows. New advances are won by the international communist, working-class and national liberation movements.

All this frightens the bourgeoisie, which attacks Marxism-Leninism savagely and has recourse to increasingly subtle falsifications of that theory. A visible resuscitation is to be observed of all sorts of reformist and revisionist attempts to misrepresent Marxism-Leninism.

It would be dangerous to underrate the bourgeoisie's ideological potentialities, its ability to keep large segments of the working people of capitalist countries intellectually captive and to export ideology beyond the boundaries of its system. The ideas of the economically and politically dominating class inevitably prevail in the given society. This law brought to light by Marxism is borne out by all the experience of history. The monopoly bourgeoisie has a powerful propaganda machine that uses sophisticated means of disseminating information. This gives the bourgeoisie the opportunity to manipulate the thinking of large sections of the people.

While camouflaging its actual objectives and lulling the vigilance of the peoples, imperialism builds up a large array of ideological myths, apologetic dogmas and pseudo-scientific theories of which the pivot is anti-communism, the main expression of the intellectual crisis and ideological poverty of the bourgeoisie.

1. ESSENCE OF PRESENT-DAY ANTI-COMMUNISM

Anti-communism is the pre-eminent ideologico-political weapon of contemporary imperialism. All the enemies of social progress unite under its banner.

Basic Content of Anti-Communism

The basic content of anti-communism as the ideology of the monopoly bourgeoisie consists of slander against the socialist system, misrepresentations of the policy and objectives of communist parties and distortion of the Marxist-Leninist theory.

Theoretical anti-communism includes pseudo-sciences such as Marxology and Sovietology. Marxology boils down to studying and giving a biased interpretation primarily of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, while Sovietology engages in studying and falsifying socialist reality. In bourgeois countries there is a large network of Marxology and Sovietology institutes, research centres, specialised departments at universities, journals and various publications.

Legions of academic servitors of imperialism make a living out of slander against Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism. Many books written in an objectivist, academic spirit, with no direct attacks on scientific communism and existing socialism, are published in the capitalist countries. Understandably, not every bourgeois social scientist is a deliberate falsifier of history and a bellicose anti-communist. But it is important to take into account the objective class role played by bourgeois objectivism. Reactionary conclusions drawn from idealistic and metaphysical academic works misrepresenting the picture of society today are used skillfully by professional anti-communists whose every word is saturated in the venom of hatred for socialism. Hence, the entire social thinking of the modern bourgeoisie is hostile to Marxism-Leninism and existing socialism.

Anti-Communism—Basis of Imperialist Policy

Anti-communism is both the policy and the ideology of modern imperialism, and this determines its structure. It manifests itself at three levels: political, ideological, and socio-psychological.

The policy of anti-communism is expressed in a special behaviour pattern of the bourgeoisie as a class, and also of the bourgeois state relative to the exploited masses, the international communist, working-class and national liberation movements, and existing socialism. To put it in a nutshell, this policy boils down to attempts at "containing", "rolling back" and "eroding" socialism and the revolutionary and national liberation movements. The sharp edge of this policy is directed at the Soviet Union, the world's first country of existing socialism. Further, it is directed at the socialist world community as a whole, at separating individual countries

from it by activating anti-socialist elements in them.

Anti-Sovietism is the core of anti-communist policy. Undisguised anti-communism was expressed by the intervention of 14 bourgeois states against Soviet Russia after the victory of the 1917 October Revolution, and then by Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR. Following the end of World War II the role of leader of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism passed to US imperialism, which became the organiser and inspirer of aggressive military blocs, the chief suppressor of national liberation movements and protector of all fascist and terrorist regimes in the world.

The political strategy and tactics of anti-communism envisions the export of counter-revolution, political, ideological and economic subversion, and attempts to restore capitalism in socialist countries and preserve neocolonialism and survivals of colonialism.

In its drive to achieve its objectives imperialism employs undisguised, aggressive, flagrant anti-communism and its more flexible, camouflaged forms covered with the figleaf of protecting "democratic values" and "human rights". Usually, these forms of anti-communism intertwine and are used in varying proportions simultaneously.

The anti-communists proclaim political doctrines designed to substantiate aggressive anti-communism, for instance, the doctrines of "cordon sanitaire", "rolling back communism", and "liberating" East European countries. The Truman Doctrine heralded the commencement of the cold war against the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, and there were doctrines devised to provide political justification for the US intervention in Indochina.

Coalescing with the tactics of creeping counter-revolution, the doctrines of "building bridges" and "eroding socialism" are used against individual countries with the purpose of wresting them away from the socialist community and abolishing socialist social relations in them. Imperialism has never relinquished its hope for ideological and political degeneration and erosion of social relations at least in some, if not all, socialist countries.

The beginning of the 1980s was marked by a further intensification of the class, including ideological, struggle on the international scene, a mounting threat of thermonuclear war, and a sharp aggravation of aggressiveness on the part of imperialism, chiefly of US imperialism. The USA is calling upon all the forces of international reaction to join in a "crusade" against socialism. Its objectives are to put an end to socialism and consign Marxism-Leninism to the ash-heap of history.

Psychological Warfare—Weapon of Anti-Communism

Imperialism focuses a special effort on cultivating anti-communism at the socio-psychological level, making wide use of its propaganda apparatus, the mass media, and various forms of bourgeois "mass culture". It is at this level that clothed in propaganda forms and stereotypes of the "ordinary consciousness" anti-communist prejudices are inculcated among large segments of the population. Here elements of foreign-policy doctrines and theoretical constructions of anti-communism acquire the forms affecting the perception and mentality of the individual and become a weapon of psychological warfare.

Psychological warfare includes political subversion, delusion and unmitigated deceit, fear and intimidation, the stirring of mass emotions towards aims profiting imperialism, flattery, demagoguery, blackmail, provocations and incitement.

An example of deliberate political subversion aimed at aggravating the international atmosphere is the US administration's invention that the Soviet Union is involved in "international terrorism".

It is obvious to every unbiased person that terrorism is totally alien to the Marxist-Leninist worldview and Soviet policy. The USSR has always denounced acts of terrorism. The architects of this invention lump together terrorism and the legitimate struggle of peoples for political, national and socio-economic liberation. It then turns out that the many new states that have appeared in Africa, Asia and Latin America as a result of the struggle of peoples for freedom and independence are no more than the product of terrorism.

Class hatred for the process of social changes in the world pushes the imperialists to absurd extremes. However, the anti-communist absurdity becomes extremely dangerous when it is made the foundation of the foreign policy of the world's biggest capitalist state and used as a pretext for an uninterrupted escalation of the arms race and interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

Psychological warfare is conducted along many channels and directions. Use is made of radio, television, the press, films, tourism, exhibitions, cultural exchanges, and so on. The "radio war" unleashed against socialist countries is being fought on a particularly large scale. The activities of the propaganda centres are coordinated chiefly through NATO.

The use of mass media for subtle ideologico-psychological preparations for war through the molding of bellicose sentiments and attitudes and the fostering of blind hatred for communism is a major component of anti-Sovietism.

For the reactionary ideologues and political leaders of imperialism psychological warfare is a means of attacking not only the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is used actively also against the general democratic movements in their own countries with the purpose of sapping and neutralising their revolutionary energy, isolating them from communism, and, in the case of the gullible, intimidating them with trumped up pictures of its "horrors".

Sometimes people who come out against communism just have distorted notions about the actual objectives of the Communists as a result of bourgeois propaganda. They judge communism not by real facts but by the caricature in which it is portrayed in the scribbblings of the anti-communists. Lenin noted that "when the bourgeoisie's ideological influence on the workers declines, is undermined or weakened, the bourgeoisie *everywhere and always* resorts to the most outrageous lies and slander".¹ Bourgeois ideology is precisely in this state today.

2. ANTI-COMMUNISM AND THE CRISIS OF PRESENT-DAY BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

Anti-communism is the pivot of modern bourgeois ideology. It permeates all forms of the bourgeois social consciousness. It is the paramount expression of bourgeois ideology's deep crisis and the main impediment to a genuinely scientific, objective understanding of society's life. This applies to any type of theoretical anti-communism, be it neoliberal, neo-conservative or, especially, neofascist.

Falsifications of the Meaning of Our Epoch

Bourgeois ideologues are making an all-out effort to camouflage the true causes of capitalism's general crisis, smear existing socialism and distort the character and basic meaning of the present epoch. Given all the seeming diversity of bourgeois-apologetic and anti-communist theories and doctrines, their content is squalid and boils down to attempts to prove the following specious propositions.

First, it is asserted that capitalism no longer exists as a qualitatively distinct socio-economic system, that it has receded into the past. Capitalism's new features and indications, which in fact do not change its essence, are portrayed as fundamental, qualitative modifications, as total modernisation. The "Western world", bourgeois ideologues claim, is already

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Bourgeois Intelligentsia's Methods of Struggle Against the Workers", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 485.

now beyond capitalism, it has evolved into a new "industrial" (but not socialist) society. Scientific and technological progress is said to be the principal factor that turned "classical capitalism" into an "industrial society". Bourgeois apologists declare that in "industrial society" classes have disappeared under its impact, that they have been replaced by strata, that the class struggle has given way to "social partnership", and so forth.

Second, the anti-communists seek to prove that the world has as yet not known a genuine socialist society, i.e., true socialism built in accordance with Marx's ideals. An army of Marxologists, Sovietologists, and other experts in the falsification of the socialist system, which has been established in a large portion of the planet, is working to substantiate this specious thesis. They are helped by both right and "left" opportunists and revisionists.

The right opportunists, for instance, call for "socialism with a human face", "for humane socialism", and so on, but without the leading role of the working class, without the political leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and without the predomination of a genuinely socialist ideology. Obviously, such a model of pseudo-socialism can never be translated into reality anywhere, but it is used actively to discredit existing socialism.

Third, and last, from the two above-mentioned propositions the anti-communists are drawing the "logical conclusion" that since capitalism no longer exists and socialism has not yet been and will hardly ever be built, there can be no question of a law-governed revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism and communism and, thus, there can be no validity in the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the character and basic meaning of the modern epoch.

Bourgeois ideologues are trying to persuade people that there is no qualitative distinction between socialism and capitalism and that the bourgeois system is a thing of the past. Capitalism was described as "people's capitalism", then a "humane economy", and so on. A similarly hollow and specious theory has been suggested calling capitalism an "integral industrial society" or a hybrid society combining some features of capitalism and socialism.

By describing modern state-monopoly capitalism as a Western variant of "industrial society", bourgeois ideologues attribute to it the essential features that in fact can only be implicit in socialism. This is a forced admission of the strength and viability of the socialist system, which not very long ago was portrayed as a historical anomaly, as a disastrous experiment.

It is indicative that capitalism's apologists have invented for

it the pseudonym "industrial society". As regards existing socialism, its anti-communist vilifiers call it "totalitarianism", "state capitalism", and so on, where, it is alleged, exploitation of man by man flourishes, hostile classes are locked in battle, and the rights and freedoms of the individual are flouted.

The theory of an "integral industrial society" uses the term convergence borrowed from biology, where it signifies the appearance in organisms of similarities in structure and functions as a result of adaptation to identical conditions of life. According to the architects of this theory, the distinctions between capitalism and socialism gradually disappear and each of these social organisms acquires some essential indications of the other.

Anti-Communist "Model of the Future"

The anti-communist "model of the future" was blueprinted with the aid of the methodology of "technological determinism" which depicts scientific and technological progress as a force that determines the entire course of social development. It ignores entirely categories such as "relations of production" and "socio-economic system", while science and technology are seen abstractly, as extra-historical "factors" of social progress (or regress) that operate in approximately the same way under capitalism and under socialism. The proponents of "technological determinism" hold that in the long run science and technology are advanced by the consciousness and will of individual outstanding personalities—scientists, inventors and businessmen. Thus, a new tune has been composed for the specious theory of subjective-idealistic sociology about "heroes" and the "mob".

In the closing years of the 1950s and during the 1960s many futurologists were very vocal in heralding an early advent of a "Western variant of industrial society", in other words, of capitalism in a new and hitherto unknown stage of universal prosperity where all present-day social problems would be resolved. For this future to come there is no need for either a class struggle or a social revolution. Everything will be done by new technology and science without the active participation of the masses. Allowance was made, at the worst, for some minor reforms that would not affect the social structure and the political institutions of the bourgeois system.

This future society has been christened variously, but the most common name is now "post-industrial society". In that society there would be no need at all for human labour, all work would be performed by machines. The systems of ro-

bots would need only a few operatives. All other people would lead a carefree life, enjoy the fruits of abundance and engage in sports, art and so on. Just as in antique Greece there was a society of "leisure and abundance", a society of slaveowners living off the labour of slaves, in the near future there would arise a society of "free time and abundance", living off the labour of "electronic and mechanical slaves". This vulgar consumer ideal conflicts with the objective laws of society's development. In the course of development there continuously arise new social needs for whose satisfaction there have to be new material means and intellectual efforts, new branches and types of industry and new areas for the application of the people's physical and intellectual powers. However clever a machine may be, it will never entirely displace live human labour. The communist ideal is a society of free people, for whom labour will be the prime necessity in life and a source of joy and gratification; it will not be a society of cybernetic parasites.

The unscientific character of bourgeois futurology lies in the fact that it absolutises (and, consequently, misrepresents) actual processes of present-day social development, for instance, the growing role played by science, the conversion of science into a direct productive force. It is naive, to say the least, to presume that through science and technology humanity can enter an era of abundance and social justice painlessly, without a class struggle and a socialist revolution. Modern science and technology have an enormous potential, but there is one thing they cannot accomplish: they cannot automatically reshape capitalism into socialism.

Another reason why bourgeois futurological theories are unscientific is that they ignore the prevalence of private property and studiously side-step the question of who in "post-industrial" society would own "intellectual institutions" and universities, industrial laboratories and experimentation facilities. It is a reactionary utopia to imagine that the monopoly bourgeoisie will voluntarily renounce economic and political power, that it will turn the reins of government over to scientists and engineers.

Modern bourgeois ideology has always had an ambivalent assessment for scientific and technological progress—positive and negative. In the first case it is portrayed as a kind genie taking humankind into a golden age of abundance and freedom. In the second case it is a wicked demon threatening civilisation with destruction. Both the optimistic and the pessimistic variants of "technological determinism" are ultimately an apologia of capitalism, because science and technology are equally depicted as an autonomous force responsible for the destiny of the human race.

Social Pessimism in the Service of the Monopolies

In the conditions created by the present-day scientific and technological revolution, the spontaneous development of the productive forces has come into dramatic conflict with the narrow boundaries of private proprietorship relations of production. Both the optimists and the pessimists are doing their utmost to camouflage this basic antagonism of the capitalist system which is responsible for the unbridled exploitation of natural and human resources, for the senseless squandering of colossal material and intellectual resources on the creation of weapons of mass annihilation, and for the famine in many Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Dating from the mid-1970s, the present grave economic crisis is accompanied by unparalleled unemployment and inflation and compounded by the ecological, energy and raw materials crises. It has compelled marked changes in the apologetics of capitalism. Events have refuted the myth that capitalism is capable of delivering itself from crises and evolve into a "society of universal prosperity".

Bourgeois ideologues had no choice but to jettison the theory that capitalist development is crisis-free. More and more frequently they are calling capitalism by its proper name.

There has been a steep and drastic turn in the development of bourgeois ideology as a whole—from optimistic projections of the future, of which a large number was contrived in the 1960s, to sombre prophesies claiming that civilisation will inescapably perish on account of the uncontrolled development of industry, technology and science. The fetishisation of science (scientism) and technology (technomania) have given way to criticism, anti-scientism and technophobia.

The collapse of the optimistic theories promising capitalism's crisis-free development under a continued scientific and technological revolution, and the dissemination of pessimistic, decadent theories everywhere in the West only bear out the diagnosis that Marxist-Leninist science has made of capitalism, which it found to be a society without a future, a social organism experiencing an exacerbation of all its old ills compounded by new sores in the shape of the energy, raw materials, ecological and other so-called structural crises.

Many ideologues of the bourgeoisie now associate the transition to "post-industrial society" not with abundance but with a dramatic decline of the living standards of large sections of the population. Some of them identify "post-industrial society" with "post-abundance" or the commencement of a new development stage in which people will have to live with scarcities and shortages of the staple means of existence.

Bourgeois pessimism is used as an ideological cover for the monopoly bourgeoisie's massive onslaught against the living standards of the working people. The latter are urged to tighten their belts and abandon "excessive" demands in order to cut down on the consumption of irreplaceable resources and safeguard the environment. Meanwhile, the profits of the monopolies, especially of the arms producing transnationals, are steadily growing instead of diminishing.

Many bourgeois ideologues are trying to make a scapegoat of science and technology, perceiving a danger in the allegedly much too rapid growth rate of production. Currency has been given to theories suggesting a slowing down of scientific and technological progress, a switch from extended to simple reproduction ("zero development"). An unparalleled boom is being enjoyed by neo-Malthusianism—attempts to shift the blame from imperialism, which obstructed the socio-economic and cultural development of the peoples of former colonies, on these very same peoples, on their allegedly excessive fecundity.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s there appeared the concept of ecological pessimism, which is a sort of reflection of the ecological crisis that has affected the industrialised capitalist nations in the first place. In the same period bourgeois academics began making global mathematical models of the development of human society. On the basis of these models the conclusion was drawn that it was vital to halt or, at least, limit economic growth and scientific and technological progress so as to safeguard the natural environment and non-renewable raw material resources. Several score of these global models were created, and the best known are the reports of the Club of Rome, a public organisation uniting academics, businessmen and civic personalities of a number of capitalist countries. Most of these models are an attempt to resolve urgent problems of society's development from the angle of state-monopoly capitalism and in its interests. The authors of the models depict the aggravation of the ecological aspects of capitalism's general crisis as a crisis of the whole of humankind. The "limits of civilisation's growth" foretold by them are in fact the limits that private proprietorship relations of production place on the development of the productive forces, on scientific and technological progress.

Taking advantage of social pessimism, the ideologues of the bourgeoisie are extolling the multinational corporations, calling them the "key and positive element of the entire dialectics of social transformations", the decisive element in the entire range of social problems, and so on.

Many exponents of ecological pessimism are trying a new approach to revive the convergence theory. Whereas in the

recent past the imagined ultimate convergence and then fusion of the two opposing systems was motivated by the distinctive features of scientific and technological progress, use is now increasingly made of ecology-oriented arguments. The global disaster threatening humankind, it is contended, should give rise to a "common global consciousness" free of ideological dispute and class-party "narrow-mindedness". Voices are heard advocating the creation of non-class "ecological" and "biological" ethics. In parallel, the concepts of state sovereignty and national security are said to be outdated. Sovereignty, the bourgeois ideologues say, is a jacket that has shrunk and is now a straitjacket for humanity. The struggle between the two systems has become an "anachronism", and there is now a "global process of convergence" that is bound to lead to a "renunciation of priority for national security".

The apologia of state-monopoly capitalism, the attacks on national sovereignty and the call for the "socialisation" of the raw materials belonging to sovereign developing nations are indications of the anti-communist character of the theories enunciating ecological, demographic and other bourgeois-inspired pessimism. Social pessimism drawing on global problems serves as the ideological foundation for the offensive launched by the monopolies against the living standards of the working people in a situation marked by crisis phenomena in the capitalist economy and for justification of neocolonialist policies.

Philosophy of Historical Optimism

For the solution of global problems there has to be a global approach, in other words, broad international cooperation under conditions of detente and the consolidation of peaceful coexistence of states with different socio-political systems. Precisely this is the attitude adopted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist-community states. For instance, being a global problem the ecological problem requires international cooperation. But this is also a social problem and for that reason the ways and means for resolving it inevitably bear the imprint of a class approach determined by the fundamental distinction between the interests of labour and capital and by the antithesis between the two social systems.

Rejecting the forecasts of bourgeois academics to the effect that humankind will perish as a result of scientific and technological progress, the Marxists show that there is an optimistic option for the human race, which through social progress will be able to surmount all contradictions, to resolve global and all other problems.

Marxist philosophy is a philosophy of historical optimism. But in the optimism of the Marxist-Leninist worldview there is not a grain of utopianism. It has a solid scientific foundation. The Marxists-Leninists oppose the false optimism of bourgeois futurological utopias and the morbid pessimism of ecological anti-utopias with the scientifically tested theory of developed socialism, with the great Marxist-Leninist teaching on the building of communism.

The world-wide triumph of socialism and communism is determined by the entire course of history, and it will be a legitimate stage of humankind's natural historical evolution. However, the Marxist-Leninist forecast does not rule out dangerous and even catastrophic variants of humankind's development in the historically foreseeable future. For example, nobody can guarantee that the most rabid imperialist circles and militarists, who have lost the last remnants of reason and the ground from under their feet, will not start an all-destroying thermonuclear conflict. Serious problems may arise in the course of the interaction of chaotically growing production and the natural environment. Fatal accidents and errors are possible for which a very high price will have to be paid: excessively powerful material forces are concentrated in humanity's hands, but humanity is not united; it is divided into two opposing social systems. In this situation peaceful coexistence of states is the key issue upon whose settlement the future of humankind depends.

There has been a growth not only of humanity's material might. The role of the subjective factor—the consciousness and will of the masses, of the actual makers of history—has also grown. The influence of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community has risen and continues to rise steadily, and they are putting the entire weight of their prestige and their entire might on the scales of history in favour of humane purposes. Hitherto it has been possible to block the objective laws of imperialism, which generate wars for the repartitioning of the world. World war (and now it can only be a nuclear-missile war) is not inevitable, as it was only half a century ago. And in this lies an inestimable service rendered by existing socialism built in keeping with Marxist-Leninist science.

The teaching of Marx is omnipotent because it is true. These words of Lenin lay bare the underlying reason of the efficacy of communist ideology.

The strength of Marxist-Leninist ideology lies in the fact that it is scientific, that it gives an objectively accurate reflection of the laws of society's development and is able to foresee the course of history. This optimistic and profoundly humanistic ideology expresses the vital interests of the

working class, of the broad masses. The historical experience of existing socialism bears out the truth of Marxism-Leninism. This same experience reaffirms that any departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism is fraught with grave errors and setbacks.

There is no doubt about the outcome of the historic struggle between socialist and bourgeois ideologies. Present-day bourgeois ideology is fundamentally unsound. This is what accounts for its helplessness, its inability to resolve the major problems of society's development effectively. Marxism-Leninism is the only science that gives correct answers to the questions posed by our epoch.

Part III

ESTABLISHMENT AND TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM

Chapter 11

PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM. DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS FORMS

The principal stages in the establishment and development of the communist socio-economic formation are the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, socialism and communism. Socialism and communism are the two phases of communist society.

1. ESSENCE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM

Need for the Period of Transition

The period of transition from capitalism to socialism is a mandatory stage for all countries embarking upon the building of socialism. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx wrote: "Between capitalist and communist society 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*."¹ This transition period begins with the conquest of political power by the working class and is consummated with the building of socialism, which is the first phase of communist society.

The need for the transition period arises out of the specific features of the emergence of socialism. The socialist economy is not created under the capitalist system. As any other

¹ Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Programme", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. III, p. 26.

exploiting society, bourgeois society is based on private property and therefore develops chaotically. But socialist relations of production are rooted in public property in the means of production, which can only arise in the course of the socialist revolution as a result of the conscious, planned work of the proletarian state.

A feature characterising the economy of the transition period is that it is a multiform economy. In all countries the basic forms of the economy of this period are socialist, capitalist, and small-commodity production.

The period of transition combines features of the capitalist and socialist forms of social economy. This is a period of struggle between moribund capitalism and incipient communism. "The transition from capitalism to communism," Lenin wrote, "takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this *hope* turns into *attempts* at restoration."¹ The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie expresses the main contradiction of the transition period.

Marxism-Leninism has shown the total untenability of the reformist concept of a peaceful "growth" of capitalism into socialism. Also incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist theory are the revisionists' views rejecting the need for a transition period from capitalism to socialism or extending its historical boundaries up to the building of full-scale communism.

The transition period is needed to transform the capitalist economy into a socialist economy, carry out socialist socio-political transformations, and give people a socialist consciousness.

General Laws and Specific Features of Socialist Construction

In our day when there is a socialist world system and broad prospects have opened up for the development of the world revolutionary movement, the working class and its Marxist-Leninist parties are faced with the increasingly pressing questions of the ways of transition from capitalism to socialism, of the most expedient forms of the revolutionary struggle and of the building of the new society, and of the utilisation of the vast experience of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Historical practice has demonstrated strikingly that a correct determination of the ways and forms of transition to socialism on the basis of a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory and of historical experience to the specific

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 254.

situation in this or that country is of vital significance to the destinies of the socialist revolution.

Marxism-Leninism considers the question of the ways and forms of the transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism in the context of the social conditions determining these ways and forms.

The socio-economic and political conditions under which the transition to socialism is being accomplished in different countries are characterised by general laws and by extraordinarily diverse features. In their most essential characteristics these conditions coincide: in all countries the basic economic structures and the main classes are identical, a class struggle along the principle of "who will win" is going on between nascent socialism and rotting capitalism, and so on. Laws of socialist construction common to all countries take shape and operate on the basis of common conditions. They cover all areas of society's life: politics, economics, ideology and culture.

In the *socio-political sphere* the common laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction are:

- a proletarian revolution and the establishment in one form or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

- leadership of the working masses by the working class, of which the Marxist-Leninist party is the vanguard;

- alliance of the working class with the bulk of the peasants and other strata of working people;

- eradication of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship among peoples;

- defence of the gains of socialism against attack by external and internal enemies;

- solidarity of the working class of the given country with the working class of other countries—proletarian internationalism.

In the *economic sphere* such laws are:

- the abolition of capitalist property and the establishment of social ownership of the basic means of production and the use of these means to organise socialist production;

- a gradual socialist transformation of the fragmented small-scale production in town and countryside;

- planned economic development directed towards the building of socialism and communism and the raising of the living standard of the working people.

In *intellectual life* a common law of the transition to socialism is the carrying out of a cultural revolution, which spells out the institution of universal public education, the creation of an intelligentsia devoted to socialism, and the assertion of socialist ideology.

Experience has shown that without compliance with these

laws socialism cannot be built in any country. Any attempts to deny or ignore the leading role of the Communist Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and other laws impede society's development and create a real threat to socialist gains.

The fact that there are general laws does not mean, of course, that in all countries the transition to socialism will follow one and the same path. The specific conditions prevailing in different countries change the operation of the general laws of socialist construction and affect the content, forms, and rate of transition to socialism. "All nations," Lenin wrote, "will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life."¹

The most significant internal conditions determining the specifics of the transition of different countries to socialism include: the state and the level of the country's economic development; the alignment of class forces, the acuteness and forms of the class struggle; the consciousness and organisational level of the working masses; national distinctions and the people's cultural level and traditions. The specifics of the transition of a given country to socialism are influenced by external conditions as well. Also of major significance are the balance of strength between socialism and capitalism on the world scene, mutual assistance among socialist countries, and whether or not there is war with other states.

General laws can be successfully implemented if they are applied creatively to specific historical conditions. Disregard of the specifics of one or another country's development can make it difficult or even impossible to translate general laws into reality. Lenin held that a key task of the Communists was to "seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task".²

The question of using the accumulated experience of building socialism is also considered by Marxism-Leninism in the context of the question of the ways and forms of the transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

By and large, in every country the way to socialism has general and specific features. Correspondingly, one or another

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

² V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 92.

er country's experience of building socialism is general, international, and specific in content.

The first victorious socialist revolution took place in Russia. In it the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and the general laws of the socialist revolution were embodied for the first time. This experience is therefore not local but general. In *'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, Lenin noted that some basic features of the revolution in Russia were of general significance in the sense that they would under all circumstances be repeated in other countries. He wrote: "It is the Russian model that reveals to all countries something—and something highly significant—of their near and inevitable future."¹

In the USSR the building of socialism proceeded under diverse conditions. The Soviet people had to tackle social tasks that confront all individual or groups of countries. Lenin insisted that Soviet experience had to be applied creatively in accordance with the distinctive features of the countries concerned.

Socialist revolutions in other countries have enriched the experience of building the new society. This experience is likewise priceless to the world revolutionary movement.

In documents of the CPSU it is stressed that the party steadfastly abides by Lenin's proposition that there is a diversity of ways and forms for the transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism. One of these documents says: "No one is imposing any stereotypes or patterns that ignore the distinctions of any country... In none of the now existing socialist countries have the forms, methods, and ways of the socialist revolution been a mechanical repetition of outside experience. Take the GDR or Poland, Hungary or Cuba, Mongolia or Yugoslavia—all the socialist countries, in fact, carried out the revolution in their own way, using forms that were dictated by the correlation of class forces in each of these countries, by the national distinctions and the external situation.

"There had been armed struggle and peaceful forms of passage to the new social system; there had been rapid coming to power of the labouring classes and processes that had dragged out in time. In some countries the revolution had to defend itself against foreign intervention, others had been spared any outside invasions.

"The establishment and consolidation of socialist foundations and the building of socialist society ... also had and still have distinctive features in different countries."

The modern revisionists are trying to supplant the Marx-

¹ Ibid., p. 22.

ist-Leninist theory of socialism and of the ways for building it with concepts about "national socialism", about there being a "multiplicity of models of socialism". These concepts are offered as the sole correct interpretation and creative development of problems related to socialism. The revisionists' references to Marxism-Leninism and their assertions that the whole point is about what socialism should be like and how best to achieve it are no more than a cover, a screen for the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist concepts preached by them.

The revisionists inordinately accentuate the national distinctions of different countries and deny that there are general laws of the building of a socialist society and general features of socialism as a social system. They want people to believe that there is no need for a socialist revolution and for establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, whose historical designation is to abolish the old exploiting system and ensure the socialist transformation of society.

On this "theoretical" basis they are trying to "substantiate" and "prove" that there is a fundamental difference between the ways to socialism and in socialism itself in different countries. They declare that there should be as many qualitatively different ways to socialism and "models of socialism" as there are countries.

But, as the revisionists see it, since the ways to socialism differ markedly, the inevitable conclusion must be that the experience of building socialism in one country cannot be utilised by other countries. In this way the revisionists arrive at counterposing the experience of one socialist country to the experience of other countries, and to a denial of the international, universally significant experience of the socialist countries, of the USSR above all. They portray the way of the October Revolution, whose principal features are of universal significance, as one of the variants of the transition to socialism.

Proceeding from these "theoretical constructions" they are doing everything in their power to orient the labouring masses to working out "purely national ways" to socialism. Here they accentuate the charting of an "anti-Soviet model of socialism".

The Marxist-Leninist theory of the ways of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism is misrepresented also from dogmatic positions. Whereas the right revisionists emphasise national distinctions and arrive at a negation of general laws, the dogmatists ignore national distinctions and on this basis deny that there is a variety of forms for the transition of different countries to socialism.

Unlike revisionism and dogmatism, which repudiate the general and the particular in the building of socialism,

Marxism-Leninism considers them in dialectical unity. General laws are the determining factor in this unity. The diverse forms of transition to socialism are concrete expressions of these laws. In other words, there can be a diversity of forms of transition to socialism only within the boundaries of general laws. However distinctive the conditions of the transition to socialism are in different countries, they cannot annul these laws. The establishment of a correct balance between the general and the particular in the building of socialism is a key task of the communist and workers' parties.

2. DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT— PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM

The working class can fulfil its epochal role of abolishing capitalism and building the new, socialist society only by carrying out a socialist revolution and asserting its power in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is established for the duration of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Lenin regarded the proposition on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the central point of the Marxist doctrine. He wrote: "Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat*... This is the touchstone on which the *real* understanding and recognition of Marxism should be tested."¹

Essence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In any society the essence of power derives from its class content, historical purpose, and basic objectives. As Lenin noted on many occasions, in view of the ongoing bitter struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the question can only be: either a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or a dictatorship of the proletariat. There neither is nor can be a middle course. In addition to the term "dictatorship of the proletariat", Marx, Engels, and Lenin used terms such as "political power of the working class", "political rule of the working class", and so on to characterise the class essence of the proletarian state.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is power of the working class wielded in alliance with all the labouring masses with the aim of building socialism.

The principal objectives of the dictatorship of the proletariat are:

first, to break the resistance of the deposed exploiting

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 417.

classes, defend the country against attack by imperialist states, strengthen internationalist links to the international working class, assist the revolutionary liberation movement in other countries, and promote peace and international co-operation;

second, to give effect to socialist transformations in the economy and in the socio-political and cultural spheres, and improve the living standard of the labouring masses;

third, to implement working-class leadership of the peasants and other labouring masses in order to separate them once and for all from the bourgeoisie and draw them into the building of socialism.

Upon its ascension to power, the working class begins building a socialist society in alliance with all the labouring masses. This is violently resisted by the deposed exploiting classes. With foreign aid they make desperate attempts to regain the "paradise" taken from them, to reinstall capitalist rule in the country. For that reason one of the major tasks and a mandatory indication of the dictatorship of the proletariat is its suppression of the resistance from the deposed exploiting classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the continuation of the class struggle under new conditions and in new forms.

In the course of socialist construction the balance of class forces changes in favour of the working people. But, contrary to the assertions of the reformists and the right revisionists, this does not mean that the building of socialism is automatically accompanied by a diminution of resistance from the bourgeoisie, that the class struggle steadily fades. In some periods the class struggle may flare up sharply. Such was the case in Hungary during the counter-revolutionary rising of 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969 and in Poland in 1980-1981 when anti-socialist forces frenziedly tried to steer these countries towards the restoration of capitalism.

The working class seeks to implement socialist transformation as painlessly as possible, without pushing the class struggle into the most violent forms. The guideline of the "leftist" adventurers towards an artificial inflaming of the class struggle is alien to it.

Upon taking over power, the proletariat conducts a class struggle against exploiters not only in its own country but also on the world scene. The imperialist states are not reconciling themselves to the emergence of socialist countries. Jointly with internal reaction they are attempting again and again to restore capitalism in these countries. This is the objective of their economic and political pressure, blockades, and ideological subversion. Imperialism does not shrink from even direct military invasion of socialist countries. The de-

fence of the socialist homeland and the gains of socialism against internal and external enemies is an important task of the state of the proletarian dictatorship. Successful fulfilment of this task requires the unremitting reinforcement of the country's defence capability and an active peace policy. "No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself," Lenin said.¹

With the formation of the socialist world system the socialist countries are combining their efforts for the joint defence of the entire system and of each of the countries in it. The defence of socialism in one country or another is not only a national but also a paramount internationalist task, for this is a matter of safeguarding and consolidating the positions of world socialism.

Another area of the class struggle of the working people of socialist states against imperialism is the extension of internationalist assistance and support to the ongoing liberation movement of the peoples of the world. Lenin held that socialist countries should influence the world revolution primarily by their example, by their successful fulfilment of economic and socio-political tasks in the interests of the people, by ensuring a steady rise of the living standards and cultural level of the working people. He stressed that the internationalist tactics of a socialist country should provide for the maximum effort in one's own country to promote, support, and arouse revolution in all countries.

The socialist states are doing their utmost to prevent the export of counter-revolution to countries which have embarked on effecting fundamental revolutionary reforms. With socialism steadily gaining in strength increasing economic, political, cultural, technological and, when necessary, military assistance is extended to peoples fighting for freedom, democracy, national independence, and socialism.

The suppression of resistance from the exploiting classes is one of the crucial tasks of the proletarian dictatorship. But under all conditions the pre-eminent aspect and essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat comprise creative tasks, the building of a socialist society.

Lenin categorically rejected all inventions about the dictatorship of the proletariat being a system of violence spread by socialism's enemies and philistines. In analysing the experience of the 1917 October Revolution, he said that "revolutionary violence was a necessary and legitimate weapon of the revolution only at definite stages of its development,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Report at a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, Factory Committees and Trade Unions, October 22, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 123.

only under definite and special conditions, and that a far more profound and permanent feature of this revolution and condition of its victory was, and remains, the organisation of the proletarian masses, the organisation of the working people".¹

In "A Great Beginning", he noted that the dictatorship of the proletariat spells out not only violence against exploiters nor even chiefly violence. Alongside the task of crushing the resistance of the exploiting classes, he wrote, "another task comes to the forefront just as inevitably and ever more imperatively as time goes on, namely, the more important task of positive communist construction, the creation of new economic relations, of a new society".²

In the transition period capitalist private property is replaced with social property in the basic means of production. The socialisation of the means of production creates the prerequisites for planned economic growth, for the rapid development of the productive forces, for boosting labour productivity, for building the material and technical basis of socialism and, on that foundation, promoting the living standards of the working people. Moreover, this creates the prerequisites for a socialist solution of socio-political, cultural, and educational problems. The exploiting classes are abolished, national oppression is extirpated, and equality and fraternal friendship are established between peoples; the distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and labour by hand are transcended; a revolution is carried out in ideology and culture.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is rule by one class. But in leading the country the working class relies on its allies, on the non-proletarian labouring masses, while in the majority of countries it relies chiefly on the working peasants. "The dictatorship of the proletariat," Lenin wrote, "is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata, an alliance against capital, an alliance whose aim is the complete overthrow of capital, complete suppression of the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie as well as of attempts at restoration on its part, an alliance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism."³ The

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Speech in Memory of Y.M. Sverdlov at a Special Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, March 18, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 89.

² V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 419.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Foreword to the Published Speech 'Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 381.

proletariat endeavours to broaden the class base of its power, wins the labouring masses away from the bourgeoisie and enlists them into active participation in socialist construction.

It is only in alliance with other labouring masses that the working class can assume and retain state power, suppress the resistance of the exploiters, and enforce fundamental social reforms. The alliance between workers and the working peasants, who comprise a significant force in society, is of exceptionally great importance in the building of socialism. Lenin defined the alliance of the workers with the peasants as the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is an objective foundation for establishing a durable alliance between the workers and the non-proletarian working masses. In fighting for its emancipation, the proletariat simultaneously fights for the emancipation of all working people, for the abolition of all forms of exploitation and oppression.

In accordance with its paramount objectives the state of the proletarian dictatorship fulfils internal and external functions characterising the principal directions of its activity. The *main internal functions* include: suppression of the resistance of deposed exploiting classes; economic organisation; cultural-educational work; control of the measure of labour and consumption by members of society; protection of socialist property; maintenance of internal order in society and protection of citizens' rights; promotion of the material welfare of the working people. Its *external functions* are: the country's defence against encroachments by international imperialism; ensuring the state's security against intrigues by imperialist intelligence services; pursuing a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; organising cooperation with socialist countries and assisting countries that have won liberation; supporting the world liberation movement.

Proletarian Dictatorship—a New Type of Democracy

The dictatorship of the proletariat puts an end to the epoch of rule by exploiting classes and opens an epoch of genuine people's power. With the victory of the socialist revolution the working people take over the helm of state for the first time ever and establish the rule of the overwhelming majority of society over the minority. Proletarian democracy, Lenin noted, "is a *million times* more democratic than any bourgeois democracy".¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 248.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in fact gives the working people the opportunity to enjoy freedom and all political and civil rights. For the masses a broad expanse opens up for actual day-to-day participation in the administration of the state. The socialisation of the means of production and the transfer of cultural institutions, the education system, and all the mass media to the hands of the people immeasurably extend the sphere of democracy. The proletarian state spreads democracy to all areas of socialist society's life.

While it fosters the broadest democracy for the working people, the dictatorship of the proletariat abolishes the privileges of exploiters and drastically restricts democracy for them. The proletarian state accords the right to freedom of speech, the press, and assembly only to working people and their organisations, to everybody who acts in the interests of the working people, in the interests of socialism. As the experience of individual socialist countries has demonstrated, the granting of freedom of organisation and action to anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary elements inevitably leads to an actual restriction of democracy for the working people and to the danger of the restoration of capitalism. In order to facilitate their attacks on socialism, the deposed exploiting classes and the external counter-revolutionaries put on a democratic mask. In socialist countries they endeavour to introduce elements of bourgeois democracy and, in the long run, supplant socialist with bourgeois democracy.

Enemies of socialism see dictatorship and democracy as mutually excluding concepts. They assert that dictatorship signifies the negation of democracy, that it means violence against people. While depicting the restrictions placed on democracy for exploiters by the proletarian state as evidence of denial of democracy, they pose as champions of "total", "pure" democracy, of democracy allegedly for all. Anti-socialist forces count on these tactics to give them a free hand to fight the people's power on the pretext of creating universal democracy, of promoting and perfecting democracy.

For the bourgeoisie "pure democracy" is its last anchor of salvation. On this point, Engels wrote that "our sole adversary on the day of the crisis and on the day after the crisis will be *the whole of the reaction which will rally around pure democracy*, and this, I think, should not be lost sight of".¹

In a class society dictatorship and democracy have a class character. In a society divided into classes with clashing interests there neither is nor can be "supra-class", "full", and "pure" democracy, just as there neither is nor can be equal-

¹ "Engels to August Bebel in Berlin, December 11, 1884", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 360.

ity between the exploiters and the exploited.

Lenin stressed that to speak of democracy in general would mean forgetting about the class struggle. The whole issue is for what class democracy exists, what class exercises its dictatorship over which classes. The essence of democracy is determined by the class nature of power, i.e., by who holds power and in whose interests power is exercised.

"The bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote, "are compelled to be hypocritical and to describe as 'popular government' or democracy in general, or pure democracy, the (*bourgeois*) democratic republic which is, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiters over the working people... The democratic republic, the Constituent Assembly, general elections, etc., are, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and for the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital there is no other way but to replace this dictatorship with the *dictatorship of the proletariat*."

"The dictatorship of the proletariat alone can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy—democracy *for the rich*—and establish democracy *for the poor*, that is, make the blessings of democracy *really* accessible to the workers and poor peasants."¹

Diversity of the Forms of the Proletarian Dictatorship

The dictatorship of the proletariat differs fundamentally from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie not only in content but also in the forms it is exercised. "It would be sheer nonsense," Lenin said, "to think that the most profound revolution in human history, the first case in the world of power being transferred from the exploiting minority to the exploited majority, could take place within the time-worn framework of the old, bourgeois, parliamentary democracy, without drastic changes, without the creation of new forms of democracy, new institutions that embody the new conditions for applying democracy, etc."²

Depending on concrete historical conditions the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be very diverse indeed. The practice of the revolutionary movement advanced forms of working-class power such as the Paris Commune, the Soviets, and people's democracy. But however diverse the forms of the proletarian dictatorship, all express one and the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "'Democracy' and Dictatorship", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 370.

² V. I. Lenin, "First Congress of the Communist International, March 2-6, 1919. Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, March 4", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 464.

same essence and have a number of features in common.

The Paris Commune was historically the first form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although it was shortlived, the Commune showed that in it were many general features of working-class power. In his summation of its experience, Marx drew the conclusion that the Commune was instrumental for the fact that "the political form /was/ at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour".¹

Unlike the Commune, the Soviets that sprang up in Russia developed substantially during the initial post-revolutionary years, distinctly displaying features common to all forms of the proletarian dictatorship. In considering the Paris Commune and the Soviets as forms of one and the same type, Lenin noted that the Commune was the "embryo", the "proto-type" of the Soviets.

Lenin repeatedly underscored the international significance of the Soviets, which mirrored essential features of the organisation of proletarian power. At the same time, he pointed out that these features would manifest themselves distinctively in other countries.

The experience of the people's democracies has likewise shown that in their most essential features all forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat coincide. Let us consider these features.

For the exercise of its power the dictatorship of the proletariat requires a level of organisation that can ensure the active and decisive participation of the working class and all other working people in the administration of the state. Lenin pointed out that bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism were so organised that precisely the labouring classes were most of all alienated from the administrative apparatus. The dictatorship of the proletariat, on the contrary, is structured in such a way as to draw the working masses ever closer to the administrative apparatus.

Organs of proletarian power are formed on the basis of the principles of electivity and recallability of their members. Also, it is possible for central organs to appoint representatives of authority as a temporary measure in the period of the socialist state's formation. The principle that members of organs of power are elected and subject to recall allows regulating their composition and ensures representation of the different nations and nationalities in the organs of state power and the election of the most capable and prestigious persons to these organs. The working people not only elect their representatives to these organs but also control their

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, p. 75.

work and, if necessary, recall and replace them with other persons.

Representative state institutions turn from the "debating clubs" that they are in capitalist countries, into working organs. The dictatorship of the proletariat combines legislative and executive power: organs of state authority not only enact laws but also ensure their implementation.

The structure and organisation of the work of state organs and the relationship between central and local organs of authority rest on the principle of democratic centralism. From the standpoint of the organisational form, Lenin wrote, the Republic of Soviets represents the unification and formal embodiment of the Soviets from top to bottom in a single coherent state organisation of the working people, in a single and thoroughly homogeneous state mechanism.

Democratic centralism is incompatible either with anarchism, which rejects the need for centralised state leadership, or with bureaucratic centralism, which removes the people from the administration of the state and hamstring local initiative. Democratic centralism ensures the combination, in the interests of the whole of society, of centralised state leadership with the promotion of local initiative, with the constant enlistment of the people into the making of decisions on general and local issues.

Alongside its general features in the organisation of power every form of the dictatorship of the proletariat has its distinctions.

The distinctive features of the Soviet form of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia sprang from the specific conditions in which the socialist revolution was accomplished: the clear-cut demarcation of class forces and their parties, the extremely acute class struggle against the combined forces of internal and external reaction, and the absence of other socialist countries.

In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the exploiting classes in Soviet Russia were removed from participation in the country's political life. Denial of suffrage to the exploiters barred them from any possibility of directly influencing the composition and work of the organs of state authority. In order to assure the working class of the leading role in a country where the peasants predominated in the population a certain measure of preference was established in elections to organs of authority for the workers. There were distinctions also in the procedure of the elections: they were phased and the voting was by open ballot.

In the USSR the dictatorship of the proletariat was exercised under a one-party system. In order to extend the social base of the revolution, the Communist Party allowed for

the possibility of cooperation with petty-bourgeois parties on the basis of a platform calling for the strengthening of the Soviet government and the building of socialism. But in the Civil War these parties went over to the camp of the counter-revolution and thereby forfeited their access to the nation's political life.

Another distinction of the Soviet form of the proletarian dictatorship is that even at the early stages of the revolution's development it was not linked to the preceding state forms. In the acute class struggle the bourgeois state machine was rapidly and completely broken up and replaced by entirely new organs—the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

People's democracy, which took shape in a number of European and Asian countries, was a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was brought to life as the world revolutionary movement entered a new stage, and mirrored a distinctive development of the socialist revolution in a situation witnessing a weakening of imperialism and a change in the balance of strength in favour of socialism.

The revolution's broad social base, its relatively peaceful development, and Soviet assistance and support determined the general features of people's democracy as a form of the proletarian dictatorship. Moreover, in the different countries people's democracy has its own features inasmuch as in each country the socialist revolution was accomplished under specific historical and national conditions.

A key feature of people's democracy is the existence of a popular front, a mass socio-political organisation consisting of various democratic associations and headed by the Marxist-Leninist party.

The formation of the popular front was called forth by the broad social base of the revolutionary movement, the need for the organisational union of the revolution's motive forces, and the establishment of an alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other classes and social groups desiring society's progress. Changes took place in the alignment of class forces during the struggle for national and social liberation, for society's socialist transformation. These changes were reflected in the popular front as well.

As distinct from Soviet Russia, a multiparty system was established in some people's democracies. People's democracy evolved as a system on the basis of the popular front. This circumstance made it expedient for the communist and workers' parties to form a bloc with the political parties that united with the Communists in the popular front on the basis of a common platform of struggle against fascism and imperialism. However, the communist and workers' parties re-

tained their leading role. Under these conditions the multi-party system facilitated the expansion of the revolution's social base and enabled it to attain its aims more successfully.

At the stage of the socialist revolution the parties of the popular front work jointly to build the new, socialist society. As regards the bourgeois parties that advocated the preservation of capitalist practices, they were gradually ousted from the popular front.

In the attainment of the aims of the socialist revolution and in the building of socialism a large role was played by the unification of communist and social democratic parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in a number of European people's democracies (Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic).

In some people's democracies the communist and workers' parties are cooperating successfully with non-proletarian, democratic parties. For example, in the German Democratic Republic there are, in addition to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, four other democratic parties in the National Front: the National Democratic Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, and the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany. In Poland the National Unity Front consists of three parties: the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasants' Party, and the Democratic Party. In Bulgaria there are two parties—the Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union—in the Fatherland Front. In Hungary and Romania there was a transition from a multiparty to a one-party system.

The Communists cooperate with democratic parties in various forms in the national front, in organs of state authority, and in mass organisations of the working people. This strikingly belies the fabrications of bourgeois ideologues and reformists about the Communists being hostile to cooperation with other parties in the struggle for power and the building of socialism.

Further, people's democracy as a form of the proletarian dictatorship is characterised by a distinctive procedure for constituting organs of state authority.

In most of the people's democracies, as distinct from the Soviet Union, the exploiting classes were not, as a rule, disenfranchised. In view of the favourable internal and external conditions, the exercise of suffrage by exploiting classes in the people's democracies could not, given the correct policy pursued by the Marxist-Leninist parties, threaten the people's power. For a certain period all the exploiting classes were denied suffrage in Romania. In other people's democracies limitations on suffrage affected only individual categories of persons, who carried on hostile activities, and

also traitors who had collaborated with the invaders during the war.

The experience of most of the people's democracies has thus borne out the Leninist proposition that a limitation on the suffrage of exploiters is not mandatory for the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In some people's democracies the old state machine was broken in a way that differed from how it was broken in the USSR. A section of the old state apparatus (the military and the police) was severed as early as during the democratic stage of the revolution. As regards the rest of the administrative apparatus, it was transformed gradually.

Some traditional parliamentary forms persist in a new shape in a number of European people's democracies. For example, the Federal Assembly and the Sejm are national representative bodies in Czechoslovakia and Poland respectively.

Alongside the experience of the Soviets, the experience of people's democracy is of exceptionally great significance to the international working-class and national liberation movements. Future revolutions may produce new political forms of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. But, despite their diversity, their essence, as Lenin noted, will inevitably be the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninist Party's Leading Role in the Proletarian Dictatorship

Following the conquest of power by the working class, its vanguard—the Communist Party—becomes the ruling, governing party. Lenin pointed out that “the dictatorship of the proletariat would not work except through the Communist Party”.¹

As it develops Marxism-Leninism creatively, the Communist Party indicates the ways and means for building the new society. In accordance with the obtaining conditions it charts the programme, strategy, and tactics of the working people's revolutionary struggle for socialism and defines the proletarian state's main areas of work and its basic aims. The Communist Party explains the substance of its policy to the masses and mobilises them for the implementation of that policy. It directs all aspects of socialist society's life.

