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OF SOCIAL AND
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KNOWLEDGE

WHAT IS
**the Working
People's Power?**

D. DMITERKO
V. PUGACHEV



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

ABC of Social and Political Knowledge

Dmitri Dmiterko
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WHAT IS
THE WORKING
PEOPLE'S POWER?



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ABC СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЗНАНИЙ

Д. Дмитерко, В. Пугачев

ЧТО ТАКОЕ ВЛАСТЬ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ?

На английском языке

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INTRODUCTION

At present, there are over one hundred and sixty countries on our planet, differing greatly not only in territory, population, language and way of life, but in their level of economic and social development as well. In this last respect, the most striking contrasts between countries are seen in that part of the world which is still dominated by exploiter classes. While some of these societies are still predominantly feudal or even tribal, others have long developed capitalist relations, which in some cases have already reached the stage of monopoly capitalism, or imperialism.

In the economically more

advanced capitalist countries—such imperialist powers as the United States, Japan, West Germany, Britain, France, etc.—the actual power is held by the owners of the multi-national corporations and banks. These centres of industrial and finance capital control the life of the people not only in their own countries but in others as well.

In many of the countries where capitalism, though in existence for quite a long time, is not so developed (especially in Latin America and Asia), working people and the poor are exploited not only by their own capitalists and landowners, but also by foreign corporations, which plunder the natural resources of these countries and enslave them in a tangle of debts.

However, seventy years ago capitalism lost its undivided rule over the world. The October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia established the power of the working people, who succeeded in defending their land against foreign military intervention and internal counter-revolution in 1918-1922 and later against the Nazi invasion in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. Moreover, they also built a powerful multi-national socialist state, the Soviet Union—the first of its kind in history, transforming economically backward Russia into a country with an advanced economy, science, technology and culture and the most progressive social system, which has abolished all exploitation of man by man.

As a result of the 1921 popular revolution, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist by nature, Outer Mongolia (now the Mongolian People's Republic) also embarked on the road of social progress—a gradual change from feudalism to socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

After the defeat of Nazi Germany, militarist Japan and their satellites in the Second World War, a whole number of countries in Europe and Asia chose socialism, and in 1959 the socialist community was joined by Cuba, the first socialist country in the Western Hemisphere.

The post-war upsurge of the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa, whose countries had been colonial or semi-colonial dependencies of the imperialist powers, brought about the collapse of the world colonial system and the emergence of a large number of newly-independent states.

Those countries where power has been taken over by the national bourgeoisie and feudal elite, are now developing a capitalist-type economy, with an increasing neo-colonial dependence on the industrialised Western powers. Others have chosen a non-capitalist course through democratic revolution, with the ultimate aim of building a socialist society.

Anyone interested in the social systems of various countries of the world is bound to ask

himself:

Why in most countries of the world does political power still belong not to those who create the nation's wealth – the masses of working people, but to those who exploit them and pocket most of this wealth – the capitalists, landowners and other exploiters, who, moreover, make up only a small part of the population?

Why is it that the overwhelming majority of capitalist countries and a significant number of developing ones are economically, and hence often politically, dependent on a few imperialist powers, especially the United States, which have entangled all of them in debts?

How can the working masses of the capitalist countries throw off the yoke of exploitation and achieve social justice through a government which truly belongs to the people?

In order to find answers to these and similar questions, one must first of all get a clear idea of what is the "exploiter state", whose essence is so carefully hidden today in Western countries behind shameless rhetoric about "pure" and "classless" democracy. One should then analyse the experience of nations which have succeeded in overthrowing their oppressors and establishing a working people's government and have built or are building a socialist society, and decide what part of this experience can be applied to this or that country today.

The purpose of this book is to help the reader gain a clearer understanding of these complex issues. It gives a brief historical account of the working people's struggle against the exploiter classes and for the establishment of their own power.

It then analyses the Marxist-Leninist theory of the masses' struggle for social emancipation, and specifically Lenin's teaching about a proletarian, socialist revolution.

This book further relates how the working class of Russia, led by the Communist Party, put the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism into practice, overthrew the monarchy, the landowners and the capitalists, set up a government of the people, created a new type of state—the Soviet Union, and together with the working peasantry and the people's intelligentsia built a socialist society.

And finally, this book shows how working people's power operates in the Soviet Union today, at the initial stage of a developed socialist society, explaining the essence, functioning and evolution of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union.

Chapter 1. THE EXPLOITER SOCIETY
AND ITS HISTORICAL TYPES.
THE BOURGEOIS STATE AND
ITS ESSENCE

1. Historical Types of the Exploiter Society

Before attempting to review the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the working masses headed by the working class to overthrow the class of capitalists and establish their own state power, let us clarify what we mean by the exploiter state. The most prevalent type of such a state today is the bourgeois state. But in order to gain a clearer understanding of its substance, it would be better first to take a brief look at earlier types of society and the nature of power in them.

In any society, the power of the ruling classes is based on ownership of the means of production. After carefully studying the history

of human society, the founders of scientific communism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, came to the basic conclusion that at every stage in the development of the productive forces of society there evolves a definite system of social relations. A specific historical type of society which differs from other types of society in various aspects of social organisation, above all in the mode of production, is known as a socio-economic formation. History knows five such formations: the primitive-communal, the slave-owning, the feudal, the capitalist, and the socialist (which later grows into the communist formation).

The combination of all economic relations between people in the process of social production—the production relations—constitutes the basis of society, upon which evolves the ideological and political superstructure, including the state, the principal instrument of political power in a class society.

The class which possesses the means of production wields economic power, and, through the state bodies in its service, political power (dictatorship) in the country.

Primitive Society

At the dawn of civilisation, in the primitive-communal society, there was no class distinction, no exploiters or exploited, and no state. People in those days lived in communes, or clans, the latter

uniting into tribes. The clan was headed by an elder, whose power was mainly based on his life experience, worldly wisdom and other such personal qualities, which gave him authority and respect in the commune, and also on custom and tradition.

For the purpose of deciding matters of importance (for instance, electing or unseating the elder, admitting a new member to the clan and starting war against other clans or tribes), a council of the clan (or tribe) was called, which included all the adults in the commune. Investing a member of the tribal commune with any power or depriving him of it was done with the direct participation of all the members of the commune, thus expressing the will of the majority. Other vital issues were decided in the same way; this was true democracy.

Rudimentary production relations in the early primitive commune appeared only with the creation of the first tools of labour made of stone, wood and horn, which enabled people to procure food and clothing by hunting, fishing and gathering. Production was limited to the bare minimum needed for survival. There was no private property.

At a later stage of the primitive commune, however, the situation changed. The increasing productivity of labour resulted in a surplus product which exceeded the bare minimum required

for survival. This was followed by the first division of labour (originally between cattle-breeding and crop-raising), individual or group private ownership, material inequality between individuals and families, and appropriation by the clan's chief of goods produced by other commune members.

All this ultimately brought about the emergence of classes and the state.

The commune was gradually transformed into an association of separate monogamous families with their own property. Handicrafts began to develop into a separate branch of human activities, giving rise to an exchange of products. It is at this last stage of the primitive-communal system, the stage of its disintegration, that social groups appeared dividing society into the exploiters and the exploited and creating conditions for and the first elements of a future class state as an instrument of domination by the exploiter classes. Captured enemies began to be used regularly as a labour force.

Slave-Ownning Society

The primitive-communal system was gradually replaced by the slave-owning formation based on the exploitation of slaves. The appropriation of the fruits of slave labour spread to many ancient states. Spurred on by the desire to increase the number of slaves in their possession, the slave-

owners launched numerous wars of conquest. The victors enslaved their captured enemies and took away their property. All this increased material inequality in society, aggravating class antagonisms. The slaves' plight naturally compelled them to struggle for freedom. There was also a stratum of poor citizens (foreign tradesmen, artisans, and others) who were relatively free and tried to obtain political equality (the right to take part in decision-making in matters of state or be elected to government posts).

There appeared state power which, serving as the slave-owners' instrument of class domination, helped them to control the working masses. The slave-owning state was characterised by a special machine of coercion (including an army, a police force, courts of law, prisons, and government officials); division of the population according to territory, not kinship, and introduction of taxes levied in order to replenish the state treasury and maintain the army and state officials. In Lenin's words, "the state as a special apparatus for coercing people arose wherever and whenever there appeared a division of society into classes, that is, a division into groups of people some of which were permanently in a position to appropriate the labour of others."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 475.

The legalisation of the striking inequality between people "in the full meaning of the word" and people-"objects"—between freemen and slaves—periodically evoked protest, unrest, and even armed insurrection among the oppressed masses. A good example is the historic uprising in the 1st century B. C. of 70,000 slaves in Italy, led by Spartacus, which was brutally crushed by the Roman army.

In an effort to provide an ideological basis for their policies of oppression, the ruling classes brainwashed the masses into believing that inequality—intellectual and moral as well as material—was an unshakeable and sacred principle decreed by heaven itself.

True, the liberation movements of those days influenced some progressive thinkers to express ideas of the equality of all people, masters and slaves alike—ideas that were met with an enthusiastic response from the working people but were condemned by the ruling classes, the dissenters being persecuted and severely punished.

In a slave-owning society, the class essence of state power clearly manifests itself. Let us consider, for example, one of the slave-owning states of Ancient Greece, the city state of Athens.

The highest body of state power was an assembly of the people, which elected the government. All citizens who enjoyed full and equal rights (these were mostly the more affluent slave-owners

and merchants) could elect and be elected.

The word "democracy" (from the Greek word *demos*—the people and *kratos*—power), meaning power of the people, originated in Ancient Greece. Yet even in Athens, which was at one point the most democratic of all slave-owning states, the ruling tribal aristocracy bitterly opposed admitting to power the *hoi polloi*, which consisted of peasants, artisans and petty tradesmen.

Even in the heyday of slave-owning democracy in Athens, citizens who had the right to take part in the affairs of state made up only a fraction of the population. The vast majority of the people had no such right, and the great masses of slaves (in Athens, every free citizen had an average of twenty slaves) had no human rights whatsoever, not being considered human beings in the full sense of the word. That was antique democracy, a democracy for slave-owners.

However, by the middle of the first millennium A. D., almost everywhere the slave-owning system gradually fell into decay. The slaves, the principal workforce of society, could see no prospect for improving their condition and therefore had no interest in working for their owners, much less in raising the productivity of their labour.

The slave-owning system began to hold back the development of the productive forces and was therefore doomed. In its womb there appeared

elements of a new and more progressive social system, feudalism. Gradually, first in some parts of the world and later in others, it took root, as new production relations gained ground.