The viability of working-class power depends directly on the Communist Party's maturity and on the unity of its

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 8-16, 1921. Summing-Up Speech on the Report of the CC of the R.C.P.(B.), March 9”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 199.

ranks. The party's strength is the factor determining the stability of the state and the successful exercise of working-class power. Any weakening of the Communist Party's leading role inevitably weakens working-class power and creates the danger that socialist gains may be lost and that capitalism may be restored. "Practice has shown," states the Main Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "that socialist transformations and the building of the new society are a long and complex process, and that the utilisation of the tremendous possibilities opened up by the new system depends on the Communist Parties in the leadership of the state, on their ability to resolve the problems of socialist development in the Marxist-Leninist way."

This explains why in their efforts to change the character of the social system and abolish the power of the working class, the enemies of socialism seek, first and foremost, to undermine the leading role of the Communist Party.

For this purpose the bourgeois ideologues and opportunists offer various "arguments" based on misrepresentations of the theory and practice of socialist construction. One of the most widespread of these is the assertion that in socialist countries the dictatorship of the proletariat is a "dictatorship of the party".

Lenin had compellingly shown the absurdity of the arguments reducing the Communist Party's leading role to a "dictatorship of the party", of identifying the party with state power.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is exercised through a system of state and public organisations in which the Communist Party has the leading role. Lenin described the mechanism of the proletarian dictatorship in *'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, writing that power is exercised by the proletariat organised in Soviets and headed by the Communist Party, which relies in its work on the trade unions and other public organisations. "Thus, on the whole," Lenin noted, "we have a formally non-communist, flexible and relatively wide and very powerful proletarian apparatus, by means of which the Party is closely linked up with the *class* and the *masses*, and by means of which, under the leadership of the Party, the *class dictatorship* is exercised."¹

The party unites and guides the work of all state and public organisations of the working people towards a single common aim, and through these organisations it is closely linked to the working class and all other working people.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 48.

Guidance by the Communist Party is not imposed upon other organisations. It is accepted by them voluntarily in the course of the struggle for common aims and against the common enemy. The party persuades the people and their organisations that its policy is correct and leads them. The Marxist-Leninist party acquires leadership status in the course of the bitter struggle against political forces hostile to socialism, against political forces that strive to win the masses and use their movement for reactionary purposes.

Experience has demonstrated that in order to create the conditions for the restoration of capitalism in socialist countries, anti-socialist forces are quick to take advantage of any error made by communist and workers' parties in providing their countries with political leadership. When a Communist Party's leading role weakens the danger arises of a slide into the bourgeois-reformist rut. It loses its link to the people and the resultant vacuum is filled by self-appointed claimants to the role of champions of the interests of the working people.

The advocacy of the bourgeois ideologues, reformists, and revisionists that a "free play of political forces" should be permitted in socialist countries is aimed at the legalisation of parties hostile to socialism. They charge the Communists with "monopolism", depicting the leadership of communist parties in socialist countries as a manifestation of dictation, as non-existence of freedom, and extol capitalism's multi-party system as spelling out democracy. In reality, in capitalist countries freedom exists only for those parties that champion private property relations. The ascension to power of any of these parties does not change the foundations of capitalism. "The oligarchy," Marx wrote, "does not perpetuate itself by retaining power permanently *in the same* hand, but by dropping it with one hand in order to catch it again with the other."¹ As for communist and workers' parties, which steadfastly champion the interests of the working class and all other working people, in the capitalist countries they are either banned or have all sorts of restrictions placed on them. The democratic or anti-democratic character of one political system or another is determined not by the number of functioning parties but by the essence of these parties, by the interests of which class they articulate and serve.

In order to erode the Communist Party's leading role and the unity of the organisations belonging to the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the enemies of socialism at-

¹ Karl Marx, "From Parliament.—Roebuck's and Bulwer's Motions", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, 1980, p. 338.

tempt, among other things, to play the trade unions and youth and other organisations off against the party, to make them totally independent of the party. All this shows that constant attention must be given to reinforcing the entire system of proletarian power headed by the Communist Party.

The building of socialism is accompanied by a steady growth of the role played by the Marxist-Leninist party. For the successful attainment of the historic aims confronting the party it is indispensable that every concern is shown for ensuring a constant rise of the ideologico-political level of the Communists, promoting the militancy of all party organisations, and strengthening the party's unity.

Chapter 12

TRANSFORMING SOCIAL RELATIONS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

In the process of building socialism during the transition period the entire system of social relations undergoes a fundamental change. New, socialist social relations take shape.

1. BUILDING THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALISM

The cardinal task of the state of the proletarian dictatorship is to create the socialist mode of production, which is the key condition for the establishment of socialism. This means abolishing private property and instituting social property in the basic means of production.

The process of socialist construction witnesses the building up of a system of planned economic management and the development of new, socialist methods of running and managing production.

Nationalisation of the Means of Production

In the course of the socialist revolution private capitalist property is replaced by state property of the whole people. This replacement takes place through the *socialist nationalisation* of capitalist property.

In the building of socialism the decisive role is played by the transition of large-scale industry to the hands of the state. The nationalisation of banks and transport is also of paramount significance. The introduction of a monopoly over foreign trade is of vast importance in ensuring the country's economic independence.

As it puts socialist nationalisation into effect, the working class turns the basic means of production into property of the whole people and thereby resolves capitalism's main contradiction—that between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation. Socialist nationalisation signifies the creation of the new, socialist structure based on social property and relations of comradely cooperation. Socialist relations of production en-

sure a speedy growth rate of the productive forces and a rapid increase of social wealth in order to give the working people a steadily higher standard of living.

As a result of socialist nationalisation, first, capitalist property in the basic means of production is abolished and, second, the dictatorship of the proletariat gets an economic base in the form of a system of state-run nationalised production facilities.

Moreover, socialist property makes planned economic development possible and necessary. The proletarian state directs the national economy in accordance with an integral plan.

Depending on the actual conditions prevailing in one country or another, various transition measures are put into effect to ensure nationalisation.

The most significant of these is *workers' control* of the running of capitalist enterprises. By controlling the operation of an enterprise, working people learn to manage production.

Another measure leading to nationalisation is *state control* of the distribution of raw and other materials, plant, trade, and prices.

A transition measure may also be *state capitalism*, in other words, a capitalism that is regulated and controlled by the socialist state, which determines the conditions and limits under which it operates. Lenin wrote that "state capitalism ... is, under Soviet power, a form of capitalism that is deliberately permitted and restricted by the working class. Our state capitalism differs essentially from the state capitalism in countries that have bourgeois governments in that the state with us is represented not by the bourgeoisie, but by the proletariat, who has succeeded in winning the full confidence of the peasantry".¹

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat state capitalism does not mean that the class struggle has been replaced by class peace with the bourgeoisie; it represents a continuation of the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie in a new form. Its aim is to reinforce socialism's position and create the conditions for the abolition of capitalist relations.

In Soviet Russia there was no extensive development of state capitalism. There were various forms of state capitalism in the German Democratic Republic and some other socialist countries.

The forms and rate of socialist nationalisation depend on the specific conditions in the given country. In Russia the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "To the Russian Colony in North America", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, 1971, p. 426.

large enterprises were nationalised within the space of half a year (December 1917-June 1918). This was due to the acute class struggle, the wrecking activities of the bourgeoisie, and its refusal to accept transitional state-capitalist forms. The situation was different in the European people's democracies. There confiscation initially spread only to enterprises owned by war criminals or persons who had collaborated with the invaders. After some time had elapsed and the next stage of the revolution set in, other enterprises were nationalised gradually.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism considered that capitalist property could be nationalised by means of confiscation or compensation. Engels wrote: "We by no means consider compensation as impermissible in any event; Marx told me (and how many times!) that in his opinion we would get off cheapest if we could buy out the whole lot of them."¹ In the USSR the entire property of landowners and capitalists and then of the rural bourgeoisie (kulaks) was expropriated without compensation. But in a number of people's democracies compensation was paid for the enterprises of those groups of the bourgeoisie which had acted together with the working class against imperialism and displayed loyalty to the people's power.

The question of property in land is of great importance to the policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties during the transition period. In the course of the revolution land was forcibly alienated from landowners and holders of big capitalist estates. Landowners' land that was leased to working peasants was turned over to the latter as property or for their use. Part of the land was allotted to large state agricultural enterprises and became state property. In the case of the land of middle capitalists and kulaks, a wide diversity of ways of its alienation was to be observed: the duration of the process, the establishment of the maximum size of the land left to owners, the payment or non-payment of compensation, the size of this compensation, and so on.

Depending on the conditions obtaining in a country, the political situation, and the traditions of the peasantry relative to property in land, various decisions are adopted on the question: whether all the land is nationalised or only the minerals, large tracts of forests and water resources, and that part of the land that is allotted to state enterprises. In the USSR all the land was, by demand of the overwhelming majority of the peasants, nationalised, turned into the

¹ Frederick Engels, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. III, p. 474.

whole people's property, and placed at the free disposal of the working peasants in perpetuity immediately after the socialist revolution, while in the people's democracies most of the landowners' land was distributed as private property among the peasants.

Upon assuming command positions in the economy (notably the basic means of production in large-scale industry, transport, and the banks), the proletarian state develops socialist industry to the utmost and creates the conditions for further progress towards socialism.

During the bitter years of the foreign intervention and the Civil War the Soviet government had, on account of the famine and the acute shortage of resources, to pursue a policy of temporarily suspending commodity-money relations. Having no goods for exchange with the countryside, it introduced food requisitioning (confiscation of food surpluses from the peasants without compensation), consumer goods rationing under extremely low rations, and natural supplies to enterprises. Private trade was virtually banned. This temporary policy was dictated by the extraordinary conditions in which the country found itself. This was a period of "war communism".

When the foreign intervention and the Civil War were brought to an end the "war communism" policy was replaced by the New Economic Policy drawn up by Lenin.

NEP was proclaimed in 1921. Given all its peculiarities, the basic principles of this policy are of international significance, for they are common for countries building socialism. Its main feature is the proletariat's alliance with the peasantry, with the small private producer. Its aim was to resolve the problems of socialist construction step by step, enlisting the bulk of the small private producers and using commodity-money relations for this purpose.

The New Economic Policy allows for a private market, which is regulated by economic measures instituted by the proletarian state and then gradually replaced by socialist forms of trade. Capitalist forms of the economy (chiefly in trade, and also in small-scale industry and agricultural production) are partially retained and used in order to promote the growth of production and trade. These capitalist elements are gradually weeded out as the socialist economy develops.

In this economic policy the determining material factor is the development of large-scale industry as the source of technical progress, increasing the productivity of social labour, and promoting the people's welfare, as the foundation of all socialist transformations, including the gradual socialist restructuring of the countryside.

Policy of Industrialisation

Large-scale mechanised production in town and countryside constitutes socialism's material and technical basis. In countries that do not have a developed industry, this basis is created by means of *socialist industrialisation*.

Socialist industrialisation has significant advantages over capitalist industrialisation. It proceeds much more rapidly and leads to a rise of the living standard and cultural level of all the working people. It precludes the use of methods of capitalist industrialisation (the looting of underdeveloped countries and exploitation of the working people). The sources of socialist industrialisation are: the growth of labour productivity chiefly by increasing its equipment-intensity; utilisation of the advantages of a planned economy and the rational distribution of labour, material, and financial resources; reduction of production and circulation costs. All this permits building up the accumulation funds for the country's industrialisation. The policy of socialist industrialisation signifies investment priority for heavy industry.

In the course of socialist industrialisation the ranks of the working class and of intellectuals engaged in the production sphere grow numerically and the proportion of the working class in the population increases. This reinforces and expands the political and economic foundations of the proletarian dictatorship.

The concrete forms and rates of industrialisation are dissimilar in the different countries. Industrially developed countries like Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic were not confronted by the task of becoming industrialised nations. But they too had to achieve further industrial progress and bring about the socialist transformation of industry by organising planned economic development and using the latest breakthroughs in science and technology.

In the USSR the internal and external conditions dictated rapid rates of industrialisation. The Soviet people had to make huge sacrifices and suffer privation in order to industrialise their country as speedily as possible. This was due to the fact that the country was encircled by hostile capitalist states and had to pay special attention to its defence needs.

The people's democracies did not have to tackle such enormous difficulties as faced the USSR. Not only were their internal conditions of development different, but there also was a different international situation, especially the possibility of relying on assistance from the USSR and other socialist countries. Larger potentialities for promoting the manufacture of consumer goods opened for the socialist states.

The experience of people's Mongolia and also of revolutionary Cuba indicates that in some countries it is possible and expedient to begin industrialisation in branches serving agriculture and processing its produce. Moreover, it is extremely important that socialist countries can benefit by the advantages of the international socialist division of labour.

Every socialist country selects the form and rate of industrialisation that best conform to internal and international conditions and are most consistent with the interests of the entire socialist world system.

Policy of Cooperation

A condition imperative for the triumph of socialism is the socialist transformation of agriculture, the transition of the individual peasant household to collective work. This, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism demonstrated, is achieved by means of socialist cooperation. Engels noted: "Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose."¹ Drawing upon the teaching of Marx and Engels, Lenin drew up a plan for the socialist cooperation of peasant households. This plan has been successfully carried out in the USSR and many other socialist countries.

The policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist cooperation of peasant households is based on, among others, the following principles:

- utmost assistance by the proletarian state in the shape of farm machinery, funds, trained personnel, and so on;
- voluntary unification of the peasants in cooperatives;
- gradual advance of this process, which precludes any artificial acceleration of the rate of cooperation;
- employment of such forms of cooperation as best conform to actual conditions;
- the combination of collective farming with working the peasants' personal holdings;
- the promotion of public self-management in cooperatives in keeping with the unfolding of democracy and with the coupling of the interests of the cooperatives with those of the state as a whole.

The combined experience of the socialist countries has produced three basic forms of agricultural producers' co-

¹ Frederick Engels, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. III, p. 470.

operatives differing from each other in the extent of the socialisation of labour and the means of production. These are: the *association for the joint cultivation of land*, in which socialisation covers only the labour involved in individual processes of farming with the land remaining the property of members of the association; *producers' cooperatives*, in which the means of production and labour are socialised, while the plots of land, though united in a single large tract, remain the property of the members of the cooperative (the bulk of the income of these cooperatives is distributed in accordance with the work that is put in, while the lesser portion is distributed in accordance with the land share contributed to the cooperative. Cooperatives of this kind have become widespread in a number of European people's democracies); and, lastly, *cooperatives of the socialist artel type*, in which labour, land and other means of production are socialised, while the income is distributed in accordance with work.

Along with the establishment of state farms, socialist cooperation secures socialism's victory in agriculture, which is a vital part of the economy, brings the peasantry, which in most countries of the world constitutes the predominant portion of the population, on the road to socialism, and ensures the growth of the productive forces and the living standard.

The process of socialist cooperation takes place under conditions of a class struggle with capitalist elements, with the acuteness of this struggle differing from country to country. In the USSR the policy of restricting and ousting the kulaks was replaced in 1929 with a policy of abolishing the kulaks as a class through nation-wide collectivisation. But this switch did not prove to be necessary in some people's democracies. In these countries the policy was to restrict, oust, and transform the kulak households: kulaks who did not resist cooperation were admitted to cooperatives on various terms. But everywhere, as a result of socialist transformations, the kulaks cease to exist, are abolished, as a class. The last class of exploiters vanishes in this way.

2. CHANGES IN CLASS RELATIONS

The process of erasing class divisions in society is complex and long. This requires fundamental economic, political, and cultural transformations.

Forms of the Class Struggle

In the period of transition socialist transformations are put into effect under conditions of an acute class struggle. This is an economic, political, and ideological struggle con-

ducted by the working class and all other working people against the deposed exploiters. The forms of this struggle vary.

In generalising the experience of the first years of socialist construction in the USSR, Lenin identified the following forms of the class struggle: 1) suppression of resistance from exploiters; 2) civil war; 3) neutralisation of the petty bourgeoisie, notably the peasants; 4) utilisation of the bourgeoisie; 5) introduction of a new discipline.

The mode by which the *resistance of exploiters is suppressed* depends on how acute the class struggle is, on the behaviour and tactics of the bourgeoisie.

An exacerbation of the class struggle may erupt into *civil war*. That is what happened in Russia, where the internal and external counter-revolutionaries succeeded in imposing a civil war on the working people.

In some people's democracies, thanks to assistance and support from the Soviet Union, socialist revolutions triumphed without civil wars. In these countries the enemies of the people's system attempted to kindle such wars, but the alignment of forces was clearly not in their favour. This prevented them from taking overt military action.

In the transition period, especially at its initial stage, a struggle unfolds between the working class and the bourgeoisie to win over the vacillating intermediate petty-bourgeois strata, notably the working peasants. This struggle assumes diverse forms depending on the prevailing historical conditions. One of these forms is the *neutralisation of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry*. In Russia, for example, during the first few months of the revolution, when the middle peasants¹ were vacillating between the revolution and counter-revolution, the Communist Party pursued a policy of neutralising these middle peasants. This policy was then superseded by a policy of forming a durable alliance with these peasants.

Another form of the class struggle in the transition period is the *utilisation of bourgeois specialists* in the interests of the proletariat. Alongside compulsion this struggle requires painstaking educational work among the old intelligentsia. For members of the bourgeois intelligentsia who take the road of serving the people the proletarian power provides the conditions needed for creative work.

The transition from capitalism to socialism is inconceivable

¹ The middle peasants were a substratum of the peasantry in Russia. Their economic status was between the poor peasants and the kulaks (the rural bourgeoisie). They worked their land by their own labour and with the help of their families.

without remaking the thinking of the working people, without inculcating in them a creative attitude to the establishment of a socialist way of life. The dictatorship of the proletariat fights for proletarian organisation, for a conscious attitude to labour. For that reason the *introduction of a new discipline* is one of the forms of the class struggle in the period of transition.

Changes in the Class Structure

On the basis of the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries it is possible to trace the principal stages of the changes in society's class structure and class relations.

At the *first* stage, as a result of the socialist revolution, the proletariat becomes society's leading force. The political and economic domination of the exploiting classes is broken through the nationalisation of capitalist property and the restriction and ousting of capitalist elements. The landowners and capitalists cease to exist as classes. In the countryside the number of middle peasants grows and that of the poor peasants diminishes. The exploiters are abolished, but not entirely: small entrepreneurs and shopkeepers remain in the towns, and kulaks remain in the countryside. The intelligentsia presents a fairly motley picture: alongside those who come from the gentry and the big, middle, and petty bourgeoisie there appears an intelligentsia of working-class and peasant origin.

At the *second* stage, on the basis of the country's industrialisation, the cooperation of agriculture, and the cultural revolution, socialism wins decisively. This results in a new socio-class structure consistent with the prevailing production, economic relations. In the USSR the exploiting classes were abolished entirely by the mid-1930s.

The appropriation by one class of the labour of another ceases with the abolition of private property in the means of production and the liquidation of the exploiting classes. Socialist society is a society of working people—workers, peasants, and intellectuals. The workers and cooperative peasants work at enterprises that are social property. For all members of society labour becomes the sole legal means of receiving an income, and planned socialist production becomes the source of material well-being. The principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" is established. The common basic interests of the working people form the foundation of socialist society's socio-political and ideological unity.

3. ERASING THE ANTITHESIS BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE

In the transition period the antithesis between town and countryside is erased.

Antithesis Between Town and Countryside

Towns began to form as early as in slave-owning society as a result of the separation of handicrafts from farming and livestock-breeding. Their emergence fostered the growth of industry, commerce, and culture. The detachment of towns from rural communities led to the appearance of an antithesis between them, and this is one of the most characteristic features of all antagonistic systems.

Under capitalism this antithesis becomes most pronounced. The expansion of large-scale capitalist industry is accompanied by the mass pauperisation of the rural population. Towns tend to grow spontaneously. While the earth's population increased during the past century and a half by roughly 260 per cent, the urban population grew approximately 25-fold. The large capitalist town embodies social contrasts: the luxurious neighbourhoods of the wealthy and the slum dwellings of the impoverished. In addition to growing rapidly, the towns increasingly predominate over the countryside economically, politically, and culturally.

Capitalism played a certain progressive role in the development of the countryside. It eradicated feudal relations and the patriarchal way of life, and struck a blow at habitual trades. But the capitalist town used modern technologies to push the countryside ever deeper into bondage.

Urban industrial, commercial, and finance capital exploits the working masses of the countryside, using such economic levers as taxes, credit, the imbalance between the prices of manufactured goods and farm produce, and so on. The exploitation of the countryside increases under imperialism. Monopoly capital harnesses agriculture ever more tightly to its economic relations, taking over control of the production, marketing, and processing of agricultural products. The monopolies ruin the small landholders, drive them from the land, and turn them into homeless proletarians. Imperialism enslaved and turned colonial and dependent countries into a "world-wide village", condemning hundreds of millions of their people to incredible hardship and poverty.

The antithesis between town and countryside is one of the mainsprings of the most profound social contradictions of antagonistic society. It perpetuates the backwardness of rural communities, becoming a serious obstacle to social progress.

The separation of the towns from the countryside "condemned the rural population to thousands of years of mental torpidity, and the people of the towns each to subjection to his own individual trade. It destroyed the basis of the intellectual development of the former and the physical development of the latter."¹

The *antithesis between town and countryside* under capitalism signifies:

politically—the political domination of the town over the countryside;

economically—the town reduces the countryside to economic dependence and exploits it;

culturally—the principal cultural values, and scientific, educational, and art institutions are concentrated in the town. The countryside has limited access to them and is thus condemned to cultural backwardness;

in the *settlement of people, in the organisation of amenities and everyday life* this antithesis manifests itself in the conservation of the old way, mode of life, in the limitation on communications and transport in the countryside, while the town is far ahead in this respect. At the same time, in the towns there is growing crowding and pollution.

Of course, the fact that there is an antithesis between town and countryside does not mean that there is a conflict between the interests of the working classes of capitalist society—between those of the workers and the labouring strata of the peasantry. What it does mean is that there are antagonistic contradictions between the urban exploiting classes and the rural working masses. As regards workers and peasants, their interests have many points of coincidence, and this is the foundation of their alliance in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

The need to eradicate the antithesis between town and countryside stems from the objective requirements of the further development of industrial and agricultural production, and of the rational distribution of the productive forces and the settlement of people, from the necessity for modernising towns and for the social and cultural development of millions of rural inhabitants, for creating normal cultural and everyday conditions of life for them. However, this problem can only be resolved with capitalism's revolutionary transformation into socialism.

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 346.

Triumph of Socialism and Erasing the Antithesis Between Town and Countryside

By overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and the landowners, the socialist revolution lays the beginning for transcending the antithesis between town and countryside. It is erased in the course of socialist construction, as a result of the establishment of socialism.

The fundamental difference between the urban and rural socio-economic way of life has been erased in Soviet society and in most of the other socialist countries. While in the early years of the Soviet power socialist industry developed and the socialist way of life gathered strength in the towns, and the small individual peasant household still predominated in the rural communities, socialist relations of production were established in the countryside, as in the towns, as a result of the formation of state farms and the cooperation of the peasants. The setting up of large-scale enterprises in the countryside in the shape of state and collective farms provided the foundation for the economic, cultural, and technical advancement of the rural communities.

The social composition of the rural population likewise underwent a change. In pre-revolutionary Russia there were over 20 million peasant households, of which 65 per cent were poor peasant households, 20 per cent were middle peasant households, and 15 per cent were kulak households. The numerically small class of landowners was in possession of nearly half of the country's arable land. The socialist revolution put an end to these glaring contradictions. The present population of the countryside consists of working people of state and collective farms and also of the rural intelligentsia.

The peasants were given full access to the achievements of science, technology, and culture; a large network of schools and cultural institutions was built in the countryside; and a numerous rural intelligentsia appeared.

The socio-class structure of the socialist town differs basically from that of the capitalist town. Under socialism there are no capitalists in the town. There is now no conflict of interests between town and countryside; the sources that could generate antagonistic contradictions between them have been eliminated; and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry has been strengthened. The working class exercises its leading role relative to the peasants through the entire system of socio-economic, political, and cultural institutions.

The experience of the socialist world system's development has corroborated the conclusions of scientific com-

munism's founders that the "contradiction between town and country can only exist within the framework of private property"¹ and that the elimination of this contradiction is a general law of the transition from capitalism to socialism for all countries.

4. ABOLISHING THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN LABOUR BY BRAIN AND LABOUR BY HAND

The contradiction between workers by brain and by hand, a contradiction inherited from past antagonistic formations, is abolished in the course of socialist construction.

Contradiction Between Mental and Physical Labour

The separation of labour by brain from labour by hand was a historically natural phenomenon. Its material foundation was the development level of the productive forces that permitted receiving a surplus product: man began to produce more than he himself needed. This generated the economic conditions for the existence of a special social strata, which, while consuming material goods produced by others, could engage in labour by brain.

The separation of mental from physical labour led to the appearance of conditions promoting science and culture, which were a major factor of society's further progress. With the appearance and growth of private property labour by brain was usurped by the exploiting classes, for it gave them a powerful instrument of domination over the working masses. There sprang up a contradiction between mental and physical labour which deepened steadily as humanity passed from one exploiting system to another. Underlying this contradiction is private property in the means of production and, consequently, the monopoly of the exploiting classes over labour by brain, which is used by them as a means to increase non-earned income, for the economic, political, and spiritual enslavement of the working people.

The contradiction between mental and physical workers is one of the deepest-lying mainsprings of social inequality.

The production process presupposes unity between the mental and physical aspects of human activity. "As in the natural body head and hand wait upon each other," Marx wrote, "so the labour-process unites the labour of the hand with that of the head."² These two aspects of the single

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 64.

² Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 476.

process of labour have socio-economic and natural distinctions. The causes of the natural distinctions lie in the qualitative differentiation of labour. This will be seen easily enough if one compares, for example, the labour of a turner making a machine-part and that of a physicist working on the theory of the atomic nucleus structure, or that of a doctor and a cleaner, a tractor-driver and a teacher, and so on. They are dissimilar in the mode in which human strength is expended, in content and complexity, in the conditions in which they take place, in the cultural and technical level of the workers by brain and by hand. But these distinctions in the activity of people, in their work do not yet spell out social inequality or any privileges in the sense of owning property and distributing the results of social labour.¹

In a society based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of man by man, the natural distinctions between labour by brain and by hand become socio-economic distinctions seen as antipodal interests of workers by brain and workers by hand.

As one of the principal aspects of human activity, irrespective of the socio-economic form in which its results are used, labour by brain cannot be a means of exploiting workers by hand. In itself it is a powerful factor of the development of the productive forces, of man himself in the first place. But in antagonistic society it is used by the ruling classes as a means of exploiting workers by hand.

By the very logic of the development of private property the results of labour by brain are placed in the service of those who own the means of production and rule society economically, politically, and spiritually.

The exploiting classes have always striven to hold a monopoly of the administration of society's affairs, on labour by brain. The oppressed classes were condemned to back-breaking physical labour and excluded from the management of society's affairs. The army of workers by hand were fenced off from mental work by the very character of their activity.

Under capitalism, especially at its monopoly stage, scientific and technological progress leads to dramatic changes in the character of labour by brain and by hand. The activity of a significant proportion of the workers, especially skilled workers, acquires a growing number of elements of labour by brain. At the same time, the exploitation of workers is intensified. They are excluded from the manage-

¹ See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 537.

ment of the state, production, and cultural life, and relegated to functions of a purely subordinate nature. On the other hand, the intelligentsia grows numerically and the differentiation within it becomes more marked. Most of the intellectuals join the army of wage labour, are subjected to increasing exploitation, and their interests draw ever closer to those of the working class. On this basis there takes shape an alliance between workers by brain and by hand, an alliance that acquires steadily growing importance in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. Under these conditions the contradiction between physical and mental labour becomes a contradiction between workers by hand and that section of workers by brain who are direct part of the bourgeois class and form its highly educated stratum, or who faithfully serve that class.

*Victory of Socialism and Eradication of the Contradiction
Between Mental and Physical Labour*

The contradiction between labour by brain and labour by hand is erased during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The socialist revolution destroys the class foundations of the distinction between labour by brain and labour by hand, namely, the monopoly of the exploiters over labour by brain.

To eradicate the contradiction between labour by brain and by hand and ensure that they subsequently come together it is not enough merely to expropriate the landowners and capitalists and abolish exploitation. In addition, there has to be a fundamental reshaping of society's economic and cultural foundations and the establishment of socialist labour. The conditions that allow this problem to be resolved are the building of socialism's material and technical basis, the cooperation of agriculture, the promotion of labour productivity, the accomplishment of a cultural revolution, and the enhancement of people's consciousness.

Socialism brings radical changes into the system of the division of social labour: work becomes mandatory for everybody and is more equitably distributed among society's members. Workers and peasants get growing opportunities for engaging in not only direct material but also cultural production. The growth of labour productivity and the shortening of the working day leave them with more time for managing society's affairs and raising their own cultural and technical level. As a result, they cease to be solely workers by hand.

The socio-economic, political, and cultural effects of the abolition of the contradiction between labour by brain and

by hand in the USSR and other socialist countries have been very great indeed. The cultural and technical level of all sections of the population has risen, socialist emulation has been joined by millions of people, and the movement of inventors and production innovators has reached a large dimension. Working people have become more active in the administration of the state, in the management of production and of cultural and political life.

Socialist industrialisation and the cultural revolution produced new cadres of workers and engineers to operate modern machinery. Specialists come no longer exclusively from a small elite stratum of "educated classes" but from the entire working population, the entire mass of workers and peasants.

Agriculture's cooperation puts an end to the kulak class (an exploiting strata of the peasantry), to the fragmentation and spontaneity of small-scale production, and to the insularity and narrow world outlook of the rural population that was denied education and culture. Agriculture receives modern machinery—powerful tractors, ploughs, sowers, harvester combines, trucks, and electrical motors. This changes the peasantry's way of life and labour. A large network of schools, clubs, and libraries is built in the countryside. Radio, television, newspapers, and journals come to the state and collective farms. The introduction of science and technology in agriculture fosters a radical growth of the proportion of labour by brain in production. Large numbers of agronomists, livestock-experts, engineers, doctors, teachers, and other specialists appear in the countryside.

The steady rise of the cultural and technical level of factory and office workers and of the peasants has become a natural phenomenon of socialist society's development. As a result, a large stratum of government, party, trade union, YCL, and managerial cadres has come from the working people; the political activity of the working people and their role in the administration of all of socialist society's affairs are steadily expanding.

A most important outcome of the erasure of the contradiction between labour by brain and labour by hand is the appearance of a socialist, genuinely people's intelligentsia. Instead of reinforcing the barriers between mental and physical labour, as under capitalism, its professional and socio-political activities erode these barriers.

The erasure of the contradiction between mental and physical labour is thus a general law of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

5. REMAKING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONALITIES

Solution of the Nationalities Question in the Transition Period

The transition from capitalism to socialism brings with it fundamental changes in nations and in the relations between them. With the emergence of nations in capitalist society there also appears a nationalities question. This question, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism demonstrated, can only be resolved by abolishing capitalism and building socialism. In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels wrote: "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."¹ The solution by socialism of the nationalities question generated by capitalism signifies: first, the abolition of national oppression, the establishment of the political equality of all nations and nationalities, the abrogation of all national privileges and restrictions; second, the establishment of all-sided cooperation and mutual assistance between nations, and the promotion of friendship among peoples; third, the implementation of measures designed to ensure the actual economic and cultural equality of nations and the levelling up of their development.

The Soviet Union was the first country to resolve all these problems. In a report headed "Sixtieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (1982) it is stated: "The tangible qualitative changes that have taken place in the course of 60 years in the relations between nationalities are evidence that the nationalities question, as it was left to us by the exploiting system, has been settled successfully, finally and irreversibly. For the first time in history the multinational character of a country has turned from a source of weakness into a source of strength and prosperity." The Great October Socialist Revolution put an end to national oppression, established the total political equality of all the peoples inhabiting the country, and created the conditions for abolishing their actual economic and cultural inequality. The socialist reshaping of the economy and of socio-political relations has given rise to socialist nations and unbreakable friendship between them. The working class led by the Communist Party has been the leading social force behind the

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

formation of new relations among nationalities.

Socialism creates the conditions for the establishment and development of national statehood, which draws together rather than separates nations and nationalities. The common objectives in the building of socialism and the further development of the socialist countries make the unity of their peoples an imperative. Fulfilment of Lenin's programme on the nationalities question brought the Soviet national republics into a voluntary close alliance, and in 1922 led to the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was a major triumph of the CPSU's policy in the nationalities question. Life has shown that this policy harmoniously combines the imperatives of internationalist unity and national sovereignty.

The alliance between equal and free peoples ensured socialism's triumph. The abolition of the exploiting classes and the establishment of a single socialist-type economy swept away the foundations of former hostility between nationalities.

The Soviet Union's achievements in resolving the nationalities question are made all the more significant by the fact that some of the nationalities inhabiting Russia embarked upon socialist development without passing through the stage of capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat and with the assistance of the Russian people they moved rapidly from feudal and even pre-feudal relations to socialism.

The fact that in socialist countries the nationalities question has been resolved does not mean that no problems arise in regard to the life of and relations between nations. In the period of socialist and communist construction the Marxist-Leninist parties are constantly concerned with promoting the national economies and intensifying their socialist integration; the development of national cultures through their interaction and mutual enrichment; the fostering of the organic unity of the union and national statehood of the republics; the perfection of socialist relations between nationalities; the weeding out of all manifestations of nationalism and parochialism, promoting socialist internationalism, and so on. Of course, these problems differ fundamentally from the nationalities question in bourgeois society. Their solution creates the optimal conditions for the all-sided development and drawing together of nations.

The solution of the nationalities question in the USSR is comparable with such triumphs of socialist construction as industrialisation, collectivisation, and the cultural revolution.

Two Historical Trends in the Nationalities Question

Two inter-related progressive trends operate in the nationalities relations during the building of socialism and communism. Nations and nationalities *develop* all-sidedly and *draw together* economically, politically, and culturally.

In content and social effects these two trends in the development of the relations between nationalities under socialism differ radically from the two trends of the development of nations under capitalism.

Whereas the first trend under capitalism is expressed in the awakening of national life and national movements, in the struggle against national oppression, under socialism it acquires a different content—the rejuvenation and all-sided advancement of nations. Here the national movement acquires an entirely different character. It is directed not against national oppression, which is extirpated with the establishment of the socialist system, but towards the promotion of the creative energies of each nation, of its economy and culture, the strengthening of friendship among peoples, and the development of cooperation and mutual assistance between them.

The second trend likewise operates in an entirely different way in socialist society. Under the new system nations are drawn together, partitions between nations are removed, and an internationalist unity of economic life is achieved not forcibly but voluntarily, on democratic principles. Stressing the fundamental distinction between relations between nationalities under socialism and capitalism, Lenin wrote: "We want a *voluntary* union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent."¹

The development and drawing together of nations in the period of socialist construction are mutually predicated processes. The coming together of nations is the main tendency in this dialectical unity.

The social changes that take place during the building of the new society give shape to the economic, cultural, and ideological oneness of the socialist nations and nationalities, and create the conditions for extirpating survivals of nationalism and moulding an internationalist worldview.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories Over Denikin", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

6. CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The revolution in culture is one of the general laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The cultural revolution signifies radical changes in the spiritual life of people in the process of building the new society, a general rise of the level of public education and of the culture of the working people, and the creation of a new, socialist culture.

A culture consistent with the socialist social system comes into being during the cultural revolution. It differs totally from the culture of exploiting society in both its class content and the role that it plays in the life of the people.

Prior to the socialist revolution there appear only elements of a democratic and socialist culture. But, as a whole, the development of culture is determined by the predominant exploiting classes, which utilise spiritual values in their own selfish interests. By introducing scientific and technological achievements into production, they make additional profits and thereby intensify the exploitation of the working people. The exploiting classes use literature, art, and other ideological means so as to cement the relations of rule and subordination, and make the working people believe that the existing orders are immutable.

In an exploiting society every possible obstacle is raised to make it hard for working people to gain access to science and education. Even today, according to statistics of the United Nations Organisation, nearly 800 million adults are illiterate. These are mainly people inhabiting former colonies and dependent countries, and workers and peasants of capitalist states.

With the passage of state power to the hands of the working class, the achievements of science, technology, and art are placed in the service of the people. "In the old days," Lenin said, "human genius, the brain of man, created only to give some the benefits of technology and culture, and to deprive others of the most essential—education and development. From now on all the marvels of science and the gains of culture belong to the nation as a whole, and never again will man's brain and human genius be used for oppression and exploitation."¹ The society brought to life by the proletarian revolution creates its own culture—the culture of socialism and communism. It incorporates the finest attainments of all preceding development and represents a new

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, January 10-18 (23-31), 1918. Summing-Up Speech at the Congress, January 18 (31)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 481.

stage of humankind's intellectual progress.

As Lenin noted, it is an exceedingly complex matter to carry through a cultural revolution. This revolution affects the most refined area of social life, namely, its intellectual sphere. Its purpose is to bring culture to the masses, to fundamentally reshape the views and habits of millions of people, to give them a communist world outlook, and build new moral foundations, customs, and traditions. This task is compounded by the fact that the ideas of the old society are extremely tenacious of life and continue to burden people's minds for a long time. For that reason the objectives of the cultural revolution cannot be attained quickly.

Lenin defined the principal directions and content of the cultural revolution. This revolution, he noted, sets out to resolve many problems, the most important of which are: to promote and all-sidedly develop public education; to enable people to assimilate the cultural values of the past; to create the culture of socialist society, a culture that is national in form and socialist in content; to continue science's advancement and convert it into a powerful means for building the new society; to produce a people's intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the toiling peasantry, and the cause of socialism; to spread scientific socialist ideology and, with its principles as the foundation, to organise the people's cultural life; to surmount bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views, proprietor, nationalistic, and religious prejudices, and other views of the old society.

With the victory of the socialist revolution the proletarian state ensures the broad development of general secondary, specialised secondary, and higher education, and turns schools and other educational institutions into a means for the communist upbringing and training of cadres—the builders of socialism and communism. Under socialism, for the first time ever, the education system becomes a key lever for giving the broad masses access to the achievements of modern science and culture.

On the question of the ways of building the socialist culture the Communist Party and its leader, Lenin, had to wage a struggle against diverse anti-Marxist views. Kautsky and some Mensheviks contended that socialism could not triumph if the old system did not attain a sufficiently high cultural level and train a large stratum of cultural and managerial cadres. Since in terms of culture Russia was behind the most developed nations, the working class would, upon accomplishing the revolution, allegedly be unable to retain state power and would not have the ability to administer society. For that reason, they declared, the October Revolution was condemned to inevitable destruction.

Lenin sharply criticised this reactionary "theory". "If," he wrote, "a definite level of culture is required for the building of socialism (although nobody can say just what that definite 'level of culture' is, for it differs in every West-European country), why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and *then*, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?"¹ Lenin made it plain that the seizure of power was indispensable to socialism's triumph in all areas of society's life, including culture.

Proponents of so-called "proletarian culture" ("prolet-cult")² offered misconceived, harmful views on the question of the ways of building a socialist culture. While posing as committed champions of the interests of the proletariat, they maintained that the working class had to renounce the cultural heritage of the past and the services of the old specialists, who had served the bourgeoisie, and that it had to create its own, proletarian culture from the ground up.

Rejecting this view, Lenin stressed that proletarian culture had to be the natural outcome of the store of knowledge built up by humankind. "We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind," he wrote, "and build socialism with it. We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build communist society."³

The socialist state draws the old bourgeois intelligentsia to the side of socialism and re-educates the bulk of it in the spirit of serving the people. At the same time, it builds a new intelligentsia from among the workers and peasants, from among the working people.

In keeping with Lenin's theory of the cultural revolution and led by the Communist Party, the Soviet people accomplished a great revolution in society's cultural life. In the USSR, where nearly three-fourths of the population were illiterate, illiteracy was wiped out completely. The USSR now has a ramified network of institutions of higher learning, specialised secondary schools, and research establishments. The most outstanding achievements of the cultural revolution were the molding of the working people's socialist consciousness and the formation of a people's intelligentsia.

In the transition period socialism thus triumphs political-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 478-79.

² "Proletcult" ("proletarian culture") was an educational and literary and artistic organisation that existed in 1917-1932. Its members rejected the cultural heritage of the past.

³ V. I. Lenin, "The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 70.

ly, economically, and culturally. The economy sheds its plurality. Society's division into hostile classes—exploiters and exploited—disappears with the abolition of the exploiting classes. The main contradiction of the transition period, that between growing socialism and moribund capitalism, is transcended. Then arise the tasks aimed at building a developed socialist society.

Chapter 13

SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The transition period from capitalism to socialism comes to a close with the final establishment of socialism—the first, or lower, phase of communism. Subsequently, socialism gradually evolves into the second, or higher, phase of the communist formation (for the sake of brevity this second phase is called communism). Socialism and communism represent different maturity levels of this new socio-economic formation.

1. SOCIALISM—FIRST PHASE OF COMMUNISM

Like all societies preceding it, communist society does not emerge at once, ready-made. It goes through definite stages of maturity.

Socialism—Incomplete Communism

Socialism is a new society that differs from the society of the transition period in terms of its economic system, class structure, and political organisation. The main distinguishing feature of the transition period is the struggle between emergent socialism and decaying capitalism. As distinct from the transition period the socialist economy is no longer one of several economic structures but embraces the entire national economy. There no longer are any exploiting classes. The state is the people's political organisation with democracy enjoyed not only by the majority but by all members of society, which consists of working people.

Socialist society is called the first phase of communism because it contains many of the hallmarks implicit in the entire communist socio-economic formation. Among these, in the first place, is the prevalence of social property in the means of production. "Insofar as the means of production become *common* property," Lenin wrote, "the word 'communism' is also applicable here, providing we do not forget

that this is *not* complete communism.”¹

A feature common to both phases of communism is also that this is a society of working people, in which work according to abilities is recognised as necessary and mandatory for every able-bodied person. From the predomination of social property stems mutual assistance and cooperation among people in all areas of life. Under both socialism and communism the development of production pursues the aim of meeting society's growing material and cultural requirements. Spontaneity in social development gives way to the planned organisation of production and of the whole of society's life.

People with their material and cultural needs, and concern for creating the conditions for their all-sided development are in the focus of the life of socialist and communist society.

The mode of production is fundamentally the same under socialism and under communism, although its development level differs substantially. For that reason Marx and Lenin regarded socialism and communism not as two different socio-economic formations but as two stages, as two phases of the development of one and the same socio-economic formation.

Socialism is not a fleetingly transient but a relatively long stage of the new society's development, a stage in which are created the material, socio-political, and cultural prerequisites for the transition to the second phase of communism.

Since socialism is not yet complete communism and society has only just emerged from capitalism it bears, to use Marx's apt words, the “birth marks” of capitalism in all respects—economic, moral, and psychological. “Birth marks” of the past are the remnants of the old division of labour expressed in the more or less pronounced distinctions between the working people of town and countryside, between people working by brain and people working by hand, and the related survivals of social inequality, notably in the material security of people, in the conditions of their life and work, the survivals of the past in everyday life and in the way of thinking, and so on.

Inevitability of Socialism as a Special Phase of Communism

Society cannot “leap” over socialism, which is a special phase of its development. Lenin noted on several occasions that society can move from capitalism directly only to socialism, and that communism has to evolve out of socialism as a

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 476.

result of the latter's own development. There are a number of factors that make socialism inevitable:

first, that only on the basis of socialism can the productive forces achieve the high development level needed to surmount the survivals of the old division of labour, give shape to the new, communist social relations, and achieve an abundance of consumer goods;

second, communism requires such profound transformations of social relations as cannot be attained overnight. Solely the abolition of exploitation of man by man is not enough, for instance, to put an end to the inherited distinction between town and countryside, between mental and physical labour. These distinctions are surmounted only on the basis of socialism in the process of building communism;

third, people themselves have to acquire a vast experience of life under socialism in order to rid themselves of survivals of the past, grow accustomed to voluntarily working for society to the best of their ability, learn to administer social affairs independently, and abide by the rules of human association without any special apparatus of coercion.

Thus, there is no road to the higher phase of communism except via socialism. There have been cases of countries passing through a shortened way of development and circumventing this or that socio-economic formation (in particular, some have by-passed or are by-passing capitalism in achieving the transition to socialism). But there has never been an instance of this or that formation's development beginning directly with its higher stage. A shortened road to communism may be one along which the passage through the stage of socialism has been accelerated but never one where it has been altogether circumvented.

2. ESSENCE OF SOCIALISM AND THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ITS ORGANISATION

The building of socialism proceeds under dissimilar historical conditions and at different rates in terms of time. Nonetheless, its basic features and principles remain common for all countries.

From Building the Foundations of Socialism to a Developed Socialist Society

Socialism appears on soil prepared by capitalism, but in the various countries the latter creates dissimilar material, technical, socio-political, and cultural conditions. In developed capitalist countries the proportion of the working

class in the population is larger and there are fewer peasants than in backward countries. After the victory of the socialist revolution this opens up the possibility for a faster and easier fulfilment of the tasks involved in reshaping the economy along socialist lines. The more backward a country, the larger the number of intermediate stages it has to pass through along the road to socialism.

In Soviet Russia, which prior to the revolution was a country with an average capitalist level of development, the new government had to complete what capitalism had left undone, namely, to industrialise the country and create the material and technical prerequisites for socialism. This was an immense task. As a result of fulfilling it the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had built the foundation of a socialist economy by the beginning of the 1930s. The USSR became an industrial power, and the socialist structure achieved undivided domination in all areas of the national economy.

After socialism was established finally and completely the USSR entered the stage of developed socialism. This period is to be observed today in many countries of the socialist community that had in the 1960s built the foundations of socialism, i.e., where socialism triumphed not only politically but also in terms of socio-class relations, and economically and culturally.

At this stage the following main tasks are tackled:

- completing the process of creating an all-sidedly developed material and technical basis of socialism and, on that foundation, continuing to improve the people's material welfare;

- achieving the optimal balance between the various branches of the economy, a commensurate development of all aspects of society's life, levelling up lagging sectors of socialist construction;

- consummating the socialist transformation of the economy (the enlistment into cooperatives of the remaining individual peasant households, artisans, and others); completing—in some countries—the socialisation of the land and the transition to distribution of the incomes of agricultural cooperatives exclusively in accordance with work;

- abolishing the last remnants of the exploiting classes;

- further developing socialist democracy, bringing the political superstructure into keeping with the changes in the economy and society's class structure leading to a gradual evolution of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of the whole people;

- further enhancing the people's political consciousness and shaping a developed socialist culture.

The attainment of all these aims signifies, to use Lenin's

words, that a developed or advanced socialist society¹ has been built.

The concept of developed socialism was first used by Lenin in works written in the early years after the revolution. But what Lenin had in mind was that the initial steps in socialist construction taken in those years by the Soviet Union would be compared with a relatively remote future, with a socialism that would have reached a mature stage, a high level of development. Lenin foresaw that the USSR would attain the stage of "conclusively victorious and consolidated socialism".² Of course, he neither could have nor had the intention of concretely characterising all the stages of the development of communism's first phase.

In the 1960s the Soviet Union achieved the stage of developed socialism and is now at the beginning of that long historical period. The task of building mature socialism today confronts a number of European socialist countries. Socialism's development on its own basis does not signify, of course, that it is already free of all the "birth marks" inherited from capitalist society. The heritage of the past is still to be seen not only in moral and cultural terms but also in the socio-economic respect. For instance, there still are distinctions between town and countryside, between workers by brain and by hand, and so on. But unlike the early stages of its formation, when socialism did not have a durable foundation, it now has such a foundation. In the course of socialism's construction and further development the Soviet state has built the material and technical basis of developed socialism and trained a body of production workers adequate to it. Today, socialism rests not on the productive forces inherited from capitalism, but on that material and technical basis. As a result of the victory and consolidation of socialism, there is now a system of economic relations that is developing in accordance with its own laws that are specific to the first phase of communism.

Developed socialism is today the highest phase of historical progress attained by humanity. The new social system's advantages provide the conditions for ultimately winning the scientific, technological, and economic contest with the industrialised capitalist states. The central condition for this

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Report on the Work of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars Delivered at the First Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Seventh Convocation, February 2, 1920", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 331; "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 78.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 144.

is the attainment, in the process of building the material and technical basis of communism, of a higher level of labour productivity than under capitalism.

In keeping with the requirements of socialism's development and the present scientific and technological revolution, in mature socialist society a high cultural level is achieved and the essential economic and cultural distinctions between the urban and rural population, between labour by brain and labour by hand disappear; this is a society in which a single socialist way of life takes shape and a single socialist consciousness increasingly asserts itself.

A developed socialist society is a special, objectively necessary stage of the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation, which creates the conditions for the further perfection of socialist forms of life and for transcending the still considerable remnants of the past, and it paves the way for socialism's gradual evolution into communism.

Developed socialism's historical place is determined by the fact that in all respects—economic, socio-political, and intellectual—it reaches a degree of maturity that creates the conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

Social Property: Economic Basis of Socialism

Economically, socialism represents organic unity between the material and technical basis and socialist economic relations.

The economic basis of socialist society is social property in the means of production. The establishment of such property is in line with the development of the modern productive forces and brings the character of economic relations into keeping with the character of the process of production, which has long ago durably linked all economic facilities and branches of the economy into a single social whole.

Large-scale machine production is the sole possible material basis of socialism. This basis is either inherited by socialist society in more or less mature form from capitalism, or has to be created by society in order to establish socialist relations in all branches of the economy. Socialism, to quote Lenin, is inconceivable "without ... engineering based on the latest discoveries of modern science. It (socialism) is inconceivable without planned state organisation which keeps tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a unified standard in production and distribution."¹

This, the only scientific, understanding of socialism is incompatible with petty-bourgeois egalitarian notions that link

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tax in Kind", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 334.

the socialist ideal to small-scale production. As Lenin put it, "proletarian socialism sees its ideal, not in the equality of small proprietors, but in large-scale socialised production".¹

The extent to which such production is developed also determines the forms of socialist property. Under socialism there are two forms of socialist property—state (the whole people's) and cooperative. The leading role is played by state property of the whole people.

The revisionists often characterise state property under socialism as "alienated" from the direct producers and designate it below group, cooperative property. This is fundamentally at variance with proletarian socialism.

The emergence of socialist state property signified the reunification of producers organised on a national scale with the means of production. The transfer of factories and mills to the hands of individual groups of factory and office workers would be seriously detrimental to socialism. In economic terms this would be in inextricable conflict with the development trends of modern production, which, especially on account of the scientific and technological revolution, requires centralised management of economic life. Politically, this could undermine the unity of the working class, fragment it into individual groups and thereby inflict an irreparable blow to its leading role in society. Lenin stressed on several occasions that socialism must put an end to disunity among working people, a disunity deliberately fostered by capitalism, and that "the whole of society must become a single workers' co-operative. There can and must be no question of any kind of independence for individual groups."² To be in a position to exercise its leading role in society, the working class has to be united *politically*, through its state, through its party. The *economic* foundation of this unity is state, i.e., the whole people's, property in the means of production.

Social property economically unites all working people as equal masters of and participants in production working directly for the good of society. Relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance between people free of exploitation are established on this basis in the process of production.

Uniting the entire national economy into a single whole, social property exists in the shape of state-owned facilities

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, April 30-May 19 (May 13-June 1), 1907. Speech on the Attitude Towards Bourgeois Parties, May 12 (25)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, 1972, p. 464.

² V. I. Lenin, "Speech to the Third Workers' Co-Operative Congress, December 9, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 333.

possessing a measure of economic independence, and co-operative economies that are the property of individual collectives. The growing socialisation of the production process is expressed under developed socialism in the formation of large economic units: production and science-production associations in industry, and inter-collective-farm cooperatives and agro-industrial complexes in agriculture.

Under socialism commodity-money relations exist within the framework of planned management of economic development. Socialist society needs a system of economic management and economic relations that can ensure the most effective utilisation of national and local resources in the interests of society as a whole and of individual collectives. This can only be achieved if there is a single economic development plan that has the force of a state law.

Basic Principle of Socialism

A principle operating under socialism is: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." This is the basic principle underlying the organisation of economic and social life. It expresses the unity between the rights and duties of the citizen of socialist society, the inseparable link between his duty to work for society to the measure of his strength and ability and his right to receive from society for this work in accordance with its quantity and quality. Moreover, this principle characterises the measure of the implementation of social equality at the first phase of communism.

The realisation of the socialist principle of distribution according to work signifies that society is no longer divided into exploiters and exploited. All able-bodied people have the equal duty to work and the right to equal remuneration for equal work. Distribution is effected solely in accordance with the quantity and quality of work. But the socialist principle of distribution cannot eliminate all survivals of inequality, because the qualifications of people differ, their abilities are dissimilarly developed, and so on. The distinctions in the qualifications of people are mirrored by the character of the work performed by them and, consequently, by the extent of their material security. Even where qualifications are identical the actual condition of people remains unequal because, for example, some are physically stronger than others, or some have a large family and others have a smaller family or no family at all.

This demonstrates that the measure of equality achieved in the process of building communism is historically predicated by the new society's maturity level. The relations of distri-

bution formed on the basis of social property are predicated by the development level of the productive forces and cannot be constructed arbitrarily, solely in keeping with given ideals, as the utopians tried to do.

It would be wrong to regard the forms of exchange and distribution existing under socialism as survivals of the past that have to be extirpated as quickly as possible. This would mean depriving socialist society of key economic levers for its development. The certain differentiation in the remuneration of labour, the encouragement of more productive, more skilled work is vital under socialism as an incentive for production. The dependence of the material security of people on the results of the economic activity of the enterprises they work at is also growing.

However, given its historically progressive role, distribution according to work is not free from a certain limitation. In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx noted that this system of relations does not go beyond the narrow confines of "bourgeois law". Under socialism society is still compelled to apply one and the same measure to, in fact, different people and thereby legitimise incomplete equality between them. It is only with the growth of the productive forces that it can at first mitigate the elements of inequality between people by increasing the social consumption funds (free education and medical care, social security, state benefits to large families, and so on) and then create the conditions for the total eradication of all survivals of social inequality.

It must be emphasised that the principle of distribution according to work reflects the new, socialist relations of production, under which exploitation of man by man has been abolished and all able-bodied people have the duty to work. This principle and the law making it mandatory are socialist in content.

Accounting and Control as the Main Conditions for the Functioning of Socialist Society

The basic principle of socialism requires that the measure of labour is commensurable with the measure of consumption of each working person, that remuneration for work corresponds with its quantity and quality.

Distribution according to work is inevitable at the first phase because there is still no abundance of all consumer goods, people have not yet become accustomed to working for society without the pressure of norms of law, and labour itself has not become a prime want for all people. From this stems the need for socialist society to keep a strict account

and control of the measure of work and the measure of consumption.

In *The State and Revolution* Lenin underscored that accounting and control were the condition for the normal functioning of socialism. "Accounting and control—that is *mainly* what is needed for the 'smooth working', for the proper functioning, of the *first phase* of communist society... All citizens become employees and workers of a *single* country-wide state 'syndicate'."¹ The whole point, as Lenin saw it, is that people should work to the measure of their ability and receive equal remuneration for equal work. When all people learn to manage, and will indeed manage, social production, Lenin pointed out, evading people's accounting and control will be so difficult and will encounter such emphatic condemnation that compliance with the basic rules of human association will become a habit.

With accounting and control Lenin linked the development of the new social discipline, especially labour discipline, which he contrasted to petty-bourgeois anarchy. As envisioned by Lenin, socialist society is not a realm of anarchy but a highly organised society founded on the conscious discipline of the working people. "The communist organisation of social labour, the first step towards which is socialism, rests, and will do so more and more as time goes on, on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves who have thrown off the yoke both of the landowners and capitalists."² The creation of such discipline is, together with the retooling of production, the condition for attaining a higher labour productivity than under capitalism.

Noting the democratic character of socialist social principles, Lenin stressed that this in no way excludes the need for the strictest order created by the single will of the leader. "Neither railways nor transport, nor large-scale machinery and enterprises in general can function correctly without a single will linking the entire working personnel into an economic organ operating with the precision of clockwork. Socialism owes its origin to large-scale machine industry. If the masses of the working people in introducing socialism prove incapable of adapting their institutions in the way that large-scale machine industry should work, then there can be no question of introducing socialism."³ This thesis of Lenin's acquires more significance today than ever before, in view of the ongoing scientific and technological revolution. High

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 478.

² V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 420.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 212.

technology requires high precision in work; it reduces the number of operatives in automated production lines and, at the same time, enhances the responsibility borne by every operative, who today sets in motion and supervises an immeasurably larger mass of means of production than in the past. Socialism is called upon to create such precision in work by its own means, of which the most important are accounting and control.

Lenin considered that under socialism accounting and control are an indispensable instrument for combating petty-bourgeois indiscipline, the proponents and guardians of survivals of capitalism, and people shunning work. "In order to render these parasites harmless to socialist society we must organise the accounting and control of the amount of work done and of production and distribution by the entire people, by millions and millions of workers and peasants, participating voluntarily, energetically and with revolutionary enthusiasm."¹

Lenin explained that it would be utopianism to imagine that people could learn overnight to work for society's good without any norms of law, especially as there were still no economic prerequisites for this. Hence the need for the socialist state, a need, if one is to speak of internal conditions, that springs from the very nature of communism's first phase in which the productive forces have yet to be comprehensively developed and work has not yet become a prime need of all of society's members. Under socialism, survivals of the past still exist in everyday life and in the thinking and behaviour of people, and for that reason there is still a need for state compulsion, for protecting the new society's foundations and principles against the exponents of the old morality.

Socio-Political Relations

In a socialist society there are no exploiting classes. But the distinctions between the working class and the cooperative peasantry, as well as between people engaged primarily in work by hand (workers and peasants) and people engaged primarily in work by brain (intellectuals) continue to exist for some time.

The population of socialist countries consists of the working class, the cooperative peasantry, and the intelligentsia (and also a small number of peasants and artisans working on their own). Distinctions in the development level of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "How to Organise Competition?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, pp. 411-12.

productive forces determine the dissimilar numerical correlation of these social groups. The growth of the productive forces is accompanied by a levelling out of the social composition of the population of socialist countries.

A hallmark of the society of triumphant socialism is its socio-political and ideological unity. This is a new qualitative state of society, in which there no longer are antagonistic classes and the relations between classes and social groups are based on friendly cooperation.

The fact that under socialism the grounds for class collisions are eradicated in the country does not signify that the question of the class struggle is entirely a thing of the past. There is still the front of class struggle against the capitalist world, and also against its subversive activities and influence within the country. A struggle goes on to establish the new labour discipline and uproot survivals of capitalism. While this struggle is no longer a form of the workers' class struggle against other classes in socialist society, it retains its class content inasmuch as it is conducted against capitalist traditions and the influences of the bourgeois world that are alien to socialism. This struggle is conducted by the entire working people, by their advanced forces with the leading role played by the working class as the most organised and conscious class of society.

Because it is united socio-politically and ideologically, socialist society is able to set itself aims that are common to all social groups. The working class, the cooperative peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia have the same basic interests: all desire the speediest growth of the economy, the strengthening of the socialist homeland's economic and defence might. Of course, every social group also has its own distinctive interests. Allowance for these interests is made in the policy of the party and the government and this is of immense significance for the further reinforcement of society's unity, for the strengthening of the alliance between the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. For that reason, in deciding economic questions such as, for instance, defining the growth rates of industry and agriculture, the distribution of investments between them, the fixing of retail prices of manufactured goods and procurement prices of farm produce, and so on, the party attentively takes into account how all this affects the material condition of workers, peasants, and intellectuals.

The change of the class structure under socialism is the foundation also for the development of the new relations between nations and ethnic groups, which, as a result of the establishment of socialism, have become socialist and homogeneous in socio-economic and spiritual terms. The new

relations between socialist nations are based on actual equality, friendship, and cooperation.

The removal of social antagonisms and the attainment of socio-political and spiritual unity in society are among socialism's great achievements.

The reorganisation of society's economic system and social structure is accompanied by a change of its political superstructure. The law governing the development of a socialist state is determined by the advance towards a classless society. As progress is made towards putting an end to classes, the socialist state and its functions inevitably change. With the building, in the main, of a socialist society in the USSR, the function of suppressing the resistance of the deposed classes within the country fell away because these classes ceased to exist.

The fundamental changes in the life of society and the state of that period were mirrored in the 1936 Constitution of the USSR and also in other documents of the Soviet government and the Communist Party. All these changes spelled out the further broadening of socialist democracy. Limitations on universal suffrage and the certain inequality between workers and peasants in elections to organs of power were eliminated. All citizens received equal suffrage rights. The Soviets, which had been organs of power of the workers and the poorest peasants, became Soviets of Deputies of all working people.

The Soviet experience is that with the building of a developed socialist society the state of the proletarian dictatorship evolves into a state of the whole people, and that proletarian democracy evolves into democracy of the whole people. The evolution of the state of the proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people is linked directly to the fundamental change in society's class structure. In the course of socialist construction the exploiting classes are abolished; the petty-bourgeois nature of the peasants is transformed and they become a socialist class; a new, socialist intelligentsia is formed. As a result of these changes society's socio-political and ideological unity is forged and strengthened. The socialist state sheds the function of suppressing the resistance of exploiting classes and its social base broadens. In this situation the political domination of a single class ceases to be necessary.

The state of the whole people expresses the will and interests of the whole of society. The new Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1977, is the Constitution of the first-ever socialist state of the whole people.

From the moment it is established the state of the proletarian dictatorship has the features of the whole people's

democracy for it expresses the will and interests not only of the working class but also of the peasants and the intelligentsia. For that reason, the evolution of the state of the proletarian dictatorship into a socialist state of the whole people does not signify any change of its class nature, the emergence of a new type of state. The state of the whole people is the natural offspring of the development of the state of the proletarian dictatorship. In terms of its class aims and general principles of organisation it does not differ from the state of the proletarian dictatorship. The distinction between them is only that with the abolition of the exploiting classes and the transition of all the social strata to the positions of the working class its policies and ideology become the policies and ideology of the whole people.

In the socialist state of the whole people the working class retains its leading role for it remains the most advanced, organised, and politically conscious class. The leading role of the working class stems primarily from its economic position, from the fact that it works at industrial facilities representing the highest form of socialist property (the whole people's property), and also from the fact that it possesses the most extensive revolutionary experience, tempering, and a high level of revolutionary consciousness. It is the leading force in its alliance with the peasantry and the intelligentsia, an alliance that is of decisive socio-political significance for the building of communism.

The socialist state of the whole people remains a class state, for it moves towards the end goal of the working class, that of building communism, and serves as an instrument of the class struggle against the capitalist world.

Socialist society's economic system and social structure determine also the character of socialist democracy. As Lenin foresaw, democracy "will exert its influence on economic life as well, will stimulate its transformation; and in its turn it will be influenced by economic development, and so on. This is the dialectics of living history."¹ In the development of democracy under socialism the focus is on drawing the working people into active and constant participation in managing the affairs of state and society.

Bourgeois propaganda often calls for the replacement of the development of socialist democracy by what it calls the "liberalisation" of socialism, by which it means giving freedom of action to anti-socialist elements. Recognition of such "freedom" would conflict with the basic interests of the working people. Freedom under socialism is freedom for and in the interests of the working people.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 458.

Socialism can develop successfully only if there is unity between its economic, political, and cultural organisation. Together with the new economy and democracy it creates the new, socialist culture, of which Marxism-Leninism is the ideological foundation.

Key results of socialist construction in the USSR are:

first, the building of a new society such as humanity has never known before. This is a society with a steadily growing economy free of crises, mature socialist relations, and genuine freedom. This is a society in which the scientific, materialist worldview predominates. This is a society firmly confident of its future and with bright communist prospects;

second, the assertion of the Soviet way of life. The atmosphere in it is one of true collectivism, comradeship, unity, and friendship among all the nations and ethnic groups inhabiting the country, making the Soviet people staunchly united and strong;

third, the molding of the new citizen, who, having won freedom, has been able to safeguard it in the most bitter battles, and, having gone through all trials, has himself changed beyond recognition, a citizen who is totally committed ideologically, has a high cultural level, and is an ardent patriot and consistent internationalist.

3. SOCIALISM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Society's liberation from class oppression begins and the character of social development changes with the decay of capitalism. The historical practice of the peoples of the USSR and the entire socialist community demonstrates that society's development under socialism is the highest type of social progress.

Advantages of Socialism

Following the appearance of a division of labour and of classes, there was a significant acceleration of historical progress, but a high price had to be paid for this acceleration. Material and intellectual culture, science, and art developed under conditions in which the exploitation of oppressed classes and peoples by the ruling classes and countries was increasingly intensified. Marx wrote: "No antagonism, no progress. This is the law that civilisation has followed up to our days."¹

This law ceases to operate with the transition to socialism.

¹ Karl Marx, "The Poverty of Philosophy", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 132.

Because of the socio-political and ideological unity that has taken shape on the basis of the socialist mode of production, social progress ceases to be antagonistic. Here society's economic and cultural progress coincides with the growth of the material well-being and cultural level of the working people. The economic and socio-political organisation of socialist society creates the objective conditions for its accelerated development.

The economic organisation of socialist society gives it colossal advantages over capitalist society. The socialist economic system precludes economic crises, anarchy of production, and unemployment, and allows for planned economic development and for a steady growth of the productive forces. It puts an end to parasitical consumption that absorbs a considerable proportion of the national income in capitalist countries. Under socialism the national income is distributed in the interests of the working people, and this allows combining a higher rate of accumulation than in capitalist society with the rise of the people's living standard.

The socialist economic system generates new incentives for the development of production. Labour's liberation from exploitation and its conversion into work for the good of society and the welfare of each and every person give the working people a collective incentive in the results of their labour. Moral incentives acquire an ever-growing significance. Socialist emulation arises and becomes widespread on this basis. Cost accounting, on the basis of which enterprises operate, provides their personnel with incentives to produce and sell goods using the most effective management methods. Furthermore, the socialist principle of distribution offers direct personal incentives for increasing labour productivity and efficiency.

Under socialism the working person turns from the servant of a machine into its master. Technological development is promoted with the view to making labour easier and giving people more opportunities to show their creative abilities. Favourable opportunities arise for applying science and technology in production. Close cooperation between people engaged in labour by brain and labour by hand tends to speed up scientific and technological progress.

The progressive character of a social system is measured not only by the rate it can impart to the development of the productive forces but also by what this development gives the people.

Capitalist production is profit-oriented. Essentially, the capitalist does not care a brass farthing what to manufacture—bombs or medicines, toxins or roses, so long as this brings him a good profit. Of course, in the long run, even

under capitalism production serves to satisfy consumer demand but the former's development depends on whether it gives the businessman concerned a high enough profit.

Socialist production develops with the objective of meeting the people's growing material and cultural requirements. Socialism does not recognise production for the sake of production. All production in socialist society serves the people. Understandably, socialist society cannot promote only those industries that directly satisfy people's personal requirements. The production of consumer goods cannot be enlarged without promoting the growth of the production of the means of production. Under present-day conditions socialism has, in addition, to develop industries serving the needs of the country's defence.

The growth of technology, the economy, and the population has brought into focus the problems of environmental protection, of combating environmental pollution, the disruption of the equilibrium of natural processes, and so forth. Under socialism there are no barriers to the solution of these problems, which are generated by private ownership of land and other means of production. Socialism creates the conditions for the comprehensive development of all industries and the rational utilisation of natural wealth. However, in order to implement these advantages there must be a scientific and comprehensive solution of all the problems related to the use of natural resources, and state control of the conservation of nature. These purposes are served, in particular, by laws passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR envisaging measures for the further improvement of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources.

Imbalances in the historical progress are gradually rectified in socialist society. Socialism makes no allowance for the development of some countries at the expense of others, of some classes at the expense of others, and removes the causes that in antagonistic societies condemn backward peoples to still greater backwardness. The socialist mode of production and mutual assistance between fraternal countries lead to the surmounting of the backwardness inherited from the past and to the gradual levelling up of the economic development of socialist states. This is a long and complex process linked to the removal of many difficulties, but it is as necessarily predicated by the nature of socialism as uneven progress is predicated by the nature of capitalist society.

As distinct from all preceding socio-economic systems, socialism does not come into being spontaneously but as a result of the conscious and purposeful work of the people

headed by the Marxist-Leninist party. For that reason under socialism progress is planned, and this is one of socialism's basic advantages over capitalism.

Socialism awakens the historical creative genius of huge numbers of people. It turns the people into the subject of history, consciously and methodically building a new society. Lenin regarded the living constructive work of the masses as the principal factor in creating the new society.

Bourgeois ideologues have endeavoured to intimidate socialism's proponents by fabricating the dismal prospect that if private property, the drive for capitalist profits, and competition were to be abolished there would be no incentives for developing society. In opposition to them Lenin showed "how infinitely mendacious is the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something lifeless, rigid, fixed once and for all, whereas in reality *only* socialism will be the beginning of a rapid, genuine, truly mass forward movement, embracing first the *majority* and then the whole of the population, in all spheres of public and private life".¹

In "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", "How to Organise Competition?", "A Great Beginning", and some other works written after the October Revolution, he brought to light the powerful motive forces of society's development that arise out of socialism—the emancipation of labour, the activity of the masses, and their initiatives, which are demonstrated so impressively in the socialist emulation movement.

Socialism significantly speeds up the rate of historical progress. The possibilities for this acceleration are generated chiefly by the removal of such obstacles to progress as the reactionary classes, and by the enlistment of ever larger numbers of people into the making of history.

The socialist economic system's advantages create the objective conditions for an accelerated development of production. However, these advantages have to be used skilfully, and this depends chiefly on the subjective factor, on how scientifically the economy is managed and on the scope given to the people's initiatives. Hence the high demands made of scientific economic management under socialism.

Socialism's Contradictions and the Ways of Resolving Them

As any other society, socialist society is not free of contradictions. But for their character these differ fundamentally from the antagonistic contradictions of class, exploiting societies. "Antagonism and contradiction," Lenin noted, "are

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 477.

not at all one and the same thing. The former disappears, while the latter remains under socialism."¹

The development of socialist society is not free of diverse contradictions but these spring from the fact that socialism is only the first phase of communist society, when not all of the potentialities implicit in the nature of the communist formation come into play. An expression of this is, in the first place, the fact that under socialism the development of production is still below the level needed to satisfy the requirements of all members of society. Also, some contradictions are generated by survivals of old forms of the social division of labour, expressed in substantial distinctions between industrial and farm labour, between mental and physical work.

Further, there are contradictions in the basic principle of socialism stipulating distribution according to work. However, this is not a contradiction between the mode of production and the mode of distribution. On the contrary, distribution according to work is fully consistent with the development level achieved by socialist production. The contradiction lies in the fact that while establishing equality in what is cardinal and decisive, in people's relationship to the means of production, society has to preserve a certain measure of inequality between them in the conditions of distribution and everyday life. It is impossible to abolish this inequality overnight not only because of the inadequate development level of the productive forces but also because the distinctions in the skills and labour productivity of different categories of workers must be reflected also in their remuneration, otherwise the economic incentives for promoting production will slacken. While encouraging conscientious work for the good of society and thereby inculcating the habit of working for society according to one's abilities, remuneration according to work may, if organised incorrectly, encourage individualistic aspirations if, in addition, economic incentives are not combined with educational work aimed at surmounting survivals of capitalism in the thinking, morals, and everyday life of people.

The contradictions between the new, socialist relations and survivals of old relations inherited from preceding societies are overcome through socialist society's economic and cultural growth, through the creation of the conditions for the gradual transition to communism.

The heritage of the past is not the only mainspring of contradictions in socialist society. They are also generated by the fact that as a result of the growth of the productive

¹ *Lenin's Miscellany XI*, p. 357 (in Russian).

forces various aspects of relations of production, the forms of economic organisation, management, and so on, become obsolete, in other words, they no longer correspond to the new conditions and requirements of society's development. Unlike capitalist society, socialist society is able to harmonise various trends and aspects (for instance, the objectively vital centralisation of economic management with the encouragement of local initiatives). But contradictions arise if this harmony is broken by a change in the objective historical situation or by errors.

Having abolished antagonistic classes, socialist society can resolve the contradictions of its development much more easily and faster than preceding societies. There are no moribund classes selfishly hindering the solution of contradictions and society's progress. Community of the basic interests of all the social groups and all the nations facilitates the fulfilment of pressing tasks and creates the foundation for the successful settlement of contradictions. Whereas under capitalism the struggle of opposites usually leads to the triumph of one side and the destruction of the other and ultimately to the abolition of bourgeois society itself, under socialism contradictions are surmounted on the basis of society's unity and this leads to the further strengthening of this unity.

Under socialism contradictions are not resolved without difficulties, without a clash of interests and the accompanying conflicts in life. The presence of common basic interests does not remove the possibility that particular interests may be counterposed to common interests. Under socialism there still are proponents of survivals of capitalism who, in pursuance of their own interests, oppose society's progress. Because of their adherence to outdated practices or their interest in the preservation of such practices bigots seek to prolong the existence of the old. In the resolution of contradictions an immense role is played by the Communist Party, which, as the champion of the whole people's interests, unites the entire people for tackling pressing tasks.

Armed with advanced theory, the party plays a special role in identifying and surmounting the contradictions. A tenet of dialectics, expressed by Lenin, loses none of its validity under socialism, namely that "life proceeds by contradictions, and living contradictions are so much richer, more varied and deeper in content than they may seem at first sight to a man's mind".¹ From this stems the need for attentively

¹ V. I. Lenin, "To Maxim Gorky, November 16, 1909", *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, 1977, p. 403.

studying life, for bringing to light the contradictions that arise, and for taking steps to resolve them opportunely.

Socialism does not automatically, at the wave of a magic wand, ensure the settlement of all contradictions, the disappearance of all difficulties. But it opens up hitherto unknown potentialities for progress, for accelerated advancement.

Socialism's superiority over capitalism is manifested in all areas of society's life—economic, political, and cultural. Capitalism has the experience of many centuries of development, it accumulated vast wealth, educated a huge body of cadres, and solidly, with the force of a prejudice, instilled bourgeois morals in people's thinking and habits. Socialism is still young. It has had to blaze the trail and find new forms for organising economic, political, and cultural life, without at first having its own cadres. It has had to overcome the savage resistance of the capitalist world. And since under these conditions socialism has been able not only to hold its own but to grow strong and develop into a world system, to become a force that is increasingly determining humankind's development, this serves as compelling evidence of the historical advantages of the socialist over the capitalist organisation of society.

Chapter 14

THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

A new way of life that differs fundamentally from the bourgeois way of life asserts itself in socialist society.

1. ESSENCE OF THE WAY OF LIFE

The way of life is the historically predicated type of the vital activity of the classes and social groups of which society consists, and also of individuals. It is a definite mode of behaviour and day-to-day activity of people in work and everyday life, in production and in the consumption of material and cultural goods. It represents an alloy of objective conditions and subjective aspects of the activity of people, of their involvement in social life.

In working out the materialist understanding of history, Marx and Engels showed that in society's development and in the shaping of the way of life the decisive role is played by the mode of production of material goods. They wrote: "This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part."¹

The most significant indicators of a way of life are: the character of property in the means of production, the principle underlying the distribution of the social product, the character of labour, consumption and everyday life, the health care and education systems, the character of the prevailing culture, and the extent to which the various social groups have the possibility of availing themselves of cultural achievements.

In societies with antagonistic classes there neither is nor can be a single, common way of life for all people. The

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 31.

modes of life of a big landowner, peasant, capitalist, and factory worker differ basically from each other. One cannot, therefore, speak of a common mode of life in, for example, a feudal or a capitalist society.

The way of life has its quantitative and qualitative aspects. The quantitative aspect is expressed by indicators of material well-being and the cultural level.

Moreover, the mode of life has features that cannot be expressed quantitatively. Indeed, there is no quantitative way to measure confidence in the morrow, collectivism, friendship among peoples, optimism, moral health, and other facets of the people's way of life under socialism. Yet all these facets and features are tangible. Similarly, there is no quantitative measure of the fear of unemployment and for the social and national oppression of working people in a capitalist society.

The qualitative aspect of the mode of life is sometimes called the "quality of life" and expresses essential and vital features of the given socio-economic system. It gives a comprehensive and integral indication of the condition of the different classes and social groups and of the individual under different social systems, the extent of the individual's social freedom (or lack of freedom), actual opportunities for using spiritual and cultural values, and the factors facilitating or obstructing the individual's development.

Marxism naturally accentuates the condition of the individual in the sphere of production, the character and conditions of labour, the attitude of the working people to labour, and the actual opportunities for participating in the management of production and of all of society's affairs. All these are key objective criteria of the qualitative side of the mode of life.

A specific manifestation of general features of the mode of life in the behaviour of individuals or groups is called the style of life. This concept is narrower in dimension than the concept of mode of life: in it are mirrored less essential features and specifics of a person's activity that are largely determined by individual inclinations, tastes, and a specific value orientation. One and the same way of life may feature many variants of the life style. The latter is formed under the impact of professional and everyday factors, national, cultural, family, and demographic characteristics, the education level, the micro-environment, and so forth. For instance, the style of life of a fishing enthusiast or hiker differs from that of a book-lover or collector of music recordings, although these specific value orientations may more or less harmoniously combine within the day-to-day behaviour of the given individual. From the standpoint of medicine and

hygiene one can speak of a healthy or unhealthy style of life—this is determined by the regimen of the day, the kind of diet, the extent of involvement in physical culture and sports, and so on.

2. BASIC FEATURES OF THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

The socialist way of life asserts itself with the establishment of socialism.

The socialist way of life may be defined as the sum or system of essential forms of human vital activity reflecting the conditions of people's life typical for the first phase of communism.

The new way of life is formed and consolidated in persevering struggle against survivals of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois way of life, by eradicating the rules and norms of human association, customs and habits alien to socialism.

The fact that the Soviet way of life has been asserted in the USSR is evidence that socialism has transformed the day-to-day life of millions of people, of entire nations on the basis of fundamentally new principles. That society functions with great efficiency if it is organised on the basis of public property and collective labour, which ideologues of the old world had proclaimed as a "utopia", as running counter to the "individualistic nature" of the human being, has now been demonstrated not only in theory but also in practice. The establishment of the socialist way of life consolidates the triumph of socialism in the behaviour and actions of millions of people.

The principal hallmarks of the socialist way of life are: unity between its quantitative and qualitative aspects, labour as its foundation, collectivism, internationalism, humanism, and optimism.

Unity of Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects

The quantitative and qualitative aspects of the socialist way of life are in dialectical unity: they can be neither counterposed to nor identified with each other. The socialist way of life spells out socially useful labour and the harmonious combination of people's material and intellectual requirements.

The quantitative aspect of the socialist way of life is linked, above all, to the satisfaction of people's material requirements, and is an indispensable objective foundation for the development of its qualitative aspect. Socialist society has done very much to improve the life of the working people. Its highest aim is, of course, the steady rise of the people's

standard of living and cultural level as the basis of their all-sided and harmonious development. This is what makes it completely different from bourgeois society.

The quality of life or, in other words, the qualitative aspect of the way of life, gives an integral characteristic of a person's condition under different social systems and expresses the extent of social freedom and the content of the cultural and spiritual values at his disposal. The quality of life embraces not only ideological relations; it is linked chiefly to labour activity and is determined directly by the prevailing type of production relations, by the purpose of social production. In the long run it expresses the qualitative definitiveness of a given socio-economic system.

The qualitative aspect of the socialist way of life expresses essential, indispensable indications of socialism as the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation. The socialisation of the means and objects of labour is a vital and effective factor of the social climate implicit in socialism, a climate in which the oppressive sense of uncertainty of the future is alien to people, a climate in which a collective spirit, comradely mutual assistance, moral health, and social optimism prevail. Taken together, this spells out a fundamentally new quality of life for the working masses, a quality of life that by no means boils down to creature comforts but encompasses the entire spectrum of full-blooded human existence.

In a socialist society the quality of life is characterised by genuine power of the people, by fraternal friendship among peoples, by each honest working person being confident of the future. A comparison of the condition of working people under capitalism and socialism reveals the basic advantages of the new system under which the quality of life is a generalised, synthesised indicator of socialist humanism.

Labour as the Foundation of the Socialist Way of Life

Under socialism labour acquires an unprecedented social quality, becoming the most solid foundation of the new way of life.

In what is the new social quality of labour expressed? First, in the emancipation from exploitation, in labour being universal and mandatory. Although labour remains economically indispensable, it becomes a basic social principle, a constitutional duty, and a moral requirement. It becomes a civic duty, and the central criterion of morality. An aphoristically concise expression of this new principle which breaks with the millennia-long traditions of exploiting society is: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." Characterising the

significance of this expression, Lenin noted that it is appreciated by every working person and is accepted by all who live by their earnings. "In this simple, elementary and perfectly obvious truth," Lenin wrote, "lies the basis of socialism, the indefeasible source of its strength, the indestructible pledge of its final victory."¹

For the worker in a bourgeois society labour is alienated: as soon as compulsion for labour ceases, Marx noted, labour is shunned like the plague.² In a socialist society labour becomes the personal matter of each individual and acquires a direct social character.

While the capitalist organisation of social labour rests on the discipline of hunger, the communist organisation of social labour, of which the first phase is socialism, rests on the conscious and voluntary discipline of the working people themselves. In writing of the enormous significance of the first communist voluntary workdays, Lenin pointed out that "they demonstrate the conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers in developing the productivity of labour, in adopting a new labour discipline, in creating socialist conditions of economy and life".³

The new, socialist mode of social production and the shaping, as Lenin wrote, of a "new social bond"⁴, a new labour discipline, and a new organisation of labour exercise a determining influence on the formation of the socialist way of life.

Thus, under socialism labour differs qualitatively from labour under capitalism in terms of its social content. This is what is meant when people speak of the social quality of labour. But there is also a technico-economic, technological aspect of the quality of labour and the quality of output.

On an improvement of the quality of work depend not only the character and rate of economic growth, but the settlement of many matters related to social policy and the perfecting of the socialist way of life. Consequently, this is not only an economic but also a social and ideological aim.

Material and cultural values are created by labour. Labour is thus the sole source for increasing national wealth, while society can dispose only of what is produced. From this it follows that as labour grows more productive, people's personal and social requirements are more fully satisfied and the socialist state acquires increasing strength.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On the Famine", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 392.

² Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 274.

³ V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 423-24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 423.

Collectivism

In a socialist society all work and socio-political activity is founded on collectivism.

Work collectives are the basic, primary unit of socialist society. It is a product of the socialist system in the true sense of the word. Bourgeois society knows only surrogates of collectivism. Capitalism's economic laws inevitably give rise to competition, which "separates individuals from one another, not only the bourgeois but still more the workers, in spite of the fact that it brings them together".¹ Of course, the common struggle against exploitation and its proponents unites the workers, giving them a sense of class solidarity, a sense of collectivism. Assimilation of the doctrine of scientific socialism and the political work conducted by the communist parties still further cement the working class and all other working people in their struggle for a better future. But under capitalism there neither are nor can be work collectives in which all members, from the manager to the rank-and-file workers, are united by a single purpose and by a single ideology and moral code. No doctrine of "social partnership" or "humane relations" and no social demagoguery, however subtle, can create moral and psychological unity at a capitalist facility, in other words, eliminate the irreconcilable antagonism between labour and capital.

Under socialism one finds a different situation. In tackling specific production tasks, the work collective is the direct factor educating the individual in the spirit of the political principles and moral values of socialism.

Besides its production and educational functions, the work collective has the important social function of harmoniously combining the interests of individuals and of society as a whole. The work collective is the protagonist of production experience and of social and moral experience, assimilated by young people starting out on their work careers.

The role and functions of the work collective are laid down in the Constitution of the USSR: "Work collectives take part in discussing and deciding state and public affairs, in planning production and social development, in training and placing personnel, and in discussing and deciding matters pertaining to the management of enterprises and institutions, the improvement of working and living conditions, and the use of funds allocated both for developing production and for social and cultural purposes and financial incentives.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 75.

"Work collectives promote socialist emulation, the spread of progressive methods of work, and the strengthening of production discipline, educate their members in the spirit of communist morality, and strive to enhance their political consciousness and raise their cultural level and skills and qualifications" (Article 8).

Emulation is a noteworthy feature of socialism. It telescopes the specifics of the new way of life, the sense of solidarity of the working people, the spirit of collectivism, and the aspiration to help lagging collectives in order to achieve overall progress. Emulation fosters creative work by individuals and entire collectives and is the practical expression of criticism and self-criticism directed at eliminating shortcomings and at combating all that is obsolete and antiquated in order to assert what is new and advanced.

Socialist emulation is an accelerator of scientific and technological progress and helps to promote the productivity, quality, and efficiency of labour. Brought to life in work collectives, emulation, in its turn, beneficially influences the further development of collectivism and is irreplaceable as a school of socialist consciousness. The basic principles of socialist emulation are comparability of the results of work, publicity, utilisation of advanced experience, and comradely mutual assistance.

Internationalism

A facet exemplifying the socialist way of life, collectivism harmoniously blends the interests and destiny of each individual with the interests and destiny of the socialist homeland, the community of socialist countries, and ultimately the whole of progressive humanity. Unity between socialist patriotism and internationalism is the loftiest expression of the spirit of collectivism and comradeship, an inalienable aspect of the socialist way of life.

Bourgeois ideologues and the revisionists keep asserting that because it is founded on collectivism and internationalism the socialist way of life signifies egalitarianism and deprives people of the wealth of individual expression—in short, that it drapes everybody and everything in the "drab costume of equality". The practice of socialist countries compellingly refutes this ill-intended fabrication. In addition to common features indicative of society's nature and the individual's affinity to a definite class, nation, and way of life, each individual has his own features and style of behaviour. In this respect every person is unique and inimitable. Far from denying the uniqueness of every individual, socialism creates, on the basis of a harmonious combination

of social and personal interests, beneficial conditions for the full expression of each individuality, for the expression of the inimitability and uniqueness of the individual's being.

Hence the considerable diversity of the concrete ways in which the socialist way of life is embodied in each person's behaviour, habits, tastes, inclinations, and value orientations.

Humanism and Optimism

The socialist system is the tangible embodiment of Marxist-Leninist humanism. Socialism in fact resolves such cardinal humanist problems as the liberation of the working people from capitalist exploitation, political oppression, and national enslavement. It eradicates poverty and unemployment, erases the antithesis between physical and mental work, between town and countryside, and puts an end to the denial of rights to women. It delivers the people from cultural oppression, bringing them education and opening wide the door to the summits of science and culture, to the finest achievements of world civilisation. While critically sorting out the cultural values of preceding epochs, socialism builds up its own culture. Lastly, it does everything within its power to exclude wars from society's life.

Under socialism the principles of humanism are embodied in all forms of human activity. Take the most fundamental level of vital activity—the relations of production. These have evolved into relations of comradely mutual assistance and support among people freed from exploitation. Socialism is a society delivered from the antagonism between labour and capital, from rivalry, from a struggle between people for survival, for a place in the sun, for a livelihood.

The increasing remuneration in keeping with the socialist principle of distribution according to work is the main source for the growth of the incomes of factory and office workers and of the collective farmers.

One of the most noteworthy features of the Soviet way of life consists of the ever-widening benefits that people get from the social consumption funds. These funds are, on the whole, growing faster than wages. A large proportion of them is used for pensions, the upkeep of pre-school facilities, education, and medical services. The largest benefits go to large and lower-income families. Social consumption funds are the principal source of the livelihood of sections of the population that are incapable of work—pensioners, the disabled, and the sick.

In a developed socialist society the style of human relations is characterised by respect, attention, concern, and goodwill. But in some instances humanism is misinterpreted

and turned into its opposite—into a liberal attitude to those who flout the norms of socialist human association, into reconciliation to shortcomings. A correct understanding of socialist humanism is inseparable from an uncompromising attitude to everything that conflicts with the moral foundations of the socialist way of life. It has nothing in common either with complacency and ideological laxity. Socialist humanism demands a class, committed assessment of domestic and international developments, vigilance, and a determined stand against bourgeois ideology and philistine-consumer morals. The philosophy of non-resistance to the evil with violence is alien to socialist humanism, which calls for vigorous opposition to social evil and injustice.

Optimism, faith in people, in their ability to do good, to reshape the world in accordance with the laws of justice and beauty are a key mark of the Marxist-Leninist worldview.

Revolutionary optimism is not an emotional affirmative response to what is or what will be, but a profound Marxist-Leninist understanding and evaluation of the present, past, and future in their natural historical succession. Socialist optimism is not the optimism of fanatics who refuse to open their eyes to the actual situation with its difficulties, contradictions, and sometimes hard problems. The spirit of bureaucratic smugness and self-adulation is alien to optimism. It is a truly realistic, sober, and courageous optimism in which lofty ideological commitment and an unshakable faith in the ultimate triumph of communism blend organically with an accurate scientific analysis of the strong and weak sides of development, unresolved issues, and difficulties that already exist or might emerge in the future.

Marxism-Leninism's historical optimism is tangibly embodied in the socialist way of life. Citizens of socialist society do not know what unemployment, the threat of poverty and ruin are. They are confident of the future. More, social conditions and the living standard tend to improve steadily. The cultural requirements of the individual are becoming richer and more diversified. The optimist tone of people's way of life under socialism is consequently not accidental. It stems from objective factors and from the policy pursued by the Communist Party.

3. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

The CPSU, which sees concern for the welfare of people as its highest aim, consistently implements a range of measures designed to reinforce the material and cultural foundations of the socialist way of life.

Steadily more and better consumer goods are being produced. The utmost is being done to reduce arduous manual and unskilled labour. Increasing control is being instituted over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption, and the stimulating role of remuneration according to work is being enhanced.

As we have already noted, in a developed socialist society an ever more important role is played by the distribution of material and cultural benefits and services from the social consumption funds. With the use of these funds society ensures the solution of important socio-economic problems linked to the all-sided development of the individual and the security of large families, of people incapable of work, and so on. In the 1980s more effective use is made of social funds to resolve production and socio-demographic problems.

Soviet demographic policy helps to consolidate the family as the key element of socialist society. One of the objectives of this policy is to create the most conducive conditions for combining motherhood with dynamic participation in production and public activity. Partially paid leave for the care of children until they reach the age of one has been introduced for working women. Steps are being taken to perfect the system of state allowances for children, improve the living conditions of families with children, and raise the standard of medical services for the population, especially for expectant mothers.

Housing conditions are a crucial component of the way of life. In terms of their significance to society state allocations for housing construction and for the upkeep of housing are analogous to the social consumption funds: in the USSR housing is provided free of charge and the state bears the lion's share of the expense of maintaining housing. Further, the house-building cooperatives are being given a steadily larger role to play in further improving the population's housing, and more opportunities are being offered for the building of homes by individuals, particularly in small towns, town-type settlements, and rural communities.

In the USSR vital significance is being acquired by the utmost enlargement of the agro-industrial, food-producing complex. This involves the proportionate and balanced growth of agriculture and of the industries servicing it, the food industry, the procurement system, and the storage, transportation, and farm-produce processing facilities.

The possibilities for a harmonious cultural life are steadily expanding. Actual leisure time will grow with the further promotion of the services industry, the lightening of household chores, the provision of increasingly more efficient

transportation, and so on. It is particularly important to improve the forms and organisation of leisure, especially for young people.

The public education system, including evening and extra-mural study, continues to be developed. The forms and methods of combining study with job training in secondary schools are being improved, increasing importance is attached to giving schoolchildren vocational guidance, and special significance is attached to further enlarging the network of vocational schools, which are a key source of skilled workers for the economy.

Free medical services are one of the most striking expressions of the humanism of the socialist way of life. The standard and quality of medical services are rising and the network of health facilities is being expanded. Further, the health of the population depends on how rationally leisure time and travel are organised and on how many people take up physical culture and sports. It is unquestionably a humane objective to give people a higher life expectancy, a longer active life, and to safeguard their health.

Chapter 15

LAWS OF THE SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM'S DEVELOPMENT

The formation and development of the socialist world system is a many-faceted, complex process governed by a number of laws. A knowledge of these laws enables communist and workers' parties to promote economic, political, and cultural cooperation among the socialist countries by joint effort.

1. RELATIONS OF A NEW TYPE BETWEEN PEOPLES AND STATES

The fact that the countries of the socialist community have a common socio-economic system and identical aims in the building of socialism and communism defines the new type of relations between them.

The economic, political, and cultural relations between the socialist-community countries are founded on full equality, fraternity, comradely cooperation, and mutual assistance.

Stages of the Development of Cooperation

Socialism lays the groundwork for fundamentally new laws governing the relations between nations and eradicates the deepest-rooted causes of distrust and hostility among peoples. Scope is given to the trend towards unity among nations. In the CPSU Central Committee resolution under the heading "On the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics", it is stressed: "Events have confirmed Lenin's forecast that a new social order would give rise to completely different international relations, free from the discrimination, domination and subjection characteristic of the capitalist world. An example of these relations is provided by the fraternal socialist countries."

The formation of the socialist world system triggered the operation of some new laws called to life by the requirements of that system's development.

These laws include: the all-sided drawing together of socialist countries, and fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance between them; the international socialist division of labour; the promotion of economic integration; the trend towards the creation of an integrated world economy of socialist countries; rapid and stable economic growth rates and planned economic progress; the levelling up of the economic, political, and cultural development of socialist countries and the more or less simultaneous (within a single historical epoch) transition of these countries to communism; concerted defence of socialism's achievements against attack by external and internal enemies.

The relations between socialist countries go through specific stages of development, each of which is characterised by changes in these countries and by the level of cooperation among them.

At the first stage (which covered a period that lasted approximately from 1945 to 1949) a military-political alliance took shape between the socialist countries. The signing of treaties of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies fostered the consolidation of people's power in these countries and strengthened their standing on the international scene as sovereign allies of the world's first socialist state. Naturally, the countries in which socialist revolutions triumphed sought to unite politically in order to safeguard their social gains against the imperialist threat, help reinforce the people's power, and promote the shoots of the new social system in each country.

As well as helping to liberate these countries from fascist tyranny, the Soviet Union protected them against imperialist intervention. It extended considerable material assistance to them, providing them with food and also vital building materials and equipment for the restoration of industry and transport. The experience of the Soviet Union, which was the first country in history to establish relations of equality between the nations inhabiting it, was of fundamental significance for the formation of a new type of relations between peoples on the scale of a large community of states.

But at the first stage the People's Democracies had weak economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union. Subsequently, the military-political alliance was gradually complemented with social, economic, and cultural cooperation.

With the consummation of democratic reforms in the People's Democracies and the transition of these countries to socialist construction, the second stage was ushered in—namely, the promotion of all-sided links among socialist countries. This stage, which covered approximately a decade

(1949-1959), witnessed the building up of multilateral relations and the setting up of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

A new stage commenced in the 1960s in the development of the socialist world system. Its central hallmarks were that the Soviet Union entered the phase of developed socialism and the building of communism and several other countries began building a developed socialist society.

At all stages the relations between fraternal countries are founded on the interaction of two objective tendencies: on the one hand, the tendency towards the development of each country's national economy, statehood, and culture and the strengthening of its independence and sovereignty; on the other, the tendency towards an increasing drawing together of peoples, towards the expansion and deepening of relations between them.

Economic Cooperation

The economic relations among socialist countries are directed towards ensuring all-sided economic, scientific, and technological progress, and the building of the material and technical basis of socialism and communism. These relations facilitate the promotion of an integrated world socialist economy and socialism's victory over capitalism in the world-wide economic competition.

Socialist economic integration is a new and complex process. It involves the ability to develop the most rational decisions consistent with the interests of all the cooperating countries, and requires an orientation towards the latest achievements of science and technology, towards the most profitable and technically advanced kinds of production. An international division of labour of a new type takes shape in the process of the economic integration of the socialist countries.

In the promotion of economic cooperation among socialist countries an immense role is played by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) that was formed in 1949.

The CMEA is an open organisation: it may be joined by other countries that accept its objectives and principles and agree to abide by the commitments spelled out in its Charter.

At present 10 socialist countries are members of the CMEA. They are Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Vietnam. Countries that are not members of the Council participate in its work to one extent or another. For instance, since 1964 Yugoslavia has been

cooperating with the CMEA. Treaty relations with the CMEA have been established by Finland, Iraq, and Mexico, and the Council is expanding contacts with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Angola, Laos, and Ethiopia.

A general plan for economic cooperation for a period of 15-20 years was adopted in 1971. This is the Comprehensive Programme for the Further Extension and Improvement of Cooperation and the Development of the Socialist Economic Integration by the CMEA Member-Countries.

A qualitatively new stage started in the 1970s in the economic development of most of the CMEA countries. The switch of their economies towards intensive development, the enhancement of production efficiency, and the orientation towards the end results of economic activity have become the pivot of the economic strategy of the most advanced CMEA countries.

By the beginning of the 1980s the socialist-community states have reached new levels of their development. The CMEA countries today account for roughly one-third of the world's industrial output.

These achievements are due largely to the expanding economic cooperation among the socialist countries and the co-ordination of the actions of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

On the basis of the Comprehensive Programme the CMEA session held in Prague in June 1980 drew up a coordinated strategy of cooperation for the 1980s. This is yet another tangible confirmation of the advantages of the socialist planned economy, advantages that can be seen in particularly bold relief against the background of the general instability of the capitalist economy.

Economic cooperation among socialist countries assumes diverse forms: foreign trade, coordination of economic development plans, inter-state specialisation and cooperation, and cooperation in science and technology, among others.

Foreign trade is an important form of economic cooperation among socialist countries. The growth of this trade led to the appearance of a socialist world market. It deepens and perfects the international socialist division of labour and promotes the overall growth of the economy of the socialist countries. Trade expands on the basis of long-term agreements. This ensures to each signatory state the planned receipt of vital raw and other materials, equipment, and other commodities, and greatly facilitates the marketing of goods.

In the trade among socialist countries prices are fixed bilaterally on the basis of world prices. As a rule, they are established by long-term agreements for a set period and are therefore not susceptible to situation rises and falls as

in the capitalist market. In the socialist world market the system of price-formation is being constantly improved in accordance with the development of socialism's planned economy.

The coordination of economic development plans is crucial to the establishment of direct economic links among the socialist countries. This form of cooperation encompasses circulation and production. In 1959 the CMEA member-states went over from the coordination of basic indicators of individual industries to the coordination of economic development plans.

Coordination opens up wide scope for the operation of the law of planned and proportionate economic development. It enables all the fraternal socialist countries, including those that cannot entirely ensure their industry with raw materials and equipment from their own resources, to promote planned economic development. Pressing matters include the drawing together of the structures of economic mechanisms, the further expansion of direct links between ministries, production associations, and industrial facilities participating in cooperation, and the undertaking of joint ventures. There are also other forms of pooling the efforts and resources of the socialist countries.

Long-term special-purpose programmes of cooperation are being drawn up. Their aim is to combine the efforts of the involved states to meet the rapidly growing demand for energy, fuel, and basic raw materials, satisfy the demand for food and manufactured consumer goods more fully, raise the standard of the engineering industry, and speed up the development of transport. Long-term special-purpose programmes for cooperation make it possible to concentrate efforts and resources in the main areas of cooperation and foster the further rationalisation of the international division of labour among the CMEA countries. These programmes specify and enlarge upon the Comprehensive Programme, raising cooperation among the CMEA countries to a higher level and reinforcing the planned basis of this programme. They cover a wide spectrum of projects aimed at drawing the industrially less developed socialist countries to the level of the more developed states.

Specialisation and cooperation of production is a vital form of economic integration under present-day conditions. They mirror leading economic tendencies, the process of increasing concentration and internationalisation of production in the socialist world economic system.

A division of labour between socialist countries enables each of them to increase its output without increasing material and labour outlays.

The practice of jointly building economic complexes is spreading. An example is the Druzhba Trans-European Oil Pipeline, the longest in the world, built jointly by the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Hungary to promote their oil-refining and chemical industries. CMEA countries have achieved significant progress in combining their power grids. The contours of the future power grid of European socialist states are visible already today. A power transmission line links the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and the USSR in a power grid (with an international distribution centre in Prague). The combined power grid of CMEA states, called Mir, ensures the efficient use of the power-generating installations of individual countries and substantially reduces the cost of electric power.

The Soyuz Gas Pipeline running from Orenburg to the Western frontier of the USSR was completed in 1978 through the joint efforts of European CMEA member-states. In world practice there has not been anything like this project in magnitude and organisation of construction. This pipeline is over 2,500 kilometres long. Each of the countries involved fulfilled the work it had committed itself to perform. Soviet workers and engineers worked side by side with their counterparts from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The Ust-Ilim pulp and paper mill was likewise completed through the joint efforts of CMEA countries. The Erdenet ore-concentrating mill in Mongolia, nickel plants in Cuba, and many other projects are under construction.

Economic cooperation enables one country to use the resources of other countries. Long-term agreements on the participation of CMEA countries importing raw materials in the building of mining facilities in countries with an abundance of such materials is seen as a promising area of cooperation aimed at resolving the raw materials problem.