Feudal Society

Feudalism sprang up not only out of the ruins of the slave-owning society and the corresponding forms of land ownership. With many nations, feudal relations developed straight out of the primitive-communal system with the disintegration of communal ownership of land. In both cases large-scale feudal land ownership appeared. The feudal landowner held in his power the main producers, the peasants and artisans. These, unlike slaves, had some interest in the results of their labour.

The feudal lord allocated small plots of land to them, and they could also own one or several head of cattle and small farming implements, which enabled them to run a little farm, till the land, breed cattle and produce a few articles by whatever craft they knew to support themselves and their families. In return for the use of his master's allotment the peasant had to perform certain services: either to work for a certain period of time on the lord's estate or give him part of the produce from his own plot.

This brought about a certain, if slow, growth of productive forces in feudal society, development

of farming and other agricultural activities and a flourishing of handicrafts and trade. While the ruling classes—the powerful feudal nobility, the clergy, the merchants, and the owners of handicraft workshops—accumulated wealth, life became increasingly difficult for the working masses. The peasants and apprentices were the serfs of the feudal lord.

A powerful feudal state machine protected the interests of the feudal lord and included government officials, the army, the lord's private army, the law courts and the church. The state used economic and extra-economic coercion of the masses to perpetuate the exploitation of man by man.

The growing struggle of the peasants and artisans against their oppressors was matched by increased repression from the feudal state, which stepped up its attacks on the working people's most basic rights. As a rule, at the later stages of feudalism, the state was an absolute monarchy, where the power of the supreme ruler (the king, tsar, emperor, emir, shah, sultan, and so on) was usually inherited and practically unrestricted by any laws.

Bourgeois Society

The feudal elite's persistent efforts to perpetuate their domination met opposition from the emerging rich bourgeoisie, which already began

to gain economic power under feudalism. They wanted the productive forces—industry, agriculture and transportation—to develop freely. To achieve this they would have to eliminate the undivided rule of the feudal lords. To this end the bourgeoisie capitalised on the people's discontent with the feudal system, which with increasing frequency burst out into public disturbances and uprisings.

In the 16th-20th centuries bourgeois revolutions took place in many countries, transforming them into bourgeois states, with the feudal lords forced to share the state power with the bourgeoisie or even give it up altogether.

Now the bourgeoisie had full control over the means of production, which made it possible for them to exploit the working masses and chiefly the workers, who had to sell their labour to the capitalists to earn a living.

The ownership of the means of production gives the bourgeoisie not only economic power over the working masses and in society as a whole, but also political power, which it uses in its own selfish interests. In other words, it establishes its dictatorship, that is, as Lenin put it, "the organised, systematic use of force against persons".¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, 1977, p. 477.

The chief instrument of the bourgeoisie's domination is the state. However, the proponents of capitalism try to hide this fact, lecturing at length about "broad civil rights and liberties" in capitalist countries, and forgetting to mention the all-powerful monopoly capital, especially the military-industrial complex, racial discrimination, and other "minor" details.

Back in the 19th century, Karl Marx wrote that the bourgeois political system only enabled the people once every few years to decide which representative of the ruling class would represent and oppress the people in parliament.¹

In most capitalist countries, so-called "freedom" and "democratic rights" for the general public boil down to the right to vote for one of the candidates of the bourgeois parties or, say, take part in a street demonstration, if the authorities permit. But at any moment the authorities deem it necessary to break up such a demonstration, the police are sent in to do the job.

2. The Essence of the Bourgeois State

In order to understand the essence of the bourgeois state, we first have to get a clear picture of

¹ See: Karl Marx, "The Civil War in France", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. 2, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 221.

whom state power serves, what the political and social status of various classes is and what forms of class domination the ruling class uses to maintain its power.

The bourgeoisie dominates all aspects of its country's life, but its principal domain is the economy.

Economic Oppression of Working People in the Bourgeois State

The bourgeoisie's domination in all spheres of capitalist society is economically based on the fact that it owns the principal means of production—plants, factories, mines, building organisations, etc. The working people, who do not possess these means of production, have no choice but to sell their labour to the capitalists, work at their enterprises, and suffer brutal exploitation.

The goods which the workers produce do not belong to them; they are appropriated by the owners of the enterprises, the capitalists.

As productive forces develop in capitalist society and enterprises become more automated, each worker creates more and more wealth, but his work progressively loses its value, because the proportion of the worker's wages to the wealth that he creates rapidly decreases.

The capitalist strives to develop the machinery in his enterprises and to automate production, when this brings in more profit. Another reason

for replacing more and more workers with machines is that machines are always obedient, do not protest against exploitation and do not go on strike. At the same time, so the capitalist reasons, the growth of unemployment caused by such "technical rationalisation of production" will force the workers remaining at the plant to meekly accept any drop in real wages and deteriorating working conditions.

The capitalists can scale down production at enterprises that seem less profitable than desired, or close them down altogether. The misery of the people losing their jobs is the least of their concerns. The workers left on the job are not much luckier. Their work pace is stepped up to the utmost, leaving them physically and mentally exhausted; furthermore, the capitalists also skimp on health and safety measures.

A dramatic example of the disregard for human life shown by monopoly capital, and especially by its modern monstrous creation, the transnational corporations, is the tragedy that befell the Indian town of Bhopal in late 1984. At a chemical plant belonging to the US corporation Union Carbide, the inadequate safety measures resulted in a tremendous discharge of poisonous gas, claiming a toll of over 2,500 lives and with the total number of casualties exceeding 50,000.

To cut production expenses, monopoly capital sets up enterprises in Asia, Africa and Latin

America, where local labour and raw materials are much cheaper than in Europe or the United States, health protection and safety measures are cut to save money, and it is easier to sell the goods produced.

In pursuit of cheap labour the capitalists make wide use of child labour. Even in countries where this is illegal, children are still brutally exploited. In the industrialised capitalist countries children make up an average of four per cent of the workforce. In Italy, for instance, there are over half a million such "workers in short pants". They are paid at much lower rates than adults, and their labour is not legally protected.

In many Western countries, the working people's real income, i. e. its purchasing power, is constantly dropping because of runaway inflation and sky rocketing prices.

Class polarisation in bourgeois society is constantly growing. The lion's share of the national wealth belongs to a handful of the super-rich. In the United States, for instance, the wealth of the richest Americans, who make up a mere one per cent of the country's population, is eight times as great as the total wealth possessed by the poorer half of the nation. In Great Britain, the richest one per cent of the people owns over a quarter of the national wealth; in West Germany, two per cent of the population hold two-thirds of the nation's wealth.

The working man is also economically oppressed through exorbitant housing rent. In the United States, for example, the average worker pays as much rent a month for his apartment as his Soviet counterpart pays over several years. A large part of the population in capitalist countries is forced to live in substandard housing and in slums, and millions are completely homeless. At the same time, a great number of apartments are empty because of very high rents.

After a hard struggle, the working class sometimes forces the capitalists to put an end to certain cases of gross social injustice. But when the bourgeoisie finally coughs up some meagre allocations for building hospitals and schools, for unemployment benefits and soup kitchens for the hungry, it presents it as philanthropy.

Working people are sinking deeper and deeper into debt even in the developed capitalist countries, because soaring prices force them to buy on credit and then pay high interests.

At every stage in the capitalist economy—production, distribution, and exchange—the antagonism between the social character of production and private form of appropriation becomes increasingly manifest. Goods are produced by the working people, but most of them are pocketed by the capitalists. That is the essence of an exploiter system, and, however the advocates of capitalism try to conceal it, the working people

see it and respond by stepping up their struggle for economic and political rights.

In the industrialised capitalist countries, there are over 60 million people living below the official poverty line, with 35 million of them in the richest country of the West, the United States. Forty-seven million Americans suffer from chronic malnutrition, millions of hungry and homeless sleep out in the street. Crime and drug addiction are steadily increasing.

Tens of millions of young people cannot afford to complete their school education, to say nothing of going to college or university, but even those who have managed to get a higher education often cannot find a job and are forced to join the ranks of the unemployed. One cannot help wondering at the colossal hypocrisy of Western propaganda which rants on about "equality" and "equal opportunities" in capitalist society.

However, big business is not content with exploiting the working people in its own country. Economic relations between the industrialised capitalist and developing countries are by no means equal or mutually advantageous, as the latter are reduced to the role of raw material appendage of the large corporations and transnationals. Under the cover of such phrases as "self-liquidation of imperialism" and "equal partnership with young sovereign states" in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the transnationals are acti-

vely penetrating the economies of the newly-independent states, plundering their natural resources and paying the local worker one-tenth and even one-fifteenth the wages paid in Europe and the United States. For every dollar invested in the economy of the developing states the transnationals get a return of 5-10 dollars and over.

Under the guise of "aid" the leading Western powers readily extend credit to the developing countries, but on conditions which only increase the latter's dependence on the West. In the mid-1980s, the developing countries' national debt to the capitalist West exceeded 626 billion dollars, with many African countries not even able to pay the interest, much less repaying the debts themselves. For instance, Zaire asked many times to defer the current payments because it could afford to repay only a quarter of the debt.

The development of science and technology in the newly-independent countries is being greatly retarded by the tremendous brain drain, with tens of thousands of specialists emigrating every year to the United States alone. This enables the capitalist countries to save millions of dollars a year on education and training, at the same time depriving the young states of scientists and other trained personnel that the developing countries so badly need.

The same kind of crippling terms exist in international trade, as the West buys up raw materials

in the developing countries at low prices and sells them industrial goods at artificially high prices. In early 1960, for example, for one ton of coffee sold to the West a developing country could buy over 35 tons of fertiliser, and twenty years later only half that much.

All these forms of economic enslavement increase the gap between the levels of income in the industrialised capitalist and developing countries. If in the 1950s the overall per capita production in the newly-independent countries was one-tenth of that in the developed capitalist countries, in the 1960s the proportion shrank to 1:20, becoming in the 1970s 1:30, with the trend remaining the same today. Any economic troubles in the industrialised Western countries seriously reflect on the capitalist-oriented countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The slump of the early 1980s, for instance, greatly aggravated the developing world's food, housing and employment problems.

By exerting economic pressure on the developing countries, the imperialist powers try to profit both economically and politically. They ensnare the young states in a tangle of debts, forcing them to spend vast sums on armaments. Over the past decade, for example, arms supplies by the imperialist powers to African countries have grown 14-fold. This is done both to make these countries economically even more dependent on the West

and to expand the latter's sphere of political influence.

The developing countries can free themselves of economic dependence on the imperialists only by boosting their own national economies, relying on their own resources, and establishing an economic system that would meet their needs.

Political Oppression of the Working People in a Bourgeois State

At the beginning of this century, Lenin wrote that in all parts of the world the bourgeoisie had two principal political methods of protecting its dominant position, using either one or the other, or both in various proportions, depending on the situation.