The many facts illustrating the expanding economic cooperation among socialist countries are compelling evidence that Lenin was right when he wrote of the inevitability of a trend towards "the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan".¹

Scientific and technological cooperation is a determining condition for accelerating the technological progress of socialist countries. It provides for exchanges of design and technical documentation, licences for inventions and technical improvements, expertise in the organisation of labour,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 147.

production technologies, the training of specialists, and so on. The socialist countries are expanding cooperation between research and design organisations, in mutually providing specialists with production practice, and so on. Currently there is scientific and technological cooperation in practically all key branches of the economy.

In the economic cooperation among socialist countries the accent is mainly on the qualitative aspect, on promoting the efficiency of social production and of international socialist cooperation.

By coordinating their economic development plans the CMEA countries are able to resolve many of the community's problems jointly. These problems are steadily growing more complex: raw materials and energy resources are becoming dearer and account has to be taken of the deterioration of the world economic situation and sharp price fluctuations. The attempts of the USA and some of its allies to utilise trade and economic relations as a means of political pressure, and also the arms race being imposed by imperialism are a heavy burden for the socialist countries as well. But by and large, despite the difficulties, the CMEA countries have everything they need—resources, trained cadres, and scientific and technological potential—to go on successfully developing their economy, fraternally helping each other, and advancing confidently in the building of socialism and communism.

Political Cooperation

Political cooperation among socialist countries has the objective of ensuring the most beneficial domestic and external conditions for the successful building of socialism and communism in each of these countries and the development of the socialist system as a whole.

In political cooperation the emphasis is on a collectively coordinated policy, the concerted defence of the working people's socialist gains, and the pooling of efforts in building socialism and communism and in consolidating peace.

In their foreign policy the socialist countries focus chiefly on matters related to the defence of peace and to extending all-sided assistance to peoples fighting for social and national liberation. This policy is consistent with the interests of all peace-loving nations, and herein lies its strength and viability.

Soon after World War II ended the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies advanced proposals aimed at easing international tension, creating a system of collective security, cutting back armed forces, and banning nuclear weap-

ons. But far from accepting these proposals the imperialist circles embarked upon feverish activity to set up and reinforce aggressive military blocs. In that situation the European socialist countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union—had no alternative to forming the Warsaw Treaty Organisation in 1955. In 1968 Albania withdrew from the alliance. The Warsaw Treaty is a defensive organisation guaranteeing the security of all its members. The treaty is based on the full equality of its signatories and ensures their collective self-defence. It dependably serves the interests of peace and socialism. The Warsaw Treaty member-states have a single command, which oversees the combat training of troops, the standardisation of military hardware, and the coordination of other defence efforts. The treaty's highest collective authority is the Political Consultative Committee.

In character and aims, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation differs fundamentally from aggressive imperialist blocs, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in the first place. It is therefore quite wrong to equate these two military organisations, as is done by many bourgeois political leaders.

The Warsaw Treaty nations are, as they have been from the outset, consistent and staunch advocates of peace and international cooperation, of steadfast compliance with the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. In this is expressed the socialist nature of their foreign policy, which is in keeping with the vital interests of all humanity.

The broad links established between the communist and workers' parties of socialist-community countries are a major factor for exchanges of concrete experience of socialist and communist construction, industrial and agricultural management, and ideological work. Party and government leaders of the socialist countries meet regularly to consider key political issues and coordinate collective action on the international scene.

There are innumerable threads linking the party organisations of the Soviet Union and other socialist-community countries. These links operate at all levels—from republic, territory, and region to district and large industrial facilities. It has become a practice to hold conferences of CC secretaries on questions of international relations and ideological and party-organisational work.

Productive mutual relations are being developed also by trade unions, youth and other public organisations, workers in science and culture, and societies for friendship between socialist countries. These contacts are helping to draw peo-

ples closer together and accelerating scientific and technological progress in each socialist country.

Cooperation in Ideology and Culture

Ideology is an important area of cooperation. It helps to raise the level of ideological education in each of the fraternal countries and to act with greater success in the ideological confrontation with capitalism. The enemies of socialism are conducting intensified propaganda through the mass media in an effort to implant bourgeois ideology in the cultural life of socialist countries, vilify socialism, and disparage socialist ideals. In response to imperialism's carefully orchestrated hostile propaganda the socialist countries are uniting their efforts for joint resistance to slander and are introducing an element of planning into their ideological work. At their regular meetings the CC secretaries of fraternal parties coordinate various aspects of ideological work and define the main areas in which to concentrate the joint efforts of ideological workers.

The present phase of the ideological cooperation among socialist countries witnesses steadily growing attention to collectively elaborating pressing problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. Joint conferences and symposiums are proving to be effective forms of cooperation in the social sciences. A key element of ideological cooperation is the coordination of the work of the mass media, of which the basic forms are conferences and meetings of the heads of television and radio networks, information agencies, unions of journalists, and publishing houses of socialist states. In the framework of ideological cooperation much attention is devoted to exchanges of experience of ideological education, in which a growing role is played by the links between cities, industrial facilities, and so on.

Cultural cooperation between socialist countries has become a means of drawing peoples closer together and strengthening friendship between them. This cooperation enriches the cultural life of peoples and powerfully promotes the rapid and all-sided development of national cultures, science, and technology. Exchanges of theatrical troupes and other creative collectives, mutual visits by eminent personalities in national literature and art, the publication of books, and exchanges of films, and radio and television programmes are helping millions of people to get a better knowledge of the culture of socialist nations. Thousands of undergraduate and hundreds of graduate students from other socialist countries study in the USSR. Many fraternal countries exchange undergraduate and graduate students.

The academies of sciences of socialist countries jointly study problems of mutual interest, extend scientific assistance to each other, and coordinate research. There is a Standing Conference of Academies of Sciences' Vice-Presidents on social sciences, which coordinates the basic areas of research into pressing problems by international teams of scientists.

Cooperation among socialist countries is spreading to many new areas. An example is the Intercosmos Programme. Space flights by crews of cosmonauts from the USSR and other socialist countries have become a regular practice.

The CPSU and other fraternal parties are steering a course to make production, scientific, and technological cooperation among socialist countries more intensive and effective in the 1980s, in the interests of each participating country and of the community as a whole. In this context the exchanges of expertise in organising and managing production and resolving economic problems are of great and growing significance.

2. STRENGTHENING UNITY AMONG SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Experience compellingly bears out that the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries are the decisive factor of the successful building of socialism and communism. The asserting of independence and the striving to draw nations closer together in the socialist community do not conflict with each other but are rather two aspects of the single process of the formation and development of world socialism. Any weakening of the links between socialist countries, particularly friction between them, increases the potentiality of the imperialist countries in their attacks on peace, the working-class and national liberation movements, and the socialist world system.

Unity among socialist countries in a close-knit family ensures the defence of the socialist achievements of the peoples of these countries, guarantees their freedom and independence, and creates a powerful barrier to the unleashing of another war. The socialist community is steadily building up socialism's advantages, assures political and economic independence to each country, ensures equality between nations and the rational utilisation of material and natural resources, and speeds up the development of each of its member-states.

Unity among socialist countries is a key condition also for the successful development of the international working-class and national liberation movements. The Main Document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties states that the "successes of socialism, its impact on

the course of world events and the effectiveness of its struggle against imperialist aggression largely depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Unity of action of the socialist countries is an important factor in bringing together all anti-imperialist forces." One can well appreciate why such immense attention is focused on strengthening the unity of socialist states by the Marxist-Leninist parties of these states and by the communist movement as a whole.

The common social nature of the socialist states creates conditions conducive for their further political and economic consolidation. The organic unity of the general laws and the various forms of building socialism comes to light with the improvement of socialism's economic system and of its political institutions.

A correct approach to problems of the general and the particular in the building of socialism is linked not only to questions related to the creation of the new society in each country but also to the organisation of cooperation between them. When some leaders reduce everything to and absolutise local specifics, this can lead to disregard of the general laws of the building of socialism. In such cases the inevitable distinctions in the organisation of society's life spread and may become an obstacle to cooperation between countries.

The peoples of socialist states have glorious traditions of joint revolutionary struggle and solidarity. But account must be taken of the fact that for centuries on end the exploiting classes have been fueling discord between nations and counterposing the culture of one nation to that of another.

One of the causes of the difficulties in the development of the socialist world system is that the various countries belonging to the socialist system began their progress towards socialism from different initial levels. Socialist-community countries, especially the Soviet Union, have to spend a portion of their national wealth to ensure the defence of socialist achievements.

These are objective difficulties. But there also are subjective difficulties arising from errors, chiefly from subjectivism in politics. Disregard of the socialist community's common interests, especially the use of difficulties to attain nationalistic ends, is particularly dangerous.

In the socialist world there still are many unresolved problems. It is developing through a struggle with the old, through the settlement of contradictions. The experience that has been accumulated helps the fraternal parties to resolve contradictions correctly and opportunely, to benefit by each other's concrete experience at all levels of governmental, public, economic, and cultural life. In this context

it would be well to recall Lenin's words that "only by a series of attempts—each of which, taken by itself, will be one-sided and will suffer from certain inconsistencies—will complete socialism be created by the revolutionary co-operation of the proletarians of *all* countries".¹ This task is being tackled today on large expanses of the globe, in the socialist world system, which has become the determining factor of humanity's social progress.

The contradictions that arise between individual countries in the socialist world system differ fundamentally from the contradictions in the capitalist world system, in the same way that the contradictions of socialism differ fundamentally from those of capitalism.

Given that they pursue correct, Marxist-Leninist policy, parties and states have every possibility for opportunely resolving whatever contradictions that may arise, for coordinating opinion, and for strengthening relations between socialist countries in keeping with the principles of full equality, mutual benefit, and comradely mutual assistance.

Relative to socialist countries the CPSU steadfastly complies with the tested rule that affairs must be conducted in a spirit of genuine equality and commitment to the success of each other, and that decisions must be adopted that conform to national and international interests. Whatever problems arise they have to be resolved in a spirit of strengthening friendship, unity, and cooperation.

The policy pursued by the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties is aimed at further reinforcing the unity of socialist countries and all-sidedly promoting cooperation between them. On the basis of exchanges of experience this cooperation has made it possible to tackle fundamental problems of socialist and communist construction, develop the most expedient forms of economic and cultural links, and define the general line in foreign policy.

Friendship and cooperation are underscored in the constitutions of fraternal countries. These lofty principles are proclaimed in the 1977 Constitution of the USSR as the foundation of the Soviet Union's relations with socialist countries.

By strengthening unity the family of socialist countries accelerates social progress and creates ever more favourable conditions for improving the political climate in the world, curbing the arms race, and fostering the success of the struggle of the peoples for peace, security, national independence, and socialism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "'Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 346.

Part IV

DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE GRADUAL TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM

Chapter 16

DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE LAWS OF ITS EVOLUTION INTO COMMUNISM

Developed socialism is a special, objectively necessary and long stage on the road to communism. Every socialist country has first to consolidate itself and achieve maturity in order to allow for its further advance towards communism.

1. BASIC FEATURES OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Developed socialism is an integral whole, in which the economy, society's socio-class structure, political life, and culture are in harmony. At the stage of developed socialism the restructuring of the entire spectrum of social relations on the basis of principles implicit in socialism is consummated. The key indications distinguishing a developed socialist society are: full scope for the operation of the laws of socialism, and for demonstrating its advantages in all areas of society's life, the organic integrity and dynamism of the social system, its political stability and unbreakable internal unity.

"At this stage," states the USSR Constitution, "when socialism is developing on its own foundations, the creative forces of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are becoming increasingly evident, and the working people are more and more widely enjoying the fruits of their great revolutionary gains."

Economy of Developed Socialism

In terms of its economy, developed socialism differs from the preceding stage when the foundations of socialism have

been built. This difference is that although in principle the relations of production and the economic laws remain unchanged, *the magnitude of the productive forces grows many times over.*

The enhanced productive forces create the possibility of turning the economy towards satisfying the material and cultural requirements of people ever more fully. The 27th Congress of the CPSU (1986) endorsed a strategic policy of acceleration of the country's socio-economic development. In substance it means a new quality of growth: an all-out intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, structural modernisation of the economy, effective forms of management and of organising and stimulating labour. In turn, the shift from extensive to intensive factors of reproduction presumes *an organic coupling of scientific and technological achievements with the advantages of the socialist economic system*, which is likewise a characteristic feature of developed socialism.

An important feature of developed socialism is the *new, higher level of the socialisation of production and labour, the increasing convergence of state (the whole people's) and cooperative forms of socialist property.* In industry this is seen in the formation of production associations. In agriculture it is spelled out in the rise of the level of specialisation and concentration of production on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration, in the creation of a single agro-industrial complex uniting agriculture and associated industries, in new types of associations linking state farms with collective farms, and farm-produce processing facilities with suppliers of raw materials.

An expression of the growing socialisation of production and labour is that the Soviet economy has become an integrated economic complex. The socialisation of the production process is now extending beyond national bounds and being embodied in the ever-closer economic integration of the socialist-community countries, in the mapping out and implementation of long-term plans for production specialisation and cooperation.

Society's Socio-Political Structure

Developed socialism is characterised by *profound changes in the social structure of Soviet society.* In the USSR there has been a striking numerical growth of the working class (it comprises two-thirds of the working population) and of the level of its public activity and political maturity. For the character of its work and social condition the collective-farm peasantry has drawn close to the working class. The

intelligentsia, which plays a steadily larger role in society's life, has become a major contingent of the Soviet working people. All the classes and social groups of Soviet society are gradually drawing closer together. The entire people is uniting around the working class, which is society's leading force. The revolutionary ideology and moral code of the working class, its collectivist psychology, and its interests and ideals are now becoming the hallmarks of all strata of Soviet society. Soviet society is united in socio-political and ideological terms.

With the advent of the stage of developed socialism the collective-farm peasantry and the people's intelligentsia firmly adopted the ideological and political stand of the working class. The socialist state entered a new stage of its development—it became an organisation of the whole people. The Constitution defines the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as "a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the country" (Article 1), while the Soviets are called Soviets of People's Deputies. The state of the whole people is a new, higher phase in the development of socialist democracy, ensuring efficient administration of all public affairs, a more active participation of the people in the life of the state, and the combination of the individual's actual rights and freedoms with a sense of civil responsibility.

Moreover, developed socialism is characterised by a further coming together of nations, by the continued promotion of fraternal cooperation between them. A new historic entity—the Soviet people—has taken shape on the basis of society's social and international unity. Economic growth provides the basis for the attainment of social aims. Founded on the successes achieved in economic development, the social policy pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet government is aimed at attaining the objectives related to the further drawing together of Soviet society's social groups and the all-sided development of the individual.

Cultural Life of Developed Socialist Society

Further, in a developed socialist society momentous changes take place in cultural life. In the first place, there has been a further consolidation of society's ideological unity, and Marxism-Leninism—the ideology of the working class, an ideology that had already become predominant at the initial stage of socialist construction—has now become the ideology of the whole people. In terms of their education level and cultural requirements all the social groups

and Soviet nations have significantly come together. They are united and intellectually inspired by Soviet national pride and socialist internationalism. One of the key social achievements is that in the USSR universal secondary education covers the entire rising generation. More than four-fifths of the people working in the national economy have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education.

Developed socialism is a necessary, natural, historically long, and generally indispensable stage that all countries have to pass through on the road to communism. The USSR is at the start of this long historical stage, which in turn will have its own phases, its own stages of growth. Only experience, living practice will show how long these stages will be and what specific forms they will assume. During the transition to socialism the sequence for the fulfilment of individual tasks may differ, depending on the inherited level of the productive forces. For instance, first the foundations for socialism were laid through industrialisation, and this was followed by the building of the material and technical basis of developed socialism in countries with a medium or less than medium economic development level. In industrialised states the sequences for tackling these tasks may be different. But even in such countries it will be necessary to tackle such complex tasks of building developed socialism as the scientific organisation of the whole of society's life in keeping with socialist principles, the mastering of the science of planning and managing the economy, and the shaping of citizens' socialist consciousness. Given all the distinctions of individual countries, a regularity common to all is that socialism has to go through definite phases of maturing and that only a developed socialist society provides the possibility for beginning the building of communism.

2. HIGHER PHASE OF COMMUNISM

The transition from socialism to communism is a process of all-sided social progress. Communism is a higher stage of society's economic, social, and intellectual maturity.

Features characterising the first and second phases of communist society were initially defined as a scientific prevision by Marx and Engels. They only outlined the higher phase of communist society. Lenin elaborated a scientifically substantiated plan for society's communist restructuring. Subsequently, when first in the USSR and then in other countries socialism became a social reality, the CPSU and other Marxist-Leninist parties specified the notions about the future society and the ways of building it in keeping with the international experience of development accumulated by

the socialist world system.

Since socialism and communism are the two phases of one and the same socio-economic formation, they naturally have features in common.

These common features account for the fact that socialism gradually evolves into communism. This transition does not require a revolutionary break-up of the socialist social system that has already been built. But it does require profound qualitative changes in all aspects of society's life. To have a correct understanding of socialism's evolution into communism, one must clearly see the objectively existing distinctions between them.

Communism rests on a qualitatively new material and technical basis. It gives people the most advanced and mightiest technology. A high level of production allows satisfying in full the steadily growing requirements of society and of all its citizens.

The development of the productive forces will serve as the foundation for the gradual reshaping of socialist into communist social relations. There will be no other property except communist property belonging to the whole people. Also, the character of distribution will undergo a change. The socialist principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" will be supplanted by the communist principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

The transition to communism signifies that all the features inherited from class-divided society and to some extent retained under socialism have been surmounted. Communism removes the remnants of the old forms of the social division of labour, the socio-economic and cultural distinctions and distinctions in everyday living conditions between town and countryside, and the essential distinctions between agricultural and industrial labour, and between labour by brain and labour by hand. Work will be not only a means of the growth of production, a means of subsistence, but will become a prime necessity of every person.

While socialism ends society's division into antagonistic classes and unites it socio-politically and ideologically, communism signifies the total disappearance of all class distinctions. Communist public self-administration is established gradually with the withering away of the state.

Communism brings the world the highest justice, basing it on lasting and steady economic well-being, on an abundance of material goods and cultural benefits for all people. While in exploiting societies wealth divides people, under communism it becomes a means asserting social justice. Economic progress will lead to total social equality.

Communism is incompatible with asceticism and crude egalitarianism. The communist movement came into being among the proletariat, which was one of the poorest and most oppressed classes, but its mission is not to perpetuate but put an end to poverty once and for all. A communist society can only be built on the basis of a huge growth of public wealth created by collective labour. Scientific notions of communism have nothing in common either with the hypocritical "philosophy" that poverty is a "boon" or with the bourgeois-philistine cult of possessions. Lenin pointed out that the communist distribution according to needs will require the highest development of the whole of social production and the harmonious, all-sided development of the communist individual working according to his ability and receiving according to reasonable, scientifically substantiated needs.

Communism is a society that combines a high level of economic, scientific, and technological development with the all-sided development of the people themselves, and material prosperity—with moral renewal and the steady perfection of the individual. Communism is a system in which the abilities, talents, and finest moral qualities of the free person are revealed to their fullest extent.

Socialism and communism have no barrier between them. To implement socialist principles consistently is to draw communism nearer. Every significant economic, political, or ideological achievement by a developed socialist society naturally, by virtue of its inner laws, gradually moves the country concerned towards communism.

Upon its assertion on a world-wide scale, communism will lead to the union of peoples into a single fraternal working family, to the eradication of state frontiers, and then to the total merging of nations. Communism will ensure lasting peace to the world.

3. BASIC LAWS OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

The transition from socialism to communism is a complex dialectical process involving significant economic, socio-political, and cultural changes in society's life. The development of each of these spheres is governed by a number of laws.

Universal Character of Basic Laws

The laws governing the building of communism are of international importance. In view of the fact that the social forms of the economy in the Soviet Union and other socialist

countries are of one and the same type, while the social forces—the working class, the cooperative peasantry, and the intelligentsia—are analogous, the basic laws of the building of communism are universal. These laws will manifest themselves in a distinctive manner, depending on the historical and national specifics of each country. In keeping with the key spheres of society's life they may be subdivided into three groups.

The main laws of the first group, implicit in the *economic sphere*, are: the all-sided and balanced growth of socialist society's productive forces ensuring the creation of the material and technical basis of communism; stable and high growth rates of the whole of social production on the basis of scientific and technological progress; the steady rise of labour productivity as an indispensable condition for the creation of an abundance of material goods; a fundamental remodelling of the character of labour through a qualitative reshaping of society's material and technical basis; the institution of the communist division of labour and the surmounting of the old forms of the division of labour; the conversion of agricultural work into a variety of industrial work; the uninterrupted development and improvement of socialist relations of production, the steadfast drawing together of the cooperative and state forms of property, and the formation of a single communist property; the combination of socialism's basic principle with increasingly visible elements of the future communist principle of distribution and, on that basis, the gradual transition to the principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

The party's economic strategy at the present stage and the efforts to enhance efficiency in production and improve the quality of output are directed in the long run towards the implementation of these laws of the building of communism.

The second group of laws, operating in the *socio-political sphere*, includes: the gradual drawing together of the various social groups, the erasure of all traces of division into classes and the attainment of a classless society; the eradication of the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by hand and labour by brain; the further florescence and comprehensive coming together of nations, and the attainment of a steadily closer unity of the Soviet people as a new historical entity; the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and the further growth of the guiding role of the Communist Party; the scientific regulation of social processes; the utmost unfolding of socialist democracy; the gradual evolution of socialist state-

hood into communist public self-administration; the reorganisation of everyday life in accordance with communist principles.

The third group of laws, related to *society's cultural life*, consists of: the adoption of the communist worldview and the communist moral code by all members of society; the inculcation of a communist attitude to work; the removal of survivals of the past from the thinking and behaviour of people and untiring resistance to bourgeois ideology; the further promotion of socialist culture; the harmonious, all-sided development of the individual; the steady growth in conscious creative effort of the people.

These laws are closely linked and interdependent. They will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters.

The transition to communism is accomplished depending on the presence of the needed material and cultural conditions, which take shape in the course of the consolidation and relatively long development of socialism.

In the Soviet Union individual shoots of communism, especially in the attitude to work, sprouted long before the complete triumph of socialism. The high level of consciousness of advanced working people laid the beginning for the communist subbotniks (voluntary workdays) and then for the mass socialist emulation movement. But Lenin warned against the mistaken view that the appearance of shoots of communism would make it possible to move on to communism at once. If this, Lenin said, were to be interpreted "to mean that the communist system is being introduced immediately that would be a great distortion and would do practical harm since it would be nothing more than empty boasting".¹ He made the point that any attempt to move from capitalism directly to communism would be no more than utopianism. Communism evolves gradually only after the consolidation and further development of socialism.

The CPSU holds that the principles of communism cannot be introduced prematurely—before the objective conditions for them are created. Subjectivist attempts to forestall events or to stop at what has been achieved can only damage communist construction.

While rejecting voluntaristic attempts to leap over necessary stages of the rise of communist society, Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the possibility of accelerating its development. The fatalistic view of history with its notion that history can be neither slowed down nor speeded up, a view that

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Report on Subbotniks Delivered to a Moscow City Conference of the R.C.P.(B.), December 20, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 285.

seeks justification in the fact that the march of time cannot be speeded up by moving forward the hands of the clock, is alien to scientific communism. Vigorous conscious activity by society's progressive forces has always accelerated society's progress. During the building of socialism and communism these forces have immeasurably greater possibilities for consciously influencing society's development. The advance to communism may be speeded up by perfecting the scientific guidance of society, by resolving society's economic, political, and cultural problems more successfully, by reinforcing the discipline and productivity of labour.

Hallmarks of the Establishment of Communism

Socialism evolves into communism within the framework of one and the same socio-economic formation. For that reason this evolution differs in principle from the transformation of capitalism into socialism. Here are some specifics of this evolution.

First specific. Whereas socialism arises out of capitalism through the latter's revolutionary transformation, communism arises on its own foundation, on the basis of socialism's development and consolidation. The transition to socialism presupposes the revolutionary negation of capitalism, the break-up and eradication of its foundations. The transition to communism is accomplished through the strengthening and further perfection of mature socialism.

Second specific. The process of the formation of communism is accomplished not through a collision of classes and nations, but through the further promotion and reinforcement of cooperation between friendly classes and nations. The transition from socialism to communism takes place in the absence of exploiting classes, under conditions in which all members of society are vitally interested in and consciously work for the establishment of communism. It is therefore natural that the building of communism proceeds on the basis of a further development of democracy and the improvement of social relations, in the process of the withering away of old and the rise of new forms of society's life.

Third specific. This is that the transition from socialism to communism is gradual. In *The Poverty of Philosophy* Marx noted that after class antagonisms disappeared social evolutions in society would cease to be political revolutions. Enlarging upon this thesis, Lenin wrote that "socialism must inevitably evolve gradually into communism".¹ The evolution

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 85.

of socialism into communism is precisely the process which goes on gradually, without political revolutions and social upheavals.

The gradualness of the transition to communism is due to the character of the mode of production underlying both phases of communist society. Social property in the means of production, which forms the foundation of socialist production relations, is further developed rather than abolished during the transition to communism. Gradualness is thus a vital form of society's progress towards communism.

*Need to Reinforce the Principles of Socialism
for the Transition to Communism*

One of the principal conditions for the transition to communism is that the principles of socialism are all-sidedly reinforced and developed. In the process of communism's evolution from its first into its second phase, the shoots of communist relations that have sprouted combine with the still prevailing socialist relations. For instance, embryos of communist distribution through social consumption funds are combined with socialist distribution according to work, which is predominant and remains the basic source of the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements over the course of a long period. The increasing remuneration for the labour of factory and office workers and the growth of the collective farmers' incomes in kind and in cash are the basic way for raising the people's standard of living. Social consumption funds grow steadily while the cardinal principle of distribution according to work persists and is reinforced, and the personal material incentive of the working people is taken into account. At each stage of society's development it is important to correctly combine the principles of socialism with the increasingly more visible communist features and remember that the transition to communism can only be achieved through the consolidation and perfection of the principles of socialist society.

Communism presupposes the further development of the key features common to both phases of the new society and, at the same time, the disappearance of some historically transient features of socialism. For instance, under communism there will be no need for distribution according to work, the need to control the measure of labour and the measure of consumption of each working person will fall away, and ultimately trade and money, that play a significant role under socialism, will be unnecessary. Here one may ask whether these transient features of socialism could not be dropped more quickly in order to speed up the transition

to communism? Whether, in view of the growth of people's consciousness, it is not time to abandon the principle of personal material incentives in work? And whether the transition to distribution according to needs should not be made immediately?

The transition to communism is accomplished not by abolishing or abandoning the principles of socialism but by consolidating and making the utmost use of them. If, for example, an attempt were made to introduce the communist principle of distribution in the absence of the relevant material conditions this would undoubtedly lead to egalitarianism, which dilutes incentives for work. The switch to the communist principle of distribution according to needs can only be made through the reinforcement of the socialist principle of distribution according to work, through the consistent use of this principle to develop production more rapidly. It is only through the development of socialist-organised trade, through the use of all the potentialities of this form of economic relations that the conditions can be prepared for communist distribution.

The same may be said of the two forms of socialist property. Communism presupposes a transition to single property belonging to the whole people. But this should not be taken to mean that cooperative property can simply be renounced. This transition requires the all-sided development and strengthening of both state and cooperative property. Party resolutions underline the need for the utmost development and strengthening of cooperative property so that it could, with the assistance of the socialist state, gradually draw close to and then fuse with the whole people's property.

Consequently, for the transition to communism it is necessary to use and strengthen the principles of socialism.

Relationship Between the Basic Tasks of Communist Construction

The building of communism involves the fulfilment of the following basic tasks: the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the reshaping of socialist into communist social relations, the moulding of the new citizen, and the promotion of the socialist way of life. These tasks, spelled out in documents of the CPSU, reflect the requirements of the objective laws of socialist society's development towards communism.

The party gives priority to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism. Changes in all other aspects of society's life depend upon the growth of production.

The promotion of socialist production is the key to resolving the fundamental socio-political problems of communist construction.

The building of the material and technical basis of communism ultimately leads to the evolution of socialist into communist relations of production and, consequently, to the erasure of the distinctions between the working class and the peasantry and between these classes and the intelligentsia, and to changes in the relations between nationalities. The reshaping of the economy and of society's class structure serves as the foundation for the further development and perfection of all aspects of social relations. Society's socio-political and ideological unity creates a solid foundation for the all-sided unfolding of socialist democracy and for the evolution of socialist statehood into communist public self-administration.

The formation of communist social relations has a feedback effect on the building of the material and technical basis of communism and facilitates the accelerated development of the productive forces.

On the creation of the material and technical basis of communism and the fashioning of communist social relations depends the fulfilment of other basic tasks of communist construction—the moulding of the new citizen and the development of the socialist way of life. As progress is made towards an abundance of material and cultural wealth, towards gradually attaining communist equality, and towards bringing the socialist way of life to maturity, there will be an acceleration of the process of erasing survivals of the old in the thinking and behaviour of people, of the process of converting labour into a prime vital necessity, and the process of revealing and fostering all of the individual's abilities. In turn, this will speed up the building of communism's material and technical basis and the shaping of communist social relations.

Chapter 17

BUILDING THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS OF COMMUNISM AND THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

The scientific and technological revolution is unfolding in the epoch of humanity's transition from capitalism to socialism. The planned utilisation of its breakthroughs is one of the crucial conditions for building the material and technical basis of communism in the USSR, for the creation of highly developed productive forces in other socialist countries, for the attainment by these countries of a high economic growth rate, and for socialism's victory in the economic competition with capitalism.

1. CREATION OF THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS AS THE MAIN ELEMENT IN THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM

We value communism, Lenin noted, only when it is substantiated economically. The building up of highly developed social production capable of creating an abundance of material and cultural goods is a universal law of the transition from socialism to communism.

Distinctive Features of Communism's Material and Technical Basis

The mode of the production of material goods is the foundation of society's existence and development. Its most mobile and revolutionary element consists of the productive forces, of implements of labour in the first place. Their modification inevitably leads to a reshaping of the economic and all other relations in society. Marx wrote that "the social relations within which individuals produce, *the social relations of production, change, are transformed, with the*

change and development of the material means of production, the productive forces ".¹

This general sociological law, brought to light by Marx, operates in the communist formation as well. In accordance with this law, in order to accomplish the transition to communism it is necessary to build the material and technical basis of communist society.

Compared with capitalism, communism is a much higher stage in the development of the productive forces. In quantitative terms, the potential of its material and technical basis will be much greater than that of capitalism. This will ensure to all members of society an abundance of material and cultural goods and the introduction of the communist principle of distribution according to needs. This will be attained by a multiple growth of production assets, chiefly as a result of the intensification of production, the enhancement of its efficiency, and a huge growth of the productivity of social labour. "Communism," Lenin wrote, "is the higher productivity of labour—compared with that existing under capitalism—of voluntary, class-conscious and united workers employing advanced techniques."²

Moreover, communism's material and technical basis will have qualitative distinctions as well, demonstrating its indisputable superiority over the most highly industrialised capitalism. The most important of these distinctions include:

- the fullness and comprehensiveness of the processes of electrification, mechanisation, and automation of production and management, and the industrialisation of all branches of the national economy and everyday services;

- the optimal structure of social production and the harmonious proportionate development of all branches of the national economy—the existence of highly-developed heavy, light, and food industries, agriculture, transport, communications, building industry, trade, and public utilities and everyday services;

- the rational location of the productive forces and the most balanced development of the various regions;

- the most efficient and rational use of natural, material, and labour resources, and concern for their economical utilisation and reproduction;

- the planned scientific organisation of production, labour, and management on the scale of the whole of society.

Communism, Lenin wrote, "requires and presupposes the greatest possible centralisation of large-scale production

¹ Karl Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, p. 212.

² V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 427.

throughout the country".¹ At the same time, a harmonious combination of sectoral and territorial management of the economy is implicit in communism. All this ensures the comprehensive development of the material and technical basis, which is something that is out of capitalism's reach.

The bourgeoisie makes fairly wide use of scientific and technological achievements, of the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution, if they bring large profits. At the same time, it seeks to turn science into a servant of militarism and in many ways inhibits scientific and technological progress, especially in periods of economic crisis. It is only under communism that science becomes, in the full sense of the word, a direct productive force, while production spells out the technological utilisation of scientific advances. Science's organic coupling with production and rapid scientific and technological progress are hallmarks of communism's material and technical basis, thanks to which people acquire incomparably more control over nature and the possibility arises of managing nature's elemental forces more effectively.

The building of the material and technical basis of communism requires, of course, a more perfect production worker. For that reason the material and technical basis of mature communist society presupposes also people with a higher level of culture and technical skill.

Communism's material and technical basis grows out of the material and technical basis of mature socialism through the latter's further development and improvement. The trends and features characterising the gradual formation of elements of communism's material and technical basis are taking shape in developed socialist society.

The practical perfection of developed socialism tends to enrich and concretise our notions about the orientations and forms of the building of communism's material and technical basis. Comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes are steadily extended to embrace not only basic but also ancillary sectors of production. Industrial methods are employed ever more widely in agriculture, construction, and everyday services. The structure of the national economy is growing increasingly more progressive and dynamic. Automated management systems are being installed at factories and in entire industries. The advantages of large production associations and science-production complexes are becoming more and more visible. We are witnessing the formation of agrarian-industrial associations and complexes

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Comments on the Draft 'Regulations for the Management of the Nationalised Enterprises'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 96.

in which the problem is being resolved of achieving "a higher synthesis in the future, viz., the union of agriculture and industry"¹ inherent in communist production. A major role in speeding up the building of communism's material and technical basis is played by the growing economic integration of the socialist-community countries.

*Foundation for the Reshaping of Social Relations
and the Development of the Individual*

Implements of labour operate only in conjunction with people. For that reason the creation of new productive forces inevitably affects the producers of material goods and the entire system of social relations. As a consequence, there is an extremely important socio-historical aspect to the building of communism's material and technical basis: it is the foundation for the reshaping of socialist into communist social relations and the development of the individual.

The creation of communism's material and technical basis makes it possible to raise labour productivity drastically and ensure an abundance of material and cultural goods, this being an indispensable condition for the transition to the communist principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs".

Raised to a high development level with the use of the most advanced technology, social production creates the material prerequisites for putting an end to all class distinctions as well as to the distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and labour by hand, for the further all-sided development and coming together of nations, and for the attainment of full social equality. With the building of communism's material and technical basis the content and character of human labour will change, socialist labour will evolve into communist labour, culture will rise to a new level, and the conditions will be created for the all-sided development of the individual.

Progress by the productive forces will ensure socialism's triumph in the economic competition with capitalism, reinforce the defence might of the USSR and the entire socialist community, and enable the Soviet Union to extend more economic assistance to socialist and developing countries. The experience of building the material and technical basis of the highest phase of communist society will be of inestimable international significance.

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 474.

2. THE MODERN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

The modern scientific and technological revolution constitutes a gigantic advance in humanity's knowledge of nature and utilisation of its laws in production. It signifies a radical restructuring of the technical foundation of production under the impact of scientific breakthroughs.

Global Character of the Scientific and Technological Revolution

The modern scientific and technological revolution differs substantially from the revolutions that took place in science and technology in the past. Previously, science and technology progressed largely in isolation from each other. Technical innovations were developed chiefly as a result of long empirical quests, while scientific discoveries were, as a rule, made sporadically and received no practical application for a long time. As a consequence, revolutions in science and revolutions in technology took place at different times. As distinct from the past, in our day the relationship between science and technology has undergone a dramatic change: scientific progress has become a direct prerequisite of technological progress. Major developments in science are speedily introduced in production. As a result, the *modern scientific and technological revolution simultaneously embraces science, technology, and their relationship with each other and with production.*

A feature common to former revolutions in science and in technology is that they were local: they were linked to individual scientific or technological breakthroughs and affected a relatively small area of society's life, science, or technology. The present-day scientific and technological revolution is *universal*: it is distinguished by an overall steep rise of scientific and technological development, by the *intensive* conversion of science into a direct productive force. This revolution profoundly influences material production, transport, construction, communication, the mass media, military affairs, society's social structure, the domestic and foreign policies of governments, international relations, education, ideology, everyday life, morals, and culture. Its effects extend to practically all areas of society's life.

The scientific and technological revolution opens up the possibility of radically modifying production methods, developing fundamentally new, highly productive implements of labour and effective materials. It leads to the creation of

new industries and provides unprecedented opportunities for enhancing efficiency of production as a whole.

Basic Directions of the Scientific and Technological Revolution

The modern scientific and technological revolution is, above all, a dramatic revolutionary advance in perfecting the main material element of production, namely, the implements of labour. Its development ushers in a new epoch in technology—the transition to automated machines and systems.

The way to automation had been paved by the preceding development of implements of labour, the advances made by modern science and technology, and the pressure for the further progress of the productive forces and of production as a whole. In the context of technology, the need for it is due to the circumstance that present-day production has to do with high operating velocities of machines, powerful forces of nature (nuclear energy, high-voltage electricity), and harmful working conditions, that exclude direct human participation in the technological process. It is an economic need because it ensures a significant increase in labour productivity and, at the same time, allows improving the quality of the output. Under socialism automation is made imperative by a social reason as well—the need to give the creative element of human labour a richer content and abolish labour-intensive processes.

In non-automated production the human being is involved directly in the technological process: his live labour complements the work of the machine, which dictates the content, rhythm, and speed of labour processes. As a result of automation, as Marx noted, “instead of being the principal agent of the process of production, the worker takes a place beside it”.¹ Automation puts the worker in a qualitatively new situation, assigning a higher function to him, but it does not exclude him from the process of production. The human being has been and remains the determining element of the productive forces.

From the history of the development of production we know that the human being performs the following functions in it: as the source of physical energy he sets the implements of labour in motion and uses them to affect the objects of labour; he controls and directs the production process; lastly, as the subject of production he perfects it on the

¹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf)*, 1857-1858, Verlag für fremdsprachige Literatur, Moskau, 1939, p. 592.

basis of scientific and technological achievements. The scientific and technological revolution changes the relationship between these functions: the first is reduced to a minimum, the second is diminished, while the role of the third grows significantly. Liberated from human physical limitations, which inhibit technological progress, it shifts the focus to intellectual activity. Lenin wrote: "There is nothing 'absurd' in replacing hand by machine labour: on the contrary, the progressive work of human technique consists precisely in this. The higher the level of technical development the more is human hand labour ousted, being replaced by machines of increasing complexity."¹

Automation takes the production worker beyond the boundary of the technological process and demands the transfer of some of the functions of control to special devices. Its development gave birth to cybernetics and electronic computer technology, whose rapid progress is a distinctive feature of the modern scientific and technological revolution.

Cybernetics and electronic technology are penetrating deep into all branches of the economy and into the whole of modern science. They are introducing qualitative changes not only in implements of labour—machines—but in production management, technological processes, planning, statistics and accounting, engineers' computations, and so on.

The development of automation and comprehensive mechanisation and the steadily growing output of all sorts of machines are increasing the demand for energy. Priority for its production is a crucial condition for uninterrupted technological progress. This is what makes exploration for new sources of energy a constant pressing task for science. A major advance in science and technology in this respect is the development of ways of obtaining nuclear energy.

Electricity is the most universal type of energy making it possible to replace human labour with natural forces. This type of energy is the foundation of the growth of diverse branches of the economy, and of the development of all of the most advanced areas of modern science and technology: automation, telemechanics, electronics, electronic computers, radio, television, instruments for the study of elementary particles and space exploration, electronic microscopes, and much else. For that reason the continued build-up in the *output of electricity* on the basis of available hydro-resources and various kinds of fuel, including nuclear fuel, is a vital condition for creating the material and technical basis of communism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On the So-Called Market Question", *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 105.

The new era in the development of power engineering is linked to the utilisation of the energy of the atomic nucleus. An advantage of nuclear power stations is that they do not require large quantities of fuel. They allow supplying energy to areas that have no water resources or fuel deposits of their own. Even greater potentialities will be opened to power engineering with the solution of the problem of controlling thermonuclear synthesis. Soviet science has made a major step in that direction—it has produced the world's first-ever stable thermonuclear reaction.

An abundance of electrical energy will greatly increase the energy available to labour and boost labour productivity, one of the cardinal conditions for the transition to communism.

In addition to producing new implements of labour and sources of energy the scientific and technological revolution naturally introduces profound qualitative changes in the *technology of production*.

Automation, for instance, requires uninterrupted and more intensive processes. In this connection the scale of automated conveyor production is expanding, the operating velocities of machines are growing, and electronic methods of measurement and control are being introduced.

The scientific and technological revolution is also characterised by qualitative changes in the *objects of labour*: its progress is linked to the *development of artificial materials* with programmed properties.

In production a particularly significant role is played by plastics, chemical fibres, artificial crystals, and other materials. Their main supplier is chemistry. This makes the *chemicalisation of production* one of the key areas of present-day technological progress and a major means of creating communism's material and technical basis and promoting the living standard of the people.

Increasing quantities of products of the chemical industry are being used in heavy engineering, the electronics and light industries, construction, and the manufacture of household durables.

Chemistry is also a major factor of progress in agricultural production. The chemical industry produces mineral fertilisers and chemicals protecting plants against disease and pests. The use of its products creates conducive conditions for promoting efficiency and the intensification of agriculture, ensuring stable bumper harvests, increasing the output of livestock-breeding, and achieving a general rise in the whole of agriculture production.

The way to qualitative changes in the technological basis of production has been cleared by the development of modern *science*, which is going through a period of major

revolutionary changes. During the past several decades science has significantly widened the cognisable world and enlarged our knowledge with many important laws. It has *penetrated deep into the microworld* and is conducting research along a wide front into the microstructure of matter, the structure and laws of the atomic nucleus, elementary particles, the structure of protein molecules, micro-organisms and viruses, and learning the laws of atomic and nuclear reactions, the properties of plasma, the crystal lattice, and semi-conductors. A result of this has also been such scientific breakthroughs as the discovery of ways of obtaining nuclear energy, the swift development of electronics and the chemistry of polymers, the development of electronic computers and quantum generators, the laboratory synthesis of viruses, genes, ferments, and much else. Moreover, science's potentialities have been considerably widened with the penetration of scientific thinking into *outer space* and the exploration of circumsolar space.

Noteworthy changes have taken place in the *relationship between science and production*. In the past science was less closely linked to production. As a rule, it explained theoretically the technical process that had already been developed and helped to improve technology. At present it is steadily becoming the main element promoting the growth of the productive forces and of production as a whole, and determining the ways and means for developing new types of machines, new industries, and new types of products. As a result of this, the faster development of theoretical and experimental natural science relative to the growth of technology, and of technological innovation relative to the general development of production has become a vital necessity. *The growing role of science is one of the laws of present-day social development*. The production of knowledge is now of paramount significance for accelerating technological progress, enhancing the productivity of social labour, and expanding production.

Under the impact of society's requirements there has been a considerable acceleration of the development of science itself, the intensity of research has risen, the differentiation between sciences has grown, and new areas of science, especially at the junction of adjoining disciplines, have sprung up. There has been an upgrading of the role not only of the fundamental but also of the applied sciences.

With the role played by science rising significantly, changes have taken place in the organisation of scientific work. Whereas formerly research was usually the field of individual or small groups of scientists, today it is conducted by large teams. There is now more equipment at the disposal of

science. Such are the general features of the present scientific and technological revolution.

3. SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Bourgeois ideologues draw attention to some general features of the scientific and technological revolution developing under capitalism and socialism in order to prove their allegation that its effects are similar in both social systems. But they say absolutely nothing of the fact it does not directly change the form of property prevailing in society. Yet it is the form of property that is the economic foundation on which this revolution develops. Since socialism and capitalism have antipodal forms of property there are fundamental distinctions in the way the scientific and technological revolution develops in these societies; its social effects are markedly different in capitalist and socialist countries.

Social property in the means of production, science and technology in the service of the working people, a planned economy, stably high rates of the growth of production, the concentration of enormous financial and material resources in the hands of the state, unity among the people, and power by the working people create the most conducive conditions and opportunities for the development of the scientific and technological revolution under socialism.

In the period of improvement of developed socialism, this revolution receives the most propitious conditions for development because its objective processes coincide with the aspirations of society as a whole. Scientific and technological achievements are used directly in the consciously managed process of building communism's material and technical basis—the foundation for the perfection of socialist social relations and the all-sided development of the individual. This fosters the revolution's fullest unfolding and determines the character of its social effects.

Of course, the existence of favourable conditions does not mean that under socialism the scientific and technological revolution can develop successfully of itself, easily and freely, without difficulties and contradictions. The purposeful promotion of scientific and technological progress is a complex problem whose solution requires considerable material resources and a large effort by the party, the government, the economic agencies, and the entire people. The CPSU set a task of enormous political significance, namely, *organically to fuse the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system*, to unfold more broadly intrinsically socialist forms of fusing

science with production.

In the period of developed socialism's perfection the utmost promotion of the scientific and technological revolution and the comprehensive utilisation of its achievements allow the building up of the powerful productive forces. The planned and rapid utilisation of scientific and technological achievements allows retooling the entire economy with more productive implements of labour, improving economic management and the technology of production processes, and developing new sources of energy. It allows changing the structure of production through the accelerated development of the most advanced industries, expanding the raw material base, and improving the quality of output.

Under capitalism the scientific and technological revolution is contradictory: on the one hand, it is the imperative of the further progress of the productive forces but, on the other, its development inevitably comes into irreconcilable conflict with the bourgeois relations of private property in the means of production. Spurred by the profit motive, the sharp rivalry, and the fear of losing the competition with socialism the imperialist bourgeoisie is quick to use scientific and technological achievements. But as the scientific and technological revolution progresses, it will be increasingly fettered by the bourgeois relations of private property.

In socialist countries the scientific and technological revolution is used in the interests of the working people and is a mighty factor of the progress of the whole of society. The application of its achievements speeds up the building of the material and technical basis of socialism, contributes to the rapid growth of labour productivity, and helps to increase social wealth and raise the people's living standard. Here scientific and technological progress is used to improve working conditions, shorten the working day, and promote the technical and cultural level of workers, peasants, and intellectuals. In a socialist society people are not afraid that the use of scientific and technological achievements in production will abolish their jobs. They are profoundly aware that scientific and technological progress is a boon to society, that it helps to create an even more powerful economy, shape communist social relations, and foster the all-sided development of the individual.

Under capitalism the contradiction between labour and capital is reflected also in scientific and technological progress: here scientific discoveries and technical inventions serve not society as a whole but the capitalist monopolies, which use them as a means of making new, larger profits and further intensifying exploitation. "In capitalist society," Lenin wrote, "progress in science and technology means

progress in the art of sweating.”¹ As a result, the working people of that society have no direct interest in scientific and technological progress.

In capitalist society technological progress hurts the working people in yet another respect: it inescapably leads to a growth of unemployment. The bourgeoisie has already turned huge numbers of factory workers, farmers, and white-collar workers into “redundant” people: unemployment has become chronic, and it cannot be eradicated under capitalism. The development of automated machinery still further increases this already huge reserve army of labour. Young people who are only just beginning life and therefore do not have the needed skills are particularly hard hit by unemployment. Without even ever having had a job, many of them find themselves among the permanently unemployed.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is unable to put the scientific and technological revolution in the service of working people. It gives that revolution an anti-humane thrust. This is seen most strikingly in the fact that monopoly capital uses this revolution to intensify the exploitation of working people, whip up militarism, and prepare for wars of aggression.

In a socialist society the scientific and technological revolution is one of the main factors promoting the shaping of communist social relations and the all-sided development of the individual. The building of communism’s material and technical basis with the use of this revolution’s achievements will ensure the necessary conditions for erasing the remaining essential distinctions between town and countryside. Moreover, this revolution will help to create the material and technical conditions for turning labour into creative activity, which is an objective prerequisite for transcending the essential distinctions between labour by brain and labour by hand. A cardinal outcome of the scientific and technological revolution—the automation and comprehensive mechanisation of production—serves as the material foundation for the evolution of socialist into communist labour. Lastly, this revolution is helping to erase the social distinctions between the various classes and strata of socialist society, to draw fraternal peoples closer together.

In capitalist countries the scientific and technological revolution accentuates society’s polarisation into rich and poor, and aggravates the conflicts between them. Having immense resources, the large corporations introduce scientific and technological innovations quicker into production, and this enables them to ruin small and medium businessmen and

¹ V. I. Lenin, “A ‘Scientific’ System of Sweating”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, p. 595.

push them into the ranks of the working people. The social abyss and class antagonisms between labour and capital deepen. Hence the mounting contradictions and the growing class struggle. Young working people, who are subjected to super-exploitation and see no future for themselves in the world of private property, join the struggle ever more militantly.

In the community of socialist countries the scientific and technological revolution is one of the key factors helping to level up the economic development of these countries. In line with the principles of proletarian internationalism, the socialist countries with a higher level of industrialisation help the less developed states to speed up the growth of industry and power engineering, share with them the results of their research, and turn technical documentation over to them. The most pressing problems of science and technology are tackled through the joint efforts of scientists of different countries. The specialisation and cooperation of production on the basis of the Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration enable each socialist country to make the fullest use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in industries for whose development it has the necessary resources. Lastly, the loans that the less developed socialist countries receive on easy terms from those that are more industrialised play a significant part in furthering technological progress and evening out economic development levels.

The opposite is inherent in the capitalist system: scientific and technological progress further widens the gap in the economic development levels of individual countries. This is exemplified most glaringly by the example of industrialised and underdeveloped capitalist countries. The former have large material resources and are hence able to draw upon large funds in order to retool industry and foster scientific and technological progress. These countries are making rapid technological headway. On the other hand, countries with a low economic development level cannot allocate sufficient funds for scientific and technological progress. Besides, the appearance of artificial materials is making it difficult for them to market their natural raw materials, and this seriously hits their budget. They lag increasingly behind the advanced capitalist states in terms of technical equipment and the growth of industrial output. Taking advantage of this, the imperialist powers are going to all lengths to subordinate the underdeveloped countries to their own economies, turn these countries into an object of intensified exploitation, and still further inhibit their development. Socialism is the only system that can open for them the way to speedy material and cultural progress.

Chapter 18

SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S SOCIO-CLASS STRUCTURE AND THE WAYS FOR ATTAINING FULL SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY

Socialist society consists of two friendly classes—the working class and the cooperative peasantry—and the people's intelligentsia. A universal law of communist construction is the gradual erasure of socio-class distinctions and the attainment of full social homogeneity.

1. CLASS DISTINCTIONS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The process of the erasure of social distinctions between workers and peasants and between workers by brain and workers by hand takes place on the basis of the development of the productive forces, the rise of social labour productivity, the perfection of the relations of production, the growth of society's material and cultural wealth, and the rise of the population's cultural level.