One of these is overt coercion, denying the working masses their basic political rights and suppressing any action on their part to defend their interests. This is the essence of conservative policies of the bourgeoisie.

The second is, in Lenin's words, "the method of 'liberalism', of steps towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions, and so forth".¹

What method of exploitation is chosen depends on the current correlation of class forces. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Differences in the European Labour Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, 1977, p. 350.

more acute the social contradictions in a capitalist country, the more likely the ruling class is to set up an overtly terrorist dictatorship, using extreme forms of violence like police repressions, fomenting chauvinism, anti-communism, racism, etc. The capitalist class uses this type of political oppression of the working people in order to ensure its own economic and social privileges, keep the people in submission and pocket the greater share of the national wealth created by them.

The bourgeois state serves to perpetuate the economic and social oppression of the working people. The Western media often mention equality of all before the law, but no matter how the bourgeois state is dressed up it still remains the dictatorship of the capitalists. In the *Communist Manifesto* (1847), Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote, addressing the bourgeoisie: "Your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class."¹

Although this was written nearly 140 years ago,

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 501.

the capitalist state has not lost its class essence, despite the numerous efforts to hide it behind such fine words as "universal suffrage", "partnership" between workers and employers, "freedom for all", "equal opportunities", "people's capitalism", etc.

In actual fact things are quite different. A cunning web of qualifications (property, residence, education, etc.) bars large segments of the population from voting. Persuasive speeches about freedom and democracy aim to conceal brutal forms of political oppression such as the persecution of progressive-minded citizens and Communist parties, anti-worker legislation, and tacit encouragement of reactionary terrorist organisations.

The instruments of political oppression are capitalist legislation and the state machine, which consists of Government officials, the courts, the police and the army. Good examples of how brutally imperialism crushes the national liberation movement of oppressed peoples include Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Central America.

Political oppression is also practised by means of so-called liberal methods. Without outrightly admitting it, the ruling classes constantly violate the rights of various social and ethnic groups. In the United States, for example, the Native Americans to whom the country originally belonged, have been driven into reservations. Israel, after

seizing the territory of Palestine, has interned masses of Palestinians in camps. In virtually all capitalist countries women have become an oppressed "class", getting, as a rule, lower wages than men for the same work: in Denmark they receive 90 per cent of what men earn; in France, 83 per cent; in Sweden, 76 per cent; in West Germany, 67 per cent.

There are a number of barriers preventing women from seeking employment in the civil service; they hold a subordinate position in the family, at the factory, and in politics. So we find that Lenin's words about "inequality and the humiliation of women at every step"¹ under capitalism ring just as true today.

The bourgeoisie does everything in its power to bar the working class from political life, from setting up trade unions and other organisations. Many of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries had to start their activity underground, and even today Communist party membership is often considered a criminal offence and something incompatible with a whole number of occupations (in West Germany such bans were even given an official name, *Berufsverbot*). In the United States, the authorities often deny Communists

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Working Women's Movement in the Soviet Republic", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1977, p. 42.

exit and entry visas. Communists are constantly victimised and harassed by the media, which accuse them of anti-government plots, subversive activity, spying for the socialist countries, etc.

The trade unions are also kept in check. The capitalist state spares no money to advertise bourgeois freedom and democracy, and in particular the workers' right to strike, but when a strike does indeed take place, all these fine speeches turn out to be nothing but hot air: the strikers are fired, workers' strike funds are confiscated, the strike itself is outlawed by a court injunction or the authorities, and anti-labour legislation is put into effect axing unemployment benefits, old age pensions, etc.

This was exactly what the Conservative government did in Britain during the nearly year-long miners' strike of 1984-1985. The government refused to meet the demands of the miners' union not to shut down "uneconomical" pits, and sent in the police to pacify the strikers. When that did not work, the court ruled that the strike was "illegal" and confiscated the union's funds: the union's leader was declared bankrupt and ordered to pay the damage sustained by the pits' owners.

But sometimes, when big business in one or another capitalist country considers it profitable, it imposes the most brutal form of capitalist dictatorship, fascism. Fascism suppresses even the most meagre of bourgeois democratic freedoms,

murders thousands of fighters for democracy, especially Communists, persecutes progressive political activists and their sympathisers, as well as ethnic minorities, creates the cult of one superman leading the nation, and establishes total control over every individual in the country.

The nation's political life is controlled by a military clique which nurtured in the public aggressive sentiments towards neighbouring countries. Fascism is rabid, militant anti-communism; it is an anti-proletarian counter-revolution. In the words of Georgi Dimitrov, head of the Communist International Executive in 1935-1943, a fascist takeover is not just a routine replacement of one bourgeois government by another, but the replacement of one form of class domination of the bourgeoisie, that of bourgeois democracy, by another form, that of open terrorist dictatorship. Fascism openly tramples underfoot the people's most basic civil rights, setting up a regime of unlimited tyranny.

The fascist regime finds mass support among large sections of the petty bourgeoisie who are dissatisfied with their status, as well as among the lumpen proletariat and other degraded sections of capitalist society.

Such a regime usually emerges when the old bourgeois state machine decays and loses control over the country, when the opposition parties are ready for compromise and class collaboration,

and when the anti-fascist movement is weak and there is no real resistance to the armed gangs of the fascists.

Fascist and semi-fascist regimes exist today in such countries as Chile, South Africa, and South Korea. In Latin America, many countries have been turned into police states headed by military juntas. In Nicaragua, the people have managed to bring down such tyranny only recently, and in El Salvador the liberation struggle against the bloody pro-American dictatorship continues.

With constant support from US imperialism, the tyranny of Alfredo Stroessner in Paraguay has lasted for many years. This country with its population of three million has some twenty concentration camps where hundreds of political dissenters are imprisoned. The country has been in a state of emergency for over twenty years, with arbitrary rule, mass repressions and constant killings becoming the order of the day. But even such a situation cannot stop the people from struggling through strikes, demonstrations, protest rallies and sit-ins, as workers seize enterprises, students occupy universities, and peasants take over land.

The country's progressive forces headed by Communists have set up a United Front of National Liberation, which is now waging armed guerrilla warfare to topple the fascist dictatorship. The revolutionary movement is gathering momentum, as it involves large sections of stu-

dents, progressive-minded civil servants, the clergy, and part of the military.

Historically, fascism is doomed. Yet in a number of capitalist countries pro-fascist parties and organisations exist to this day. In the United States, for instance, there are over 2,000 such organisations, including the John Birch Society, the Nazi Party, the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, etc.

The US imperialists support reactionary regimes in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and build up the offensive potential of its international military and political alliances spearheaded against the socialist countries and the national liberation movement.

The loans that the imperialist circles give to the developing countries, usually on crippling terms, are aimed not only at enslaving those nations economically, but also at blocking any progressive social change there.

Thus the anti-democratic and exploiter essence of the imperialist state becomes evident both in home and foreign policy, with the ruling oligarchy using the state machinery as a tool for economic plunder and enslavement of other nations as well as its own people.

The Western mass media skilfully hide the exploiter essence of capitalism behind fine words about equal rights, freedom and democracy that the working people ostensibly enjoy. Back in the

late 18th century, at the time of the French bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie promised the toiling masses all kinds of democratic rights and freedoms in order to win them over to its side.

The next chapter of this book examines what bourgeois democracy is in reality.

Chapter II. BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

1. The Idea of Democracy in an Exploiter Society: for the People, the Dream of Social Justice; for the Exploiters, a Means of Deceiving the People

Democracy in an Exploiter Society

Since ancient times, the idea of democracy was the expression of the people's desire to be their own masters. Being exploited for centuries by one class or another, they dreamed of a just society where people would have an equal say in running their society and where state power would belong to the entire nation, not to the ruling classes alone or even to just a few most powerful representatives of those classes.

Back in the ancient slave-owning states as, for example, in the state of Athens, there was an unceasing struggle between the proponents of oligarchy (the power of a few), which mostly consisted of

the traditional land-owning aristocracy, and the supporters of democracy, who wanted broad sections of the population to take part in running the state. These latter included small landowners, traders, artisans, and other freemen who were fighting for and eventually attained more civil rights and a bigger say in political life. This, naturally, did not concern slaves, who were not considered human beings and could therefore hardly claim any human rights. Moreover, some categories of freemen (*metoikoi* and *perioikoi*) had no civil rights.

Even in those days, the supporters of democracy made various attempts to determine the principal features of a democratic form of government which would distinguish it from other forms, such as despotism, autocracy, open military dictatorship, etc.

In the bourgeois states of today, the following features are usually singled out: official recognition of the people as the source of power; declaration of the supremacy of the law, equality of all citizens and their political rights; electivity of major representative government bodies; and universal suffrage.

There exist two different democratic procedures of adopting major government decisions: either a direct popular vote (for example, a referendum), or through elective representative bodies (national assembly, parliament, etc.) where deci-

sions are made by elected representatives of the people through a majority vote.

The exploiter classes, which usually constitute a small percentage of the population, have always tried to maintain their domination over the working people by deceit.

In order to camouflage their dictatorship over the people, the exploiter classes proclaimed democratic principles, which in fact they had no intention of implementing (at least not in the most important areas of public life). They proclaimed various democratic rights and freedoms, at the same time preventing the working people from using these rights. Moreover, the ruling classes most often succeeded in making the public believe that they live in a democratic society where everyone enjoys equal rights.

Still, the exploited masses have always felt the lack of equality and the falsity of bourgeois democracy, and from time to time, when they realised the cause of their plight they organised themselves for the struggle against their exploiters, demanding that the proclaimed democratic principles be put into practice and even succeeded in having some of their demands satisfied. However, such successes were usually very partial and temporary, and could not change the essence of the existing political system, although they were bought at the price of intense struggle and demonstrated the might of the work-

ing masses and also the correlation of antagonistic class forces at a given moment.

No society dominated by exploiter classes can ever have real democracy, and even if there are some elements of democracy in certain areas of public life, it is only the ruling classes or even a very small elite who can take advantage of them.

In the previous chapter we used the example of the slave-owning system to point out the essence of democracy in pre-capitalist societies. Now let us consider democracy under capitalism, i. e. bourgeois democracy.

Who Advertises Bourgeois Democracy and Why

Western politicians, sociologists and other proponents of capitalism have churned out veritable mountains of books and articles and made countless eloquent speeches in praise of bourgeois democracy. It is widely advertised by all the mass media, which have been especially active in the last two or three decades.

In order to understand the reasons for this growing avalanche of propaganda, one should bear in mind the following. Now that capitalism has entered its last, imperialist stage of development more and more people around the world recognise its true nature as a greedy predator, with the irreconcilable antagonism between monopoly capital and the working masses growing increasingly obvious.

The all-powerful imperialist corporations are tightening their economic, political and ideological grip not only on the people of their own country but on other nations as well. The ruling imperialist circles, especially in the United States, are inflating their countries' military budgets to mammoth proportions, stockpiling tremendous quantities of the most modern weapons of mass destruction, in particular nuclear weapons, and now extending the arms drive to outer space, while at the same time cutting down allocations for social programmes.

Driven by an insatiable thirst for world domination, the military-industrial complex of the United States and its allies in other imperialist countries are even prepared to unleash another world war, which would threaten to wipe out human life on our planet.

All this goes against the interests of the masses of working people the world over, including the populations of the imperialist powers, leading them to realise to what extent their lives are threatened by monopoly capital and especially its more aggressive force—the military-industrial complex.

At the same time, the working people all over the world can see how the position of the masses has changed in countries where they have overthrown the capitalists and landowners, established people's power, put an end to exploitation

of man by man, and taken the path of building a socialist society. They also enthusiastically approve of the socialist countries' foreign policy aimed at peaceful coexistence and friendship among nations.

That is why the class consciousness of the working masses in the capitalist countries is growing: they are beginning to realise that working people around the world have common class interests, that active struggle is needed to cast off the yoke of the exploiter classes—capitalists and landowners—and they are striving to learn how the nations who are building a socialist society today have succeeded in doing that.

The ruling classes in the capitalist countries understand very well that if the **broad masses** of working people realise all this and organise themselves for the struggle for their social liberation, then the domination of capital will be overthrown.

For that reason the capitalist class uses all the means at its disposal, all levers of the state machinery, to prevent such a development of class consciousness among the working people. Following the example of ruling classes in pre-capitalist societies, it tries to deceive the people by proclaiming equal democratic rights and freedoms for all. The mass media are mobilised to brainwash the public, to praise bourgeois democracy to the skies and every day drum into peo-

ple's heads that only under capitalism can there be real democracy.

2. Bourgeois Democracy: Words and Deeds

As we have mentioned, a bourgeois-democratic state is one that proclaims democratic principles, rights and freedoms, equality for all its citizens, and equal opportunities to implement these rights.

What is a bourgeois-democratic state in reality? Does it really put into practice the democratic principles, rights and freedoms that it proclaims?

"Equal Rights and Opportunities" in the Economy

One of the ploys most often used in bourgeois-democratic states to fool the public is the formal proclamation of equal rights and opportunities for all citizens.

We have already mentioned that capitalism is based on private ownership of the means of production (land, mines, factories, etc.), which are the source of a nation's wealth, by the exploiter classes, i. e. the capitalists and landowners. This enables them to appropriate the lion's share of what the working people produce.

The proclaimed equality of all citizens in a state implies, in economic terms, that capitalists,

landowners and workers have equal rights to possess the means of social production and hence to enjoy their benefits.

But the rights of those who cannot put them into practice remain rights only on paper. Since only the capitalists and landowners actually possess the means of production they alone have the right and also the possibility to appropriate the greater share of the wealth created by those who till their land and work at their plants; in other words, they have the right to exploit them. The working people's opportunities to exercise their "equal" rights are quite different: they are obliged to work for their exploiters so as to earn a living.

So, as we see, formally everybody has equal rights, but in reality private ownership of the means of production enables the capitalists and landowners to exploit the working people. Thus bourgeois democracy only serves to camouflage the gross economic and social inequality of capitalist society and its exploiter nature.

"Universal Suffrage" and "Free Elections"

Class inequality in a bourgeois-democratic state is not confined to the economy alone. It is present in all the principal areas of social life.

In words, all citizens have equal rights and opportunities to be elected to any public post. But what is the real state of affairs? In a bourgeois-

democratic state the system of nominating candidates for the main elective posts is extremely complex. Besides setting up a whole screen of property, educational and residence qualifications, which restrict the nomination of candidates for election, the system erects a number of other obstacles, which differ slightly from country to country but in most of them boil down essentially to the same thing: only those who are supported by one of the principal bourgeois parties have a chance to be elected. In the United States, for example, when it comes down to it, voters can choose only between candidates of the two main parties, Democratic or Republican. Only these two can afford to spend hundreds of millions of dollars on a nation-wide election campaign. Besides, whoever of the two candidates the public votes into office, they will still be voting for the power of big business, whose interests the elected people will represent.

The Western mass media claim that under bourgeois democracy the masses have free and equal opportunities to elect the country's leader.

Obviously you cannot talk about equal rights in participating in the electoral arena unless everybody has equal opportunities to run for office, can make a conscious and free choice, and after the elections has full control over the actions of their representative. But in a society divided into the classes of the exploiters and the exploited,

the rich and the poor, such a situation is improbable.

Social Inequality in Other Areas of Public Life

Social inequality is also apparent in that working people have very little chance of entering social groups which hold important posts in government bodies, enterprises, corporations, and offices. In the United States, for instance, people coming from non-privileged families, which constitute the majority of the population, make up a mere 3 per cent of managers, government officials, generals, media bosses, and leading ideologists.

This is partly caused by unequal opportunities in education. A French bourgeois magazine estimates that in Switzerland a young man from high society is 23 times more likely to be accepted at a university than his age-mate from the lowest stratum of society. In Sweden this ratio is 26, in France 30, in Italy 34, in the Netherlands 45, and in West Germany 48.

Moreover, many of the young people from working-class families who do manage to get into university or college find after a while that they cannot afford to pay the tuition fees, which are especially high in private educational establishments. In the United States, only rich families can send their children to private colleges, where they pay from \$ 8,000 to \$ 12,000 a year. Many

Americans with more modest means cannot afford to go even to state-run educational establishments. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this richest capitalist country of the world, according to official reports, there are over 30 million completely illiterate people and another 30 million can scarcely read the name of a motion picture or a shop. Significantly, illiteracy among whites is 16 per cent, among Blacks 44 per cent, and among Latin Americans 55 per cent.

The policy of limiting the working people's access to education and culture pursued by capitalist states has two aims: on the one hand, to ensure the monopoly of the ruling class on intellectual labour and hence on executive jobs in order to strengthen the domination of the ruling classes; and on the other, by keeping the vast majority illiterate and ignorant, to turn them into obedient robots, and so prevent any development of political consciousness. In Lenin's words, "an illiterate person stands outside politics, he must first learn his ABC. Without that there can be no politics; without that there are rumours, gossip, fairy-tales and prejudices, but not politics."¹

An illiterate person is unable to understand the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The New Economic Policy and the Tasks of the Political Education Departments. Report to the Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Departments, October 17, 1921", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, 1973, p. 78.

essence and causes of exploitation, the deception and anti-popular character of so-called bourgeois democracy, or to see through the lies he is being fed every day by the mass media. Under capitalism, very often even educated people, to say nothing of illiterates, cannot form an objective picture of what is going on around them, because they simply have no way of learning the facts. All the mass media—television, radio, newspapers, magazines, cinemas, publishing houses, etc.—are highly expensive enterprises and are concentrated almost exclusively in the hands of the ruling class. In the United States, for instance, the three largest networks, ABC, CBS and NBC, monopolise 90 per cent of the country's air time. Incidentally, during election campaigns it is these networks that promote candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties, which represent the interests of big business. In West Germany, six of the nine major TV networks are headed by directors who are members or supporters of the reactionary CDU-CSU alliance. Over 80 per cent of the dailies and almost all the Sunday editions belong to the newspaper magnate Axel Springer. Other capitalist countries have a similar situation.

This enables the capitalist class to control people's minds through the media. The freedom of the press, which Western propaganda boasts so much about, turns out to be freedom only for the rich.

By presenting a false picture of life, and often resorting to lies and slander, the mass media in the capitalist countries prevent the working people from truly free and conscious participation in the political life, elections, referendums and other political activities. It becomes quite clear that with such gross social inequality, with the principal means of cultural and ideological indoctrination in the hands of monopoly capital, with an army of people specially trained to manipulate the minds of millions, with widespread illiteracy, and a lack of social organisations protecting the interests of the working people, there can be no equal rights and opportunities for the bourgeoisie and the working people in a bourgeois-democratic state and there is no question of the people having any possibility of freely expressing their will.

3. The Rich Have the Real Power

Corruption and Bribery in the Struggle for Power

Under bourgeois democracy, capitalists and landlords have a whole arsenal of ways and means of controlling the people's minds and behaviour in order to make them vote in the interests of the ruling classes and to be free to pursue their anti-democratic policies. Some of these ways and means have been mentioned already.

But the most important of them is money.

In capitalist society, where everything can be bought and sold, money is the key to power and the principal factor of the exploiters' political domination. The capitalist class, which possesses tremendous wealth, also owns the principal means of controlling an individual's mind and behaviour—television, radio, the press, cinemas, etc. This class can afford to hire and bribe politicians, writers, journalists, artists, actors, and even just voters. Ironically, this kind of bribery is sometimes done quite openly.

Voters, congressmen, ministers, and other government officials are now openly bribed in all capitalist countries. For instance, during the 1983 parliamentary elections in Japan, the leaders of the Liberal-Democratic Party, which represents big business interests, priced one vote at approximately 10,000 yens. Party activists who managed to bring the LDP ten votes were awarded a free tourist trip to Hong Kong.

In the United States, bribe-taking among congressmen and other government officials is also widespread. American journalists have noted on numerous occasions that a congressman who takes bribes doesn't make the news, it is rather the congressman who takes no bribes who draws attention. In that country there is even an official system of lobbying, which is a ramified network of agents who pressure legislators and

government officials into voting in favour of decisions advantageous to monopoly capital.

Government officials are rewarded for faithful service to big business not only with money and gifts, but also with high-paying jobs which they get after retiring from office. Very often retired ministers immediately become executives of large companies or members of boards of directors in trusts and corporations.

The ruling classes use money not only to bribe government officials, but to win votes during election campaigns as well. A candidate can expect the public to vote for him only if it is familiar with his election platform and personal qualities. Such information can be spread only through the advertising agencies and mass media, which prefer to sell their air time and space on their pages mostly to candidates from bourgeois parties, and for big money, which working-class people just cannot pay. The few existing progressive papers do not enjoy mass circulation, being literally drowned out by the pro-Establishment media. For this reason, without large funds, it is practically impossible to be elected to Parliament or any other central government body. As a rule it is the candidate with stronger financial backing who eventually wins the election. Only big industrialists or their protégés can afford to spend enormous sums on election campaigns and various political advertisement. As a result, key positions

in government are always held by representatives of big business.

It might be curious to take a look at the origin and financial status of members of parliament and government officials in the capitalist countries. In the United States, half of the one hundred Senators are millionaires, although people in that income bracket make up only 0.2 per cent of the country's population. Eight of the thirteen Cabinet members have fortunes of over one million dollars each, and the wealth possessed by the remaining five is approaching one million. President Ronald Reagan himself has several million dollars.