In the USSR and most of the other socialist countries there are no classes that appropriate the labour of others. The working class and the peasants have undergone fundamental changes in the course of the building of socialism.

The *working class* is no longer a class denied means of production and compelled to sell its labour to capitalists. Together with the whole people it owns the means of production and is free of exploitation. In socialist society its proportion to the other strata in numerical terms grows steadily. In the USSR today there are nearly 80 million workers, a figure amounting to two-thirds of the working population. The qualitative composition and cultural level of the working class have undergone a change. A worker of a new type, who combines a high cultural and technical level with a creative attitude to work and a sense of social duty is emerging in developed socialist society and under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution. Three in every four workers have a higher or secondary (complete or incomplete)

education, while ten years ago these numbered somewhat over 50 per cent of the total workforce. Two-thirds of the workers now employed in production learn their skills at vocational schools.

Profound changes have been undergone under socialism also by the Soviet *peasantry*. Liberated from landowner and kulak exploitation, it is running large-scale socialist agricultural enterprises based on advanced science and technology. The working peasantry has become a socialist class. Its spiritual make-up has changed fundamentally and its cultural level has risen. Its psychology is collectivist and it is devoted to communism.

The working class and cooperative peasantry of socialist countries have common basic interests and aims. But they are still different classes.

Let us consider the essence of the surviving class distinctions. Between the workers and peasants there are distinctions in their relations to the means of production. The labour of workers is linked to the whole people's, state property, while the labour of the cooperative peasants is linked, with the exception of the land (which belongs to the whole people), to group, cooperative property.

There are some distinctions in the sphere of distribution as well. The forms and level of remuneration for labour and social security of peasants still differ from the forms of remuneration for labour and social security of factory and office workers. At the collective farms this depends on the incomes of the given farm. Moreover, a feature of the condition of the cooperative peasants is that they each have a subsidiary small-holding, which plays a considerable role in the output of farm products and influences the size of their incomes.

Between the working class and the peasantry, on the one hand, and the *intelligentsia*, on the other, there still are some essential distinctions linked chiefly to the nature of labour by hand and labour by brain. In socialist societies there now is a working intelligentsia that differs fundamentally from the intelligentsia of bourgeois society. The socialist intelligentsia has economic interests and ideological views in common with the workers and peasants. On account of scientific and technological progress its numerical strength is growing rapidly. In the USSR one in every four working persons is linked mainly to labour by brain. The intelligentsia plays an important role in organising and managing production and in meeting society's socio-cultural requirements. In terms of its social status it is not a class because unlike the working class and the cooperative peasantry it does not have a relationship of its own to the means of production.

The changes that have taken place in the condition of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals have led the alliance between the workers and peasants to develop into a lasting alliance between the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia, between all workers by hand and by brain. This alliance is the mainspring and guarantee of further progress in developed socialism's advance towards a classless, socially homogeneous society. The working class has the leading role to play in this process by virtue of the place held by it in social production and the resultant unity and organisation. The working class is the most consistent protagonist of socialist consciousness.

The drawing together of classes and social groups, the development of the Soviet people's distinctive moral and political characteristics, and the consolidation of their social unity are taking place on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, which expresses the socialist interests and communist ideals of the *working class*.

The changes we have noted have taken place in all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the multinational Soviet Union. The shaping of a homogeneous socio-class structure in all the republics and the coming together of nations and nationalities have led to the formation of an entirely new socio-historic international entity—the Soviet people.

There are distinctions in the social structure of socialist countries, distinctions that are due to the historical past and the economic development level. However, the basic orientations of this structure's change coincide in all countries building socialism. Socialist construction leads to the abolition of exploiting classes, a significant growth in the proportion of workers and intellectuals, and the unification of individual peasants and artisans into cooperatives.

The fact that the countries in which socialism has been established have relations of production of one and the same type determines the qualitative identity of their social structure: their population consists of a working class, a cooperative peasantry, and an intelligentsia. In some socialist countries there still are petty-bourgeois strata. The distinctions in the development level of the productive forces determine the dissimilar numerical correlation of these social groups. In a number of countries, including the USSR, the working class did not comprise the majority of the employed population at the time socialism triumphed. Today the proportion of factory and office workers in the employed population of the USSR is almost similar to that of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. The growth of the productive forces is accompanied by a levelling out of the social composition of the socialist countries.

2. WAYS FOR ADVANCING TO CLASSLESS SOCIETY

Communism is a classless society. However, as the experience of Soviet society demonstrates, a classless structure arises mainly and chiefly within the historical bounds of the long period of perfection of mature socialism.

The surmounting of socio-class distinctions does not impinge upon the interests of any class or social group of socialist society. On the contrary, all classes and social groups benefit by this. For that reason the process of the eradication of socio-class distinctions takes place under conditions of cooperation and mutual assistance among workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals. For the abolition of class distinctions there has to be a further gigantic growth of the given country's productive forces, an increase of the labour productivity, and a perfection of socialist social relations.

Perfecting the Relations of Property

In a developed socialist society there are two forms of socialist property in the means of production: state property (belonging to the whole people) and collective-farm and cooperative property. Two classes—the working class and the cooperative peasantry—are linked to these two basic forms of property. Full equality of all members of society relative to the means of production will be attained with the establishment of a single type of property—that of the whole people. The nature of both forms of property excludes exploitation of man by man and spells out collective, planned economic management, economic interests common to the workers and peasants, and a durable alliance between these friendly classes. The socialist character of state and cooperative property makes for their convergence and fusion in single communist property of the whole people.

The dissimilar relation to the means of production, expressed in the existence of two forms of property, is the main indicator of socialist society's division into classes. Thus, the drawing together and fusion of these two forms of property is ultimately the decisive factor finally eradicating class distinctions.

The fusion of these two forms of property into single property of the whole people will take place not by any mechanical remaking of collective farms into state farms.¹ Practice shows that there are other ways, for example, agro-industrial integration and the development of inter-collective-

¹ In the USSR a *state farm* is a large state-run agricultural production facility.

farm and collective-state farm associations.

At the stage of developed socialism the perfection of property relations signifies chiefly the growth of the proportion of the whole people's property in the means of production as a result of a dramatic expansion of socialist industry, transport, communications, and state power grids. In parallel, socialist relations of production are perfected in the countryside as well, and the socialisation level of agricultural production rises. This process is characterised by further specialisation and concentration on the basis of cooperation between production units, agro-industrial integration, the growth of the economic and social role of the whole people's property in the countryside, its further convergence with cooperative property, the setting up of inter-farm organisations with the participation of collective farms and state-run enterprises, and the formation of agro-industrial complexes. Changes of the form of labour organisation and remuneration of collective farmers and the spread to them of the social security system established for factory and office workers are of no little significance. The collective-farm peasantry is drawing closer to the working class in terms of socio-economic status and the character of labour. The labour of collective farmers is linked increasingly to the use of machinery and electric power. In rural communities there is a steadily growing number of operators of tractors, lorries, and other machines.

The formation of single property of the whole people will result in the means of production belonging to the whole of society and in management being placed entirely in its hands. There will no longer be a division of people into groups in accordance with their relation to the means of production, in other words, classes will disappear. Property belonging to the whole people will become the sole foundation of social production.

Conversion of Labour into a Prime Necessity

Communism's historic designation is to make labour a prime vital need of all members of society. This means, in particular, that people have to learn to work without expecting remuneration.

What, in this case, will be the incentive to work?

The ideologues of anti-communism assert that along with private property socialism destroys incentive, enterprise, and economic activity. Actually, it is capitalism, having concentrated wealth in the hands of mammoth monopolies and promoting private-property enterprise, that kills the interest of the proletarians in the social results of their work and

deprives them of incentives. The wealth created by the working class becomes a force alien to it. Socialism, on the other hand, by abolishing private property, gives the working people a common incentive for promoting social production.

As a rule, in bourgeois society the labour of only a few "lucky" categories of people, chiefly the scientific, technical, and artistic intelligentsia (and even then only a section of that intelligentsia), can claim social recognition. Most of the people in these professions experience the cultural, material and political oppression of capitalism. For workers labour has always been only a means of earning a livelihood.

A person's attitude to his work depends primarily on who he is working for. If the facility is privately owned and people work in it by hire, the interests of this facility are alien to the working person. All he seeks is to earn a living. The worker works at a capitalist enterprise and complies with discipline out of fear of losing his job and finding himself without the means of a livelihood. In capitalist states the army of the unemployed numbers between 5 and 8 per cent of the workforce.

One of socialism's greatest achievements is that it gives every person the guaranteed right to work. Under these conditions work for the good of society, while being the source of welfare, is also the highest measure and criterion of an individual's merits and public prestige.

Socialism is the first-ever society to recognise the inestimable social significance of the labour of workers and peasants. By increasing society's wealth, a working person asserts his own personal merits—his place and role in society.

Under socialism, these circumstances create beneficial conditions for the gradual conversion of labour into a prime necessity of every person. Communism, Lenin noted, begins where ordinary working people show concern for the common good. "Communist labour in the narrower and stricter sense of the term," he wrote, "is labour performed gratis for the benefit of society, labour performed not as a definite duty, not for the purpose of obtaining a right to certain products, not according to previously established and legally fixed quotas, but voluntary labour, irrespective of quotas; it is labour performed without expectation of reward, without reward as a condition, labour performed because it has become a habit to work for the common good, and because of a conscious realisation (that has become a habit) of the necessity of working for the common good—labour as the requirement of a healthy organism."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "From the Destruction of the Old Social System to the Creation of the New", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 517.

But what is the need to work? It cannot be identified with the need for air, food, and so on. The need for air is purely physiological. Although the need for food, housing, and clothes develops under the impact of social production, it is above all an indispensable condition for the life of the organism. But the need to work is a social, a moral need. It is formed by social conditions and characterises the human being as a social being. A lofty sense of civic duty and the striving to resolve creatively socially significant production, technological, scientific, and other problems are what characterises the need to work, and these are the new, socialist incentives for work. In the process of building socialism and communism all of society's members acquire an inner need to work for the good of society voluntarily, by their own desire.

This attitude to social labour is widely and vividly manifested in the socialist emulation movement, which has become a method of building the new society and of communist education. The further development of this emulation is the movement for a communist attitude to work. This attitude expresses the people's concern for society's common interests, for the development of individuals, for achieving high production and technical indicators, for raising the level of education, and for promoting moral qualities.

Socialism has introduced a fundamental change in people's attitude to work. But there still are people who try to shun work. There are cases of breaches of labour discipline and of slipshod work. This is combated with determination by socialist society.

In order that all members of society have a high sense of responsibility for their work it is necessary, in the first place, to change the content of work: arduous, unskilled labour must be eliminated by means of mechanisation and automation, and labour by brain must be linked to labour by hand in production. The abolition of manual, unskilled, and heavy physical labour is not only an economic but also an important socio-political problem.

Further, it is necessary to achieve an abundance of material and cultural goods through a dramatic growth of labour productivity. It is only on this foundation that all members of society can be given a real opportunity to develop all their abilities.

To turn labour into a prime need it is indispensable to bring up highly educated people committed to communism and able to set society's interests above all else. While creating an abundance of material goods, socialist society strives to organise the intelligent, expedient utilisation of these

goods. If people do not have a sufficiently high level of spiritual culture, material well-being can develop into a force destroying the individual.

Perfecting the Relations of Distribution

In a socialist society moral and material incentives are combined judiciously. Enthusiasm and a lofty ideological commitment are generated by the fact that socialism brings people extensive social and political rights, by the fact that this society is built for the people's good.

Under socialism the welfare of the people grows steadily and the living standard of all groups of the population is being levelled up.

The experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries has revealed two basic orientations along which the welfare of the people is raised: first, the increase in remuneration in accordance with the quantity and quality of work; second, the growth of social consumption funds used to meet the requirements of every individual regardless of the quantity and quality of his work (education, public health, pensions, upkeep of children's institutions, and so forth). Remuneration for labour is the main source of the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements and will remain such for a long time.

The history of socialist construction knows of attempts to apply communist principles to distribution quicker for it seemed to be the easiest sphere to change. Hence the quests and delusions that led to the practical annulment of personal material incentives "for the sake of a speedy transition to communism". During the early years following the establishment of Soviet power there was a tendency to abolish payment for services and goods. For instance, free travel was introduced on the railways. In many agricultural communes consumer goods were distributed regardless of the personal contribution of individuals to the common work. In 1923 a general meeting of members of the Proletarskaya Volya Agricultural Commune, Stavropol Territory, passed a resolution stating: "Abolish the 'money incentive', which is to be regarded by the conscious commune member as insulting as was coercion with the cudgel in the bourgeois-slave epoch. Honouring heroes of labour is to be introduced instead." It was declared that the commune abided by the slogan: "From each according to his strength, to each according to his needs". Although attempts of this kind were motivated by the lofty striving to improve people's lives, they were not consistent with the country's level of socio-

economic development and could not be successful.

Any attempt at running ahead of development, at introducing communist forms of distribution without taking the labour contribution of each individual into account may and does generate undesirable phenomena. It has been shown, for instance, that the growth of remuneration should not outstrip the growth of labour productivity. This only gives rise to demands that cannot be met fully when the output level is inadequate, thereby sustaining the deficit with all its ugly consequences.

Strict compliance with the principle of distribution according to work fosters respect for labour as the first and sacrosanct duty of each person and gives people a personal material incentive to improve their skills and increase labour productivity. This fosters talent and accustoms people to work according to their abilities. Under socialism the main criterion for distribution can only be work—its quantity and quality. Violations of the principle of distribution according to work bring society face to face with unearned incomes, with shirkers, idlers, and people turning out sub-standard work, who live off the humanism of socialist society.

The role of distribution according to work in raising labour productivity and in educating builders of the new society grows in importance as the forms in which it is applied are perfected. Scientific and technological progress gives rise to new branches of production and forms of labour that replace the old forms or reduce their role in the economy. In this context, the social significance of the various forms of labour, i.e., what is called the "quality" of labour, changes, and this generates the need to bring remuneration into line with the new conditions. The point is that the level and forms of remuneration should reflect the qualitative and quantitative changes in the structure of labour as closely as possible and, in keeping with society's interests, most effectively provide an incentive to promote the growth of social production.

Collective material incentives are likewise of great significance. Lenin stressed the immense importance of maintaining a direct link between wages and the results of an enterprise's economic activity. The work of an individual is important to society only if it is embodied in the end product of the given enterprise and, consequently, remuneration more accurately conforms to the social significance of the labour of each individual if it is consonant with the enterprise's overall economic performance. Wages that depend on the performance of an enterprise, workshop, and team give each person an incentive in the results of the work of

the entire collective, help foster a team spirit, and make executives work more efficiently in managing production.

A result of the consistent implementation of the principle of distribution according to work is that "as soon as equality is achieved for all members of society *in relation* to ownership of the means of production, that is, equality of labour and wages, humanity will inevitably be confronted with the question of advancing farther, from formal equality to actual equality, i.e., to the operation of the rule 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'".¹

Communist distribution signifies that "a *different form* of activity, of labour, does not justify *inequality*, confers no *privileges* in respect of possession and enjoyment".² Under these conditions a person's reasonable needs become the basic measure of distribution. The principal objective of the work of communist society's planning agencies will be, apart from planning production, to study and take these needs into account and make provision for satisfying them.

The switch to distribution according to needs is not a willful act. It becomes possible and inevitable only when an abundance of objects of consumption has been achieved, when labour has become a vital need. Noting this, Engels wrote that "distribution, in so far as it is governed by purely economic considerations, will be regulated by the interests of production, and that production is most encouraged by a mode of distribution which allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality".³

The system under which the main sources and means of satisfying needs are social property and not the monopoly possession of individual persons or individual groups allows making the most rational use of society's wealth in the interests of the people as a whole, in the interests of satisfying and promoting the needs of each individual.

However, it takes a long time and considerable effort for society to go over to communist distribution, to full social equality. Society has to develop its productive forces to the level of the material and technical basis of communism. It has to develop in each working person a high level of consciousness, culture, professionalism, and the ability to make intelligent use of the benefits of socialism. As long as these conditions are non-existent, distributive relations and the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 477.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 537.

³ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, p. 239.

strictest control over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption have to be in the focus of the party, which guides socialist society.

3. SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY AND COMMUNIST EQUALITY

The perfection of social relations on the road to communism will find expression in the gradual erasure of class distinctions and of the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and labour by hand, in the all-sided florescence and coming together of the nations and nationalities inhabiting the USSR and the development of social homogeneity, and in the establishment of communist equality.

Evolution of Society's Social Structure

The erasure of socio-class distinctions followed by the total disappearance of society's division into classes is an objective process. The intensity of this process depends on the development level of the productive forces, changes in the character of labour, and the growth of the quantity of the material goods at society's disposal.

In championing the class rule of the bourgeoisie, the latter's ideologues endeavour to prove that society can never be socially homogeneous. They preach the "elite theory", which boils down to the thesis that society has always been and will always be divided into a "creative elite" and a "passive mob". The "elite" has the highest status by virtue of the individual abilities of its members. This "theory" is not new: ideas similar to it have been offered before. Plato justified the "right" of slave-owners to govern slaves; in medieval times the clergy contended that the feudals ruled by divine right.

The practice of building the new society in the USSR and other socialist countries gives the lie to the inventions of bourgeois ideologues that society's division into classes and social inequality are eternal. The degree of equality already achieved under socialism in the economic, political, and cultural condition of people strikingly refutes the assertions of bourgeois sociologists and shows that the founders of scientific communism were realistic in believing that class distinctions must disappear.

The erasure of socio-class distinctions and of the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and labour by hand, the all-sided drawing together of nations, and the attainment of full homogeneity do not mean that under communism there will be no distinc-

tions whatever between people engaged in different kinds of labour. Society can never do without the regulation of labour, without the distribution of people in branches of production. It will always need a certain number of people to produce machines, food, and clothes, to conduct research, to teach children and provide them with medical care, and so on. Marx wrote that "the volume of products corresponding to the different needs require different and quantitatively determined amounts of the total labour of society. That this *necessity* of the distribution of social labour in definite proportions cannot possibly be done away with by a *particular form* of social production but can only change the *mode* of its *appearance*, is self-evident."¹

People working in one branch of production, engaged in one and the same kind of work, will always have production interests and aims in common. They are united by the similarity of their experience and knowledge. They naturally have closer bonds among themselves than to people engaged in other kinds of labour. The common interest that links these people in a more or less homogeneous production group consists in the tackling of common production tasks and in the need to share experience. Such groups are neither constant nor closed. Their composition and numerical strength are fluid to the extent to which this conforms to the needs of social production.

Communism is the highest form of the organisation of society's life. Under it all production units, all self-managing associations will be united in a planned economy, in a single rhythm of social labour.

Communist Equality and the Diversity of Society's Life

In what way will the development of social homogeneity affect the character of people's common and personal interests? Will equality not lead to monotony in society's life?

The ideologues of anti-communism make a special effort to depict communist society as a barracks, in which all people live and act by a single timetable, where there is no room for diversity of thought, moods, and actions. This notion of communism has been invented to intimidate people and push them away from the communist movement.

The notions that the future society will be a realm of asceticism and monotony, standardisation, and egalitarianism are

¹ "Marx to Ludwig Kugelmann in Hanover, July 11, 1868", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 196.

incompatible with scientific communism. An egalitarian distribution was possible only in the primitive communal society; it was dictated by the low development level of the productive forces and the human being's helplessness in the face of nature. Egalitarianism and meagreness in distribution were preached by some utopian socialists. In their assessment of these ideas Marx and Engels noted that socialism cannot be built with asceticism and egalitarianism as its foundations.

The Marxists see equality as meaning the abolition of classes and class distinctions. The Communists are out to establish equality only in the social context, i.e., to give all people the same relationship to the means of production, equal conditions of work and distribution, and to ensure the active participation of all members of society in the management of its affairs. Any other interpretation of communist equality is a vulgarisation of Marxism. Lenin wrote that "when socialists speak of equality they always mean *social* equality, equality of social status, and not by any means the physical and mental equality of individuals".¹ Every person has his own combination of needs, and these needs will be more complex in the future. Equality spells out the satisfaction of the reasonable needs of every person and not that all persons should receive an equal quantity of similar goods.

Social homogeneity and equality of society's members do not at all signify the levelling of all people, of their interests and needs, and they do not erase individual qualities, distinctive talents, and inclinations. On the contrary, delivered from class distinctions and having the ability to produce an abundance of all goods, society acquires unlimited possibilities for the development of every individual, of all the working people. Social homogeneity and social wealth will become the foundation for the development of the new, incomparably richer diversity linked to distinctions in human activities for the good of society. Diversity of this kind is inexhaustible.

The basis for the diversity of society's life is chiefly production, scientific and technological progress. Uninterruptedly developing and creating new machines and technologies, it gives rise to more and more new kinds of work and produces more and more new kinds of consumer goods, thereby increasing the diversity of people's needs. If we were, for example, to compare the kinds of productive and social activity and the character of needs of the mid-nineteenth and the twentieth centuries we would clearly see how much they have expanded. This tendency will continue to

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Liberal Professor on Equality", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 146.

develop in the future as well.

From the distinctions in activity stems also the diversity of interests. Groups of people and individual persons take part in the attainment of common aims, performing some definite functions. Common interest is thus expressed in the specific interests of individuals in this or that area of activity. These may be production interests, or they may be interests in the sphere of public activity, science, or art. Take artistic creativity—literature, music, painting, the stage, films. It is a source of an inexhaustible diversity of society's cultural life and the foundation of people's betterment in moral terms.

Scientific progress is another source of the growing diversity of life and activity. In addition to integration, science is experiencing a rapid differentiation of its branches. Scientific breakthroughs give humankind not only new types of machines and technologies and new sources of energy and materials but also new kinds of activity, and a new diversity of interests, and stimulate new fascinating quests.

Progress in the social sciences will steadfastly facilitate the development of the scientific worldview.

Society's life will continue to be influenced also by the distinctive conditions of different regions, by their geographical factors. The life of inhabitants of the steppe will always differ from that of mountain dwellers, while the life of inhabitants of the taiga will always differ from that of people living along the sea coast. This, too, will influence the needs and tastes of people.

Diversity of the forms of social life, of people's activity and aspirations under circumstances where they have basic interests in common is an indispensable condition for society's all-sided progress as it advances towards communism.

Chapter 19

ERADICATION OF ESSENTIAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE AND BETWEEN MENTAL AND PHYSICAL LABOUR

The erasure of the antagonism between town and countryside and between labour by brain and labour by hand does not entirely eliminate economic, social, and cultural inequality between people. The essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and labour by hand remain for a long time under socialism.

1. SURMOUNTING THE DISTINCTIONS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND EVERYDAY LIVING CONDITIONS OF TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE

The essential distinctions between town and countryside persist at the first phase of communism. In the USSR, for instance, the whole people's property exists in the towns, while in the countryside, along with this form of property (state-farm), there is cooperative (collective-farm) property. There also are distinctions in the development level of the productive forces, material welfare, and culture, in the organisation of everyday living conditions, and in the size of the network of communications and transport. The character of these distinctions between town and countryside is not antagonistic.

Essential distinctions between town and countryside are a characteristic of socialist countries. The surmounting of these distinctions is one of the general laws of the transition from socialism to communism. The depth and forms of these distinctions are dissimilar in each individual country. This depends on the development level of the productive forces, the significance of town and countryside in a country's economy, the socio-class structure, the cultural level of the population, the extent urban culture has penetrated rural life, the development of transport and means of communication, geographical conditions, and other factors.

The distinctions in the socio-economic, cultural, and every-

day living conditions of town and countryside can only be erased by building the material and technical basis of communism, using scientific and technological breakthroughs in the whole of agricultural production, converting agricultural labour into a variety of industrial labour, restructuring rural life, and promoting culture in the countryside.

*Building the Material and Technical Basis of Communism—
Key Condition for Surmounting Social Distinctions
Between Town and Countryside*

The paramount conditions for erasing the social distinctions between town and countryside are industrialisation of agricultural production, massive development of the productive forces, and promotion of the productivity of social labour. Of immediate significance to abolishing the social distinctions between town and countryside are the utmost use of scientific and technological achievements in agricultural production, total electrification and chemicalisation, comprehensive mechanisation and automation of the processes of labour, irrigation, drainage, and reproduction of land fertility, and the promotion of the cultural and technical level of the rural population.

Industrialisation of agriculture implies the mechanisation of plant-growing and livestock-breeding, the build-up of a large-scale farm-produce processing industry in the countryside, the formation of agro-industrial complexes, and the specialisation and concentration of production on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration.

Industrialisation of agriculture is to be observed also in capitalist countries, particularly in industrialised capitalist countries. But there it has a different impact than in socialist states. Under capitalism, it becomes a means for the further intensification of the exploitation of the rural population by the monopolies. Large land-owning corporations are formed, the position of the big farmers is strengthened, class differentiation grows more pronounced, and small producers are ruined.

Clear testimony of the high rate of mechanisation in agriculture in socialist countries is seen in the growth of its productivity and, simultaneously, the diminution of the number of people working in this branch of production. However, in the USSR and in most of the other socialist countries the material and technical basis of agriculture is still inadequate. Much of the work has still to be done manually. The relatively low level of technical equipment is also the reason for the lower labour productivity level than in industry.

The communist and workers' parties of socialist countries

are addressing the problem of enhancing the productive forces of agriculture by steering a steady course towards its intensification and all-sided mechanisation with the use of means of automation, with the employment of systems of high-tech machinery.

Conversion of Agricultural Labour into a Variety of Industrial Labour

A significant social outcome of the building of the material and technical basis of communism and of scientific and technological progress will be the conversion of agricultural labour into a variety of industrial labour. In this profound reorganisation of agriculture lies one of the prerequisites for erasing the socio-class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry.

Already today agricultural labour in the USSR and other industrially advanced socialist countries is being increasingly mechanised and acquiring many features of industrial labour. As a result of the establishment of large socialist enterprises in rural communities and of the socialisation of labour in the process of the development of inter-enterprise cooperation and agro-industrial integration it has become possible to promote specialisation and a rational division of labour. New forms of the division and specialisation of labour consistent with modern methods of farming and livestock-breeding are replacing the old division of labour founded on the universality of peasants and the seasonal character of their work. In rural communities there now are tractor and harvester-combine operators, lorry drivers, repair men, specialists in land cultivation, livestock-breeding, and fruit-growing, electricians, power engineers, electrical engineers, and people of other professions. The conditions are being created to permit every person working in agriculture to become a specialist, to be skilled in a trade. The proportion of intellectuals concerned with technical aspects of production processes is growing in agriculture.

The conversion of agricultural labour into a variety of industrial labour means that agricultural production will involve chiefly systems of machines and the broad use of electricity, chemicals, and scientific achievements. Land improvement will gradually relieve agriculture of its dependence on climatic conditions and the elemental forces of nature. Mechanisation, automation, electrification, and intellectualisation will increase the attractiveness of agricultural labour.

In future there will be socially homogeneous industrial labour with industrial and agricultural varieties. By the char-

acter of their work people engaged in agriculture will not differ from people engaged in industry. Their labour will become highly productive and they will have sufficient leisure time for the development of their abilities and for cultural recreation. Socially homogeneous labour will become the condition for attaining full social equality. Naturally, under communism as well agricultural labour will have its own specific features. Industry will retain its leading position in relation to agriculture, for without this there can be no technological progress in agriculture.

Development and Drawing Together of the Two Forms of Socialist Property

The development of agriculture's productive forces requires the further reinforcement and perfection of the collective and state-farm forms of organising social production so that all of their potentialities can be tapped. In content these two forms of socialist property are of one and the same type. The distinctions between them are in their dissimilar level of economic maturity.

The socialist nature of the two forms of property—state and cooperative (collective-farm)—determines the ways of eradicating the distinctions between them, the ways of fusing them into single, communist property of the whole people. This will not signify that they will be mechanically combined or that state property will absorb cooperative property. This is a much more complex process, involving the simultaneous development and perfection of both forms of socialist property, of their steady drawing together.

In the USSR this process is expressed in the following:

first, perfecting cooperative property, raising the socialisation level of agricultural production through a correct coupling of the interests of the state, the collective farms, and the collective farmers, and implementing the principle of material incentives to make social labour more productive. This is seen in the growth of non-distributable assets and of distribution funds.¹ The non-distributable assets of the collective farms are the basis of their social economy, and by nature they are closest to the whole people's property;

second, expanding inter-collective-farm links, and also the links between the collective farms and state farms, which develop in the course of inter-enterprise cooperation and the specialisation and concentration of agricultural production;

¹ Non-distributable assets are the basic portion of the productive and non-productive assets of the collective farms and, as their name implies, they are not subject to distribution among the collective farmers.

third, combining collective-farm funds with those of the state for the joint building of farm-produce processing facilities, power transmission lines, communications, roads, irrigation and land-improvement systems, and so on.

The development and perfection of socialist relations of production is also expressed in the growth of the marketable output of all branches of collective-farm production with the resultant expansion of the links between the collective farms and industrial facilities.

In planning priority growth rates for labour productivity at collective farms, the party envisages also a faster growth (compared with that of the wages of factory workers) of the incomes of the collective farmers from the social economy. Rate-setting, organisation of and remuneration for labour at collective farms are drawing close to the forms established at state-run enterprises. Guaranteed remuneration has been introduced for the labour of collective farmers, and this is a major step towards perfecting the socialist principle of distribution. The network of canteens, everyday services, kindergartens and nurseries, schools, clubs, hospitals, and so on, is being enlarged in rural communities. A significant advance towards economic equality has been the introduction of pensions and social security for members of collective farms.

In the development of collective farms the principal tendency is towards their gradual evolution into enterprises belonging to the whole people.

In the socio-economic structure of Soviet agriculture and in the development of the countryside an important place is held by state farms. They embody state property and by virtue of this serve the collective farms as a model of economically productive and highly efficient farming.

In the USSR, as in other socialist countries, the state farms are larger and more mechanised agricultural enterprises than the collective farms.

Due to the growth of state farms and other state-run agricultural enterprises there has been a significant increase in the numerical strength of the working class in the Soviet countryside. This is a new, rapidly expanding social force, which has a large role to play in the communist restructuring of the countryside.

New vistas are being opened for Soviet agriculture by the implementation of the Food Programme of the USSR. A fundamentally new step is being taken in planning and production in order to combine agriculture with the branches of industry, transport, trade, and material and technical maintenance serving it into a single agro-industrial complex. Agro-industrial associations are being set up in districts, territories, regions, and autonomous republics, and agro-

industrial commissions are being formed in Union republics and in the centre. Here the purpose is to ensure the utmost organisational and economic independence to collective and state farms. The aim has been set of making more efficient use of the basic means of production in rural communities, namely, of the land, and increasing crop yields and the productivity of livestock. Special attention is focused on accelerating the growth of facilities storing, processing, and delivering food to consumers. The system of remuneration for labour in agriculture is being improved. All this will help to draw the two forms of social property closer together.

Erasing the Distinctions Between Town and Countryside in Cultural Life and Everyday Living Conditions

The distinctions between town and countryside in cultural life and everyday living conditions are being erased in parallel with the changes in socio-economic relations.

The rising living standard brings into the forefront the problem of satisfying cultural requirements, of organising cultural services for the rural population.

The fact that there is now a large rural intelligentsia, that the cultural and technical level of the collective farmers is rising, and that in rural localities there is an expanding network of cultural and scientific institutions, is leading to ever broader cultural links between town and countryside. The countryside is making wide use of cultural benefits provided by the town and is itself promoting culture. The rise in the peasantry's cultural and technical level and of its communist consciousness is a key condition for educating the all-sidedly developed agricultural worker.

The process of erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside through the further development of the productive forces in agriculture embraces the sphere of everyday life as well. Moreover, it profoundly affects aspects of rural life such as transport, communications, communal services, the building of housing, and so forth. The way of life in rural communities is changing gradually.

2. THE FUTURE OF TOWNS AND RURAL COMMUNITIES

The division of regions into industrial and agrarian disappears as a result of industrialisation and the planned location of the productive forces. In the USSR today there is no Union or autonomous republic and no territory or region that is purely agricultural. In former agrarian regions there now are thousands of large industrial facilities, big industrial centres, and new towns that have changed the image

of these regions. A powerful advanced industry playing the decisive role in economic and cultural development has been built in Siberia, the Volga Region, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, the republics of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, the Baltic Area, and Moldavia. The building of farm-produce processing plants in rural localities creates the conditions for proceeding faster with the specialisation and concentration of agricultural production. In turn, the growth of the volume and the increasing concentration of agricultural production stimulate the building of more industrial enterprises.

Thus, the material conditions have arisen for a transition to a new stage of the transformation of the socialist countryside. The old system of settling people and organising their everyday life, a system that historically took shape on the basis of subsistence and small-commodity economy, is increasingly coming into conflict with the socialist system of agricultural production. Already now it does not satisfy the cultural and everyday requirements of the working people and, in a certain sense, inhibits the growth of the productivity of social labour as a whole, especially in agriculture.

The further development of the socialist countryside will proceed along the line of linking up industry and agriculture, as was foreseen by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and this will give rise to the corresponding forms of settlement and of the organisation of everyday life.

Electrification and mechanisation of farming, the use of chemicals, large-scale land-improvement, and industrial expansion in rural localities lead to the appearance of agro-industrial associations. Their formation is one of the principal trends of the development of agriculture's productive forces and of the extension of agriculture's links to industry. These will take shape gradually, in keeping with economic expediency. Essentially speaking, agro-industrial associations combine agriculture with the industrial processing of its produce, promoting the rational specialisation and cooperation of agricultural and industrial enterprises.

The industrialisation of agriculture presupposes the growth of industry serving land cultivation and livestock-breeding (manufacture of farm machines, chemicals, farm-produce processing equipment, and so on). Industry is penetrating ever deeper into land cultivation and livestock-breeding.

The linking of industry and agriculture facilitates the rational location and development of the productive forces and the further evening out of the economic development levels of the country's various regions. All this is of enormous significance for surmounting the social distinctions between

town and countryside. In the approach to this complex task account is taken of territorial specifics, of the historical and national conditions of the population's development and, above all, of the prospects for communist construction.

As they are economic and cultural centres, the agro-industrial associations will be, to a large extent, the concentration points of the rural population, and this will improve the everyday conditions of its life. The expedient location of industry and the population will gradually turn villages into town-type communities with modern dwelling houses, central heating, communal and other everyday amenities, and cultural and medical institutions. In terms of cultural and everyday conditions of life the rural population will gradually attain the level of the urban population.

The old town, inherited by socialism from capitalism, cannot meet the new society's requirements. The creation of the new town meeting all modern requirements is as complex a task as the transformation of the old village.

The planned, rational location of the productive forces creates the material prerequisites for regulating the growth of the urban population in order to avoid an overcrowding of large towns. Not only rural communities but also towns undergo a change in the process of building communism. Crowding will disappear and the old towns will be reconstructed on the basis of the latest achievements in architecture, building engineering, communal services, and the manufacture of household appliances. In parallel, urban life will be improved. The further development of all means of transport and communication will make towns and their cultural institutions even more accessible than today for the rural population.

The planned development of the productive forces and of the economy and culture will lead to a more rational distribution of the population. The proportion of the population directly engaged in agriculture (land cultivation and livestock-breeding) will diminish significantly, and there will be a growth in the number of people engaged in the manufacture of farm machinery and fertilisers, in the processing of farm produce, and so on. Consequently, the social distinctions between town and countryside will be surmounted by raising production efficiency and the conditions of everyday life in rural communities to the level of the communist town.

Economic and cultural growth creates the conditions for removing the distinctions between town and countryside also in terms of the population's social composition. These distinctions will gradually diminish as a result of the further growth of the proportion of the working class in the

country and, chiefly, as a result of the erasure of the boundaries between social groups.

By strengthening their alliance and developing ever closer cooperation the workers and peasants are moving towards the merging of classes in the single community of citizens of communist society. The eradication of the socio-economic distinctions and of the distinctions in cultural life and everyday living conditions between town and countryside will be one of humankind's paramount achievements in the advancement of social life.

3. SURMOUNTING THE SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN MENTAL AND PHYSICAL WORK

The fact of the establishment of socialism does not entirely remove the social inequality between labour by brain and labour by hand. In socio-economic terms socialist labour is still heterogeneous. The actual ensuring of social equality in work boils down to the following: combining mental and physical work in production; raising the cultural and technical level of workers and peasants to that of the intelligentsia; converting labour into a prime necessity. The tackling of these tasks comprises the content of the process of surmounting the essential distinctions between labour by brain and labour by hand.

Essential Distinctions Between Labour by Brain and Labour by Hand

In what specifically are the essential distinctions between labour by brain and labour by hand expressed? First, in that some members of society are engaged primarily in labour by hand and others primarily in labour by brain. Second, in that labour is still heterogeneous in socio-economic terms; that the social significance of different forms of labour is dissimilar. There still is arduous unskilled manual labour and skilled labour, creative and non-creative labour. Third, in that in socialist society there still are very considerable distinctions in the cultural and technical level of workers by hand and of workers by brain.

The problem of essential distinctions between mental and physical labour has two aspects. On the one hand, there is the ongoing process of *drawing together* of the two main forms of labour, of their merging in a single production process, and, on the other, there is the process of the *erasure* of the social boundaries between people engaged in these different forms of activity. Both processes are taking place simultaneously and are inter-dependent.

In addition to essential distinctions between mental and physical labour there are non-essential distinctions. The former are social; the latter are natural.

In the category of essential distinctions there are such that express survivals of economic, social, and cultural inequality between workers by brain and workers by hand. These are transient and will be surmounted in the process of building communist society.

Natural distinctions stem from the specifics of mental and physical labour. These reflect various labour functions and are in themselves not the source of social inequality.

The surmounting of the essential distinctions between mental and physical labour is linked to the fulfilment of a large spectrum of tasks in the building of a classless society. The most important of these tasks are the building of communism's material and technical basis through the maximum use of scientific and technological advances, the perfection of social relations generally and in the sphere of social labour in particular, the promotion of socialist society's culture, and the all-sided, harmonious development of the individual.

Automation of Production as the Material Basis of Linking Physical and Mental Labour

Automation is the material foundation for linking physical and mental labour in production. This can be done in a most expedient manner where production is automated. The human being is released for overall control and supervision of the production process, for learning to use new technology and equipment.

Studies have shown that the proportion of mental labour increases among workers servicing and repairing automated production lines. The functions of adjuster and operator are combined in the process of automation.

As society moves towards communism the labour of workers will increasingly acquire a creative character. Production will turn into the material embodiment of science that becomes a direct productive force, while as the regulator of the process of production the worker becomes the medium of scientific knowledge. Workers will increasingly move from the direct process of production into the control of production and scientific and technological work, leaving the burden and monotony of labour to robots.

This does not imply that physical work will be erased altogether. Experimentation and designing have a thousand threads linking them to a very complex form of skilled physical labour, to the materialisation of a creative idea in metal

or synthetic or other materials. Scientific-technical work requires mental and some physical functions.

Automation embraces both physical and mental labour. Under the impact of scientific and technological progress, mental labour itself and the production of cultural values become an increasingly more complex process. Automation introduces significant elements into this work, ousting non-creative labour—simple, monotonous, and exhausting kinds of mental labour.

Automation is a major material condition for surmounting the essential distinctions between mental and physical labour, but it does not resolve this problem as a whole, in all its socio-economic aspects.

Varied Work

The problem of erasing the social distinctions between mental and manual labour is not limited to combining such work in production. There must be conditions under which people will be able to change freely from one type of work to another.

The trend towards changing professions is generated by large-scale industry and, to a greater extent, by technological progress. In *Capital* Marx wrote: "Modern Industry ... through its catastrophes imposes the necessity of recognising, as a fundamental law of production, variation of work, consequently fitness of the labourer for varied work, consequently the greatest possible development of his varied aptitude. It becomes a question ... for society to adapt the mode of production to the normal functioning of this law."¹ But this tendency receives scope for development only under socialism, where it becomes an indispensable condition for the accelerated progress of social production.

Under socialism society is still not in a position to guarantee to all citizens variation of work, full freedom of choice of occupations, the possibility of learning several professions. For the time being people still face the alternative of either primarily manual or mental labour. For that reason their abilities do not get full rein. Specialisation requires the development only of some abilities, of some physical or mental functions, leaving the individual's other abilities latent.

The law of the division and the law of the variation of labour, reflecting the two aspects of the functioning of social labour in its diverse forms, operate in a different relationship under socialism.

The law of the division of labour expresses the need to

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol I, p. 458.

distribute human activity in certain proportions among various branches of material and cultural production. It operates in all socio-economic formations, beginning with the appearance of the social division of labour. Today this law requires a definite relationship between mental and physical and between industrial and agricultural labour. Socialism is gradually surmounting the class-based division of labour, as is implicit in all class-antagonistic formations. It creates a new system of the social organisation of labour in keeping with the higher development level of the productive forces. But some old forms of the division of labour still remain. One of these is society's division into persons engaged in labour by hand and persons engaged in labour by brain.

The law of variation of work begins to operate with the development of large-scale machine industry, which requires the worker's adaptation to the frequent revolutionary changes in production technologies. Under socialism its operation is limited by the persistent division of labour, but it is acquiring an increasing scope for manifestation with the growth of the working people's cultural and technical level and the individual's all-sided development.

Under communism society will put an end to the antithesis of universality and specialisation inherited from the old division of labour. Universality and specialisation are antipodal only when the individual is trained to perform solely manual or solely mental functions, when the appearance of new specific types of labour requires special training and the lifelong assignment to them of a special category of people. By promoting large-scale industry and automating production, communist society creates the conditions for the maximum development of all of the individual's abilities and the maximum application of these abilities in the aggregate social labour. This all-sided development of the individual will in practice signify his ability to perform a number of complex manual and mental functions, his mobility, his enhanced need and fitness for varied work.

The conditions for varied work are created by large-scale mechanised industry, while the opportunities for such work are extended with the introduction and development of automation. Full automation precludes narrow specialisation. Already today it is possible to foresee some general features of the professional structure and distribution of labour in a communist society.

First, people will know the scientific principles underlying the organisation of production and have the training to work in several of its branches. This will give society an unprecedented productive force. Second, the concept of professionalisation will lose its present-day meaning under conditions

where the individual is many-sidedly developed and capable of carrying out complex manual and mental functions. Third, universality does not rule out but presupposes profound special knowledge and the perfection of this knowledge in each of the types of work chosen by individuals. Fourth, the social conditions and material and technical basis of communism eliminate unskilled, uncreative, and monotonous manual and mental labour. Communist society will be based on such types of production activity that require combining manual work and a highly developed intellect.

Variation of work cannot be complete if it is limited to production. Communism will give scope for the most diverse forms of varying work, for instance, for combining work in production with management of production and society's affairs, with technical and artistic creative work, for combining work with education, and so on. All working people will participate in the administration of society's affairs and thereby have ever broader opportunities for mental work. Similar opportunities are provided by various forms of technical and artistic creative work—public design bureaus run on a voluntary basis, the movement for production rationalisation and innovation, people's universities, theatres, studios, clubs, and so on.

Creative work in technology, science, literature, and the arts will cease to be the realm exclusively of professionals; it will be a second profession, as it were, of millions of people.

Promoting the Working People's Level of Culture and Technical Knowledge

Scientific and technological progress and the growth of the working people's level of culture and technical knowledge are inter-dependent aspects of the process of socialist society's development. Scientific and technological progress makes new demands of the efficiency of production and labour, of special training and general education. It is becoming indispensable to raise the working people's level of culture and technical knowledge, for without this the achievements of modern science and technology cannot conceivably be applied in practice. The promotion of the working people's cultural and technical level is one of the cardinal factors for surmounting the essential distinctions between labour by brain and labour by hand.

The development of the system of public education is the overall foundation for raising the cultural and technical level of the working people in socialist society. In the socialist countries science, culture, and education have been placed

in the service of the people. Their general education level is rising steadily, with the number of persons with a higher or specialised secondary education growing faster among workers and cooperative peasants than among intellectuals. The process of abolishing the discrepancy in the education level of different strata of the population, a discrepancy inherited by socialism, continues to this day. However, there still is a difference in the education level of workers and collective farmers, on the one hand, and of the intelligentsia, on the other.

The growth of leisure time is one of the conditions for the development of education. As Marx wrote, the length of leisure time enjoyed by people will indicate the power of the future society's productive forces and the size of its wealth. Marx's words that the measure of wealth will be the length not of working time but of leisure time are applicable in full to developed communist society.

The coming together of people in terms of the character of their work gives no grounds for believing that in future material and cultural production will fuse entirely. They will, of course, retain their relative independence because there is, in essence, a significant difference between the production of things and the production of ideas. However, more people will be involved in creating intellectual, cultural values, and there will be more complex combinations of the alternation and variation of work in this sphere. As a result, the notion about the level of a person's culture and technical knowledge will also undergo a change. This level will be no longer determined solely on the basis of a person's professional activity; it will be characterised by his or her all-sided development, by the extent of participation in diverse activities.

The development of social labour, the appearance of new forms of its qualitative differentiation, and the changes of its socio-economic functions advance the problem of forming the all-sidedly developed individual who would in his activity combine various types of mental and manual labour.

4. CREATIVE SOCIALLY NECESSARY WORK FOR ALL

The essential distinctions between labour by brain and labour by hand will disappear when these two types of human activity will become in similar measure a prime vital need for every member of society, when communism's basic principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be in operation. Consequently, the solution of this socio-economic problem is part and parcel of the establishment of communist labour. The con-

version of labour into a prime vital need will, as the practice of socialism demonstrates, take place before the process of surmounting the essential distinctions between labour by brain and labour by hand is consummated.

The combining of manual and mental work in production activity, in the social practice of millions of people, is a major feature and tendency of the development of socialist reality. It will be increasingly accentuated as time goes by and will gradually lead to the abolition of the essential distinctions between manual and mental labour, to the disappearance of the intelligentsia as a special social stratum. All members of society will be equal as combining manual and mental labour; they will be equal before the single, all-embracing, voluntary communist labour.

Already now the social boundaries between people engaged in mental work and the majority of society's members are growing increasingly relative. Among the workers by hand there is a steadily growing number of persons with a secondary or higher education engaged in complex mental labour, in technical and artistic creative work, in the management of production, and so on. At the same time, there is a growing number of workers by brain involved directly in material production and engaged in productive labour.

Communism puts an end to the exclusiveness of workers by brain. It creates conditions that preclude the existence of special social groups engaged solely in manual labour or solely in mental labour. The citizen of communist society—worker, thinker, artist, and civic functionary—may be described as an all-sidedly developed individual with mobile labour functions, diversified interests and skills, combining varied aptitudes with discipline, courage, and self-control. Creative socially necessary work for all, work combining mental activity with vitally important physical effort, variation of work for each person—such is the aim of the Communists.

Chapter 20

NATIONS AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM UNDER SOCIALISM

A new stage began in the development of nations and in the relations between them with the advent of developed socialist society in the USSR.

1. FLORESCENCE AND COMING TOGETHER OF SOCIALIST NATIONS

The *socialist nation* grows out of the nation or nationality of capitalist society in the process of abolishing capitalism and establishing socialism. It is a new social entity, which retains some ethnic distinctions, though the latter undergo a qualitatively new change, and has fundamentally restructured its entire political, socio-economic, and cultural life along socialist internationalist lines.

The formation of socialist nations is a key achievement of socialism.

The socialist nation consists of friendly classes—the workers and cooperative peasants, and also the working intelligentsia. A common economic life, identical aims and interests, oneness of worldview, and internationalist solidarity distinguish socialist nations.

Economic Basis of the Development and Coming Together of Nations

Social property in the means of production and the socialist economic system form the economic foundation of the equality, florescence, and coming together of nations.

"For the peoples to be able truly to unite," Marx wrote, "they must have common interests. And in order that their interests may become common, the existing /capitalist/ property relations must be done away with, for these property relations involve the exploitation of some nations by others."¹

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "On Poland", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 388.

As soon as it was proclaimed the Soviet state took vigorous measures to replace private with social property in the means of production, promote the economic development of all nations and ethnic groups, and enable them to achieve actual equality. Economic and social policy was framed in such a way as to bring the outlying non-Russian areas up to the development level of Russia's central regions as quickly as possible. New towns and industrial centres have been built and local skilled workers have been trained in the Union and Autonomous republics and in the country's autonomous regions. Collectivisation of agriculture has brought to life a socialist economy in the countryside and reinforced the alliance between the working class and the collective-farm peasantry of each nation and on the scale of the entire country.

In the life-time of a single generation peoples freed from oppression have put an end to their age-old backwardness and risen to the level of the developed nations.

Socialism does away with the one-sided economic development of peoples, a development typical of capitalism. Economic plans envisage the utmost use of the material and intellectual resources of each nation and a more effective territorial division of labour within the country's integrated economy. The socialist economy is a close-knit, integral economic organism. The building of large industrial facilities by the joint efforts of people belonging to different nations, the deepening of the economic links between republics and economic regions on the basis of specialisation, cooperation, and agro-industrial integration, the planned distribution of material and labour resources, and the extension of mutual exchanges of cadres between republics are steadily intensifying and deepening the day-to-day contacts among the working people of the different nations in all areas of life. This promotes the internationalist unity of Soviet people.

Strengthening the Socio-Political Unity of the Nations of the USSR

The establishment of socialism provides a solid foundation for the social homogeneity of each nation and ethnic group. The friendly classes and groups of socialist society come ever closer together.

Under the working class' leadership, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia acquire and develop the features implicit in it, namely, intensive political activity, a high level of political consciousness, discipline, organisation, and collectivism.

The essence of nations and nationalities changes with the

building of socialism. They become socialist in terms of their economic basis, class structure, cultural development, and intellectual make-up. The internationalist unity of socialist nations is asserted.

The socio-political unity of nations and nationalities is increasingly consolidated as their social homogeneity grows more marked. The anti-Communists portray socialist society's socio-political unity as signifying the loss or diminution of the sovereignty of nations. Actually, it is precisely under socialism that nations acquire real sovereignty. "We," Lenin wrote, "have granted *all* the non-Russian nationalities *their own* republics or autonomous regions."¹ In the USSR today there are 15 Union republics, 20 Autonomous republics, and eight Autonomous regions, each enjoying full equality.

In socio-political terms, national sovereignty signifies the right of nations to arrange their life in accordance with their true interests, chiefly the principal interest, which is to ensure a successful advance towards communism. Lenin held that since an alliance of peoples based on equality and mutual assistance ensures the consolidation of the Soviet state it thereby serves to strengthen the sovereignty of each of the peoples in this alliance.

A distinguishing feature of the coming together of nations is the growth of the multinational composition of the population of republics and regions. The deepening economic and cultural cooperation among peoples, the building of new industrial facilities, the development of natural wealth by the concerted efforts of working people of different nations, and the promotion of all kinds of transport increase the mobility of the population and intensify the process of the intermixing of nationalities. Each republic acquires an increasingly more diverse national composition.