Over 80 per cent of US congressmen are bankers and industrialists, owners of large publishing houses and newspaper trusts, heads of notary offices and other law establishments serving the monopolies. In Britain, 70 per cent of MPs are big industrialists and financial magnates, landowners, highly paid lawyers and economists, the rest being directors of various corporations. All these people are part of the ruling class and naturally have a stake in preserving the status quo.

Conversely, working people, especially industrial and farm workers, are very scantily represented in government bodies. In West Germany, for example, workers, who make up half of the population, constitute only seven per cent in Par-

liament. Besides, very often such people, though originally coming from workers' and peasants' families, have betrayed the interests of their class and are now serving big business.

"He Who Pays the Piper Calls the Tune"

Most of the money that a candidate gets for his election funds comes from the so-called "fat cats"—the wealthy industrialists and bankers. Although some Western countries have special laws which are supposed to regulate the financing of election campaigns, in reality they are rather ineffective.

In the United States, for instance, a number of laws were passed in the early seventies limiting the financial contributions that could be made to a candidate's election fund: an individual voter could donate not more than \$ 1,000, and a firm or other organisation, not more than \$ 5,000. A Congressional candidate was not supposed to spend more than \$ 35,000 of his own money on his election campaign. Similar laws were passed at the state level.

However, all these laws mostly remained on paper since they had many loopholes, and in 1976 the United States Supreme Court repealed the law limiting candidates' self-funding altogether. Shortly afterwards, billionaire John Rockefeller ran for Governor of West Virginia, spending approximately \$ 12,000,000 on his campaign,

which breaks down to \$ 300 per voter.

The law limiting contributions from corporations to \$ 5,000 is no more effective, since other US laws permit firms and organisations to receive practically unlimited donations to election funds from their own employees and their families. This means that corporations can give unlimited financial support to their nominees if they legally present the money as voluntary donations from their staff members.

There are other loopholes too. For instance, there are no laws in the United States limiting the funding of campaigns against individuals. This makes it possible for a candidate of one bourgeois party to spend vast amounts to discredit his political opponents in the eyes of the voters, thus clearing the way for himself.

All these facts go to show that election laws in capitalist countries only serve to camouflage the power of the rich.

4. How Big Business Attempts to Prevent the Growth of the People's Class Consciousness

Means of Controlling the Minds of the People

In bourgeois-democratic states, the ways in which the ruling classes secure their political domination are markedly different from those

used in authoritarian states. Under bourgeois democracy, the exploiter classes manage to maintain their domination largely by manipulating people's minds. In the capitalist world, there is a whole system of mind control which aims at brainwashing the public into acting counter to its own interests. "The means of manipulation are many," wrote the progressive American scientist Herbert Schiller, "but, clearly, control of the information and ideational apparatus at all levels is essential. This is secured by the operation of a simple rule of the market economy. Ownership and control of the mass media, like all other forms of property, is available to those with capital."¹

In the United States, this kind of manipulation is practised on a particularly wide scale – through thousands of privately owned newspapers, radio and television stations, and also the powerful government-run propaganda machine.

The United States Information Agency employs 8,000 people. In the Pentagon, 4,500 employees hold jobs directly connected with indoctrinating the public; this seat of the Defense Department issues approximately 700 periodicals and owns up to 300 radio and TV stations scattered all over the world. The CIA publishes another 800 periodicals. All together, the

¹ Herbert I. Schiller, *The Mind Managers*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, p. 4.

Administration spends over \$ 2.5 billion per year on propaganda.

In manipulating the minds of the millions, the mass media are assisted by various advertising agencies. These specialise not only in marketing commercial goods, but political ideas as well, becoming a powerful medium for subtle ideological indoctrination. They naturally take part in various political campaigns, including election canvassing.

Being constantly bombarded by TV and radio commercials, flashy ads, attractively arranged show-windows, impressive exhibitions, copious catalogues, etc., the ordinary man or woman is imperceptibly wooed into accepting bourgeois values.

The ramified entertainment industry draws people's attention away from the more acute social problems, developing political passiveness in them.

Yet another medium for mind manipulation is the educational system, under which all the schools and universities are controlled by the ruling classes and thus instil the kinds of ideas in young people that serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Methods and Aims of Mind Manipulation

In order to control people's minds more effectively, the exploiter classes make extensive use of

modern science. The ruling oligarchy of the United States has been especially successful in this respect, with thousands of scientists constantly developing the methods of mind manipulation, and the mass media, schools and universities closely coordinating their activities on major socio-political issues.

Day and night the propaganda machine keeps drumming into people's heads that America is the most progressive and free country in the world, that it gives everyone unlimited opportunities, that American democracy is the ideal for other nations to emulate, that America was destined to lead other nations, and that all the troubles in America are caused by Blacks, Communists and immigrants. This story in different variations is fed to Americans every day in order to draw their attention away from the real cause of the misery of millions, the capitalist system.

To make these ideas more credible, Western propaganda uses special methods and techniques, such as half-truths, sensations, labels, the frequent repetition of lies, etc. The method of half-truths helps to gain the confidence of the public by detailed objective reporting of unimportant but impressive details and at the same time distorting or omitting altogether the most important and typical facts, which results in the false interpretation of an event as a whole.

This technique is used, for instance, when the

power circle wants to sell the idea that Americans live in a society of freedom and equal opportunities where anybody can make a pile of money or become President. To do that a TV company is paid to find a millionaire who originally came from a poor family and give a detailed description of his private life and business achievement. Throughout the programme it is subtly implied that any hardworking American with initiative could do the same thing. What the reporter "forgets" to mention is that this is an exceptional case and that he managed "to make it" through deceit, bribery and underworld contacts.

Sensationalism is used to prevent the public from analysing events on their own and draw their attention away from urgent social problems, like poverty, unemployment, etc., to some emotionally presented facts which are either completely false or are not really important to society. Favourite subjects for sensational presentation are the intimate details from the private life and amorous adventures of movie stars and politicians, and also murders, robberies and other types of crime.

The method of "labelling" consists in imposing ungrounded but skilfully presented opinions and thus developing an automatic negative reaction in the public to any socially progressive idea. The reaction uses this method to discredit any progressive civic leader and especially Communists.

The mass media use other methods of mind manipulation as well, including blatant lies and slander, which have become significantly more widespread under the Republican Administration.

Another method is the use of a special political jargon which obscures and distorts the actual meaning of events. Catchy words are used to camouflage the reactionary substance of imperialist policies. In the United States, for instance, the media associate democracy with bourgeois parliamentarianism and the struggle for power between parties representing different big business groups, while the invasion of Grenada was dubbed "the march of freedom and democracy".

At the same time US propaganda does everything to discredit words associated with the working people's struggle to free themselves from the grip of big business.

This kind of subtle systematic indoctrination proves very effective, which is evidenced by the distorted understanding of freedom, democracy, class struggle, revolution, Communists, socialism, and so on, that prevails among the public in capitalist countries. That is why they find it hard to understand the essence of capitalist exploitation and bourgeois democracy and comprehend the goals and ideals that the Communists are fighting for.

The principal aim of mind manipulation is to form a socially passive, apolitical nation whose public activity would at best be limited to voting for a candidate of one bourgeois party or another. The majority of the population in the West is disillusioned with bourgeois democracy. The general public is beginning to understand that the passing of state power back and forth from one political party representing big business to another is not going to improve the life of the people.

As a result, more than half of the US population has not taken part in Congressional elections for many years, and voters are beginning to lose interest in presidential elections as well. In Lenin's words, bourgeois "democracy is always hemmed in by the narrow limits set by capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in effect, a democracy for the minority, only for the propertied classes, only for the rich.... Owing to the conditions of capitalist exploitation, the modern wage slaves are so crushed by want and poverty that 'they cannot be bothered with democracy', 'cannot be bothered with politics'; in the ordinary, peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participation in public and political life."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 465.

5. Bourgeois Democracy and Imperialism

Does Imperialism Always Hide Behind a Smokescreen of Bourgeois Democracy?

The possession of the greater part of the nation's wealth and a powerful machine of mind manipulation permits the capitalists to prevent the development of the working people's class consciousness in the relatively calm periods between crises, instil confidence in bourgeois democracy and induce them to follow and vote for various bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties. While most of the nation is deceived by bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois-democratic form of government satisfies the capitalists, helping them camouflage the class essence of their power and blind people with slogans of freedom and equality.

Bourgeois democracy makes it possible for various groups within the exploiter classes to share political power in accordance with their economic might. The richer find it easier to push their representatives into the various government bodies. Besides, by alternating different bourgeois parties in government, the ruling classes can more effectively adjust to changing circumstances as critical attacks from the opposition help them to notice the more glaring faults in their government and take measures to correct or camouflage them. That is why, so long as big business feels no threat

to its domination, it makes extensive use of the bourgeois-democratic form of government.

However, with the growing class antagonisms and the mounting desire of the masses to rid themselves of exploitation and other forms of social injustice, the exploiter classes find it increasingly difficult to keep people under control. With the deepening general crisis of capitalism and rising class struggle, the monopolies are more and more often obliged to deny the nation even the paltry democratic rights and freedoms that the people have managed to win in the past. As free-market capitalism grows into its monopoly, imperialist stage, as Lenin noted, it aggravated "the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy".¹

Persecution of Communist Parties

Big business attacks against those fighting for working people's interests assume various forms but its main blows are directed against the organisations of the working class which are independent of the bourgeoisie, above all the Communist Party and revolutionary-minded trade unions.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Reply to P. Kievsky (Y. Pyatakov)", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, 1977, p. 25.

It is not surprising that in these latter, monopoly capital sees a major threat to itself. The working masses need to unite into political organisations in order to realise their class interests and be able to fight for them. Without such organisations they would lack leadership and could not act as a united whole. The exploiters can easily deceive and suppress the working people when they are disunited. The working people can resist the powerful coercive machinery of the capitalist state only by uniting into their own political organisations. The ruling classes understand this very well, too, and therefore do their utmost to undermine such organisations and limit their influence on the masses.

The principal target of attacks by the ruling classes are the Communists, the most consistent fighters for the interests of working people. In many capitalist countries ruled by dictatorial regimes, Communists are jailed without trial, tortured and often executed just because they are Communists.

In bourgeois-democratic countries, however, more subtle methods are used against Communists. In many developed capitalist countries members of the Communist Parties are often dismissed from work. In West Germany, for instance, a special law exists which bars "radical elements" from public service. This category includes Communists and other progressive-

minded people. Over the past ten years more than a million West Germans have been screened for political reliability.