The forms of socialist national statehood are perfected in the course of social development. Being profoundly internationalist, these forms develop on the basis of democratic centralism and socialist federalism, and equally serve the interests of different nationalities. National statehood facilitates the advancement of the given republic's indigenous nationality and of all the other peoples residing in it. The federal state serves as the instrument drawing nations closer together and promoting their internationalist unity. People of different nations participate directly in making decisions on issues within the jurisdiction of the USSR in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, its Presidium, the government, and other governmental agencies of the country.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 53.

The Constitution of the USSR states: "The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people and draws all its nations and nationalities together for the purpose of jointly building communism" (Article 70). The Constitution ensures the coupling of union and national forms of statehood.

*Development of the Cultural Make-up of Nations.
The Drawing Together of National Cultures*

The cultures of socialist nations flourish, come closer together, and mutually enrich each other on the foundation of economic and socio-political unity. Socialism gives people of all nations broad opportunities for receiving an education in their native language, promoting science, literature, and art, and fostering the growth of a national intelligentsia.

For its orientation and content, national culture is profoundly committed in terms of party and class principle. Lenin noted that in a society divided into antagonistic classes "there are two national cultures in every national culture".¹ Duality of culture, of intellectual make-up implicit in nations consisting of hostile classes, is alien to socialist nations. Socialism has created the conditions for the participation of people of all nationalities in the development of science, technology, literature, and art.

The surmounting of everything that isolates the culture of one nation from that of another is a natural trend with the transformation of the nations and nationalities of capitalist society into nations and nationalities of socialist society. Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism comprise the ideologico-theoretical foundation of the cultural life of socialist nations. Unlike bourgeois ideology, which sets off races, nations, and nationalities against each other, Marxism-Leninism expresses their common, internationalist, and specific national interests.

Socialist culture serves the people and is, in content, common and internationalist for all the working people. It has historically shaped national distinctions that do not come into conflict with its internationalist content.

In the culture of nations and nationalities something always grows outdated and dies away and something new, more progressive is born. Socialist culture takes only what is progressive from the culture of the past. The ideologues of anti-communism are making a huge effort to put over as "national" the idea that culture is non-class, to promote an uncritical acceptance of the past, and to invigorate hurtful

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 32.

survivals, especially among young people, and thereby create the groundwork for the infiltration of alien views and sentiments.

Socialism generally, and developed socialism in particular, leads to a vast enrichment of the themes, styles, and visual and genre structure of literature and art, to a growing multiformity of cultures as a whole. It does not, contrary to the assertions of the ideologues of anti-communism, lead to the levelling of cultures. The cultures of all the socialist nations and nationalities of the USSR have become more many-faceted and richer.

The mutual enrichment of cultures grew particularly visible when all the Soviet nations and nationalities had developed a modern professional culture that significantly increased the potentialities for showing the life of each people. On the other hand, this life grew more appreciable and understandable to other peoples. Today even the more conservative, traditional aspects of everyday culture—housing, clothes, food, and even traditions—are steadily growing more internationalised, reflecting the coming together of different nationalities in ethnic terms as well.

In the 1982 report "Sixtieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" it is stated: "We should look persistently for new methods and forms of work suiting present-day needs and making for still more fruitful mutual enrichment of cultures, and give everyone still broader access to all that is best in the culture of each of our peoples... Of course, here we must remember that there are both good and bad, outdated elements in the cultural heritage, traditions and customs of each nation. Hence another task—not to conserve these bad elements but to get rid of all that is antiquated and that runs counter to the norms of Soviet community life, to socialist morality, and our communist ideals."

In a socialist society the pulling down of national partitions, the need for which had been pointed out by Lenin, takes place in all areas of life. What disappears is not the national but all that is antiquated in it, all that conflicts with internationalist and national interests; diverse forms of the new, modern national appear. The socialist nations acquire common features without becoming identical. This similarity manifests itself in the growing diversity and versatility of cultural life.

Socialism's greatest achievement is the appearance of the new, socialist individuals, whose intellectual make-up, while retaining national distinctions, is characterised chiefly by internationalist features common to all Soviet people. These features are, at the same time, their national possession.

In the development and culture of peoples a huge role is played by national languages. Under socialism these languages develop without hindrance, on the basis of equality and mutual enrichment. Every citizen has full freedom to speak and to bring up and educate his children in any language he chooses. No privileges, restrictions, or compulsion in the use of this or that language are permitted.

The life of a multinational state requires, moreover, a uniform means of association for all the peoples inhabiting it. In the USSR this problem is resolved by the voluntary study of the Russian language, which is spoken by the vast majority of the Soviet people. Russian has become one of the world's universally recognised languages. Stressing the progressive character of the voluntary study of the Russian language by non-Russian peoples, Lenin wrote that "we, of course, are in favour of every inhabitant of Russia having the opportunity to learn the great Russian language.

"What we do not want is the element of *coercion*".¹

Precisely under conditions of full equality and freedom the nations and nationalities inhabiting the USSR showed a tremendous eagerness to learn the Russian language. Russian has become a major means of the coming together of the nations and nationalities of the USSR, of the intensive interaction and mutual enrichment of their cultures. It is an effective vehicle for giving nations and nationalities access to the achievements of all peoples and to world culture.

The ideologues of anti-communism are silent about the fact that national languages have revived and developed unhindered under socialism. Trying to utilise the circumstance that the number of non-Russians speaking Russian is growing, they make the charge that there is "language assimilation" in the Soviet Union. Actually, having abolished all national, including language, privileges, Soviet power created all the prerequisites for the free development of the languages of the peoples of former tsarist Russia. Under Soviet power more than 40 peoples acquired a written language.

2. UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE NATIONAL

In socialist society the bedrock of the unity of the international and the national consists of social property and the resultant common socio-economic and political interests of the people, the common social and state system, and the common ideology.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Is a Compulsory Official Language Needed?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 72.

Dialectics of the International and the National

The national does not conflict with the international. On the contrary, the former cannot exist without links to the latter, while the latter develops through the former. They are inseparable. The interests of the working people are invariably injured when their national aims are isolated from their international objectives.

Far from disappearing, the national develops. While the correlation between the new and the old, outworn changes continuously to the detriment of the latter, in other words, the old is supplanted by the new, a different law operates in the correlation between the international and the national. What is genuinely national is renewed and enriched by international acquisitions. A new national distinction appears and, enriched with inestimable qualities, again becomes an international asset. At each stage the international and the national comprise a new, higher unity.

While being in unity, the international and the national each have their own distinctive content. The Marxist-Leninist parties do not accept any belittlement of national specifics linked to history and the level of economic and cultural development or any exaggeration, any absolutisation of these specifics.

In the dialectical unity of social phenomena there always is a pre-eminent aspect. In the unity of the international and the national this aspect is the international. Lenin wrote that "already under capitalism, all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international."¹ The determining role of the international (general) with respect to the national (particular) stems from the pre-eminence of the general laws governing the building of socialism and the development of the socialist system, of the world revolutionary process.

Every nation, every nationality has some specific interests, but its national interests are, as a whole, not confined to internal life. National interests are realised in unity with international interests. Hence, internationalism cannot be regarded solely as an attitude to other peoples, while international interests cannot be regarded solely as external interests.

International interests are indissolubly linked to the internal life of a nation, of a nationality. They are determined not only by the requirements of various international communi-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the National Question", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 246.

ties but also by the fundamental requirements of each nation or nationality affiliated to the given community.

The international interest of the development of the Soviet people, the community of socialist countries, and the world revolutionary movement ultimately coincides with the national interest of each socialist nation and nationality. However, unity of national and international interests does not signify that these interests are identical. Had they coincided in everything and in themselves there would have been no problem of combining them. Nor are international interests an arithmetical mean or sum of national interests. Such an interpretation can lead to the mistaken view that to strengthen the community of socialist countries it would be enough to show concern only for the development of one's own nation.

A pre-eminent factor in socialist national interests is their international content, namely, the building of a new life. The latter implies unity among the working people in the struggle against the forces of imperialism. For that reason the national interest cannot be realised without active participation in the attainment of international objectives. Those who adopt a neutral stand relative to these objectives, balance between opposing social systems or, still worse, take the road of splitting the international unity of the socialist countries, are thereby inflicting enormous harm also on their own national interests.

Internationalism presupposes that each Communist Party is aware of its responsibility for the destiny of the movement as a whole. Quests for a "purely" national road to socialism and any negation of the general laws of socialist construction in fact undermine internationalism and, consequently, the cause of socialism. Lenin regarded the striving to lock socialism into a narrow, national framework as betrayal not only of the international interests of the working people but also of their national interests.

While rejecting petty-bourgeois parasitical psychology in nation-to-nation relations, scientific communism stresses that no nation, no country can proceed successfully with the building of the new society if it isolates itself from other socialist countries. The building of socialism requires the "harmonious national and international coordination" of the social forms of production.¹

The practice of socialism corroborates the Marxist-Leninist conclusion that the unity of the national and international interests of socialist nations and nationalities and their all-sided advancement and coming together are determined by

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Paris Commune*, p. 157.

the nature of socialism and comprise an objective law of the socialist world system's development.

Internationalism Versus Nationalism.
Unity of Internationalism and Patriotism

Being a decisive factor of the working people's success in the class struggle, the socialist revolution, and the building of socialism and communism, the unity of the international and the national is ensured by the consistent compliance with internationalism. "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and express the *two* policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question."¹

Proletarian internationalism arose as internationalist solidarity of the workers of different nations and races, manifesting itself in their thinking, ideology, worldview, and social practice. Under socialism proletarian internationalism is enriched with a new content and comes forward as socialist internationalism. It provides the foundations for relations not only between workers of different nations but also between peasants, intellectuals, all working people, and the state formations of socialist nations and nationalities. Socialist internationalism constitutes a new type of nation-to-nation relations taking shape and developing on the basis of friendship, complete equality, and all-sided fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance between the nations and nationalities that have embarked upon socialist development. It is the tangible principle underlying the building of the economy, culture, and life, in fact the entire way of life, of socialist nations. It ensures the conditions for the effective realisation of socialism's advantages, for the comprehensive drawing together of nations and nationalities. In the USSR citizens enjoy full equality regardless of nationality and race in all areas of economic, state, cultural, and socio-political life. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights or the provision of privileges to citizens on the basis of their race and nationality, and also any preaching of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and scorn are punishable by law.

The ideologues of imperialism are going to all lengths to ignite nationalism in the socialist countries. They are aided and abetted by both "left" and right opportunists. Separating national from class awareness, they depict national unity as a supra-class value and hinder the working people in under-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 26.

standing their national interests from socialist positions, as organically linked to international interests. An unremitting struggle for internationalism is therefore a major task of the Communists.

A limited understanding of proletarian internationalism as solidarity solely among proletarians has generated the misleading view that it has grown obsolete, that it has become too narrow to embrace present-day social reality when all of society's democratic forces are uniting against imperialism. Actually, the concept "proletarian" indicates the working-class essence of internationalism, the need for uniting all the working people around the working class for the purpose of restructuring the old society and building socialism and communism.

The international gets its pre-eminence from the vital needs of the working people of any nation and not from any arbitrary elevation of the principle of proletarian internationalism over the principle of equality, independence, and non-interference. All these principles are inter-dependent, and they cannot be ranged against each other. Engels wrote that "there can be an international alliance only between *nations*, whose existence, autonomy, and independence in domestic affairs are, consequently, included in the concept of internationalism".¹

Proletarian internationalism requires a determined stand against any manifestation of nationalism, including petty-bourgeois nationalism, which "proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more. Quite apart from the fact that this recognition is purely verbal, petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact."²

In achieving full unity of nations and nationalities a key factor is to eradicate completely all signs of nationalism, which is the most tenacious survival of capitalism. A lesson of experience is that even when there are no exploiting classes, no oppressor and oppressed nations, survivals of nationalism do not disappear overnight. In the sphere of politics socialist internationalism is asserted faster than in the sphere of morals, everyday life, and personal relations. Even in a developed socialist society, in which the ideology of socialist internationalism has been established, one still encounters individuals who are hidebound in terms of nationalism, individuals who confuse patriotism with ethno-centrism, na-

¹ "Engels an Laura Lafargue, London, 20. Juni 1893", Marx/Engels, *Werke*, Vol. 39, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1968, p. 87.

² V. I. Lenin, "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.

tional self-interest, and national conceit. "Patriotism" over which socialist consciousness loses control turns into nationalism, which, setting off local interests against common, international interests, leads to the isolation of one's own nation from others and, as any other kind of nationalism, ultimately undermines national interests that it allegedly champions. The Communists are uncompromisingly opposed to nationalism.

In CPSU documents it is stated that in the USSR the national sensibilities and national dignity of every person are respected. The CPSU has fought and will always resolutely fight against such attitudes alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic aberration, be it, say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. The CPSU is against tendencies aimed at an artificial obliteration of national identities and, to a similar extent, considers their artificial inflation inadmissible.

Internationalist and patriotic education is a dual process. Being the product of the long development of individual countries, *patriotism* does not boil down to love of the native landscape. Its central content, as Lenin noted on many occasions, is the struggle for the most progressive social system.

After the working people have seized power, active participation in the building of socialism and communism and the defence of socialist gains become the highest manifestation of patriotism. National insularity is alien to socialist patriotism. Lenin saw true patriotism in the struggle "for socialism as a fatherland".¹ Such patriotism is not passive, contemplative love of the homeland, but an active love expressed in a sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in one's own country.

The dialectical unity of national and international interests predicates the coincidence of patriotism with socialist internationalism.

While educating the people in a spirit of love for and devotion to their country, the CPSU and the fraternal communist parties do not neglect the international essence of their ideology and policy. The defence of proletarian internationalism—one of the underlying principles of Marxism-Leninism—is a duty of every Communist.

Unbreakable internationalist unity among peoples is a source of the strength of each socialist state and of the socialist world community as a whole.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Chief Task of Our Day", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 163.

3. RISE OF NEW HISTORICAL ENTITIES

As a result of the establishment of socialism and the development and coming together of socialist nations there arise qualitatively new entities that are broader than nations. A vivid example of such an entity is the Soviet people.

The Soviet People—a New Historical Entity

During the years of socialist construction in the USSR, the coming together of all classes and social strata, the juridical and actual equality of all nations and nationalities, and fraternal cooperation among them gave rise to a historically new social and international entity—the Soviet people.

The *Soviet people* is an entity that has a common homeland, a common territory, a single economy based on social property, a single culture, socialist in content and diverse in its national distinctions, national languages, a language of intercourse between nations, a federative state of the whole people, and a common aim—the building of communism.

The Soviet people is a single collective of working people of town and countryside of the multinational USSR. The socialist social system has given all the peoples of the USSR a new way of thinking and a new cultural make-up. In their activities they are guided by Marxist-Leninist ideology, the communist ideals of the working class, and the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

In the formation of the new historical entity—the Soviet people—the leading role was played by the CPSU, a party of Leninist internationalists in terms of its ideology, policy, composition, and structure. “To dispel any idea of its being national in character,” Lenin wrote, “the Party called itself ‘Rossiiskaya’ /of Russia.—*Trans.*/ and not ‘Russkaya’ /Russian.—*Trans.*/.”¹ The same distinction is emphasised in the name Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The perfection of developed socialism still further strengthens the alliance and friendship among all the classes and social groups and all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the country, and fosters the growth of Soviet society’s social homogeneity. The nations and nationalities of the USSR acquire more and more Soviet, internationalist features. But this does not mean that the Soviet people is becoming a new nation, a special national entity.

The Soviet people functions as a complex international system, of which the socialist nations and nationalities are structural elements. The national interacts with the inter-

¹ V. I. Lenin, “To the Jewish Workers”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 496.

national directly within the new social and international entity, which is the source of the florescence and coming together of nations and nationalities. In this context, the Soviet people is of a higher order than a nation; it is a systemic organisation of people of different nationalities, a higher form of human association. The Soviet people represent not a conglomerate of nations and nationalities but their social, ideologico-political unity, and integrity, the elements of which are organically linked and interact.

The formation of the socialist world system extended the number of peoples drawn into the processes leading to the formation of their future international entity. The two inter-related processes of the development of socialist nations are: the deepening and extension of cooperation and mutual assistance between peoples and the levelling up of their economic and cultural development. These processes are to be observed in individual multinational countries and on the scale of the entire socialist community. Without forgetting that these regularities are influenced by the distinctive features of each of the countries in the socialist world system, it must be borne in mind that already now the latter is not merely a totality of states with a similar social system.

The international socialist division of labour and the work that is being done to implement the Comprehensive Programme for the Economic Integration of the CMEA Member-States are significantly deepening the interaction and mutually-complementing character of the economy of socialist countries and promoting the expansion of the cultural links between them. All this is opening up further potentialities for drawing nations closer together and for reinforcing socialism's international positions.

Fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance among the socialist nations are turning them into a friendly family of peoples building and defending the new society together.

The Future of Nations

National distinctions are not everlasting. Bourgeois ideologues depict the development of nations as a continuous process of the accumulation of national distinctions.

Actually, as they develop nations adopt each other's achievements in material production, the political organisation of society's life, and the creation of cultural values. Every nation, Marx said, can and should learn from others.

Lenin regarded the coming together and merging of nations as a progressive process, writing: "The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national

distinctions and remove national barriers; it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations."¹

In the world there are now nearly 2,000 peoples at different levels of social development. The development of human society inevitably leads to the expansion of links and intercourse between nations. With communism's triumph world-wide the levelling up of the social conditions of the life of peoples and the steady coming together of these peoples will gradually erase national distinctions. The drawing together of nations is a historical stage of their development that gradually leads to the abolition of national distinctions and paves the way to the future fusion of nations. Marxism-Leninism does not set any specific time limit for the disappearance of national distinctions but points out that this will happen and that people should know it so as to be able to evaluate objectively the changes taking place in the given nation's life and avoid artificially hastening or slowing the course of natural historical processes.

Scientific communism emphatically condemns encroachments on national sovereignty and any coercive acceleration of the integration of nations. Lenin linked the integration of nations to the abolition of capitalism throughout the world, to the withering away of the state, and to the creation of an economic, political, and cultural world community. The road to this community lies through the all-sided development and ever closer coming together of nations. "In the same way as mankind can arrive at the abolition of classes only through a transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, it can arrive at the inevitable integration of nations only through a transition period of the complete emancipation of all oppressed nations."²

Drawing together clears the way to the consolidation and unity of nations and nationalities and ultimately to their integration. Scientific communism emphasises the successiveness, inter-relation, and organic unity of these processes.

The idea of an international language was advanced in antiquity. Great geographical discoveries and the growth of economic and cultural relations at the dawn of capitalism generated innumerable projects for a common language. Every new step in world progress further accentuated the need for surmounting the language barrier in the development of culture. Already today the expansion of internation-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 35.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 147.

al economic, political, and cultural relations has brought a number of languages into international use.

Two extreme views are offered for interpreting the prospects for the integration of nations. The proponents of one of them regard national distinctions as an impediment to the coming together of nations and in order to accelerate the joint advance of peoples towards communism they suggest artificially speeding up the eradication of national distinctions. The other school of thought does not even tolerate the assumption that these distinctions will disappear. It sees the integration of nations as their total absorption by bigger nations, as the loss of national wealth, as a levelling of cultures.

These are hollow notions. Nations have played and continue to play a progressive role in society's development. They make a historical contribution to the creation of a single world community of people. At the same time, the development of socialist nations is inconceivable without the internationalisation of their way of life. This progress does not need to be artificially pushed. It is enough to remove the barriers on the road of this natural process. As to the apprehension that there would be cultural losses, Lenin wrote as far back as 1915 that the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie "will enormously accelerate the downfall of national *partitions* of every kind, this without decreasing but, on the contrary, increasing a millionfold the 'differentiation' of humanity, in the meaning of the wealth and the variety in spiritual life, ideological trends, tendencies, and shades".¹

An end goal of the Communists is not only to draw nations closer together but also to integrate them. They are well aware that the road to this goal is a long one. On this road there can under no circumstances be any forestalling of events or the holding back of mature processes.

A nation is a historical category. It appeared in the period when feudalism was dying and the bourgeois system was at its formative stage. It acquired a new quality with the triumph of socialism when it received the possibility for all-sided development. As a distinctive historical entity the nation will disappear only when a mature communist society is established firmly throughout the world. This will be a society without states and, consequently, without state boundaries and demarcated national territories. People will no longer be divided into classes and nations. They will become members of a world-wide humanity with an integrated economy and a rich and multiform communist culture integrated in terms of content and language.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Main German Opportunist Work on the War", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 274.

Chapter 21

SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

The political system of developed socialist society organises the work of the Soviet people in comprehensively perfecting this society.

1. ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM

Development of the political system of socialism consists in advancing democracy and increasingly promoting socialist self-government by the people on the basis of day-to-day active and effective participation of working people, their collectives and organisations in decision-making concerning the affairs of state and society.

Soviet society's political system consists of the socialist state of the whole people, the trade unions, the Leninist Young Communist League, cooperatives and other public organisations, and work collectives. The CPSU is Soviet society's leading and guiding force, the backbone of its political system.

The building of socialism has brought with it significant changes in the development of Soviet society's political system.

One of these is that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has evolved into a state of the whole people, with the result that there has been a further growth of the socialist state's social base. The state of the whole people expresses the will and interests of all the classes and strata of Soviet society. The Soviet Constitution declares: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the country" (Article 1).

Needless to say, the working class retains its leading role in society. It is numerically the largest section of the population, is linked to the highest form of socialist property and industrial forms of labour, and has the highest level of political consciousness and organisation.

Mature socialism's political system represents a further

development of socialist democracy. This system is founded on power of the people and is permeated with true humanism. The increasingly broader and active participation of the working people in the running of the country's affairs has been established as a major direction of Soviet society's political development.

The political system of mature socialism functions and develops on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, distinctive features of which are a more organic combination of the element of centralisation with the initiative of citizens and the enhanced political perception, professionalism, and sense of responsibility of persons holding public office and of rank-and-file citizens.

As before, under developed socialism the determining influence on the political system's development is exercised by the economy and by social relations. At the same time, one observes the growth of the role played by the political system, by politics as a factor of socio-economic advancement. It is the business of the CPSU and the state of the whole people to study more profoundly and express more fully in their policies and activity pressing economic and social requirements and the interests of the socialist classes and strata, nations and nationalities, and harmonise these interests more closely with those of the whole of society.

2. SOCIALIST STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE

In the political system of developed socialist society the state of the whole people plays the role of the organ of power of all the working people of the USSR. It is their political organisation expressing the will of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. Component elements of the state of the whole people are organs of legislative and executive power, organs of economic and cultural management, the armed forces, the militia, the state security agencies, the court, and the procurator's office.

The highest aim and central tasks of the state of the whole people are formulated in the Constitution of the USSR: "The supreme goal of the Soviet state is the building of a classless communist society in which there will be public, communist self-government. The main aims of the people's socialist state are: to lay the material and technical foundation of communism, to perfect socialist social relations and transform them into communist relations, to mould the citizen of communist society, to raise the people's living and cultural standards, to safeguard the country's security and to further the consolidation of peace and development of international cooperation."

By expressing the interests of all working people, the whole people's state serves as an instrument of the building of communism and the defence of the socialist homeland against possible imperialist aggression. It performs domestic and external functions.

Domestic Functions

In the economic sphere the people's state performs mainly economico-organisational functions. It directs the economy, ensuring its steady growth. The state draws up current and long-term plans for the country's economic and social development.

It creates the conditions for upgrading labour productivity, promoting production efficiency, improving the quality of work, and furthering the economy's dynamic, planned, and balanced development.

An important function of the people's state is the protection of socialist property. Nobody is entitled to use socialist property for personal gain. The state protects the means of production, the product of social labour, the means of transport and communication, and the banks, looks to the rational utilisation of the land and minerals, the water resources, and the fauna and flora, and ensures the reproduction of natural wealth and the improvement of man's natural environment.

In the social sphere the Soviet state facilitates the attainment of social homogeneity in society—the erasure of class distinctions and the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between mental and manual labour, and the promotion of the all-sided development and coming together of all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the USSR. It does its utmost to provide citizens with the widest real possibilities for applying their creative strength, abilities, and talents and for their individual all-sided development.

The state controls the measure of labour and the measure of consumption. It makes sure that citizens of the USSR are provided with employment and with remuneration in accordance to the quantity and quality of their work. The state sees to the improvement of working conditions and of labour protection, to the organisation of labour along scientific lines, and to the reduction and subsequent total eradication of arduous manual labour through the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes. The state steadfastly pursues a course towards increasing the real incomes of the working people by furthering the growth of labour productivity. With the broad participation of public organisations and work collectives it ensures the growth and

fair distribution of social consumption funds and expands the state system of public health, social security, trade and public catering, everyday services, and the communal economy.

In society's cultural life the whole people's state plays an educational role. It provides the facilities for the communist education of the people. It enlarges and improves the integral system of free public education, ensures the planned development of science and the training of scientific cadres, and is concerned with the protection and multiplication of society's cultural values.

Moreover, it is the function of the state of the whole people to maintain public law and order and protect the rights and personal property of citizens. The state ensures labour discipline and combats embezzlement, transgressions of Soviet law, and violations of the rules of socialist human association.

External Functions

Soviet foreign policy, states the Constitution of the USSR, is aimed at ensuring favourable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, protecting the Soviet Union's state interests, strengthening the positions held by the socialist world community, extending support to peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression, attaining general and complete disarmament, and consistently securing peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

A key external function of the socialist state is to uphold peace. The Soviet state is working tirelessly to relax international tension and prevent another world war.

Moreover, the socialist state promotes political, economic, and other relations with capitalist countries.

One of the most important external functions of the state is to ensure the security of the socialist homeland. The need for this function stems from the existence of aggressive imperialist forces in the world today, from the danger of a military attack against socialist countries. The Soviet state and the entire socialist world community have to maintain their defence capability at a level adequate for defeating any aggressor. Since socialism developed into a world system its defence has become an international concern, involving the joint efforts of the socialist countries.

The formation of the socialist world system led to the appearance of the function of organising fraternal cooperation with socialist countries, of strengthening their might, cohesion, and unity. The state fosters the ever closer draw-

ing together of socialist countries, the development of their economic integration, and their all-sided political, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation.

A function of the socialist state at the present stage is the strengthening of the many-sided links to the newly independent states. The socialist state extends all-sided political support and economic assistance to countries that have won liberation from colonialist dependence and is a solid bulwark of the national liberation movement throughout the world.

3. PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS AND WORK COLLECTIVES

Public organisations and work collectives are an intrinsic part of developed socialism's political system. They perform specific functions in Soviet society's economic, social, political, and cultural life.

The *trade unions* constitute the largest public organisation. Practically all the working people of the USSR are members of trade unions, which have very wide tasks and rights. They are organs that educate and train working people and draw them into production management. As Lenin noted, the trade unions are a school of economic management, a school of communism. They take part in planning economic and social development, organise the socialist emulation movement, help to ensure a steady rise of the working people's living and cultural standards and organise their leisure, supervise industrial safety, keep an eye on compliance with labour legislation, and administer state social security. Trade union organisations sign collective agreements with the managements of enterprises: these agreements spell out the mutual obligations of the workforce and the management in carrying out production plans, ensuring industrial safety, using allocations for social and cultural requirements, and so on. The trade unions have the right to nominate candidates for deputies to the Soviets of People's Deputies.

The party regards the trade unions as its dependable assistant among the people, as a powerful means of promoting democracy and drawing the people into the building of communism. "Contact with the masses," Lenin wrote, "i.e., with the overwhelming majority of the workers (and eventually of all the working people), is the most important and most fundamental condition for the success of all trade union activity."¹ He insisted that trade union functionaries should be in the thick of the workers' life, know it thoroughly, be able, without false idealisation, to determine the sentiments of the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Role and Functions of the Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 192.

masses, the degree of their consciousness and actual needs, and have the ability to win the full, unbounded confidence of the people by a comradely attitude to them and concern for the satisfaction of their requirements.

An important place in the political system of the Soviet Union is held by the *All-Union Leninist Young Communist League*. The Komsomol, as the League is popularly called, helps the party to educate young people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, Soviet patriotism, and socialist internationalism, to bring them up as all-sidedly developed people. It is the most important source for the replenishment of the CPSU's ranks. The Komsomol organisations enjoy the right to nominate candidates for deputies in the Soviets.

Work collectives are playing a growing role in Soviet society. They participate in discussing and deciding affairs of state and society, planning production and social development, training and placing personnel, discussing and deciding questions related to the management of industries and offices, and promoting among the working people a spirit of competition, comradely cooperation, and mutual assistance.

"Work collectives," states Article 8 of the USSR Constitution, "promote social emulation, the spread of progressive methods of work, and the strengthening of production discipline, educate their members in the spirit of communist morality, and strive to enhance their political consciousness and raise their cultural level and skills and qualifications."

The *cooperatives* are economic enterprises in the first place. But they also are socio-political organisations within socialist society's political system. The collective farms are organisations of the peasants for collective production and public self-administration. Further, they are a school of communism for the peasants, drawing collective-farm members into active participation in the development of social agricultural production and providing them with education in the spirit of communism. Collective-farm members elect the board of their collective farm and its chairman, jointly decide all of their collective farm's problems, distribute its incomes, and define the size of the ancillary husbandries. The highest bodies of collective-farm democracy are the USSR Council of Collective Farms and the Collective-Farm Councils in the republics, regions, and districts.

Consumers', housing, and other cooperatives likewise have clearly-defined rights and duties in meeting the requirements of the people. They help state agencies to administer political and socio-cultural affairs.

4. THE CPSU—BACKBONE OF SOVIET SOCIETY'S POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Constitution of the USSR codifies the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, and the core of its political system, of its state and public organisations. Armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Communist Party charts the general prospect for society's development and the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR, and heads the great creative work of the Soviet people, making the building of communism a planned, scientific programme. All party organisations function within the framework spelled out in the USSR Constitution.

The Communist Party is the advanced contingent, the vanguard of the working class. With the advent of the stage of developed socialist society, the Communist Party has become the vanguard, the party of the entire Soviet people. It unites advanced members of the working class, the collective-farm peasantry, and the intelligentsia. But this does not signify that it has become a non-class party. "While it has evolved into the party of the whole people under developed socialism," notes a CPSU Central Committee statement, "the CPSU has not lost its class character and by nature remains the party of the working class." Although the aim and worldview of the working class are now the aim and worldview of the entire people, the working class retains and will retain the leading position in society until class distinctions disappear.

The period of improvement of developed socialism is characterised by a further growth of the role and significance of the Communist Party as socialist society's leading and guiding force. This is due to a number of reasons.

First, the growth of the scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction that require more efficient political and organisational guidance. Genuinely scientific guidance of the building of communism can only be provided by a party that unites advanced people and possesses a knowledge of the laws of social development and vast practical experience of building the new social system.

Second, the growth of the people's creative activity, the involvement of more and more millions of people in the management of state affairs and production. The work of the people has to be organised and directed towards the attainment of scientifically substantiated aims. Precisely this, on the scale of the whole of society, is accomplished by the party, which the people see as their leader.

Third, the further development of socialist democracy

and enhancement of the role played by public organisations. To ensure unity of action by all these organisations there has to be a sufficiently prestigious leader that regards all problems from the standpoint of society's interests.

Fourth, Marxism-Leninism's ever-mounting significance, creative development, and interpretation of the ways of building communism, the need for a more profound communist education of the people and for countering bourgeois ideology and eradicating survivals of the past in people's minds and behaviour.

Fifth, the growing international significance of communist construction, the expansion of international relations, and the more complex foreign policy aims in a situation marked by the struggle between the two systems on the world scene.

Basic Areas of the CPSU's Activities

The basic areas of the CPSU's work in guiding society and state and public organisations are: the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory as the scientific foundation of the building of communism; the mapping out of the party's and government's domestic and foreign policies; organisational work linked chiefly to the implementation of the party's policy; ideological work. In foreign relations the CPSU strengthens links to fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of socialist countries and to the entire world communist movement, promotes relations with national-democratic parties and other progressive movements, and consistently champions peace and international security.

The party influences the work of other links of the political system and the whole of socialist society by working out the general prospect for social development, programme guidelines, and the political course. At congresses, conferences, plenary meetings of the Central Committee, and sittings of the Political Bureau the party passes important resolutions on urgent matters. These resolutions are submitted for consideration and endorsement by the highest organs of state authority and administration, and after they are approved they become mandatory legal norms of society's life.

In charting its political course the party draws upon Marxist-Leninist science and popular experience, and takes the people's interests into consideration. The process of improvement of developed socialism, started for the first time in history, poses complex problems. To find the ways and means of resolving them correctly in theoretical and practical terms is a matter of exceptionally great importance. This makes the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory a

task of paramount significance to the party, an expression of the growth of its guiding role in society. A document of the CPSU Central Committee declares: "The Communist Party's strength lies in the fact that it checks all its activities, every step it makes, with the immortal doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, which gives the only accurate answers to the most complex questions of society's development and serves as an effective method of understanding and transforming reality. The party regards as an important and constantly relevant task the study of social experience and the problems that arise, and the creative development of Marxism-Leninism strictly in keeping with its underlying principles.

With society's life as its guide, the party resolutely combats subjectivism, laissez-faire, and disregard for the actual situation. The Communist Party raises and resolves tasks of communist construction in the measure that the material, political, and cultural prerequisites are created and mature, its guideline being that no necessary stage of development should be by-passed and that no achievement should be permitted to delay the ongoing process. A realistic approach based on the imperatives of socialism's objective laws, on the findings of science and practical experience, on available material, labour, and financial resources, creates the needed conditions for resolving complex problems of communist construction.

As Soviet society's leading and guiding force, the party attaches paramount significance to the formation of representative and executive organs of state authority and leading bodies of public organisations, to the selection, placing, and training of personnel for all elements of the economy and for science and culture. This is manifestation of the principal aspect of its organisational work.

The Communist Party is a party of creation. It makes sure that its policy, embodied in its programmes, directives, and resolutions, is put into effect accurately and opportunely. A large role is played here by systematic control of compliance with decisions.

Ideological education, enunciation of party policy, propagation of Marxist-Leninist theory, and struggle against bourgeois ideology comprise one of the party's functions. Communism results from the creative initiatives of the people. For that reason an imperative condition for the building of communism is the fostering of political consciousness. The party promotes among the people a lofty sense of civic duty, and this serves as a paramount condition for the further growth of public activity on the part of all working people, and for the molding of the new citizen.

The party's ideological and organisational cohesion and the unbreakable unity between it and the people are a key source of its invincibility, the guarantee of successful communist construction.

Character and Mechanism of Party Leadership

The CPSU's leading role in socialist society's political system determines two of its inter-related aims.

The party ensures the implementation by all state and public organisations of the overall prospect for society's development—the building of communism—and the general line of domestic and foreign policies. It guides, directs and coordinates all their activities. At the same time, it structures its leadership role in such a way as to avoid paralleling the work of organs of the people's power; on the contrary, it enhances the latter's significance and role.

It is to the CPSU that the credit goes for the steadily growing role played by the Soviets of People's Deputies, the perfection of the electoral system, the organisation of nation-wide discussions of major bills and economic and social development plans, and the extension of the functions and responsibility of public organisations. It is the CPSU that makes sure democracy is steadfastly developed in government organs and public organisations.

Inner-party democracy is a guarantee of democracy in all of socialist society's organisations. This stems from principles that have become the party's flesh and blood, such as democratic centralism, collective leadership, unhindered discussion of issues of social and political life at party meetings, conferences, and congresses, at sittings of party committees, and in the press, criticism and self-criticism, and publicity for party life. As the backbone of Soviet society's political system, the CPSU sets an example of democratic organisation in its activities from top to bottom, and promotes democratic principles which are part of the socialist way of life.

The CPSU attaches great importance to the assertion of the Leninist style of work in everything—a creative style that ensures a scientific approach to all social processes, constant reliance on the masses, a high level of efficiency, concreteness, and exactingness, and repugnance of all manifestations of formalism, bureaucracy, and ostentation.

Lenin said that policy is conducted through people. "So long as the ruling Party governs, so long as this Party has to decide all questions concerned with various appointments, you will not allow important state appointments to be made

by anyone but the ruling Party."¹

The party's personnel policy, the system of selecting, placing, and training leadership cadres, chiefly of leaders of party bodies, constitutes a key lever of the party's leadership of society, of all areas of society's vital activity.

A party leader must be proficient in the science not only of economic but also of social management, of the science and art of administering people, social collectives. The social, ideological, political, and educational role of a leader consists in knowing the character, thoughts, affairs, and actions of people and having the ability to understand the people's sentiments, interests, and needs, to influence collectives, and to lead them for the common good.

The CPSU gives growing attention to verification of compliance with adopted decisions. The art of leadership is not to produce a shower of directives on every occasion but, having adopted a decision, to ensure strict compliance with it within the established time limit. To this end it is vital to intensify verification and to put it into effect systematically and quickly, from above and from below simultaneously.

The level of party leadership depends directly on how militantly and enterprisingly the primary party organisations, which comprise the party's foundation, operate. They are on the frontline of economic and cultural construction, function in the thick of the people, and to a decisive extent determine the socio-psychological and moral climate in work collectives, the level of organisation and discipline, and the labour returns. They bear the brunt of the work with people.

Primary party organisations play the cardinal role in carrying out party policy, educating Communists, and providing the party with its link to the masses. They have the right to control the work of managements. It is important that they should make the fullest and best use of this right regardless of what the issue is about—personnel, fulfilment of economic plans, or improvement of the conditions of work and life of the personnel. It is their duty to implement the party line firmly always and in all matters.

The strengthening and development of the Leninist norms of party life give rise to conditions conducive to promoting initiatives by the Communists, to forming in each party organisation a businesslike, creative climate enabling every Communist to show what he or she is capable of, to bring

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, December 22-29, 1920. Speech to the R.C.P.(B.) Group at the Eighth Congress of Soviets During the Debate on the Report of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars Concerning Home and Foreign Policies, December 22", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, p. 252.

shortcomings and errors boldly to light, and remove everything that stands in the way of the further perfection of socialism.

In practice the integral and multifaceted character of society's administration under socialism leads to the intertwining of party, government, and public activity. This is mirrored in the fact that the higher and local representative organs of state authority and also the leading bodies of public organisations usually include representatives of party organisations. For their part, the leadership cadres of government, economic, and public organisations are usually members of party committees of all levels. It is of the utmost importance to clearly delimit the functions of party organisations and those of government bodies and public organisations, and assign authority, personal responsibility, rights, and duties.

5. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

A basic orientation of the development of the Soviet political system is the comprehensive promotion of socialist democracy.

Proletarian democracy is established with the triumph of the socialist revolution and it persists throughout the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. With the building of socialism proletarian democracy evolves into socialist democracy of the whole people.

Distinctive features of socialist democracy of the whole people are, first, that it is enjoyed by all of society's strata; second, it implements the democratic ideal, namely, rule by the people, and the equality and freedom of the individual; third, on the basis of the rising living standard and cultural level of the population, democracy of the whole people creates the conditions for the participation of all citizens in fruitful production activity and in the administration of society's affairs, and for the steady development of the individual and his or her initiative and abilities.

The difficulties of promoting democracy stem from society's material potentialities, the level of the people's consciousness and their knowledge of politics, from the fact that socialist society develops not in hothouse conditions, not in isolation from the world hostile to it. To perfect socialist democracy it is necessary to eradicate bureaucratic regimentation and formalism—everything that throttles and erodes the initiatives of the people, fetters creative thought and work.

Extension and Guarantees of Citizens' Rights

Developed socialism ensures a significant extension of the rights and freedoms of citizens. The Constitution of the USSR codifies the basic rights of the working people—the right to work, rest and leisure, education, security in old age, health protection, housing, the utilisation of cultural values, and freedom of scientific, technological, and artistic creativity.

The Soviet Constitution clearly defines the system of social, economic, political, and juridical guarantees of each of the rights and freedoms proclaimed in it. This is an expression, in practical terms, of the long road traversed by democracy in the USSR.

Among the key socio-economic and political rights of the working people enshrined in the Soviet Constitution is the right to participate in administering affairs of state and society. Also a Constitutional norm is the right of every citizen of the USSR to submit to state agencies and institutions suggestions on ways of improving their operation and to criticise shortcomings in their work.

Basic political freedoms such as freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, public processions and demonstrations are ensured by the granting to the working people and their organisations the use of public buildings, streets, and squares, the wide dissemination of information, and the opportunities to use the mass media. An important condition of these guarantees is the duty of all state and public organisations, of all officials to respect the person and the rights of the Soviet citizen.

The extension of juridical guarantees is expressed also in the right of Soviet citizens to judicial protection against encroachments on their honour and dignity, life and health, personal freedom, and property. The important norms include one that records the right of citizens to submit complaints against irregular actions by officials to government agencies and public organisations, and these complaints must be examined in accordance with the procedure and time-limit established by law; and the right of appeal against actions by officials that contravene the law and infringe on the rights of citizens.

Citizens of the USSR have the right to associate in public organisations that contribute to the development of their political activity and initiative and to the satisfaction of their diverse interests. These rights and freedoms are granted to Soviet citizens in accordance with the interests of the people and with the aim of reinforcing and developing the socialist system.

The Soviet Constitution defines the wide spectrum of duties of Soviet citizens. A citizen of the USSR has the duty to comply with the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws, the standards of socialist conduct, and wear the lofty title of citizen of the USSR with dignity. He or she is obliged to work conscientiously, comply with labour discipline, safeguard and strengthen socialist property, combat embezzlement and the squandering of state and public property, safeguard the interests of their country, and contribute to reinforcing its might. A sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR is to defend the socialist homeland.

In the norms codified in it the Constitution of the USSR records the lofty principles of proletarian internationalism: respect for the national dignity of other citizens, strengthening friendship among the peoples and nationalities of the multinational Soviet Union, contributing to the development of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of other countries, and to the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. It is the duty of all citizens and all persons holding public office to abide by socialist legality, to abide by the law.

The ideological and political struggle that has unfolded in recent years over the question of human rights has brought to light two fundamentally different attitudes: the socialist and the bourgeois. Socialism embodies a genuinely democratic approach, underlying which is concern for the rights of working people. Socialist democracy accentuates, above all, the social rights of the individual, such as the right to work, rest and leisure, education, and socio-economic freedoms, notably freedom from exploitation of man by man, while the bourgeois approach focuses on a hypocritical laudation of freedom of opinion, speech, and the press despite the fact that all the main media guaranteeing these freedoms—newspapers, the radio, television, and publishing—are controlled by monopoly capital.

In contrast to the hypocrisy and falsity of bourgeois democracy, socialism clearly and constitutionally defines the measure of a person's rights and freedoms: it proceeds from a combination of the interests of the individual with those of the whole of society.

Enhancement of the Role of the Soviets

The enhancement of the role of the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political foundation of the USSR, is one of the paramount areas of the development of socialist democracy.

The Communist Party stresses that the Soviets should

more fully implement their diverse functions in guiding society's life, more consistently give effect to the principle of the accountability of executive to representative bodies, enlist the public on a larger scale into the work of local government bodies, and enhance the role of every deputy of the Soviets.

A large role is played in the work of the Soviets of People's Deputies by their standing commissions, of which there are 300,000, with more than 1,800,000 deputies and 2,600,000 activists taking part in their work.

Control of the work of deputies by the constituency is being intensified alongside the widening of the powers enjoyed by deputies and the reinforcement of their links to the people. Deputies who do not justify the trust of their electors are recalled. The right of voters to recall deputies is an effective means for enhancing the responsibility of deputies for their work.

The duty of the Soviets and of the bodies formed by them to keep the population informed of their work is recorded in the Constitution of the USSR and in special laws and provisions. Publicity is a cardinal principle of the work of the Soviets, about which Lenin wrote that as "an authority open to all, it carried out all its functions before the eyes of the masses, was accessible to the masses, sprang directly from the masses, and was a direct and immediate instrument of the popular masses".¹

An effective guarantee of correct decisions on all matters and of the actual participation of the people in administration is provided by compliance with democratic principles in the work of the Soviets: systematic accountability of the Soviets and their deputies to constituencies; publicity and free and all-sided discussion at sittings of the Soviets of all major issues of state administration and economic and cultural development; systematic accountability of executive bodies to sessions of the Soviets from top to bottom. The systematic renewal of the composition of the Soviets is one of the cardinal ways of involving the largest number of people in their work.

The party guides economic and social processes chiefly through the Soviets. The Soviets are organs of power with authority to handle matters related to the administration of the country. The development of statehood along the road to future communist self-administration implies giving the Soviets an ever larger role. This will be achieved through the further perfection of the forms and methods of their work,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party", *Collected Works*, Vol. 10, 1978, p. 245.

by reinforcing the democratic principles underlying this work, by the Soviets expressing ever more fully the interests, needs, and will of the people, and by drawing the largest possible number of people ever more directly into the work of the Soviets.

Perfecting the State Apparatus and People's Control

The development of socialist democracy presupposes the further improvement of the work of the state apparatus and the reinforcement of the democratic principles underlying its work. This apparatus must be highly trained, efficient, simple, and cost-effective.

The success of the work of each element of the administrative apparatus is determined by personnel. For that reason really scientific leadership is linked to a correct selection, promotion, and appointment of personnel. The democratic system of selecting and promoting personnel and broad and effective control by the people are the most dependable guarantee of the perfection of the administrative apparatus.

The party makes sure that a growing number of people go through the school of administration, that there is compliance with the Leninist principle of collective leadership, and that there is a growing influx of new cadres into leading bodies.

All-embracing people's control of the work of administrative bodies and officials is an indispensable component of Soviet democracy.

In the USSR people's control bodies monitor the fulfillment of state plans and assignments; combat violations of labour and state discipline, manifestations of parochialism, departmentalism, mismanagement, waste, bureaucratic practices, and abuse of office; and help to perfect the work of the state apparatus.

The courts, the procurator's office, and the militia bear much of the responsibility for reinforcing socialist legality and law and order. The party is working to make them function with the maximum efficiency, so that every crime is duly investigated and the perpetrators receive due punishment.

Development of the Forms of Direct Democracy

The Soviet political system highlights diverse forms of direct democracy: nation-wide discussions of draft laws, economic plans, and other important state documents; the working people's participation in controlling the work of man-

agement and in resolving the problems of work collectives; accountability of officials to citizens; mandatory reception of citizens and examination by administrative bodies of all their suggestions, statements, and complaints; participation of the population in the press, in people's control bodies, and so forth.

The practice of nation-wide discussions of economic and social development plans, draft laws, and other key documents of the country's socio-economic and political life has acquired particularly great significance in the USSR.

This was underscored by the nation-wide discussion of the draft of the 1977 Constitution of the USSR, in which more than 140 million people, or over four-fifths of the adult population, participated, and upwards of 180,000 letters were received from the people. With account of their suggestions, 118 of the 173 articles of the draft Constitution were amended.

In the USSR more than two million people are elected to the Soviets. In addition, the Soviets have nearly 30 million activists. Nine million people work in elected people's control bodies. Industrial facilities have standing production conferences, 65 per cent of whose members are workers. The Soviet government devotes much attention to problems related to strengthening social discipline and to the fulfilment by all citizens of their duties to society. Democracy is inconceivable without discipline and strict law and order. The further perfection of socialist democracy means, above all, the enlistment of a steadily growing number of people into the administration of all of society's affairs, the development of the democratic foundations of socialist statehood, and the creation of the conditions for the all-sided development of the individual.

Towards Communist Public Self-Administration

The active participation of the people in all the functions of the state and the development of democracy in all areas of life promote socialist self-administration. As was emphasised in the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, in socialist society government cannot be the privilege of a narrow circle of professionals. "The socialist system can develop successfully only when the people really run their own affairs, when millions of people are involved in political life. This is what the working people's self-government amounts to, as Lenin saw it. It is the essence of Soviet power. The elements of self-government develop within rather than outside our statehood, increasingly penetrating all aspects of state and public life, enriching the content

of democratic centralism and strengthening its socialist character."

The transition to communist public self-administration will lead to the withering away of the state, i.e., to the replacement of political state power, in connection with the disappearance of class distinctions, by a system of administration which will no longer be political and will be exercised without a special apparatus of coercion. The process of the withering away of the state presupposes definite vital conditions in the country and on the international scene.

In the context of internal conditions, the economic prerequisites for the withering away of the state are a high development level of the productive forces and the implementation of the communist principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs". The principal social prerequisite for the withering away of the state is the disappearance of classes and all traces of division into classes. In a classless society people will gradually become accustomed to complying with the rules of human association without coercion on the part of the state. Law will be superseded by communist morals and communist customs.

The withering away of coercion by the state will take place gradually rather than suddenly, as communist society matures. This presupposes the education of the new citizen, who will have a profound comprehension of social interests and possess considerable knowledge and culture.

When there will be no classes, there will be no need for the state. "State interference in social relations," Engels wrote, "becomes, in one domain after another, superfluous, and then withers away of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The state is not 'abolished'. *It withers away.*"¹

The process of the withering away of the state also depends on external conditions. Aggressive imperialist quarters are not abandoning their hope of destroying socialism. This compels the socialist states to strengthen their defensive capability and security. As long as there is the danger of aggression by imperialist states, the function of defending and safeguarding the country's security remains intact, and it can wither away only when socialism finally triumphs on a global scale. Consequently, the process of the withering away of the state can be consummated only when communism triumphs in the country and the threat of attack from without disappears.

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, p. 333.

The paths of transition to communist public self-administration are the development of democracy all along the line, the growth of the role of public organisations, the strengthening of democratic principles in the work of the state apparatus, and the promotion of direct forms of managing production and all of society's affairs.

The transition to communist public self-administration is not a single act. It is a gradual, dialectical process. Underlying it is the strengthening of the socialist state of the whole people, and it is expressed in the development and perfection of Soviet society's entire socio-political structure, in the increasingly pronounced unfolding of socialist democracy.

Chapter 22

SCIENTIFIC ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Prior to socialism's emergence society developed spontaneously. The objective conditions for the planned application of the laws of social development and for the scientific administration of society shaped up only under socialism.

Marxism-Leninism provides the general methodological basis of the theory of socialist society's administration. Scientific communism formulates the key principles, methods, and aims of the administration of social processes.

1. ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIETY—AN OBJECTIVE NEED

Marxism was the first in the history of social thought to show that society is a complex system consisting of many heterogeneous elements and processes that influence and are in causal dependence upon each other. The social system develops in accordance with objective laws. Its development necessarily presupposes processes of administration, i.e., self-regulation. Marx deduced the objective need for administration from man's social (collectivist) essence, from the social character of labour. Production requires a division of labour, the establishment of proportions between its various areas, maintenance of order and organisation, mutual links between people, and exchanges of the products of their labour. "All combined labour on a large scale," Marx wrote, "requires, more or less, a directing authority."¹

Administration covers not only labour activity but also social behaviour and cultural life. Indeed, as a social being the person always belongs to a historically-shaped definite system, class, social group, which make specific demands of him, and keep his affairs, acts, and way of behaviour and thought within certain bounds.