In the United States, the police, the FBI and the CIA have been using covert action for many years against the Communist Party and other working people's organisations trying to split and weaken their movement. Although the methods and scale of this undeclared war are kept under wraps, some details keep slipping out.

Some CIA and FBI operations against the Communist Party include jailing Communists and other "radical elements" on false charges, paying gangsters to assault them, forcing employers to fire them, planting agents provocateurs into the Party ruling bodies, attempting to break up their families by fabrication of slanderous evidence, etc.

American Communists have practically no opportunities of speaking on television or radio. Twenty-nine states have various laws and court decisions which ban the Communist Party from running for election. Legal barriers include, for instance, the following requirements: to put up a candidate it is necessary to collect many thousands of signatures within a short period, to have witnesses during the collection of signatures, get permission for the signature collectors, have a notary public certify the authenticity of the signatures, etc. Even if all these obstacles are sur-

mounted by the Party, election commissions often do not admit such candidates to the election on the grounds of "illegible signatures" or some other pretext.

The American two-party system is specially designed to ensure that only the Republican and Democratic Parties, who represent monopoly capital interests, shall dominate the country's political scene, thus limiting the Communist Party's influence to a minimum. Both these bourgeois parties receive powerful financial backing from monopolies, dominate over the mass media and thus control elections to government bodies at all levels, from local to presidential.

At the same time, the two-party system is a convenient instrument for fooling people. The opposition party uses the public's discontent with the ruling party, criticises the government, promises all sorts of improvements if it wins—thus collecting many of the votes from those disappointed in the current government. This limits the growth of support for Leftist organisations and their influence.

The Campaign of Big Business Against Trade Unions and Other Working People's Organisations and Movements

Big business does everything in its power to hinder the growth of the labour movement. In

the United States only 20 per cent of the workforce (24 million people) are organised into trade unions, most of them, 16.5 million people, being members of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO).

The US ruling oligarchy has managed to put its own men at the head of this trade union amalgamation, with many of them either openly cooperating with the CIA and FBI or acting as their secret agents. The top bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO faithfully serve big business, getting handsome returns for their service. In their turn, the employers, the government and its secret services help this trade union élite to stay in power by giving the top union bosses wide media publicity, bribing the heads of the industrial and local unions, and intimidating and even murdering union activists who dare to criticise the AFL-CIO élite.

American employers and the government do everything possible to prevent new labour unions from being organised. But unions that will not be bribed and go on stubbornly defending workers' interests are dealt with ruthlessly. A good example of this is the way the Reagan Administration treated the Air Traffic Control Association. When it went on strike demanding higher wages to keep up with inflation, the government declared the union illegal. As a result, tens of thous-

ands of its members were fired without the right to enter public service in future, and the union's leaders were jailed.

In a similar way the American ruling classes deal with those who champion the rights of the country's Black and coloured population and ethnic minorities, as well as activists of democratic and peace movements. Conversely, racist, fascist and other reactionary, terrorist and anti-Communist organisations receive generous financial backing from corporations and moral support from the government. The police protect their rallies and the courts leave their crimes unpunished. And small wonder: these racist and ultra-right organisations serve monopoly capital on a par with official state bodies, helping to preserve its power.

From Total Surveillance to Building New Prisons and Concentration Camps

The imperialist state tries to impose total control over its population's political views. Those who disagree with the policies of the ruling class are classified as "non-conformists" and are closely watched. According to official reports, over the period of 1977 to 1982 American special services were regularly tapping the telephone conversations of over 200,000 citizens.

Surveillance uses the most modern scientific achievements. If at one time the FBI used to train

pigeons to put miniature listening devices on window sills, today it uses laser technology which at a great distance can catch the slightest vibration of window-panes caused by people talking in the room.

Computer technology helps to collect and process private information about virtually every US citizen. Every day information about every American travels from one computer to another an average of five times. The police have 20 million such computer files, and the FBI, 24 million. Besides, these services have 40 million ordinary (non-classified) files; the medical information bureau, 12 million files; private detective services, 14 million; credit agencies, 150 million; vehicle registration agencies, 152 million, and various governmental agencies, 3.8 billion files.

Some of the said services are solely concerned with people's political views. For instance, one of the FBI's electronic file systems concentrates only on individuals thought to be set against the establishment. Another watches those who allegedly have something against the authorities and the existing system of law.

The state machine uses a variety of methods against non-conformists, from slander and threats to dismissals, prisons and corporal punishment. The Reagan Administration has been especially generous in using brute force against progressive-minded people, with growing numbers serving

prison sentences. There are plans to build over a thousand new prisons accommodating a total of 300,000 inmates, which will cost upwards of \$ 10 billion. Yet this is still not enough for the "defenders of democracy". President Reagan has signed a secret directive on the police operation code-named Rex-84, which includes setting up ten concentration camps, each for 25,000 inmates. This is democracy American style!

In many bourgeois-democratic states it is dangerous not only to be active in the anti-monopoly movement but also to sympathise with democratic forces, have communist or any other progressive beliefs, read communist publications, or even have Communists as relatives.

Against this background of total surveillance, repression, persecution and gross social inequality, Western propaganda is finding it more and more difficult to conceal the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Working People's Struggle for Democracy and for Socialism

As we have mentioned above, any capitalist state, both democratic and authoritarian, serves the exploiter classes. However, this does not mean that the public does not care if it lives in a fascist dictatorship or a bourgeois-democratic republic. In a bourgeois-democratic state, the majority

have more of a chance to set up their own political organisations, to do mass political education work and to fight the more reactionary forces and the exploiter system as a whole.

In our day and age, the working class and other strata of working people are the most consistent fighters for democracy. The fact that in a number of capitalist countries they have managed to defend and sometimes even broaden their democratic rights is by no means the result of the capitalists' devotion to the ideals of freedom and democracy, as Western propaganda tries to present it, but rather a change in the correlation of reactionary and progressive forces and a growing democratic movement of the masses.

In bourgeois democracies, the working people sometimes manage to obtain in practice some of the democratic principles and rights which are officially proclaimed. But this happens only when the working people are well organised, have reached a high degree of class consciousness and unity and have learned the correct strategy and tactics of fighting for real democracy. The results of such a battle are in the long run determined by the balance of class forces in a given country.

The monopoly bourgeoisie would have liked to abolish many of the existing democratic laws and rights, but it now finds it more and more difficult to do so. As the general crisis of capitalism deepens and the policies of the ruling monopoly

bourgeoisie become more aggressive and anti-democratic, there is a growing number of industrial, farm and office workers, intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie who realise the need for active struggle against their imperialist governments, for real democracy and socialism.

In capitalist countries today, the movement for democracy is more and more nearing a general struggle for a new social system—for socialism. This struggle prepares society for radical socialist transformations as it undermines the power of the most reactionary forces of capitalism, the monopoly bourgeoisie, weakening imperialism as a whole. It curbs the anti-democratic policies of the ruling classes, enabling the working people to defend and sometimes even to broaden their democratic rights and to a certain extent improve their working and living conditions.

The struggle for democracy gradually helps millions of people rid themselves of the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and develop their political awareness and activity. While taking part in the campaign for peace, for democratic rights, for higher wages, etc., people begin to see for themselves the anti-democratic policies of bourgeois governments, and gradually realise the need for profound revolutionary transformations. This is how a veritable army of devoted fighters against all forms of exploitation and oppression is developed.

The most cherished dream of millions of people is to establish a truly democratic society—and that is the ideal of socialism. The struggle of working people in capitalist countries for democratic changes helps to achieve that great goal.

Chapter III. THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES AGAINST EXPLOITATION, FOR WORKING PEOPLE'S POWER. THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF THE PROLETARIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

1. The Working-Class Movement at the Pre-Imperialist Stage of Capitalism

The Initial Stage of the Working-Class Movement

The entire history of capitalism has been marked by the struggle of the working people, chiefly the working class, against their exploiters, the capitalists and landowners. With the development of industrial production in Europe and America in late 18th and early 19th century, there was a rapid growth of the working class and consequently the proletariat was increasingly discontent with its position in capitalist society. At first the workers' indignation at the backbreaking work, meagre wages and lack of any rights was limited to spon-

taneous outbursts. But when the workers realised that to fight the capitalists they needed organisation, they started uniting into mutual aid societies and trade unions, which embraced all the workers of a given trade within one region or province, and eventually merged into nation-wide unions. As a rule their demands were purely economic: improved working conditions, higher wages, etc. Yet, from the first half of the 19th century, the workers started making, though extremely rarely, some political demands. One such example was the Chartist Movement, which developed in Britain from the 1830s to the 1850s. Their petition presented to Parliament contained, apart from economic issues, certain political demands, for example universal suffrage (for men only). However, this mass movement did not meet with success and by the early 1850s fizzled out.

Other social groups – peasants, artisans – also protested against their intolerable conditions, but the working class, as it rapidly increased in number, became by far the most energetic and consistent in defending its economic interests and sometimes even supported the demands of other groups of working people. Gradually, the proletariat became the principal force in the working people's struggle against their exploiters.

The proletariat's class consciousness also grew, with strikes and demonstrations putting forward

not only economic demands but more and more often political ones as well, such as the repeal of certain reactionary laws, an increase in the workers' rights, etc.

The Theory of the Proletarian Revolution Created by Marx and Engels

From the 1840s, the working class was increasingly influenced by the theoretical and political activity of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific communism. In 1848, they wrote the famous *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the quintessence of Marxism, which became the programmatic document of the League of Communists founded by them.

Marx and Engels discovered the principal laws underlying the development of human society, created a theory of class struggle, and proved the historic role of the proletariat in destroying the exploiter capitalist system and building a new, classless society.

Marx and Engels wrote that in order to cast off the yoke of exploitation, the working class must carry out a proletarian revolution, overthrowing the political power of the capitalists. To know how to conduct political class struggle and carry out a revolution, the working class needs an ideological and political leader, a revolutionary party. A socialist revolution can be victorious only if it tears down the military-bureaucratic

machinery of the capitalist state, replacing it with a new state apparatus, a proletarian state. Marx and Engels stressed on numerous occasions that a victorious socialist revolution must result in a proletarian dictatorship, the political power of the working class. The aim of such a dictatorship in the transition period from capitalism to socialism is not only to suppress the resistance of the exploiter classes and stop the activity of subversive elements, but also to build a socialist society. And finally the proletariat cannot win over capital without the unity and international solidarity of all working people. Therefore, the closing words of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* are: "Working men of all countries, unite!"