Having shown that in society administration is vital and universal, Marx demonstrated, at the same time, that in the social system there are two types of mechanisms of self-regulation.

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 313.

One of these is spontaneous, when the regulating influence on the system is the result of a clash, intertwining, and crossing of different, frequently contradictory forces, of a mass of accidental phenomena. People are not free to intervene in the play of casual events, to subordinate them to their interests. They are only capable of adapting, to be more exact, compelled to adapt themselves to this complex interplay. Marx made a particularly profound and all-sided study of the market element, which is the central regulating force of capitalist production.

The other mechanism is conscious administration, i.e., goal-oriented influence of people on social processes in order to attain definite results. Also, Marx noted the basic aim of the conscious management of production and of society as a whole: it is to consolidate the social system, to ensure its functioning and development, and safeguard it, as far as possible, from the influence of spontaneous forces, from arbitrary rule. The regulation and order created by administration, Marx wrote, "are themselves indispensable elements of any mode of production, if it is to assume social stability and independence from mere chance and arbitrariness".¹

Conscious administration is always concretely historical, while in a class society it bears, in addition, a class character. The aims, boundaries, content, principles, and methods of administration depend on society's character, on the social and, chiefly, economic relations predominant in it. In a class society administration is subordinated to the interests of the class that rules economically, owns the means of production, and because of that exercises state authority. In keeping with its interests the ruling class creates a system of social institutions, of organs and organisations that influence the social system and its individual elements. In a capitalist society the subjects of administration (the state and the bourgeois political parties and organisations) protect the interests of the bourgeoisie, enabling it to amass wealth and exploit and suppress the working people. Capitalist administration, Marx wrote, is a function of the exploitation of the social process of labour and is conditioned by the inevitable antagonism between the exploiter and the exploited. Marx characterised administrative work under capitalism as "direct and constant supervision" of the working people by the capitalist. The situation is not changed in any way by the fact that under present-day conditions the function of directly managing industrial facilities, particularly large ones, is performed not by the capitalist himself but by managers employed by him.

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III, 1977, p. 793.

That the sphere of conscious administration is narrow under capitalism was noted more than once by the founders of Marxism-Leninism. The bourgeoisie can manage industrial facilities, large corporations, and whole branches of industry efficiently. But it is incapable of scientifically managing production and society as a whole. Commodity relations, the market element, of which capitalist private property is the foundation, is a force that man cannot hold in check. However, objectively implicit in modern production is the trend towards centralisation, towards purposeful management on the scale of the whole of society.

As a result, the contradiction between this objective trend and private property that generates the market element, steadily deepens in capitalist society. State-monopoly regulation of the economy is a means of partially resolving this contradiction.

The bourgeoisie's ideologues and reformist abettors assert that state-monopoly regulation signals a change in the nature of capitalism, its transformation into what they term an industrial society that is neither capitalist nor socialist. However, despite the concentration of production on a national and even international scale, despite the certain measure of planned regulation, Lenin wrote, "we still remain under *capitalism*—at its new stage, it is true, but still capitalism, without a doubt".¹ State-monopoly regulation and programming can only accelerate or decelerate, temporarily weaken the operation of spontaneous market forces, but cannot abolish them. The crisis of state-monopoly regulation of the bourgeois economy has grown increasingly more pronounced over the past few years.

In order to surmount the market element it is vital to abolish private property and replace it with public property, in other words, to accomplish a socialist revolution and build a socialist society. Truly scientific centralised management of production and of society as a whole is possible only under socialism and communism. "Communism," Marx and Engels wrote, "differs from all previous movements in that it overturns the basis of the earlier relations of production and intercourse, and for the first time consciously treats all naturally evolved premises as the creations of hitherto existing men, strips them of their natural character and subjugates them to the power of the united individuals."²

¹ V.I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 448.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 81.

2. OBJECTIVE FOUNDATIONS AND ESSENCE OF SCIENTIFIC ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Objective Foundations of Scientific Administration

The spontaneous regulator of production and of society—market relations, competition—implicit in capitalism, ceases to operate under socialism. The subjective factor becomes the main regulator of socialist production, of the entire range of socialist social relations. This factor consists of the conscious, planned activity of people and of the system of governmental and non-governmental institutions and organisations headed by the Communist Party. The market element, anarchy, and competition give way to scientific, planned, organised administration.

Under socialism it is objectively vital to understand and apply the laws of social development. The aims of individual members of socialist society coincide with social interests in what is basic and central. For that reason the latter do not press on them as a blind, alien force. The fact of society's socio-political and ideological unity allows people to map out a common aim and achieve that aim by joint effort. The laws of socialism manifest themselves in the concerted actions of all of society's members, whose relations to each other are those of cooperation and mutual assistance. Hence the unprecedented growth of the role of the subjective factor.

Public property in the means of production is the objective foundation making it possible to administer socialist society scientifically. This unites people, leagues them together, allowing labour, material, and financial resources to be mobilised for the attainment of the aims confronting society. It is also the basis of the operation of the law of planned and proportionate development, which embraces not only the economy but all social relations. *Socialism thus extends the boundaries of administration to the scale of the whole of society.*

Of course, the law of planned and proportionate development does not automatically ensure society's harmonious advancement. It only creates the potential for such advancement. And in order to turn this potential into reality it is necessary to have a practical knowledge of this law's requirements. Such knowledge does not come easily, especially as the law operates under conditions of commodity-money relations, which bring some elements of fortuity to social processes. It is important for administrative organs to use economic levers linked to commodity-money relations and actively influence these relations through the state plan.

Essence of Scientific Administration

Scientific administration is understood to mean exercising a conscious, goal-oriented influence on the social system through knowledge and application of objective laws. To administer socialist society scientifically means opportunely to ascertain pressing requirements, overcome obstacles to social progress, and make rational use of the advantages and actual potentialities of socialism.

In scientific administration the most important thing is to direct people and collectives. Society progresses as a result of the actions of millions of people, and the success of any matter, big or small, depends to a decisive extent on how well they are trained, how correctly they are placed, and how effectively they interact.

Not only the economic foundation, the social essence and boundaries of administration, but also its subject, i.e., the system of organs and organisations performing administrative functions, change radically under socialism. Here the working people themselves are a sovereign subject of administration. Their best representatives are in the Communist Party and in government bodies.

The tasks of administration become increasingly more varied with the establishment of socialism. These tasks are particularly important and complex in a developed socialist society, which has a powerful economy and a highly developed socio-political system and culture. This society's distinctive features are the growing unity and interaction of various social spheres, branches of production, industrial associations, and enterprises. Production and society as a whole are strongly influenced by the scientific and technological revolution, which transforms production and the relationships between people, diversifying the forms of their association and interaction. It prompts the resettlement of huge numbers of people and changes their professional composition, work, everyday life, way of thought, requirements and interests. People's skills grow, larger demands are made of their special training and general education, and of their cultural level and technical knowledge. The social structure of socialist society becomes increasingly more mobile and the process of erasing social distinctions is speeded up under the impact of this revolution.

All this greatly complicates administration, confronting administrative bodies with new and difficult problems. In administration under socialism it is of the utmost significance to take into consideration and, in the interests of society, combine the specific interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the various groups and collec-

tives, and to chart and implement such forms of organisation and incentives as would induce a high level of labour and public activity in order to attain the aims facing society.

In view of the scientific and technological revolution and the growing rate of social progress successful administration requires the utilisation of the most advanced scientific and technical means. Particularly high demands are made of the social sciences, which provide the theoretical foundation of scientific administration, giving people and administrative bodies a knowledge of the laws of socialist and communist construction. Under present-day conditions administration requires the use of automation, mathematical methods, and computer technology.

3. SUBJECT OF ADMINISTRATION AND ITS BASIC FUNCTIONS

The administration of social processes presupposes the existence not only of the object (society or its individual elements) but of the subject of administration—the system that influences the object, coordinates the work of its various elements, and adjusts it in accordance with modifications in internal and external conditions. In socialist society this subject of administration is the system of governmental and non-governmental, public bodies and organisations.

Subject of Administration

The Marxist-Leninist party is at the core of the administration of social processes. "To govern," Lenin said, "you need an army of steeled revolutionary Communists. We have it, and it is called the Party."¹ The party works out a coherent political course of the development of society, of the main areas of society's life, and ensures the implementation of this course organisationally and ideologically, selects, places, and trains leading cadres, and verifies compliance with adopted decisions. Political leadership is the most general and highest level of scientific administration.

The Communist Party's policy rests on the solid foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the only true science of society, enables the party constantly to see the principal aim of progress and subordinate to the attainment of this aim all other tasks, to get its bearings in the intricate labyrinth of developments in society and, in accordance with the actually prevailing situation, find the correct solution for the most complex problems.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Second All-Russia Congress of Miners. Report on the Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions Delivered on January 23 at a Meeting of the Communist Group of the Congress", *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 62.

Based on knowledge of the laws of society's development, the party's policy expresses society's requirements, the interests of all working people, of all of the nations and nationalities inhabiting the country.

A major place in the system of administration is held by the socialist state, which is a powerful regulator of social processes. The will of the sovereign subject of administration—the people—becomes law, universally mandatory in state legislation. The legislative function is exercised exclusively by the state. In the USSR the highest organ of power is the Supreme Soviet. It is only the state that has organs and means of compulsion (the court, the procurator's office, the militia, state security agencies, and so on). Within its jurisdiction the state has powerful means of ideological influence (the school, the press, the film industry, radio and television networks, and so forth). Possessing the prerogative of political power, enormous prestige, and means of influencing people, the state plays a large role in administering socialist society. It is the principal proponent of the party's policy.

The actual work of administration is done by the apparatus of administration with its various organs—economic, planning, financial, defence, foreign policy, and others.

High demands are made of officials of the administrative apparatus. Of these the most important are *devotion to communism, a high sense of responsibility and commitment to principle, profound knowledge, and high professional skills*. To administer, Lenin wrote, it is necessary to know how to go about it. One cannot administer without competence, without knowledge of the science of administration. Lenin demanded knowledge of the theory of Marxism, special training in this or that area, and knowledge of production at its modern level. Realism, efficiency, organisation, and responsibility are the indispensable requirements of the work of the administrative apparatus.

Organisation and method are important in the work of the administrative apparatus. This means that this work must be a thoroughly considered sum of strictly ordered measures, linked in time and space, and worked out on the basis of an account of the specific conditions and distinctive tasks of society as a whole and of individual collectives. Moreover, this presupposes a strict specialisation of each of the organs of administration and of its individual officials, coordination of their work, and the weeding out of duplication and of unneeded intermediate elements. "One of the great evils hindering our economic development," Lenin stressed in this connection, "is the absence of coordination in the work of

the various local departments.”¹

The combination of the administrative and scientific aspects of their work is an important and complex issue facing the administrative apparatus and its officials. Lenin saw the scientific aspect of administration as basic because no work, including administrative, can be correctly organised without science. Further, it is imperative that officials of the apparatus are skilful administrators capable of directing and controlling their subordinates with the use of the administrative rights given to them. Compliance with socialist society's laws and principles is mandatory for officials of the administrative system.

Lenin made very high demands of administrative cadres. He saw as criteria for advancing people to administrative, particularly leadership, posts “loyalty to socialism”, “sober and practical minds”, solid scientific and technical knowledge, the ability, “without fuss”, to get a large number of people working together within the framework of socialist organisation. He considered that such, and only such, people should be promoted “to the responsible posts of leaders of the people's labour, leaders of administration”.² He demanded the unconditional demotion of Communists who did not seriously study the art of administration.

The selection of cadres, verification of compliance with orders, and collective leadership combined with personal responsibility, broad democracy, publicity, the utmost encouragement for criticism and self-criticism, and the electivity and removability of officials of elected bodies are the indispensable conditions of efficient work by the administrative apparatus.

Basic Functions of Administration

The process of administration begins with the formulation of aims and is consummated with the attainment of a practical result. The achievement of one aim is followed by the formulation of another, which opens a new administrative cycle.

Every cycle of administration has distinctive stages, at each of which the leading organ or leader carries out definite operations that we call *functions of administration*. There are four main functions: the formulation and adoption of a decision; organisation; regulation; accounting and control.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Instructions of the Council of Labour and Defence to Local Soviet Bodies”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 386.

² V. I. Lenin, “The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 262-63.

Let us consider these functions.

The *decision* (programme, directive, plan, decree, instruction, and so on) states the aim put to society as a whole and its individual elements, and the general direction of work. It envisages ensuring the executive organs with the relevant resources, and also names the persons responsible for the implementation of the decision. Obviously, successful implementation depends to a considerable extent on the quality of the decision. The Leninist requirements of the decisions passed by administrative bodies are: scientific substantiation, competency, authority, freedom from contradictions, strict coordination in all elements without exception, timeliness, logical succession, simplicity, and clarity.

Organisation. By itself a decision cannot achieve the aim set by it. Fulfilment of a decision requires serious organisational work. Lenin wrote that "in order to administer successfully ... we must be able to do *practical organisational work*."

Regulation. Every social system comes under the impact of the operation of two opposite tendencies: the tendency towards organisation, towards order, which is ensured by the work of administrative bodies, and the tendency towards disorganisation that springs from unregulated changes such as the obsolescence or breakdown of machines, the incapacitation of people, a sudden turn in developments, and various accidental influences, such as an unfavourable impact of elemental forces and so on. Naturally, all this upsets the organisation of the relationships in the system and also the system's links to external conditions. It becomes incumbent upon the administrative organs to safeguard organisation, to ensure its perfection and development. Under socialism this need is expressed in party-political, state (administrative-legal), economic, and operational-technical regulation.

Accounting and control. As a function of administration accounting means receiving, processing, analysing, and systematising information about the course of the realisation of assignments, resources, and the results of compliance with decisions. The principal forms of accounting are statistical accounting (reports, census returns, selective and inclusive study, and so on) giving a quantitative characteristic of social phenomena; accounting in terms of bookkeeping, which represents the sum of data on the circulation of funds, as well as on material and labour resources expressed through money; operational-technical accounting, reflecting the day-to-day movement of machinery and other equipment, mate-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 242.

rials, people, the course of technological processes, and so forth.

As distinct from accounting, a prerogative of which consists chiefly of quantitative indicators, *control* presupposes receiving not only quantitative but also qualitative data. Control is a system of monitoring and verification of how organisation and the results of fulfilment are consonant with the adopted decisions.

The above-listed functions of administration are indivisibly linked with each other and intertwine. The working out and adoption of decisions are vital not only at the initial stage of the administrative cycle but in the process of organisation, regulation, accounting, and control. The function of organisation proceeds during the working out of decisions, accounting, and control. None of these functions by itself nor a simple sum of functions give an idea of the content of administration. It is only in inseparable unity and dialectical interaction that they form an integral administrative cycle.

The administration of society presupposes an efficiently functioning *information* service. Information is particularly vital for working out and adopting decisions. It is also needed for organising and regulating the fulfilment of these decisions. Administrative bodies have to be informed of the course of the fulfilment of decisions, on the basis of which the previous decision is specified and a new decision is adopted. Efficient administration is ensured only if there is optimal information, i.e., the information necessary and adequate for the attainment of set aims. The absence of dependable information is a source of subjectivism, of purely willful and unfounded decisions and actions incompatible with scientific administration. Huge flows of information cannot be collected and processed without automation, without the use of modern technology, especially without electronic computers.

4. LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC ADMINISTRATION

The general principles underlying the scientific administration of socialist society consist of the fundamental rules guiding the work of administrative bodies and of people entrusted with directing economic and social processes. "There is much that is similar, basically similar," Lenin wrote, "in the methods by which the affairs of different and diverse factories, institutions, departments, etc., are conducted."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Tasks of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and How They Are to Be Understood and Fulfilled", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 42.

This basic similarity, similarity in the conduct of affairs, i.e., in the administration of society as a whole and of its various elements, finds expression in the general principles of administration.

Democratic centralism. The essence of democratic centralism as a principle of administration lies in the combination of democracy, i.e., power of the people, with centralism—administration from one centre and strict discipline.

Democratic centralism allows combining the scientific administration of society as a whole with the administration of its individual elements—spheres of society's life, districts, individual production facilities, specific collectives, and so on.

The economic foundation of democratic centralism is socialist property in the means of production. It links together all the branches of the economy and turns all the working people into associated producers. Public property ensures collective ownership and utilisation of public wealth, and consequently the collective, democratic participation of society's members in the administration of its affairs.

The socio-political foundation of democratic centralism is the absence of antagonistic classes, the fact that there is socio-political unity in society. The coincidence of the basic interests of society, classes, collectives, and individuals ensures unity of will, purpose, and interests of all the working people. At the same time, this establishes the conditions for the creative initiative, independence, and activity of the collective or individual in the fulfilment of common tasks. Unity between centralism and democracy is embodied by the socialist state, which expresses the will of the whole of society and ensures the broadest participation of the people in administration.

The intellectual foundation of democratic centralism is provided by the undivided predominance, under socialism, of Marxist-Leninist ideology, by socialist society's ideological unity.

Thus, the principle of democratic centralism expresses the most profound essence of the socialist system, its centralised and, at the same time, democratic character. Consistent implementation of this principle ensures centralisation and planning, on the one hand, and broad democracy in the functioning and development of the social system, on the other, thereby giving scope for the creative initiatives of millions of people.

Centralism and democracy are indivisible and interact. The development of centralism allows avoiding unwarranted losses and costs, and any slowdown of the fulfilment of major tasks through fragmentation and inadequate concentra-

tion of effort and funds, and raises barriers to departmental and parochial tendencies. Moreover, the development of democracy permits encouraging local initiatives, the tightening of control by the people of the work of administrative bodies, relieving the upper echelons of administration of petty, current affairs, and ensuring speed and flexibility in the adoption and fulfilment of decisions.

Objectivity. Objective laws of social development underlie social processes. A principle of objectivity is that these laws, actual potentialities, and actual conditions must be taken into account—this is a major principle of scientific administration.

A knowledge of objective laws is the foundation of scientific administration of social processes. The advantages of socialism can be brought to light and put to use in the best possible way only when people have acquired a knowledge of these laws, of the mechanism of their operation, and actively and skilfully apply them in administration.

The principle of objectivity in administration is incompatible with subjectivism which consists in ignoring the laws of society's development. Moreover, the principle of objectivity comes into conflict with spontaneity inasmuch as scientific administration requires the active work of people on the basis of a knowledge of objective laws.

Concreteness. As the prevailing tendency, a pattern or law paves the way for itself through a mass of concrete and frequently contradictory phenomena that modify its operation and which must be taken into consideration in the practice of applying that law. For instance, the operation of the law of distribution according to work done is applied when there is a lack of coincidence of some of the less important interests of social groups, of society and the individual, when there still is actual economic inequality between people, and so forth.

To administer concretely means to administer on the basis of authentic and scientifically processed information on the internal condition of the object, and also on the external conditions in which the object functions. Information is the actual vital material that helps to reveal new and unexplored laws, specify laws that are known, bring to light specific manifestations of various laws under given circumstances and, most importantly, map out, on this basis, the optimal aims and manner of action of people in keeping with the requirements of objective laws.

Socialist society receives authentic social information through statistics, concrete sociological research, social experimentation, and contact between leaders and the working people. Discussions of problems by state, party, and public

organisations, and letters from the people likewise serve as sources of information.

Optimality, efficiency. In the principle of optimality and efficiency lies the main aim of the administration of society, of economic, political, social, and intellectual processes. The substance of this principle is to ensure the attainment of set aims within the shortest span of time and with the least outlay of labour, material, and financial resources.

The principle of optimality signifies, above all, economy, i.e., the reasonable and prudent utilisation of resources, the prevention of losses and unproductive outlays. An important instrument for achieving optimality is economic accounting, which is the only basis on which it is possible to ensure communist discretion and thrift.

Optimality is a principle of the management not only of the economy but also of any other sphere of society's life, a principle of the administration of the whole of society. In a socialist society the central criterion of optimality is the social, the human criterion: that decision and that measure is optimal that serves the good of man, the progress of society.

System. Comprehensiveness. Because in a developed socialist society there is a high level of integration of the diverse areas of society's life, of branches of production, of individual and amalgamated production facilities, and of the country's different districts it is important that there is an *all-sided*, precisely methodical, systems approach, an account by administrative bodies of the most diverse factors and interests, terms and consequences of all decisions, and coordinated work by all governmental agencies and public organisations, both central and local. For instance, in adopting a decision affecting the economy it is necessary to take its social and ideological consequences into consideration. The significance of the systems approach is especially high today when many special-purpose and comprehensive programmes—economic, social, scientific, technological, state, inter-branch, and inter-regional—are being drawn up and put into effect.

Basic link. The administration of society as a whole and of any social project is confronted with a set of diverse, inter-locked tasks. These tasks are dissimilar for their significance, place in the general chain of events, and modes and time of their fulfilment. Lenin insisted that it was necessary to find in this chain of events the main link on which the decision of a set of problems depended. "You must be able," he wrote, "at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which you must grasp with all your might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly

for the transition to the next link."¹ The basic link does not remain the same. It changes at every new stage of society's development.

Provision of incentives. The administration of society spells out, above all, leading the people, organising labour and social activity. Skilful leadership of the people ultimately resolves the problem of administering society efficiently. But people are live, thinking, and active beings. They have definite interests, aspirations, and needs. Consideration of their needs and interests is expressed in the provision of incentives for their activity.

Referring to the building of socialism and communism, Lenin attached particularly great significance to a correct combination of moral and material incentives. The transition to communism, he said, can be effected by "not directly relying on enthusiasm, but aided by the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, and on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive and business principles".² Scientific administration of society presupposes the provision of material and moral incentives, the attainment of harmonious unity of the fundamental interests of society, of each collective and of every member of that collective.

Material incentives are an important factor promoting the labour activity of people. But they should not be separated from moral incentives. The main thing in the provision of incentives as a principle of administration is to combine material and moral incentives for work. The counterposing of the incentives is incompatible with the nature of socialism and may seriously prejudice socialist society's development. Without moral incentives material incentives can generate proprietary tendencies, money-grubbing, while without material incentives moral incentives will not yield the desired effect. It is only when they are combined that material and moral incentives are a mainspring for a steady growth of labour activity, of labour productivity and social wealth, and a source for the rise of the people's living standard and the all-sided development of the individual.

Territorial-sectoral principle. The territorial-sectoral principle of administration has an objective foundation—the existence of administrative-territorial units and diverse areas of social life, of sectors of the economy and of culture.

Administrative-territorial units (in the USSR these are republics, territories, regions, and so forth) are administered

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 274.

² V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 58.

in keeping with the *territorial principle*. In the USSR each of these units is subordinated to the relevant Soviet of People's Deputies. The Soviets organise economic and cultural construction and ensure harmony in the operation of industrial facilities and institutions located in the territory administered by them. As a result, territorial units form integrated socio-economic complexes holding a specific place in the social system as a whole.

The various sectors of the economy and culture are managed *in accordance with the sectoral principle*. Each of the sectoral units, regardless of its location, is managed from the centre through the corresponding ministries and departments and the local bodies subordinated to them. Sectoral management ensures the specialisation of production, and this allows pursuing a unified technical and scientific policy in each sector, introducing the latest achievements of science and technology into production, and making the most expedient use of material, labour, and financial resources. It paves the way for creating an efficient system of scientific information, of research and design institutions, of training skilled personnel, and of standardising production. Specialisation opens up abundant opportunities for promoting labour productivity, improving the quality of output, providing the population with better services, and developing culture and science.

The administrative-territorial and sectoral principles are closely interrelated. On the territory of administrative-territorial units there are elements of diverse sectors—factories, mills, building projects, collective and state farms, cultural institutions, health services, educational facilities, and so on. Neither the administrative-territorial nor the sectoral principle of management can by itself ensure effective administration. An integral *territorial-sectoral principle of management* has taken shape in socialist society. Its essence is that the various units are, as a rule, under double authority. On some, especially socio-political, issues, they are administered by territorial bodies, notably the Soviets of People's Deputies. On other, special matters, they are administered by sectoral bodies—ministries, committees, and so on.

Administrative-territorial and sectoral administration represents a unity of opposites. The competent combination of these opposites is a major task of administrative bodies. Any absolutisation of the territorial principle often leads to parochialism, to neglect of society's interests. In turn, any absolutisation of sectors may lead to departmentalism, to neglect of the interests of territorial units, of economic regions. It is a constant concern of the party and the government to make sure that there is harmony between the interests of so-

ciety as a whole and those of economic regions.

The 27th CPSU Congress endorsed a strategy of the country's accelerated socio-economic development. The strategy of acceleration implies an all-out intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, structural modernisation of the economy and effective forms of management and of organisation and stimulation of labour. This involves:

- the improvement of the *process of administration* (the drawing up and adoption of decisions, chiefly planning, organisation, control, and accounting);

- the improvement of the *subject of administration* (regulation of the administrative apparatus, and specification of functions, terms of reference, rights and duties, and so on);

- improvement of the *system of incentives* (material and moral) with the purpose of creating the conditions (planning and accounting indicators, norms, limitations, rights and duties, rate setting and remuneration for labour, the bonus system, and so on) for the efficient and high-quality operation of all the links of the national economy;

- the further enlargement and development of the *material-technical and information basis* of administration (automation of management, the use of modern scientific and technical means);

- improvement of the system of *training administrative personnel*, of executives, and enhancing their responsibility for the work entrusted to them;

- improvement of the organisational structure, and of the methods and style* of administration.

Here it is a question of developing a style of work that organically combines smooth performance and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise; practicalness and efficiency with a drive for long-range goals; a critical attitude to shortcomings with an unshakable confidence in the historic advantages of the path chosen.

The improvement of administration in accordance with society's objective needs is an indispensable condition of the successful development of socialism, of its advance along the road to communism.

Chapter 23

EVERYDAY LIFE AND THE FAMILY UNDER SOCIALISM

Everyday life and the family are of major significance in the formation of the communist way of life. The communist transformation of everyday life through the promotion of production and culture and introduction of the principles of collectivism into the day-to-day life of people, and the further development and strengthening of the family, are important objectives in the building of the new society.

1. SOCIALIST EVERYDAY LIFE

Socialist everyday life and the socialist family take shape in the process of the building of the new society and embody the progressive traits associated with the economic and social system of communist society.

Everyday life is the sphere of people's non-productive vital activity, the sum of the modes and forms of satisfying their material and cultural needs, and also diverse customs, rites, habits, and norms of human association. As a component of the people's way of life, everyday life embraces primarily personal consumption of material and cultural goods and also the related non-productive work and other activity in serving the individual's day-to-day needs. In their everyday life people consume material and cultural goods, bring up children, associate with relatives and friends, and spend their leisure time. It reveals the multiform relations between people, the way of their day-to-day life, and their habits and tastes, and molds their character and the standard of their behaviour.

Contemporary everyday life is the outcome of the long historical development of the conditions of people's material and cultural life. It bears the imprint of many factors: the character of the social system, the level of economic development, national traditions, politics, ideology, the development level of culture, and the geographical environment. All in

all, everyday life is the product of society's economic development. While on the whole it follows the development of the economy, everyday life itself influences production and other aspects of society's life. Where everyday life is disorderly it hinders the development of the individual and the growth of labour activity, affects the individual's health, and this is reflected also in people's performance at their place of work.

The radical social changes that take place in the process of socialist construction give rise to an entirely new lifestyle that differs fundamentally from previous modes of everyday life. This lifestyle springs from public property in the means of production and is founded on social and national equality, on equality between men and women, and on the relations of friendship and mutual assistance.

Under capitalism everyday life is based on private property and individualism, and is characterised by seclusion and isolation of private from public life. In a socialist society the arrangement and improvement of the everyday life of citizens are the personal affair of each individual but also the object of society's concern. Under socialism society takes steps to keep the improvement of everyday relations abreast of the improvements in other areas of life. It takes upon itself the concern for major aspects of everyday life, such as housing construction, the organisation of retail trade, public catering, communal, medical, and cultural services, and the upbringing of children.

The living standards and amenities enjoyed by all sections of the population are levelling up, as can be seen from the living conditions and the organisation of the everyday life of workers and peasants, of workers by hand and by brain; the old contrasts in the way of life between town and countryside, and between the centre and the provinces are being gradually erased.

Socialism has dramatically reshaped the social and material condition of the working people. The growth of social production has led to a considerable increase of the quantity of food and consumer goods for the personal needs of the population, for upgrading its living standard and everyday life.

In a socialist society people have the opportunity of budgeting much more money for their cultural and everyday requirements, for the purchase of appliances and other goods that ease their household chores and enhance the overall culture of their life.

The right of Soviet citizens to housing is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR. This right is "ensured by the development and upkeep of state and socially-owned housing; by assistance for cooperative and individual housebuild-

ing; by fair distribution, under public control, of the housing that becomes available through fulfilment of the programme of building well-appointed dwellings, and by low rents and low charges for utility services" (Article 44).

The gigantic housing and cultural-everyday services building programme under socialism, the extension of the communal services, and the growing sales of household machines and appliances have visibly increased the everyday conveniences available to the population and cut back and lightened the work of women in households.

Steps are being taken to continue reducing and easing household chores, to enlarge the system of social services, and develop the forms of social organisation of everyday life. It is only the replacement of individual housekeeping with publicly-run husbandries that can lead to the final emancipation of women, to their complete, actual equality with men. "The real *emancipation of women*, real communism," Lenin wrote, "will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its *whole-sale transformation* into a large-scale socialist economy begins."¹

An important aspect of society's life under socialism is the organisation of the health services. In the USSR the right to health protection is formalised in the Constitution and is ensured by a state system of health protection, by measures to prevent diseases and prolong the active life of the people. Concern for people's health is seen strikingly in the steady expansion of the network of hospitals, polyclinics, health homes, and sports facilities, in the free and instantly available medical services for all the citizens of socialist society. In the USSR the average expectancy of life has risen to 70 years, in other words, it has doubled compared with pre-revolutionary times.

Socialism not only facilitates an enormous growth of the individual's needs but also radically changes the character of these needs. Naturally, as their living standard and cultural level rise people make greater demands of the quality of household goods, of the convenience in handling them, and of the amenities and conveniences in their homes. The significance of cultural requirements is growing under socialism. People increasingly strive for knowledge, culture, intelligent recreation, and healthy entertainment. A growing proportion of leisure time is spent on socio-political activity, on sports and physical culture, on reading, on visits to exhibitions and museums, and on watching TV.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 429.

New norms of behaviour—mutual respect, comradely mutual assistance, simplicity, modesty, and intolerance of petty-bourgeois dissoluteness and of vulgar, philistine attitudes—are being asserted in everyday life as in all other areas of life. The everyday life of people in socialist society is being increasingly restructured along collectivist lines. It is becoming increasingly more organised, healthy, cultured, intellectually rich, and morally pure. It is facilitating the development of the socialist way of life.

2. FORMATION AND MAIN FEATURES OF COMMUNIST EVERYDAY LIFE

Communist everyday life constitutes a new stage in the development of the lifestyle consonant with the higher stage of the communist system.

The formation of the communist lifestyle is a hard task that takes a long time. It can be accomplished gradually in accordance with the achieved level of society's economic and social maturity, with account of available material resources, and the growth of the consciousness and cultural level of the working people.

Crucial to the communist restructuring of everyday life is the creation of the material and technical basis of communism and the system of measures taken on this foundation to attain a further rise of the material condition and cultural level of the people.

Abundance will permit satisfying in full the people's demand for consumer goods and organising nourishment in accordance with scientific norms. The entire population's requirements in well-appointed housing, smart, good-quality clothes, diverse goods of everyday use, and services easing and adorning the life of people will be met.

Showing concern for creating the maximum amenities for the population, socialist society pursues a course towards the comprehensive solution of the housing problem in town and countryside. The designing of new types of dwellings goes hand in hand with the development of improved methods of building and planning towns and townships, with growing attention to their artistic-architectural appearance. The building of large residential neighbourhoods is planned in such a way as to locate everyday services as closely as possible to dwellings, so that every neighbourhood would have all the facilities for a healthy and cultured life. Communist society will not only generously ensure the needs and requirements of people in food, clothes, dwellings, and articles of everyday use, but also provide each person with really healthy conditions of life and recreation.

Massive development of the system of public services (canteens, kindergartens and creches, health and holiday homes, public transport, communal everyday services, clubs, libraries, tourist camps, holiday hotels, and so on) clears the way to replacing household work with social forms of satisfying the everyday needs of the family and leads to a communist arrangement of everyday life. This helps to surmount private proprietary tendencies and to foster collectivist practices and habits among the people. Since with the transition to communism the incomes of individuals will ultimately lose their significance and all the main concerns for meeting the everyday needs of the family will be taken over by society, housekeeping will to a considerable extent be replaced by collective forms of public services. The basic elements of everyday life will be socialised.

But under communism items of individual use will remain entirely at the disposal of each member of society. The communist restructuring of everyday life pursues the aim not of abolishing private life but of delivering people from the oppression of petty household chores, of giving them the possibility of getting all they need from social funds and the social services, and providing them with as much leisure time as possible for creative pursuits and recreation.

By releasing people from exhausting household chores, the socialisation of various areas of everyday life and the improvement of public services will make the personal life of people much more varied and richer. Far from impoverishing the individual's tastes and needs, communism will enrich and develop them, leading to a giant increase in human requirements.

The communist restructuring of everyday life spells out not only the creation of an abundance of goods and the socialisation of services but also the reorganisation of traditional forms and ways of life, bringing collectivism, new norms of behaviour, and a high level of sophistication to the relations between individuals.

Socially useful labour is the foundation for the restructuring of everyday life along communist lines. The change in the conditions and character of labour asserts new relations among people not only in production but also in everyday life. It is important that the development of everyday life and of the relationships in it should not lag behind the development of communist social relations and the fostering of communist qualities in people in the sphere of labour.

Under communism the achievements of science, culture, and art will become part and parcel of the everyday life of every individual, making the life of people richer and more interesting. People will have much greater opportunities not

only for intelligent recreation and entertainment but also for broadening their mental outlook, for engaging in science, invention, literature, art, and amateur activity. Education will become an indispensable feature of the day-to-day life of every member of society. Physical culture and sports will enter the life of every person. Tourism and travel will be accessible to all people.

Hence, those aspects of everyday life that contribute most to the all-sided development of the individual will be promoted most fully in the course of communist construction and, especially, with the assertion of communism.

For the establishment of communist relations in everyday life it is not enough to provide the individual with everything he needs. He has to be taught to make intelligent use of the benefits society offers him, and comply voluntarily with the rules of communist human association. Without petty interference in the personal life of people, socialist society works towards making the rules of human association and cultured behaviour a habit of every person from earliest childhood.

In communist society the loftiest moral principles in human history will underlie the relations between people in both work and everyday life. Collectivist habits and practices and new customs and rites consonant with the principles of communist society will be asserted in full in the everyday life of people. There will be no influence by religion. The remnants of the actual inequality between women and men linked to survivals of the old way of life and the burdens of housekeeping will be finally eradicated. All vestiges of dependence and inequality between people in social and family life will disappear. The rules of communist human association will be observed by all people voluntarily, without compulsion, by force of habit. The establishment of communism will signify the definitive assertion of a superior lifestyle—the most perfect form of human association.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE FAMILY

The family is society's prime unit, one of the basic elements of its social structure. Family relations are part of the relations taking shape in everyday life.

Social Essence of the Family

The family is a small social group, whose members are linked by ties of marriage or blood, common everyday life, and mutual moral responsibility. In turn, marriage is a historically-shaped form of relations between a woman and a

man, a form that establishes their mutual rights and duties. While having a certain degree of independence, marriage-family relations are closely linked to society and its development. The natural requirement of people for continuing the species is regulated, publicly sanctioned, and realised in marriage and the family. This requirement is not merely inherited by humankind from its animal ancestors; it is qualitatively transformed by social conditions. For that reason, marriage and the family cannot be reduced to procreative relations. Most essential in this case are what nature gives, and culture and society offer.

The social essence of marriage and the family is, in the long term, determined by the predominant economic relations. It is influenced also by the social superstructure, chiefly politics, law, and morality. By sanctioning marriage in legal, moral and—in pre-socialist societies—religious forms society undertakes definite obligations to safeguard it, and imputes to people entering marriage the responsibility for providing for and bringing up their children and, consequently, for the future of the family. "If marriage," Marx wrote, "were not the basis of the family, it would no more be the subject of legislation than, for example, friendship is."¹

Society's interest in regulating marriage-family relations is due to the fact that the character of these relations influences the growth and density of the population, and the intellectual and psychophysical make-up of new generations. As children grow up, the duty of parents is complemented with filial duty, the emergence of another function of the family, that of concern for the aged. The family's social functions also embrace forms of activity predicated on various historical circumstances. These include: organisation of production, accumulation of property, and the management of a husbandry. These are functions not of all but only of some historical types of families.

As the smallest and, in this sense, primary social unit, the family may be described as society's "elementary particle" that has its own, independent life and a life common with that of the social whole (class, nation).

The family is a historically changing phenomenon. Primitive society had polygamous forms of relations between the sexes, and with the economic and cultural development these were gradually superseded by monogamous marriage. The emergence of private property speeded up the assertion of the monogamous family, but gave it an alienated character

¹ Karl Marx, "The Divorce Bill", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, 1975, p. 308.

expressed in sharp contradictions between the man and the oppressed woman, between human emotions and marriage founded on convenience. As a result, private proprietary monogamy proved to be "complemented" by polygamic relations between the sexes expressed in new forms: hetaerism, prostitution, adultery.

The capitalist system preserves in full the economic basis of the dependence of marriage-family relations on utilitarian-economic interests. "Historically," Marx and Engels wrote, "the bourgeois gives the family the character of the bourgeois family, in which boredom and money are the binding link and which also includes the bourgeois dissolution of the family, which does not prevent the family itself from always continuing to exist."¹

In present-day bourgeois society this is seen in phenomena such as the steady growth of the number of divorces and desertions, the weakening of family and kinship links, aggravation of the contradictions between the family and society ("self-isolation of the family"), and the spread of extra-marital sex relations. In many capitalist countries prostitution is now formally prohibited but in fact, linked to "pornobusiness", it has become an inalienable element of the bourgeois way of life.

Although bourgeois democracy gives women more rights and opportunities than they had in feudal societies, the bourgeoisie as a class is interested in consolidating their unequal status inherited from previous epochs. Needing cheap labour, capitalism employs a growing number of women in social production, thereby reinforcing, despite the continued discrimination in remuneration for female labour, their economic, social, and moral positions, their relative independence from the husband, the father, the whole male section of the family. As women acquire more economic independence and a wider social outlook, they grow more militant in fighting for the assertion of their own dignity, for economic and cultural emancipation. This struggle began with attempts to organise an "independent" (but actually influenced by bourgeois ideology) women's movement—feminism—and then increasingly coalesced with the class struggle of the proletariat.

Joint work and struggle by working men and women have cultivated in them a sense of comradeship, mutual respect, and duty. The material and cultural foundation for the new type of marriage-family relations, that differing radically from private proprietary monogamy, forms in the midst of

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The Germany Ideology", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 180.

the working class already under capitalism. This new monogamy implies equality between the man and the woman in the family, voluntary marriage, and an unprecedented role played by moral-aesthetic factors in family life, beginning with the fact that the creation of the family alliance itself pursues a different purpose—the personal happiness of human beings. However, the conflict of the sexes, generated by private property, makes itself felt even among working people.

Thus, the development of the working family in pre-socialist systems was on the whole progressive even if it was a contradictory process. This progressiveness is seen in the gradual humanisation of marriage-family relations, the growth in them of the cultural, personal element, in the surmounting of the most flagrant forms of female inequality. Modern bourgeois society provides further evidence that “in its highest development the *principle of private property contradicts the principle of the family*”.¹ But by eroding the private proprietor family and fueling the conflicts implicit in it to bursting point, capitalism creates the need for a transition to higher historical forms of the organisation of people's personal life, of marriage and the family.

Formation of the New Family

The socialist revolution laid the beginning for a fundamental restructuring of marriage-family relations. Its main thrust was to extirpate proprietary, religious, philistine, and other reactionary traditions generated by the exploiting system, and promote everything of merit, everything that is lofty and elevated in the relations between men and women and between parents and children in society's advanced sections.

The foundation of this transformation is provided by the development of the socialist economy, statehood, and culture, the abolition of exploiting classes, the attainment of ideological, political and moral unity in society, the emancipation of women, and the creation of the conditions for their full equality with men.

Under socialism marriage becomes really free and equal. It is cemented by mutual respect between husband and wife, and by their common concern for the upbringing of children.

Bigotry, asceticism, and the unnatural “mortification of the flesh” are alien to socialist society, and it is also emphatically against another, similarly absurd and harmful ex-

¹ Karl Marx, “Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law”, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 99.

treme—the stripping of the relations between men and women of a socio-moral content and of responsibility—against reducing these relations to the satisfaction of a physiological need.

Freedom of love signifies not “freedom to change wives and husbands”, but the possibility for people of shaping and developing their ability to love, the absence of obstacles to wedlock with a beloved person, and independence from utilitarian considerations and interference by third persons. This is the only kind of freedom that can ensure lasting and happy marriage, a fair sharing of everyday family duties between husband and wife, and a conducive psychological climate in the family.

Under socialism there is unity between the interests of the family-group and those of society, and broad public support for the family, maternity, and childhood. “The state,” says Article 53 of the Constitution of the USSR, “helps the family by providing and developing a broad system of child-care institutions, by organising and improving communal services and public catering, by paying grants on the birth of a child, by providing children’s allowances and benefits for large families, and other forms of family allowances and assistance.” For its part, the many-faceted activity of the socialist family is permeated with the aspiration to benefit society, the people, to the maximum.

While it has dropped the function of accumulating private property, the socialist family remains an economic-consumer unit of society, in other words, it continues fulfilling many economic tasks (the running of the household, care for children and the aged, and so on); rural families that have an ancillary husbandry retain, in addition, some features of an economic-production unit of society.

The volume of a family’s everyday economic activity depends directly on the measure of assistance it gets from the communal services. The enhancement of the quality and efficiency of these services comprises the central reserve for giving the family, particularly women, more leisure time. Free time, satisfactory family leisure is a factor of the physical and mental development of the individual and of reinforcing family ties.

In an age witnessing a scientific and technological revolution, the growth of nervous and mental stresses, and the acceleration of the tempo of life, growing significance is acquired by functions of the family such as creating the conditions for alleviating stress, for rest, and for the organisation of joint amateur activities by parents and children. Under socialism the molding of the individual is the family’s most significant social activity. Because this function is im-

mensely important to society, the Constitution of the USSR obliges all citizens "to concern themselves with the upbringing of children, to train them for socially useful work, and to raise them as worthy members of socialist society" (Article 66).

Upbringing by the family is very hard to replace with any other form of upbringing. It has the emotional foundation of parents' love and reciprocal feeling of children. This (together with other conducive conditions) ensures the strongest influence on the child's mind. Thus, children, particularly at an early age, are powerfully influenced by the family. The family has the possibility of gradually teaching the facts of life to children, of broadening their outlook and experience; the atmosphere of family life, the directness and multiformity of family association enables the child to show and develop his emotional and intellectual abilities to the fullest extent.

From this it follows that the merits and shortcomings of family upbringing significantly influence the individuality of the child, largely predetermining the end result of the extremely complex process of the formation of the personality.

Main Features of the Communist Family

In a socialist society the development of marriage-family relations predetermines to a considerable extent the make-up of the future, communist family. The question of its character is still the target of distortion and speculation by bourgeois critics of Marxism and also by its dogmatic interpreters and vulgarisers. The most widespread of the anti-Marxist fables is the assertion that the socialist state rejects and seeks to destroy the family, the allegation in justification of this assertion being that Communists "abhor family" as the guardian of conservative traditions and the "haven of individualism".

But the Marxists have never attacked the family; they have criticised, as they still do, the perverted, proprietary type of family life, championing more just, harmonious, and stable marriage-family relations. Far from being its antagonist, communist collectivism is an ally of the family, a force that does not destroy but, on the contrary, supports and unites it.

The steady rise of the people's living standards and cultural level, the intellectual enrichment of each working person are making marriage relations firmer and more stable and this, in turn, dramatically improves the conditions for the upbringing of children in the family, enhances the family's pedagogical potential. This will be facilitated by widen-

ing state assistance to families with children and to young couples, by the further improvement of the working and everyday life conditions of working women, by the growth of the population's cultural level, and by the surmounting of the antipodes of communist morality.

As society moves towards communism the moral values cementing the socialist family—conjugal and parents' love and responsibility, the reciprocal feelings of children and parents—undergo further development. The function of running a household will diminish gradually. But this will not weaken the family, for this aspect of its activity springs not from the essence of marriage-family relations, but from the inadequate development level of social production. The conditions most conducive for the further strengthening of the family will appear when—on the basis of a gigantic growth of society's productive forces—communist abundance of material and cultural goods is achieved, when communist social relations take shape, when the communist standards of labour, everyday life, and association are asserted finally and everywhere. The stability of the relations generated by love, by the duty that comes with marriage and parenthood, depends directly on the cultural wealth of people, on their moral maturity. The family will have new stimuli for its florescence. Family relations will finally be cleansed of material calculation, and a high level of purity and stability will be attained.

Chapter 24

SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S INTELLECTUAL CULTURE

Socialism ushers in a new era in cultural development, giving the working masses access to cultural treasures and drawing them into active intellectual creativity.

1. ESSENCE OF SOCIALIST CULTURE

A cultural revolution takes place which gives shape to a culture consistent with the socialist social system. It differs fundamentally from the culture of exploiting society in terms of both its class content and the role that it plays in the life of the people.

Socialist culture—public education, science, literature, and art, all of socialist society's intellectual life—has its *ideological foundation* in Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Socialist culture belongs to *people at large*, i.e., it is accessible to all working people. In fostering creative work by workers and peasants in culture, socialism reveals new vistas also for the intelligentsia, which draws ever closer to such a mighty source of cultural creativity as the people, their life and production activity.

Under capitalism every national culture contains two cultures—the predominant, bourgeois culture and elements of a democratic and socialist culture. Socialism is the first-ever system under which there forms a *single culture for all social groups*. Socialist culture is the common property of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, a treasure-store from which cultural values are drawn by all the social groups.

The content of socialist society's culture is *internationalist*. It draws together and unites all working people regardless of nationality and race.

Socialist culture is profoundly *humane*. It fosters cohesion in society, a spirit of collectivism, peace and friendship among peoples, creative work, respect for the working person, and the latter's sense of dignity.

As a result of the fact that socialist society places all the achievements of culture in the service of the people, socialism has in many indicators of cultural development, directly reflecting concern for the person, left many developed capitalist countries far behind.

This relates, above all, to the development of public education, which under socialism is accessible to all citizens regardless of social status, nationality, race, and sex.

The achievements of Soviet socialist culture and the problems of its further advancement are mirrored in the Constitution of the USSR, which declares that the state shows concern for promoting education, science, and art and pursues the objective of expanding the actual possibilities for the application by citizens of their creative strength, abilities and talents, for the all-sided, harmonious development of the individual. It is the duty of every citizen to safeguard cultural values.

Socialist culture finds expression in diverse areas of society's life. It is most strikingly embodied in the new citizens building up their relations with society and among themselves on the principles of lofty morals, among which first place is held by serving the people, the socialist homeland.

An outcome of the radical socio-economic changes and of ideological education is that in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries the working people have acquired a socialist consciousness. Socialism has brought with it a moral renewal among people.

The world of private property engenders individualistic aspirations, the desire to lock oneself up in the small world of private life, and indifference to what happens to society. Socialism generates a different attitude on the part of people to society's interests, an understanding that the individual can find no happiness outside society. Under socialism public motives and interests predominate over personal interests in the minds of individuals, and people live with the country's interests at heart. This ennobles people and broadens their mental outlook.

In the Soviet Union the rights of citizens to education, the use of cultural achievements, and freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creative activity proclaimed in the Constitution are steadfastly applied. These civil rights are ensured by all the wealth of socialist society.

The growth of the productive forces and of labour productivity, the advancement of science and technology, the improvement of production organisation, the promotion of social activity, the perfection of socialist democracy, and the communist restructuring of everyday life depend to a huge extent on the cultural growth of the working people, on

their communist consciousness.

In socialist society the public education system gives young people sound knowledge, trains them with due regard for the needs of actual life, and prepares them for socially useful work. For the adult population the conditions are created to enable them to work and continue their education in accordance with their personal inclinations and with society's needs.

There is a steadily expanding network of theatres, television studios, cinemas, clubs, palaces of culture, libraries, museums, and other cultural institutions. Also, there is a growing network of publishing facilities, the press, people's universities, and amateur art groups.

The experience of promoting culture in the USSR and other socialist countries compellingly confirms that mankind can flourish intellectually solely through the communist restructuring of life.

2. SCIENCE

Communist society is, in the true sense of the word, a realm of science, from whose road of development are removed all the obstacles typical of antagonistic society.

Science's Conversion into a Direct Productive Force

The building of socialism and communism requires an unparalleled volume of scientific knowledge for the development of productive forces and for the restructuring of the whole of society's life. The mutual penetration of science and production serves their development and florescence.

Socialist society liberates science from the oppressive power of moneybags. Under socialism scientific thought not only becomes the property of the people but is enriched by their creative work. This applies particularly to the social sciences, for which the historical creative work of the people is the source of theoretical deductions and of the determination of the prospects for society's development. The application of advanced science and technology in production is accompanied by the growth of mass initiatives by the working people, by a movement of inventors, production rationalisers, and innovators, who not only use scientific breakthroughs but stimulate scientific thought, setting it new problems. Thus, science increasingly becomes part of the people's life, and its own development becomes a concern and a key function of society as a whole. The Constitution of the USSR declares that in accordance with society's needs the state ensures the planned development of science and the training of scientific

personnel, and organises the application of the results of scientific research in the national economy and other areas of life.

In the development of science the needs of production are the determining factor. For its part, science itself exercises a growing inverse influence on production and the whole of society's life: it becomes a direct productive force.

What fundamental changes take place in the relationship between science and production in connection with the scientific and technological revolution?

First, many new types of production, machinery, and technological processes are initially developed by science, in design and research laboratories. This relates notably to nuclear power engineering, radio engineering, and electronics. Scientific achievements are used as the basis for designing new types of machines, for developing new, highly productive technological processes, new materials, and new methods of generating and transforming energy, and for the chemicalisation of the national economy.