The first mass international organisation of the proletariat was the First International founded and headed by Marx and Engels. Created in 1864, it combatted various opportunist and sectarian elements (Proudhonists, Bakuninists), which tried to bring the international working-class movement under their influence. It played an important part in acquainting progressive-minded workers with Marxism. However, as a result of fierce political reaction and police reprisals unleashed in Europe, in the early 1870s the First International was obliged to dissolve. Yet, its political activity, coupled with the revolutionary uprising of the Paris proletariat which on March 18, 1871 overthrew the power of the bour-

geoisie and for the first time in history set up a revolutionary government of the working class, the Paris Commune, made a great impact on the international working-class revolutionary movement, greatly encouraging the rise in its political activity in the 1880s, bringing about the emergence of mass political parties of the working class in a number of European and American countries in the late 19th century, and promoting proletarian internationalism.

2. The Working-Class Movement at the Stage of Imperialism

The Second International

In 1889 in Paris, Frederick Engels helped to set up an international association of socialist parties, the Second International. The first years of its existence were characterised by intense struggle against various anarchist trends in the working-class movement, in which Marxism eventually triumphed. This promoted the spread of Marxist ideas in proletarian parties. However, after the death of Engels in 1895, the situation in the Second International changed for the worse. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the influence of reformists and opportunists, who favoured preserving the capitalist system and "improving" it by various reforms, increased in

the workers' parties of the major West European countries. The opportunist leaders of these workers' parties began to revise Marxism, distorting its principles, adjusting it to the aim of preserving capitalism, and rendering impotent its revolutionary essence. They limited the activity of these parties to parliamentary struggle for individual reforms within the framework of bourgeois democracy, coming to a compromise and even collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Under pressure from the rank and file of the socialist parties within the Second International, its leaders sometimes used "revolutionary" phraseology, advancing such popular slogans as "War on War!" (at the Basle Congress of the Second International in 1912). However, with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, these opportunist leaders voted in their Parliaments in favour of the military budgets and in some countries became members of the reactionary militarist governments in defiance of all the decisions taken at the various congresses of the Second International, thus supporting the imperialist policies of their bourgeois governments. This led to the ideological and political collapse of the Second International and its disintegration. Social-chauvinist, opportunist leaders had broken with Marxism and betrayed the interests of the working class.

3. Lenin's Development of the Theory of the Proletarian Socialist Revolution

Marxism-Leninism, a New Stage in the Development of the Proletariat's Class Consciousness

The only party that retained its Marxist revolutionary positions was the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) founded in 1903 and led by Vladimir Lenin.

In ideological battle with the reformist and revisionist leaders of the Second International, Lenin managed to defend the revolutionary theory of Marxism, and enriched it with new ideas which corresponded to the new, imperialist stage of capitalism.

Lenin is the creator of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), today called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founder of the Soviet state and the greatest theoretician of scientific communism in the 20th century. He developed the teaching of Marx and Engels with new theses and conclusions, turning it into the modern world view of the working class, Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin's Theory on the Party of the Working Class

Lenin was the first among Marxists to realise that in order to succeed in the historic battle against capital, the working class needed a political party, a party of a *new type*, radically differing from the parties of the Second International,

which were under the ideological influence of their opportunist leaders – reformists, revisionists, and other proponents of a compromise with the bourgeoisie.

In 1902, Lenin wrote in his book *What Is to Be Done?* that without a revolutionary theory which would show the millions how to fight against their oppressors there can be no revolutionary movement, and that for the party of the working class to be able to lead the masses along the correct road it must know the laws governing the development of human society and master the revolutionary theory of scientific communism. In his words, “the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory”¹. The working people can win the class struggle only by merging the revolutionary theory of scientific communism with the mass working-class movement. But this can be done only by a Marxist party, the true revolutionary leader of the proletariat.

To be able to rally the millions and lead them into battle, the party must itself be a highly organised body of workers cemented by a common goal, a single will, unity in action, and iron discipline. At the same time, it must have close contacts with the working people. A Marxist

¹ V. I. Lenin, “What Is to Be Done?”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, 1977, p. 370.

party is the highest form of organisation of the working class, destined to lead all of its other organisations (trade union, cultural, educational, etc.).

In 1903, Lenin organised such a party of a new type, the Communist Party of Bolsheviks. The name "Bolsheviks" stems from the Russian word for "majority". At the elections to the central organs of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party at its Second Congress in 1903, Lenin's supporters, the revolutionary Marxists, received a majority vote. So, when after the Congress they formed an independent political party, they were called the "Bolsheviks", and their ideological opponents, opportunists, who favoured petty-bourgeois reformism and got a minority vote, were conversely called the "Mensheviks".

Lenin on Imperialism and the Working People's Revolutionary Struggle Against It

Back in the mid-19th century, Marx and Engels discovered the laws governing the emergence and development of capitalism and proved that it was historically doomed. Lenin, analysing the economic and political processes taking place in capitalist society, was the first among Marxists to come to the conclusion that by the early 20th century capitalism had grown into a new stage, imperialism. In his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1916, he says: "Im-

perialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.”¹

As the capitalist economy became dominated by monopolies and capitalism turned into monopoly capitalism and in some countries even state-monopoly capitalism, all the antagonisms within capitalism were aggravated. That created objective conditions for a rise in the revolutionary movement.

Lenin described the laws governing the development of the world revolution, showing the interaction of different revolutionary forces and movements within the world revolutionary process at the stage of imperialism. When capitalism was just emerging on the world scene, the most common type of revolution in Western Europe and North America was a bourgeois-democratic or national liberation revolution aimed at destroying feudalism and establishing bourgeois national states. Those revolutions were headed by the bourgeoisie. However, at the stage of

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1974, pp. 266-67.

imperialism, the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries became a reactionary force, and now it was the proletariat who became the leader of the international revolutionary movement.

Examining the prospects for a revolution in different countries, Lenin wrote that the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America were heading for a socialist revolution; the less developed countries burdened by the survivals of feudalism (at that time, including Russia) were ready for bourgeois-democratic revolutions; whereas the colonies and other dependencies were ready for anti-imperialist, national liberation revolutions aimed at putting an end to foreign imperialist domination and giving these countries national independence.

All these different streams of social struggle of the working people and other progressive forces, merged into one global revolutionary anti-imperialist torrent. Creating objective conditions for the triumph of a socialist revolution, imperialism also accelerated the development of bourgeois-democratic revolutions into socialist revolutions.

Working on the theory of revolution, back in the early 20th century, Lenin dealt with such problems as the leading role of the proletariat, the alliance of the proletariat with the entire peasantry and their revolutionary-democratic dictatorship in a bourgeois-democratic revolution, the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolu-

tion into a socialist one and the alliance of the proletariat with the poorest peasants, the proletarian dictatorship and the leading role of the Communist Party in the revolution.

The Possibility of Socialism Winning in a Single Country

In a number of subsequent works Lenin proved that the stage of imperialism and the imperialist world war of 1914-1918 created a new situation in the world, resulting in basically new conditions for the struggle for socialism. Before that time, all Marxists proceeded from Marx's and Engels' thesis that socialism will win simultaneously in all or most of the capitalist countries. That meant that a socialist revolution could not be victorious in a single country. This principle was correct for the pre-imperialist stage of capitalism. However, after a profound study of the imperialist stage of capitalism, Lenin concluded that at this stage, the uneven economic and political development of capitalism assumed a spasmodic and catastrophic character. He then proved that socialism could not win simultaneously in all the capitalist countries, but could only win first in a single country or in several countries.

After a victorious revolution in one country, the working class there must, without waiting for similar revolutions in other countries, establish its own political power (dictatorship) in order to

overthrow the domination of the exploiters in the country, organise production on socialist lines, and proceed to build a socialist society.

It was not necessary, Lenin said, for a socialist revolution to take place first in the most developed capitalist country. For a victorious socialist revolution, it is also not necessary for the proletariat to make up the majority of the population in a given country, as was the view current among opportunists. The imperialist chain would be broken in its weakest link, he said, that is, in the country where the correlation of revolutionary and reactionary forces was most favourable for the victory of a socialist revolution.

The Revolutionary Situation

A revolution cannot be created artificially, at somebody's will, or brought in from another country. It matures in the womb of society, being objectively caused by the general political crisis which embraces all social strata. A revolution cannot be successful without such a political crisis and without a revolutionary situation.

Lenin delineated the following three main features of a revolutionary situation indicating that economic and socio-political conditions for a revolution are ripe.

First, the ruling classes cannot maintain their domination by the same old methods. "For a revolution to take place," Lenin wrote, "it is

usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way." Second, "the suffering and want of the oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual".¹ Third, the masses are more indignant than usual at the behaviour of the ruling classes, which results in mass political and even revolutionary action by the working people. These three factors determine the objective conditions, that is conditions which do not depend on the will of individuals, parties, or classes, for a revolutionary situation.

The aggravation of capitalist antagonisms at the imperialist stage brought about the First World War of 1914-1918, which started the general crisis of capitalism. The conditions created by the war and the example of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia created a revolutionary situation in many European countries and not only in Europe.

However, not every revolutionary situation leads to a revolution. Lenin stressed that besides objective conditions there must be subjective ones as well, that is the revolutionary classes must be able and ready to overthrow the exploiter classes.

On the other hand, efforts to bring down the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1977, pp. 213-14.

ruling classes without a revolutionary situation cannot be successful and only harm the revolutionary movement.

In determining the existence of a revolutionary situation and the correlation of revolutionary and reactionary forces in a given country, one should consider not only internal, but also external factors which can influence the course of revolutionary struggle.

The Need to Establish the Political Power of the Working Class (the Proletarian Dictatorship) for Consolidating Its Victory in the Proletarian Revolution

In a number of his works (*The State and Revolution*, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, etc.) Lenin showed that the idea about the working people in capitalist countries coming to power by peaceful, democratic, legal means, which the reformist leaders of the Second International kept insisting on, was only meant to deceive the masses. In reality, in any class society the law always protects the interests of the ruling classes. The capitalists can always declare "illegal" any peaceful political action of the working people, even if they do not break the law, and suppress such an action by a governmental or court ban, police reprisals, or even with the help of the army if the capitalists consider that such mass action threatens their domination. The

bourgeoisie of other countries is always ready to help out in this.

The working class can abolish the political domination of the capitalists and establish its own power (proletarian dictatorship) only through resolute revolutionary struggle, through a proletarian, socialist revolution, breaking the laws of capitalist society according to which any revolutionary action against the ruling bourgeoisie is considered illegal.

“The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat,” Lenin wrote, “is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, rule that is unrestricted by any laws.”¹ Of course, what is meant is the laws of the capitalist society, because in that period of struggle no other laws exist.

Only after the working class and other working people have overthrown the power of the bourgeoisie and established a proletarian dictatorship—the power of the working people—can they create a new, proletarian state and establish new state laws which would reflect and defend the interests of the working masses, and not of the bourgeoisie and other exploiter classes. Bourgeois democracy, democracy for the exploiter classes, will be replaced by proletarian democracy,

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1977, p. 236.

democracy for the broad masses of working people.