Second, the introduction of scientific achievements in production is accelerated and the time between a scientific discovery and its application is shortened. While several decades passed from the moment electricity was discovered to the time it began to be used in diverse areas of production, only a few years elapsed from the time nuclear energy was received to the time the first Soviet nuclear power station was built. Similarly the industrial manufacture and use of semiconductors became possible soon after they were discovered. Within a short period following the launching of the first man-made Earth satellite unprecedented potentialities were opened in communications, television, and the study of the surface of the Earth. The timely use of scientific achievements in practice is a basic condition enabling science to fulfil its role of accelerator of production.

Third, science's conversion into a powerful factor of the growth of productive forces is seen also in the development of the material and technical basis of science itself.

Fourth, science is developing rapidly at industrial facilities, and there is a growing network of scientific institutions and laboratories in industry and agriculture. The number of scientific workers and industrial specialists is growing steadily in all branches of the national economy. Science is increasingly becoming the property of the working person, society's main productive force.

The widening role played by science in the USSR is mirrored by the CPSU's policy, which rests on the achievements of the social and natural sciences. The party is doing its utmost to promote the further development of science and en-

hance its role in the building of communism, and to encourage research opening up new possibilities for the development of the productive forces, the broad and rapid introduction of the latest scientific and technological achievements into practice, the all-out promotion of theoretical and experimental studies, including on-the-job studies directly in production, and the exemplary organisation of scientific and technical information, of the entire system of studying and disseminating local and foreign advanced knowledge.

Science allows making wider and more rational use of the wealth and forces of nature in the interests of people and society, bringing to light new energy resources, safeguarding nature against harmful influences, and exploring outer space. The goal confronting Soviet scientists is to consolidate Soviet science's vanguard role in key branches of knowledge and occupy the leading position in fundamental branches of world science.

Specifics of Science's Development Under Socialism

In a socialist society the development of science has some distinctive features. These include, above all, the *inseparable bond between science and production*, both of which have the aim of meeting the people's needs and ensuring society's all-sided progress. Socialist society strives to place the whole of industrial and agricultural production on a carefully planned scientific foundation. While it uses science's achievements socialist society creates the conditions for its progress, for experimental research on a colossal scale, allows verifying in practice the correctness of theoretical scientific conclusions and generalisations, and opens wide the door for the use of scientific discoveries and technical inventions. Under socialism the administration of society and of the state is itself placed on a scientific foundation. *Planning* is the core of socialist economic management and fully applies in science. Scientific research has ceased to be a spontaneous process, the results of which depend on chance. Socialist production, the need for building the material and technical basis of communism, require not only scientific conclusions of an applied character dictated by present-day requirements, but also the elaboration of fundamental theoretical problems that will acquire significance in the future.

The broadening and deepening of the economic and political links between the socialist countries and their economic integration are leading to an ever-widening *internationalisation of science*, to the pooling and coordination of the efforts of scientists not only in individual countries but on an international scale.

Science's development is today characterised by a growing differentiation between its individual disciplines on account of the increasingly more profound approach to research. There are now more than 2,000 independent scientific disciplines. This process of science's ramification will go on. But the building of the new society is confronting mankind with complex problems that no single scientific discipline can cope with single-handedly. They require concerted efforts, the *coordination and cooperation of the work of scientists*. The process of the differentiation of sciences is accompanied by their integration.

Given the present character of the development of science even scientists of genius cannot get the required results if they work alone. Without the help of the scientific collective, without collaboration between specialists in related sciences, and without a powerful material base it is hard to get the desired results from research.

The socialist economy has now grown to such a magnitude and become so complex in structure that the main and determining factor of its further growth is no longer individual scientific breakthroughs, however important they may seem to be, but a high scientific and technological level of its entire organisation. This level can only be achieved through a comprehensive approach to research, requiring the coordinated, meaningful efforts of many teams of scientists of diverse specialities. Team work is increasingly asserting itself in research.

Scientific institutions have become a crucial component of the social organisation of a developed socialist society, and their role will continue to grow, powerfully influencing the life of the people. Science will increasingly serve the interests of the people, multiplying the benefits enjoyed by them and becoming a real asset to them.

Growth of the Role of the Social Sciences

Socialism has greatly boosted the significance of the social sciences. Marxism-Leninism provides the theoretical substantiation of the replacement of capitalist by communist society, reveals the laws of the emergence and establishment of communism, and serves as the scientific foundation of the administration of society's vital activity and development. In the Soviet Union Marxism-Leninism is the basis on which a developed socialist society has been built. It is also the basis on which the socialist world system is gaining strength.

While the natural and technical sciences are giving people a knowledge of the laws of nature and the means of control-

ling it, Marxist-Leninist science is enabling them to master the laws of society's development and become the free and effective creators of their own life, of their destiny. The social sciences are helping peoples to build their life on the basis of new principles, opening up wide vistas for them.

The existence of a developed socialist society in the Soviet Union, the building of developed socialism in other fraternal countries, the downfall of imperialism's colonial system, the growth of the forces of revolution and progress, the mounting class struggle of the working people against monopoly oppression and exploiting practices, and the deepening of the world revolutionary process have borne out the great revolutionary significance of Marxism-Leninism, which foresaw the course of world history.

The lofty mission of the social sciences is to generalise the experience of the building of the new society by the masses, show the working people the surest way of achieving their aims, and provide the scientific foundation for the policies of the Communist Party. The creative development and propagation of Marxist-Leninist theory and the struggle against falsifications and revisions of this theory are in the focus of the party's ideological work.

The party orients the social sciences towards the study of the theoretical problems of developed socialism and the laws governing its growth into communism, towards the further elaboration of the theory underlying the building of communism's material and technical basis, the perfection of social relations, the molding of the new citizen, and the promotion of the socialist way of life. Considerable importance is attached to research into the problems of society's structure, the development of mature socialism's political system, the scientific and technological revolution, the ways and means of enhancing the efficiency and intensification of social production, the perfection of planning the economy and managing economic progress, and the forecasting of socio-economic processes. Increasing significance is being acquired by the laws of the development of the world socialist system, by socialist economic integration, and by foreign economic relations. The attention of scientists is focused on in-depth theoretical elaboration of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution, the laws of the development of the world revolutionary process, and the problems of the class struggle of the international proletariat and the national liberation movement. Major tasks confront the social sciences in the further generalisation of the historic experience of the CPSU, the Marxist-Leninist parties of the fraternal socialist countries, and the international communist and workers' movement, in intensifying criticism of anti-communism and bourgeois and re-

visionist theories of social development, and in exposing falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism.

3. LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

In the age of profound social changes and the consolidation of socialism, in the age of the scientific and technological revolution and great discoveries that are immeasurably widening man's notions of the world he lives in, dramatic modifications are taking place in his world outlook, senses, and emotions. Art has the mission of mirroring in artistic form the problems that people are confronted with by life and of enriching them intellectually. All this enhances the responsibility of the artist, and the role played by art as a form of social consciousness.

Art that faithfully reflects the world in artistic images widens people's vital experience and shapes their character and worldview. Advanced art gives people a knowledge of life and aesthetic gratification. It is a powerful instrument of the ideological struggle, educating people with the truth and beauty of artistic images. Literature is called the "science of humanity", a definition that can, in fact, be applied to all forms of art, for their focus is on man and his attitude to reality, to society. Art enters society's intellectual life as a special and irreplaceable component of that life. How full the inner life of man is and how his worldview and moral make-up evolve depends to a tremendous extent on the development level of art.

Under communism the people not only appreciate and assimilate the progressive aspects of the culture of past epochs. They build up its wealth. People use their leisure time for rest and recreation and for public activity, education, and the creation of cultural values. Karl Marx wrote that under communism not every person will be a Raphael, but in the society of the future "every person in whom a Raphael sits" will have the opportunity of developing his ability without hindrance.

The artistic element will enter life in the full sense of the word, inspire work, adorn everyday life, and ennoble man. In a socialist society creative work has a rich cultural, including aesthetic, content. In it are asserted progressive ideas about what is beautiful in the life and cultural world of people, and good taste is fostered.

The drawing of people into the conscious building of new forms of life opens up inexhaustible potentialities for their aesthetic education. During the transition to communism growing significance is attached to promoting the ability of all members of society to perceive works of art in the en-

tire wealth of their aesthetic values, to awakening the creator in every person.

New talents in every sphere of art come to the fore as the cultural level of the people rises. Not all of those who learn to paint may become professional painters, but they will have a better understanding of the world they live in, develop their sense of colour and line, and acquire a clearer and richer view of the world.

Bourgeois ideologues maintain that the people are unable to assimilate all the complexities of true culture. The decline of the artistic level of culture in capitalist society is the result of not the spread of its achievements among the people but of a growth of the pernicious influence of commerce and the destructive impact of reactionary ideology, of a renunciation of progressive intellectual values. So-called "mass culture", aimed at igniting the vilest instincts, has become widespread in capitalist countries.

The crisis of bourgeois culture is often seen even in the work of those artists who are basically honest but have been set adrift by the complexity and contradictory character of the bourgeois world, where rapid technological progress is accompanied by intellectual impoverishment, by the moral oppression of the individual. In the works of such artists man is portrayed as a loner, as pitiful and unhappy or, on the contrary, brutal and egoistic. The jungle laws of the world of property are depicted in bourgeois art as the general laws of humankind, while the ugliness of capitalist society is given out as being the expression of what is described as the inherent criminality of human nature.

In a socialist society art is permeated with optimism and life-asserting ideas. Its mission is to serve as a source of gratification and inspiration for millions of people, to express their will, thoughts, and feelings, to serve as a medium of their ideological enrichment and moral upbringing. Lenin urged linking the literary process with the revolutionary movement, with the struggle for socialism. He was intolerant of what he called the literary disguise of anti-socialist ideas, of using fashionable verbiage to sell reactionary views, of attempts at camouflaging the poverty of content with formalistic trickery, and of simplification and subjectiveness in evaluating works of art.

The Communists have always regarded intellectual creativity in socialist society as an inalienable component of the cause of the whole party, of the whole proletariat. In supporting all that is progressive, truthful, and creative, they effectively rely on the finest forces and help those who have been deluded to free themselves from misleading tendencies. To lead means, above all, to show the loftiness and fascina-

tion of the party's ideals, unite artists on a principled foundation for attaining common aims, and combat alien influences and misguiding tendencies in artistic creativity, that divert art from the only true road, that of serving the people. The party assesses cultural phenomena from class positions, its guide being the principle of party commitment of literature and art.

The party arms the artistic community with an understanding of the laws and prospects of socialist development on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, calls for a profound understanding of the truth of life, for a strengthening of the bonds of artists with the people. While giving its utmost support for literature and art that assert confidence in the communist ideals, the party wages a fight against manifestations of alien ideology. The party's approach to questions related to literature and art combines principle with a tactful attitude to the artistic intelligentsia and assistance for its creative quests. Of course, the main criterion for evaluating the social significance of any work of art has been and remains its ideological thrust.

Central to the development of literature and art are the strengthening of their link to the life of the people, a faithful and highly artistic reflection of the wealth and diversity of socialist reality, an inspired and vivid presentation of what is new and genuinely communist, and a denunciation of all that conflicts with society's progress. The vocation of talent is to see life in all its diversity, in all its contradictory tendencies and collisions, and create a broad, artistically vivid and faithful picture of life.

The artist achieves genuine freedom of creativity in the struggle for communism. Underlying this struggle is a profound understanding of the laws of the development of nature and society, the possibility of acting in keeping with this understanding and with the confidence that your words and thoughts serve the people. Individuals are helpless if they are not organically linked to society. Deprived of links to the epoch's progressive forces and carried hither and thither by random currents, "freedom of will" is in fact a manifestation of dependence on the crippling influence of the bourgeois world. True freedom of art signifies freedom of creative work, freedom of conscious creativity that is independent of the humiliating influences of private property. It signifies freedom of the writer, artist, and composer to create in the interests of society, the people, and progress. How fully an artist is able to apply his creative strength depends on how closely his talent is linked to the wealth of the epoch's vital and ideological content, on how comprehensively he understands reality. A nation building communism gives the

artist the freedom to serve the most humane and splendid cause in history.

4. FORMATION OF THE CULTURE OF COMMUNISM

The Communists see the all-sided and steady development of culture as a key component of the great work of building communism. Internationalist in content and diverse in terms of its national forms, the socialist culture built up in the USSR and the other fraternal countries is a solid and unbreakable foundation of communist culture which is taking shape already now.

Absorbing and developing all the best that has been created by world culture, communist culture will be a new, higher stage in the cultural progress of mankind. It will embody the versatility and richness of the spiritual life of society, and the lofty ideals and humanism of the new world. It will be the culture of a classless society, a culture of the entire people, of all mankind. It will not know national barriers and will serve all working people equally.

As well as expressing the ideology and culture of the working class, Marxism-Leninism safeguards the real values vital to humankind, to its overwhelming majority—the working masses. The struggle for the interests of working people is the broadest basis for uniting all the forces of progress against the exploiters. Culture's class commitment gives the most consistent, objective knowledge of the real world, the ability to understand its historical laws, and correctly define one's stand in the mighty torrent of life. Moreover, the class commitment of socialist culture spells out its people's, humane character, because the interests of the working class express the basic interests of all working people.

Communist culture denotes a wealth of creative activity, of the people's intellectual life such as could not be provided by the old society.

Progress towards communism requires bringing socialist culture within the reach of the entire people, the surmounting of the vices of the old society, of idealistic, proprietary notions. The road to communist culture is not smooth. There are quite a few obstacles on this road. The centuries of private property domination, individualism, and egotism have left their imprint on the intellectual make-up of people. The new culture is asserted in bitter struggle with bourgeois ideology and culture.

The culture of communism is built in a new social atmosphere, when all members of society are vitally interested in the triumph of communism and are consciously working to achieve this triumph. The new, collectivist relations manifest

themselves with increasing fullness in the sphere of culture and the democratic foundations of art associations and institutions gather strength. The significance of the cultural values created by socialist society, by the liberation struggle and constructive activity of the working people, is growing steadily in the life of every individual. The formation and development of the universal culture of communism will be a huge advance in the intellectual development of mankind.

Chapter 25

ALL-SIDED DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL. COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The reshaping of social relations in the process of perfecting developed socialism inevitably leads to modifications of the status and behaviour of people in society, of their intellectual and moral make-up. The new social system creates a new social type of individual.

1. THE INDIVIDUAL UNDER SOCIALISM

Socialism brings the working people genuine freedom and realistic conditions for all-sided development.

Features of the Individual of Socialist Society

Man is a social being and can develop as an individual only in society. He lives in a specific social environment: as a member of a family and as a member of a class or social stratum, and of a nation. He lives his entire life in close association with other people, in a collective, in society. The conditions under which people live determine their interests, worldview, and morals. Marx wrote: "The essence of man ... is the ensemble of the social relations."¹

Every epoch in history gives rise to definite social types of individuals. The slave and slave-owner, the serf and the feudal lord, the worker and the capitalist are antipodal social types of individuals of antagonistic social systems.

Socialist transformations create a new social environment. Man himself undergoes a change in the course of revolutionary changes. Marx and Engels noted that "circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances".² As a result a socialist type of individual and a new correlation of

¹ Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 4.

² Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 54.

the interests of society and the individual take shape. Under socialism society's interests, expressing requirements and trends of historical development, are common to all social groups. They therefore become the interests of each member of society. Public property opens up wide scope for the growth of the productive forces and thereby ensures the possibility for society's accelerated all-sided progress, and this creates the material and intellectual conditions for the development of each of its members. The socialist principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" applies directly to the individual and stimulates the development of each person's abilities and talents. A vital interest of society as a whole and of each of its members is to reinforce the socialist foundations of economic management, socialist statehood and law and order, and the principles of communist morality.

As a result of profound social changes, the active participation of the working people in the building of socialism, and the enormous educational work by the party and the government, the majority of socialist society's members have acquired some essential features in common. Three groups of these features can be distinguished.

The first group is linked to the individual's attitude to socialist society and to Marxist-Leninist ideology. Both objectively and in the consciousness of the working people, socialism is the result of the activity of the masses themselves and an indispensable condition for the satisfaction of their basic interests. The strengthening and development of socialist property and of all socialist social relations and the implementation of the Communist Party's policies are becoming the affair and highest interest of all politically conscious working people.

Consequently, the socialist individual is an ideologically committed individual giving priority to society's interests and subscribing to the aims and principles of communist ideology. Hence such features of the new individual as devotion to the ideals of communism, a developed consciousness of being the master of his country and its wealth, confidence in the future, and intense social activity.

The second group of features of the new individual is linked to the attitude to his own activity and relates to his understanding of his place in society. Under socialism work acquires a new dimension: it is not only the means of a livelihood but serves the public good, the people, the cause of socialism.

Naturally, these conditions generate on a mass scale the individual's interest in the content and results of his work. The individual not only strives to earn (this is important),

but is concerned with the general questions related to production, with the success or non-success of the enterprise at which he works. Writing of the working person under capitalism, Marx noted: "He feels at home when he is not working."¹ But of a worker of a socialist enterprise it must be said that he feels at home even when he is working. The time framework of his life is widening, as it were. *The individual sees work at a socialist enterprise as serving the good of the people, as the highest sense of life.* In this lies yet another basic characteristic of the socialist type of individual.

The change of the working person's attitude to his work is accompanied by a change of his attitude to culture and education. In the eyes of the people the prestige of knowledge, science, the scientist, and the educated person generally has risen to an unprecedented level. Education and learning have become an important need of the working people. Intensive intellectual life has become a feature characterising socialist reality, and the aspiration for knowledge and culture, the wide spectrum of intellectual requirements have become an inalienable indicator of the new individual.

The third group of features of the individual of socialist society characterises a person's attitude to other people. This aspect of the individual is best revealed in an analysis of the interaction between the aims and norms of people's behaviour. In bourgeois society there is the unresolvable conflict between the aims and norms officially proclaimed by society and the actual behaviour of people, the norms by which their behaviour is in fact guided. The reason for this lies in the nature of capitalism, which fuels a continuous and uncompromising conflict between classes, between social groups, and between nationalities.

In a socialist society the fact that the social groups have basic interests in common is the foundation for the appearance of a unity of aims and norms of public life. The expression of this unity is that the principles proclaimed for the whole of society—democracy, collectivism, internationalism, and others—are the guidelines for the activities of all institutions and citizens. The common basic interests of the classes and social groups of socialist society, friendship among peoples, and mutual assistance, that have supplanted exploitation and antagonism, are mirrored in socio-political and ideological unity, in the principles of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance, collectivism, and internationalism. Respect for the working person regardless of origin and nationality has become a general feature of the socialist in-

¹ Karl Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 274.

dividual. Criteria of the individual are the level of ideological commitment, work, knowledge, and moral qualities. Consequently, from this angle the orientation of the socialist individual is characterised by collectivism, a sense of brotherhood, and internationalism.

The formation of socialist social relations and of the socialist collectivist consciousness is a long, multi-faceted and, hence, complex process. People of different classes and strata become part of socialist society. Naturally, their consciousness does not develop at one and the same rate. Take, for instance, the proletariat and the petty bourgeois. The petty-bourgeois strata bear quite a large burden of ideas, views, and morals left by the old society. The distinctive features of petty-bourgeois consciousness, traditions, and customs are transcended gradually, in the course of painstaking work. Moreover, in a socialist society there still are individual sources for the satisfaction of needs that provide the soil nourishing survivals of the past.

Although there still are survivals of the past in the consciousness of people, the main thing is that the collectivist socialist consciousness of the working masses is the factor determining their behaviour. It is quite feasible to educate all members of society in the spirit of lofty communist ideological commitment and consciousness.

Freedom and the Responsibility of the Individual

Freedom is the product of historical development and in every society it has a specific content. The bourgeoisie had in its time acted against feudalism under the slogan of freedom, equality, and fraternity. But capitalism established only freedom of private property and of the exploitation of wage labour. Freedom of the individual in capitalist society is determined chiefly by how much wealth the individual has.

However, bourgeois philosophers endeavour to obscure this dependence. They interpret freedom as the self-determination of the spirit, as freedom of will, as the possibility of acting independently of external circumstances and conditions. The keynote of bourgeois theories of freedom is that they seek to depict freedom as meaning that the individual is entirely independent of society. Whatever way and how much it is argued that the individual is independent of society, the fact remains that the actual content of freedom depends on the character of the social system. "One cannot," Lenin wrote, "live in society and be free from society."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Party Organisation and Party Literature", *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 48.

Marxists do not deny the individual's freedom of the will. They only underscore its link to necessity: "Freedom of the will therefore means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with knowledge of the subject."¹ In this sense freedom presupposes knowing what is necessary and taking this into account in one's actions. Protagonists of absolute freedom of the will assert that recognition of determinism removes the problem of responsibility: since an individual's actions are determined by external circumstances, they argue, he cannot be held responsible for them. However, necessity inevitably gives the individual the opportunity of choosing, so to say, the material for this or that decision. Within the framework of general dependence on objective conditions the individual adopts decisions in accordance with his own will, depending on his knowledge and ideological commitment. In one and the same situation two different individuals may adopt antipodal decisions.

Lenin wrote that "only the determinist view makes a strict and correct appraisal possible instead of attributing everything you please to free will".²

The essence of actual freedom is not in people's independence of society but in the material and intellectual potentialities that society opens for their vital activity. The individual is free only to the extent social conditions permit him to develop and apply his abilities, to satisfy his needs. And this depends on the level of the productive forces, on the character of the social system, on the extent people assimilate the laws of social development. It is only all this taken together that allows people more or less freely to get their bearings and act in the world around them.

The working people's *economic liberation* from capitalist exploitation is the foundation of the freedom of the individual. There neither is nor can be real freedom of the individual if the life and work of the working person are determined by the selfish interests of exploiters. In socialist society the individual is free because he has been delivered from exploitation, economic crises, and unemployment, because planned economic development ensures a steady rise of the living standards and cultural level of the entire people.

The socialist economy ensures *social freedoms*. The individual has wide freedom in choosing his field of activity and in developing and applying his abilities. Free education and medical care, social security in old age and illness, and the

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, p. 137.

² V. I. Lenin, "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats", *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 159.

mammoth housing and cultural development programmes create broad opportunities for productive work for the good of society and of the individual himself. The erasure of the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and by hand ensures increasingly favourable opportunities for the free development of the abilities and talents of all working people.

Socialism creates the conditions for the *political freedom* of working people. The work of the socialist state is subordinated to their interests. For that reason the efforts of the individual in behalf of the good of society, of protecting the rights of citizens, have the full support of the party and the government, and are manifested under conditions of full freedom. Discussions of problems of state administration, the right to submit suggestions, participation in the election of government bodies and public organs—these and other attributes of political freedom have become part and parcel of the life of Soviet people. The further perfection of socialist democracy will extend the political freedoms already enjoyed by the individual.

In the sphere of *theory and ideology* socialism creates the conditions for free exchanges of views, constructive discussions of pressing problems of theory, and the promotion of research for the good of the people. The building of communism requires broader creative initiative on the part of scientists in their quest for more effective ways and means of resolving scientific, technological, and social problems.

The new society is an association of working people where the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. In this lies the *moral foundation of freedom in the new society*. Society cannot consider itself free without freeing every person from exploitation, without creating the conditions for the development of every citizen. Respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual is becoming the rule, the general moral norm.

Social interest is objectively becoming the interest of each citizen of a socialist society. For that reason the moral standards established by society are perceived by the majority of the working people as their own. This explains the high level of consciousness and the courage and self-sacrifice freely displayed by Soviet people during the years of socialist construction, the Great Patriotic War, and the effort to build communism. When young people leave their places of birth to go to build new towns and power stations far from their homes, they are making a choice. Their actions are both determined and free: they are determined because this is required of them by their country, and they are free because they make this decision of their own free will, for they could

otherwise have remained to live in more comfortable circumstances. The immortal deeds of the heroes of the war against fascism combined freedom of will and a sense of responsibility to society: they were *under fire* and defied all danger, because this was needed by their country and was guided by inner motivation.

Joint ownership of the means of production, equality in rights, a common basic aim, and society's socio-political and ideological unity create opportunities conducive for the development of the individual's freedom under socialism. Of course, in a socialist society freedom is not boundless. First and foremost, there are certain limitations related to the level of production and material resources. Moreover, socialist society prohibits actions that are alien to its nature and prejudicial to the working people. It does not permit exploitation of man by man, sternly punishes treason and encroachments on public property, and forbids war propaganda and the spread of racism and other misanthropic ideas. Society punishes embezzlers, bribe-takers, profiteers, and idlers. Under socialism the law also punishes attempts on the life, health, honour, and dignity of citizens, abuse of office, and so on. But these interdictions and restrictions are directed against persons who attack the foundations of the people's freedoms, and they are designed to safeguard these freedoms.

Under socialism the entire system of state bodies and public organisations educates the working people in the spirit of conscientious fulfilment of their duties, and leads to an organic coupling of rights and duties in the integral norms of communist human association. With the creation of the material and intellectual prerequisites of communism, the development of social homogeneity and communist equality, and the extirpation of survivals of the past, people will be increasingly accustomed to complying voluntarily with the rules of human association. In this situation society will be able to go over from ensuring law and order by compulsion to conscious compliance with the rules of human association and totally voluntary participation in work. This will signify a further extension of the individual's freedom in all its aspects and manifestations.

The Individual, the Collective, and Society

People spend much of their lives in a work collective. In terms of history the work collective began to take shape long ago. But it is only under socialism, when work is mandatory for all members of society, that the collective is becoming the basic element of socialist society and, in this respect, the

cohesive link between the individual and society.

The socialist work collective is an association of people working jointly at state-owned industrial facilities, offices, and institutions that performs economic, social, or political functions aimed at strengthening and developing the social system and the socialist way of life, and facilitates the active participation of the people in production, public, and governmental activity, and in the management of factories, offices, and institutions.

Marx noted that it is only in a collective that the individual gets the opportunity for the all-sided development of his abilities, that personal freedom is possible only in a collective. In the collective the abilities of the individual become manifest and the incentives, conditions, and means are thereby created for their development. Life and work in the collective are what most effectively foster a sense of collectivism, which is a major feature of the Soviet citizen.

Collectivism is one of the main foundations of socialist and communist relations. It signifies mutual support and close cooperation among people aimed at achieving a combination of the individual's interests with those of society that ensures the priority of society's interests over those of the individual. In this lies the sure guarantee of the most effective satisfaction of the personal interests, material needs, and intellectual requirements of each working person.

In the USSR the status, rights, and duties of the work collective and the relationship between the work collective and the individual are regulated by a special law enacted in accordance with the Constitution of the USSR. This law envisages the broad implementation of the rights and freedoms of working people through participation in the life and work of the work collective, in the management of its affairs. On the other hand, it clearly defines the responsibilities of the work collective to the state, and also the duties of the work collective relative to its members.

As members of work collectives all citizens have the opportunity to take part in discussing and deciding affairs of state and society (to consider draft law, nominate candidates for election to public office, to hear the reports of persons holding public office, and so on), participate in the management of factories, offices, and organisations through collective discussion and decision of questions related to their work, and through the promotion of criticism and self-criticism. There practically are no issues in whose discussion and settlement the members of work collectives cannot participate—from production to socio-cultural and housing conditions and education.

Of course, these wide rights can be successfully exercised

provided the members of the collective have a high sense of responsibility and discipline and strictly comply with their duties. In this respect, too, the work collectives have the relevant authority. For instance, they adopt their own internal regulations, apply material and moral incentives, raise the question of bringing to book executives flouting the law, themselves impose public censure or reprimand, submit cases to comrades' courts, when necessary raise the question of the dismissal of violators of labour discipline or of applying material sanctions to them (full or partial deprivation of bonuses, of cash rewards in accordance with the results of a year's work, of postponement of the provision of housing, and so forth). These and other powers are exercised by the general meeting of the personnel or conferences and in the interim between them jointly by the management and the elected organs of the party, trade union and YCL organisations.

In the process of education the collective uses the strength of public opinion and combines exactingness with tact and responsiveness, the sternest condemnation with support and assistance. The collective relies on the strength of the positive example and raises models of communist behaviour at work and in everyday life to the height of universal approval, thereby facilitating their wide dissemination.

The fact that in socialist society the people have basic interests in common does not preclude the possibility of conflicts between the common and the personal. There are cases when the interests of society, the collective, the family, or comrades require a person to waive his own interests. In such cases an individual's behaviour depends upon his moral consciousness: is he prepared to show self-restraint, to make a sacrifice, or is he too selfish for that? As society advances towards communism, creates an abundance of material goods, and erases social distinctions there will be less and less grounds for conflicts between personal interests and those of the community.

2. COMMUNIST EDUCATION

In the formation of the new citizen an enormous role is played by communist education, by the party's ideologico-educational work.

Communist education is systematic and purposeful work in bringing up harmoniously developed people, who combine a high level of ideological commitment, industriousness, organisation, intellectual wealth, moral purity, and physical perfection.

Social Role of Education

The socialist consciousness expresses the vital interests and aspirations of the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia. It highlights *revolutionary militancy and optimism and is based on Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the working class*. It absorbs the intellectual wealth accumulated by humankind and breaks with the ideology of private property, exploitation, money-grubbing and individualism. Although some survivals of the past persist at the first phase of communism, they cannot obscure the radical turn in the thinking of the people.

Communist consciousness evolves naturally from the socialist consciousness. But it will differ substantially from the latter. At the higher phase of communism there will be a dramatic rise of the level of education and culture, and all survivals of the past in people's thinking and behaviour will be definitively surmounted. Every working person will have acquired the scientific Marxist-Leninist worldview and communist morality. Communist norms of labour and human relationships will become the inner conviction, the habit and vital need of every person.

The formation of the new citizen is not only a key aim but an indispensable condition of building communism. The new society can only develop on the basis of a deliberate application of objective social laws, of the people's conscious participation in the administration of society's affairs. The planned and comprehensive perfection of developed socialism depends directly on the consciousness and activity of the working people. Ideological work acquires paramount significance.

In their analysis of the problem of molding the harmoniously developed individual, the founders of Marxism-Leninism identified the following main aspects of this process: mental education (general development of intellectual abilities), the formation of a scientific worldview, and moral, aesthetic and physical education. Accordingly, in the course of socialist and communist construction a coherent system of communist education has been built in the Soviet Union. However, scientific and technological progress, the growth of the people's consciousness, the amount of information they get and the changes taking place in the world are making it imperative to further improve educational work.

A crucial condition for remaking the consciousness of people is the change that takes place in social being. The mass education of new citizens and the shedding of all the depravities of the capitalist system take place only in the

process of revolutionary transformative activity. Marx and Engels noted: "Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*."¹

The practical revolutionary transformative activity of the people remains the foundation of their education also after the proletariat comes to power, in the period of the new society's construction. A socialist society is built not by any "special" people, but by the broad masses themselves, who do not at once, easily and automatically rid themselves of the prejudices of the old society. In changing the conditions of their life, people change themselves.

In the USSR the molding of the new citizen, of the socialist individual proceeded and continues to proceed in the process of work for the good of society, in the course of socio-political activity. Active participation in the work of Soviets and in party, trade union, YCL, and other public organisations and in people's control bodies fosters the sense of social duty and intolerance of those who encroach on social interests. The party promotes the practice of drawing the people into preliminary public discussions of draft decisions on major issues of the life of the state and society, ensuring broad publicity for the work of administrative bodies and giving each person a sense of involvement in the common cause.

However great the significance of practical work, the new citizen cannot be molded without political education, without people assimilating the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The study of Marxism-Leninism is a key characteristic of the development of the social consciousness in the USSR. This study is conducted in secondary schools, institutions of higher learning, the party education system and the YCL political education system. An important role in communist education is played by the social and natural sciences, literature and the arts, the mass media and various forms of oral propaganda. Considerable ideological work is conducted by diverse cultural and educational institutions such as libraries, theatres, cinemas, clubs, houses and palaces of culture, museums and so on.

The shaping of the harmoniously developed individual is a long and complex process that depends upon material and cultural conditions and upon the depth and scale of ideological and political work. Scientific communism gives a realist-

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The German Ideology", Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 52-53.

ic notion of the character of the aims confronting society, and shows the link of lofty ideals to the day-to-day interests of the people, to the fulfilment of day-to-day practical tasks.

Struggle Against Hostile Ideology

The world today is the scene of an uncompromising struggle between two ideologies (socialist and bourgeois) and between two diametrically opposed worldviews, two political lines, socialism and imperialism. To a great extent the future of humankind depends upon the outcome of this ideological struggle.

In its attacks on socialist countries and peoples imperialist propaganda has recourse to most subtle devices and powerful technology. The press, the film industry, radio and TV broadcasting have all been mobilised to confuse people, distort the facts about socialism's achievements and the socialist way of life, sow distrust for the policies of socialist states, block the people's gravitation towards Marxist-Leninist ideology, and thereby keep the people under the influence of the ideology and policies of the monopoly bourgeoisie. In addressing the population of socialist countries, bourgeois propagandists strive to conceal or justify unemployment, capitalism's deep ulcers and the plight of working people.

Lies, slander and misinformation are the basic weapons of imperialist propaganda. In view of the new realities, notably socialism's achievements, bourgeois propagandists often resort to camouflage: anti-socialist ideas are dished up in the shape of objective information, of "well-intended criticism" of some of socialism's shortcomings, and so forth. But the goal remains unchanged, that of eroding socialism.

The unremitting class struggle for people's minds and hearts will continue in ideology as long as imperialism exists. Communist and bourgeois ideologies do not and cannot coexist in peace, for it is impossible to reconcile the working people and parasites living off the labour of others, or to reconcile social equality and exploitation, the power of the working people and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or socialism and capitalism.

The task facing the Communists is to spare no effort to expose the anti-popular ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie, to bring to hundreds of millions of people the facts about socialist society, its policy of peace and the humane character of Marxism-Leninism, to show the achievements and advantages of socialism, expose the essence of the capitalist system and unmask the lies and subversion engaged in by imperialist propaganda.

Integrated Approach to Organising Communist Education

The integrated approach to organising communist education means cohesion between ideologico-political, labour and moral education. From the standpoint of the aims of education this signifies a more consistent approach to the all-round development of the socialist individual, the molding of the scientific, Marxist-Leninist worldview among the people, the enhancement of the level of knowledge and job-training, and the assimilation of the principles and norms of communist morality.

The world outlook is a generalised system of views about the world as a whole and about the given person's place in it. The Communists regard the formation of the Marxist worldview as the immutable foundation of communist education. It is important that all the Communists and all the working people should profoundly assimilate the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which provides the key to understanding and resolving the most complex problems of society's development.

Education is the prime condition for acquiring a scientific worldview. Lenin noted on several occasions that to acquire a knowledge of communism and a communist worldview does not mean learning the principles of communism by rote. These principles must rest on a knowledge of the fundamentals of science, and they have to be adopted as one's own, as inevitable from the standpoint of modern education. "You can become a Communist," Lenin said at the 3rd Congress of the YCL, "only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind."¹

However, knowledge by itself is not a worldview. It must evolve into a profound, inner conviction of a person, expressed in his practical attitude to the world around him. The communist worldview is not only a theory correctly explaining the world but a programme of struggle for reshaping the world along communist lines.

Communist commitment does not signify blind faith. It is founded on a knowledge of the laws of society's development, a knowledge given by Marxism-Leninism, and it takes shape in practical work. It was this conscious commitment that brought people into the camp of revolutionary fighters. It is what today prompts the selfless labour of millions upon millions of people in the name of the great communist aim.

Socialist patriotism and internationalism are features distinguishing the consciousness of the citizens of a socialist

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 287.

society. The years of building socialism in the USSR and the ideological education conducted by the party have turned these features into one of the hallmarks of the intellectual make-up of the Soviet citizen. Education in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism remains a key orientation of ideological education. The party insists that this work has to be conducted perseveringly and on a broad scale from a position of partisanship, irreconcilability to all manifestations of national insularity or national nihilism, and with concern for the feelings and dignity of people of all nationalities.

One of the most important aims of communist education is to foster in each person a need for work, a clear understanding of the need for work for the common good. This aim is achieved by social encouragement, material incentives and ideological and political education.

A visible result of the fusion of political and labour education is the socialist emulation movement, which profoundly influences economic practice, the nation's socio-political life and the moral atmosphere.

Work becomes a major factor of education only when its social significance is revealed, when man asserts himself as a citizen and active builder of communism. These qualities of the working person of socialist society are formed in the drive to fulfil state plans, improve output, make better use of production capacities, raw materials, energy, labour and investments, reinforce discipline, organisation and responsibility, and stamp out bigotry, bureaucracy and departmentalism.

With science and technology progressing rapidly the character of work is changing markedly, new professions are appearing and old ones are dying away, and growing demands are being made on professional training and education at schools and colleges and in production. With the rapid expansion of the volume of knowledge that people need it is important that the school should not only give a certain sum of knowledge, but, most importantly, teach young people to think independently and keep supplementing their knowledge, that it should prepare them for work in the national economy. This is being facilitated by the "Basic Guidelines of the Reform of the General Educational and Vocational Schools" adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1984.

Ideological and moral factors play a considerable role in the drive to improve the quality of work. The character of modern production and its technologies are such that by itself any form of external control of the worker's fulfilment of labour functions cannot today yield positive results. This

means that the importance of the worker's sense of personal responsibility is growing. The worker's conscience is becoming an extremely significant element of the system of improving the quality of work. To teach at first the majority and then all to reach the level of today's advanced workers means to resolve an economic and also an ideological problem. It means that the people are in fact acquiring a communist consciousness.

The main objective of moral education is to give the individual an active stand in life, a conscious attitude to civic duty and the striving and ability to translate the moral norms of socialism into norms of the day-to-day behaviour.

The following proposition by Lenin underlies the work of molding communist morality: "Communist morality is based on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism."¹ Society judges the moral make-up of a person by the extent his work, public activity, behaviour and whole life contribute to the building of communism. The essence of the formation of communist morality is the perception by the individual of the unity of his interests with those of society, his profound understanding that the real social value and true happiness of every member of society are manifested in the struggle for the triumph of communism.

The moral code of the builder of communism spells out the basic principles of communist morality. The highest of these principles is devotion to the cause of communism, to the socialist homeland and to other socialist states.

Another major principle is conscientious work for the good of society. An antipode of private property morality and a striking manifestation of the unity between the interests of the individual and society under socialism is the concern of each to preserve and increase public wealth. Unity of the interests of the individual and society is distinctly articulated also in the principle of the code requiring high awareness of social duty and intolerance of infringements upon society's interests. The moral code asserts humane and just principles of relations among people, relations of collectivism and mutual assistance, that is, one for all and all for one, a humane attitude and mutual respect among people; man to man is a friend, comrade and brother. It orients people towards such moral qualities of the builder of communism as honesty, moral purity, modesty in public and private life, mutual respect in the family, concern for the upbringing of children, and intolerance of injustice, parasitic attitudes, dishonesty, careerism and money-grubbing.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 295.

The moral code of the builder of communism lucidly defines the moral principles governing the relations among different nations and nationalities: friendship and brotherhood among all the peoples inhabiting the USSR, intolerance of national and racial hostility, an uncompromising attitude to the enemies of communism, peace and the freedom of nations, fraternal solidarity with the working people of all countries.

The shaping of communist morality is not a one-sided process in which the individual is no more than the passive object of education. The success of the communist education of the individual depends not only on objective factors and ideological work but on the individual himself, on his aspiration for self-perfection. A scrupulous attitude towards one's own personal conduct, self-education and ability, as Lenin put it, to shape one's own communist views are a crucial aspect of the formation of the new morality. Self-education is an active process in which an individual analyses his thoughts, feelings, aspirations and actions from the standpoint of the interests of the community and society.

Socialism creates the possibilities for an ever greater satisfaction of the people's material and intellectual requirements. But scientific communism holds that even under these conditions it would be wrong to expect objective factors to exercise a positive educational influence automatically. To prevent this process from leading to relapses into philistine, petty-bourgeois psychology the ideological, moral and cultural level of the people has to be steadily raised. Hence the importance of nurturing intelligent and healthy requirements, the ability to adjust requirements to one's own labour contribution to the common work. It is the task of education to turn labour, knowledge and moral behaviour into a vital need of all the members of the new society.

The aesthetic education of builders of communism means that they develop sound aesthetic judgements and perceptions, artistic tastes, knowledge of culture and the ability to profoundly perceive the beautiful in life around them and in works of art. In the course of communist construction the conditions are created to enable the individual to produce material and intellectual values not only according to the laws of utility but also according to the laws of beauty. The substance of aesthetic education is to teach the individual to appreciate beauty in all areas of life, whether this concerns nature or a product of human labour, or an assessment of one's own behaviour or the behaviour of others. In addition, it is the task to inculcate in the individual a sense of protest against all that is ugly, whether it is dirt in the house or lack of taste in architecture, a repellent taste in clothes or a help-

less work of art, philistine interior decoration of a home or unworthy behaviour. All that is decadent and anti-social in life should be not only condemned by people but be seen by them as outraging their tastes, their need for the beautiful. The more aesthetic an individual's education, the deeper he penetrates the world of the beautiful, becoming himself more noble and cleaner, and the more natural is his need for devoting his life to the struggle for the ideals of communism.

Physical education is an inalienable part of the education of the harmoniously developed individual. Marx wrote that the linking up of productive work with training and gymnastics is "the only method of producing fully developed human beings".¹ In socialist countries broad opportunities have been created for the promotion of mass physical culture. Physical culture and sports help people to spend their leisure time actively and develop normally. They contribute to raising labour productivity, and meet the interests of the socialist homeland's defence. They foster in people qualities such as strength, endurance, firmness of will and courage.

The scientific worldview, communist morality, general and polytechnical education, and aesthetic and physical development produce the fullness of intellectual culture indispensable for the individual's all-round development.

3. ALL-ROUND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL— AIM OF COMMUNIST SOCIETY

There is only one way to mold the harmoniously developed working man, and it is through the socialist revolution, through the building of socialism and communism.

Bourgeois humanism failed the test of time. "Man generally", in whose name bourgeois humanists acted, proved in fact to be a bourgeois; the relations that they lauded as human proved to be capitalist relations founded on socio-economic enslavement. The development of bourgeois social relations showed that they had nothing in common with true humaneness. Under these relations the individual loses his independent value and serves as an instrument for the production of capitalist profit.

In the Marxist ideal there is no room for compulsion. The Communists did not invent the class struggle, nor were they the first to start it. The class struggle exists as the outcome of irreconcilable differences between antagonistic classes, and nobody can cancel this circumstance. The Communists recognise that the class struggle is inescapable and they chart

¹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 454.

their policy in accordance with the laws of the class struggle. The door to socialism can only be opened by revolutionary violence in one form or another because capitalism rests on violence. The Communists stand for revolution, for the confiscation of the means of production from the big owners, because otherwise humane aims cannot be achieved.

Socialism has put into effect profound changes in the direction of humanising the conditions of society's life. Public property and planned industrial development have extirpated exploitation of man by man, abolished unemployment and facilitated the large-scale development of culture, public education, social security and public health. The humanism of the socialist system is demonstrated not only by the rising living standard of the people but also by the fact of their social and intellectual emancipation. Socialism stands for the creative political and labour activity of the working people.

In modern production rapidly growing demands are made not only on machines but also and chiefly on those who design and operate them. Special knowledge, competent professional training, and a high level of general culture are becoming mandatory for the successful work of growing strata of working people.

The Constitution of the USSR declares that in a developed socialist society powerful productive forces and advanced science and culture have been built up, the people's living standard is rising steadily, and the conditions are being created that are increasingly conducive to the individual's all-round development.

Scientific communism has nothing in common with utopian notions about man's versatility, according to which the "all-round developed" individual moves from one occupation to another with enviable ease: today he is a medical doctor, tomorrow an agronomist, and the day after tomorrow he is a metallurgist. A combination of this sort is practically unattainable, because each of these occupations requires many years of training and a systematic perfection of knowledge and methods of work.

History knows of many gifted and versatile individuals who influenced many areas of activity. But when the Communists speak of the individual's all-round development they mean the development of all members of society.

The idea of the individual's all-round development is not the idle invention of a visionary. It is based on a strictly scientific analysis of the conditions of society's development, notably of production. Versatility and the ability to vary professions are a requirement of the spreading automation of production.

The ability to switch occupations will most probably develop along the line of combining kindred, associated trades. The availability of leisure time and a high level of general culture will create the broadest opportunities enabling each person to engage in material production, scientific or artistic work, sports, or other activities to his liking. Participation in the administration of society's affairs will be a regular occupation of every member of society.

But it would be wrong to see the individual's all-round development as meaning no more than the ability to switch occupations. The character of occupation and a change in it are determined to some extent by the individual's education, worldview, morality and physical development. Thus, *the individual's all-round development implies the education of a person who harmoniously combines intellectual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection.*

The Communists focus much attention on the all-sided education of young people, who in the immediate decades will be shouldering the responsibility for the destiny of the world. Young people must be involved on a larger scale in socio-political activity, brought up in the spirit of devotion to communist ideals, infused with pride in socialism's achievements, and trained to be prepared to defend their socialist homeland.

With the development of communist forms of society's organisation, communist ideological commitment will sink ever deeper roots in life, work and human relations, and people will increasingly acquire the ability to use the benefits of communism sensibly. The joint, planned and organised labour of people, their day-to-day participation in the administration of affairs of the state and society and the promotion of communist relations of cooperation and mutual support are changing the consciousness of people in the spirit of collectivism, conscientious work and humanism.

COMMUNISM—BRIGHT FUTURE OF ALL HUMANKIND

In the 19th century Marx and Engels enunciated the principles of communism, the society of the future. Since then communism has been the central objective of the struggle of the international working class. This struggle has changed much on our planet.

The Soviet Union, one of the world's largest countries, has entered the stage of developed socialism. Developed socialism is being built in other countries. The capitalist world is now opposed by a socialist world community.

The growth of the forces of socialism, the exacerbation of bourgeois society's contradictions, and the spread of the revolutionary working-class and national liberation movements lead to a steady weakening of the positions held by the capitalist system. It has irretrievably lost its unchallenged supremacy in the world. All of civilisation's pre-socialist development is only the prehistory of humankind. Socialism alone opens the true history of humanity.

The communist system puts an end to society's long division into classes, eradicates exploitation of man by man and national oppression, and asserts the complete social equality of people.

The planned organisation of the whole of the national economy allows making the most effective and rational use of natural wealth, labour resources and scientific and technological achievements for the good of the people. The guideline principle under communism will be "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs".

The goal of communism is the all-round development of the individual. It gives people profound knowledge and powerful, sophisticated technologies, and makes them the masters of nature.

The gigantic growth of the productive forces and scientific progress will allow people to remake nature and subordinate it to the aim of ensuring the fullest satisfaction of the

needs of the entire population of the world. "Human reason," Lenin wrote, "has discovered many amazing things in nature and will discover still more, and will thereby increase its power over nature."¹

The ongoing scientific and technological revolution brings to light inexhaustible potentialities for society's progress. But by virtue of its exploiting nature capitalism turns these potentialities against the interests of the working people. In its drive for profit capitalism spares neither people nor nature. It rapaciously squanders both the labour and abilities of people and natural resources. Caring nothing for the destiny of humankind, it contaminates the soil, air and water with the noxious waste of production. The exhortations of the rulers of the bourgeois world for the protection of the environment remain empty rhetoric. Socialism not only proclaims but carries on a campaign to protect nature. Communism will assert a sensible use of natural resources everywhere, ensure the protection of the purity and beauty of the environment and adorn it with the achievements of civilisation.

On the basis of healthy conditions of labour and everyday life, the promotion of the people's living standards and cultural level, new breakthroughs in medicine and the development of physical culture and sports communist society will be able to implement a wide-ranging programme of measures to prevent and reduce illnesses, further lengthen the life expectancy, and increase man's capacity for work. The conditions will be created for bringing up, beginning with early childhood, a physically strong rising generation with harmoniously developed physical and intellectual strength.

Communism is a highly organised classless society of free and conscious working people. On account of the change in the character of labour, the growth of the technological level and the high level of consciousness all people will be motivated by a need to work for the common good voluntarily to the full measure of their abilities. Work will cease to be solely a means of earning a livelihood. It will become a source of creative inspiration and joy.

The highest labour productivity and the highest form of social organisation will be achieved under communism. Statehood will give way to public self-administration. As a result of the convergence of nations, they will merge into a close-knit community.

Under communism all people will enjoy an equal status in society, have the most favourable conditions for labour and

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 14, 1977, pp. 281-82.

will be able to take an active part in the administration of society's affairs. There will be harmonious relations between society and the individual on the basis of unity between social and individual interests.

It has for centuries been the hope of working people to be delivered from wars, from the calamities and destruction that wars bring. However, there has been no real foundation for this in the past. Rule by exploiting classes interested in suppressing and looting other peoples inevitably led to wars. There has not been a period of any significant length that was free of wars. Imperialism was responsible for two world wars that cost humanity unprecedented loss of life and destruction. In contrast to imperialism, existing socialism has proved in practice that peaceful relations are possible among nations and has come forward as the principal force averting another catastrophic world war. The establishment of a world community on the principles of communism will exclude war from society's life for all time to come, and all of humanity's creative strength will be directed towards the development of civilisation for the good of people.

Communism is a system under which the abilities and talents of the free individual and his finest moral qualities unfold to their fullest and flourish.

Communism performs the historic mission of ridding people of all forms of oppression and exploitation, of the horrors of war. It asserts Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all the peoples of the world.

Peace for all the peoples is a key principle of communist society. With the establishment of communism throughout the world there will never again be wars.

Labour, free and creative for all people delivered from exploitation is increasingly becoming the mainspring of the development of the abilities and talents of the people.

Freedom, genuine and universal for all working people, begins to be achieved with the appearance of socialist orders and develops to the full under communism.

The freedom of society and the individual is indivisibly linked with the attainment of social *Equality*. The establishment of the communist principle of distribution according to needs, the erasure of class and national distinctions, of the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by brain and by hand will lead to total social equality for all people.

In a society of freedom and equality all the relations between people will be founded on *Fraternity* along the principle that man to man is a friend, comrade and brother. Mutual assistance and respect will become the foundation of the relations between people. The road will be opened for the

most perfect human relations—relations between equal, free, all-round developed, and highly conscious people.

Communist society creates a solid basis for human *Happiness*.

Communism will represent the result of all of humankind's preceding development, the highest stage of social progress. All that is progressive and sensible, all that humankind has accumulated through the many centuries of its development is critically evaluated, assimilated and becomes part of the communist civilisation created by the people.

Humankind now has developed socialism in practice as the highest achievement of social progress in present-day conditions; it has a tested doctrine on its construction. The further establishment of communism is a matter of time, activity, consciousness, will power, knowledge and energy of its creators, the millions of working masses.

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