History does not know a single case when the exploiter classes have voluntarily renounced their own power. "Dictatorship of the proletariat, the only consistently revolutionary class," Lenin wrote, "is necessary to overthrow the bourgeoisie and repel its attempts as counter-revolution."¹

Theoretically, the working people can come to power by peaceful means only if the ruling exploiter classes realise that the working people are able and ready to take the power away from them by force, destroy them as a class, and resolutely put down any resistance that they might put up.

In reality this can take place only when there is a particularly favourable correlation of class forces inside and outside a given country and when the exploiter classes in that country find that they are unable to maintain power and cannot prevent the working masses from coming to power. That is why the decision to give up their rule without offering any resistance is not a voluntary act but a forced one, being a kind of unconditional surrender, which would certainly be a less painful outcome for them in a lost battle.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 69.

The Allies of the Working Class in a Proletarian Revolution

Developing Marx's theory of a proletarian revolution, Lenin taught that, in order to be successful in its revolutionary struggle for the working people's power, the working class must be able to win over to its side, make its allies, and rally the masses of semi-proletarian and petty-bourgeois strata (peasants, artisans, clerks, students, and the like). For that purpose, the proletariat must include the defence of the interests of all these strata in their demands and programmes of action.

The revolutionary working class in a given country will also find powerful allies in the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat of other capitalist countries and national liberation movements in colonial and other dependent countries.

The working class in capitalist countries must do everything possible to support the national liberation movement in colonies and dependencies. The proletariat's revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries contributes to the success of national liberation movements, and on the other hand the national liberation movements against imperialism weaken it, thus helping the working class in the industrialised capitalist countries to fight imperialism.

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution

will *never* live to see it," Lenin wrote. "Such a person pays lip-service to revolution without understanding what revolution is."¹

A socialist revolution is not limited to a single act or single battle; it is a whole historical era of class struggle—in the economy, politics and ideology. Lenin wrote that a revolution would consist of a whole number of battles waged by all the oppressed and dissatisfied classes and social groups, chiefly the proletariat and its ally, the peasantry, against the ruling classes, of the movement of the semi-proletarian strata against landowner, capitalist, national, and other forms of oppression, as well as of the national liberation movements in the colonies, and of other forms of mass struggle. It is the duty of the working class, Lenin said, to lead all these movements and direct them towards a single goal—to overthrow imperialism and carry out a socialist revolution.

The Proletarian Revolution and the Nationalities Question

Lenin greatly contributed to the theoretical elaboration of a nationalities policy to be followed by revolutionary proletarian parties at the stage of preparing and carrying out a socialist revolution.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 356.

Lenin stressed on numerous occasions that in capitalist countries with oppressed national minorities or in imperialist states which exploit colonial peoples, proletarian parties should include in their programmes on the nationalities question the right of these nations and nationalities to national self-determination including complete secession. Only then will the oppressed nationalities and colonial peoples become reliable allies of the working class in preparing and carrying out a proletarian revolution.

When a proletarian revolution succeeds and a proletarian state is formed in a country where there were oppressed national minorities or colonial peoples, the working-class party in this country must try to obtain a recognition of the right of all these national minorities or former colonial peoples to national self-determination including complete secession. Only if the proletarian state pursues such a policy will these ethnic minorities and colonial peoples, who were oppressed before the proletarian revolution, see that after the revolution their interests are not encroached on and they can freely decide whether to secede or not.

The Russian Communist Party scrupulously adhered to Lenin's principle in their nationalities policy both during the struggle for power and after the victory of the socialist revolution. It was this nationalities policy that brought about a

voluntary union of Soviet national republics based on friendship between all the peoples of the USSR.

Communist Party Strategy and Tactics in the Class Struggle of the Proletariat

Lenin devoted much attention to Communist Party strategy and tactics at the stage of preparing and accomplishing a proletarian revolution. Of special importance in this respect was his book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, which came out on the eve of the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) and acquainted the Communist Parties of the world with the revolutionary experience of Russian Communists. In this book, Lenin told about how the Communist Party directed the class struggle of the proletariat, how it fought the opportunists and petty-bourgeois reformists, who both before and right after the revolution in Russia and also today in many capitalist countries constitute the principal danger inside the working-class and Communist movement.

Lenin used the example of the Bolshevik Party's successful strategy and tactics to show how important it is for a Communist Party in any country to maintain constant close contact not only with the proletariat, but with all strata of working people, to express in Party slogans the interests of these strata, to make them its allies, to

convince them *through their own experience* that the struggle waged by the Party is the only correct one, and to draw them into the revolutionary movement. Lenin stressed the importance of carrying on political education work among the population and in all mass organisations in any situation, both during a revolutionary offensive and in retreat.

He explained what great harm "left-wing" Communists do to the working-class movement when they refuse to work in reactionary trade unions, parliaments and cooperative societies. Such a boycott, he said, isolates the Party from the people, opening these mass organisations to bourgeois influence.

Lenin called upon Communist Parties to adapt their tactics to changing conditions, and to master all forms of struggle.

Lenin's book generalised the experience of the Russian Communist Party's strategy and tactics during the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship, in the period of proletarian dictatorship and the building of a socialist society, showing that this experience is of international importance.

At the same time, he warned Communist Parties not to merely copy the Bolshevik tactics but to work out their own tactics after analysing the concrete situation in their own countries.

Lenin wrote, "Tactics must be based on a sober and strictly objective appraisal of *all* the class

forces in a particular state (and of the states that surround it, and of all states the world over) as well as of the experience of revolutionary movements.”¹

He stressed that the different historical conditions in which the struggle for power took place in each particular country would require some adjustment in strategy and tactics and various political forms of statehood, although the essence of all these forms will remain the same, a proletarian dictatorship.

“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.”²

Lenin provided the theoretical basis for Communist Party policy in the matters of war and peace, developed the teaching of Marx and Engels on the priority of proletarian internationalism in the foreign policy of Communist Parties, and outlined the most important practical steps that they should take to strengthen

¹ V. I. Lenin, “‘Left-Wing’ Communism – an Infantile Disorder”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1977, p. 63.

² V. I. Lenin, “A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

the international unity of the communist and working-class movement. He also stressed on numerous occasions that after the working class has established people's power in a particular country and built a proletarian state it should be able to defend this state with arms in hand against possible attacks by international imperialism.

This is the essence of the main problems of a socialist revolution that Lenin dealt with, problems which the proletariat has to tackle when it decides to establish and strengthen working people's power. In other words, this is the essence of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution.

In our next chapter we shall examine how the working class of Russia, led by the Communist Party and armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian socialist revolution, fought against the exploiter classes and for working people's power.

Chapter IV. THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS OF RUSSIA FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING PEOPLE'S POWER

1. The Working Class of Russia Leading the Revolutionary Struggle of the Masses Against the Autocracy

The Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1905-1907

The first popular revolution at the stage of imperialism, a revolution which embraced broad masses of the working people, was the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905-1907 in Russia. Its main objective, just like that in the bourgeois revolutions of the 16th-19th centuries in a number of European countries, was to bring down the feudal monarchy and eliminate the remnants of serfdom. However, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia was in certain ways different from its predecessors.

The principal motive force and

leader of the revolution was the proletariat, with extensive use of purely proletarian methods of struggle—strikes growing into armed uprisings. In this respect, the revolution was proletarian. At the same time, it was a peasant revolution, because for the majority of Russia's population, the peasantry, the main object was to abolish the system of private land ownership. For this reason, the peasantry was not only one of the motive forces of the revolution, but spontaneously became the ally of the proletariat, because they could get the land taken away from the landowners and freedom from tsarist oppression only under the guidance of the working class. The bourgeoisie, whose interests were closely connected with those of the autocracy, was terrified of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat. On the eve and in the early stages of the revolution the bourgeoisie was striving to seize a bigger share of power and get more political weight. But as the proletariat's offensive mounted, the bourgeoisie started collaborating with the tsarist government, siding with the counter-revolution.

The revolution started in January 1905, after the tsar's forces shot down a peaceful demonstration of 140,000 workers in St. Petersburg. The workers, still naively believing in a "kind tsar", had tried to hand him a petition stating all their woes and grievances. Thousands of unarmed people were killed and wounded. The people's indig-

nation took the form of protest demonstrations, strikes and peasant unrest, which swept all of Russia. In October, the strikes grew into a national political strike and in December the working class of Moscow started a revolutionary uprising.

The revolutionary workers in Moscow and other cities began to set up Soviets of Workers' Deputies, which directed the strike action, prepared the workers for the armed uprising, and were, in fact, the very first organs of working people's power. However, the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies was headed by Mensheviks, who opposed armed uprising. There was a similar situation in many other cities where the Soviets were dominated by Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Yet the Bolsheviks managed to start armed uprisings in many areas of the country, which were not, however, well-prepared and uncoordinated. The tsarist government ruthlessly suppressed all these uprisings of workers and peasants. The workers' organisations were crushed and the Bolshevik Party was ruthlessly persecuted.

The first Russian revolution was a failure. One of the main reasons was that the working class had not yet managed to establish a firm alliance with the peasantry in the struggle against tsarism, and the peasants themselves lacked resolution and unity. Most of the peasants still believed the

tsar, and most of the army remained loyal to the tsarist government. The Mensheviks opposed revolutionary action by the workers, while the liberal bourgeoisie actively collaborated with the monarchy. Although the working class did achieve certain economic and political gains, the main objectives of the revolution – to abolish tsarism and private land ownership – were not achieved.

The Russian revolution of 1905-1907 initiated a whole era of political upheaval and revolutionary battles, gave rise to a new stage in the international working-class movement, and made a great impact on the national liberation movements in the colonies.

Despite opposition from their right-wing Social-Democratic and trade union leaders, the working class of Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary and other countries increasingly began using political strikes. It was joined by the national liberation movement of the Slav peoples in Central Europe. Russian revolution had greatly influenced national liberation movements in the Orient. In 1905-1912 bourgeois revolutions took place in Iran, Turkey and China. There was an upsurge of national liberation struggle in India, Afghanistan and Indonesia. A bourgeois-democratic revolution shook Mexico in 1910, and there was a rise in the revolutionary movement in Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

The Bolsheviks' struggle for a radical solution of the tasks set by the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution and their drive against opportunism in Russia and in the Second International encouraged the demarcation between the revolutionary and reformist trends in European Social-Democratic parties and the appearance and development of left-wing trends in them.

The Russian revolution of 1905-1907 showed that the centre of the world revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia. It was the first revolution in history in which a Marxist working-class party acted as an independent political force with its own distinct programme, strategy and tactics. Although the revolution failed, the very course of revolutionary struggle showed that the Party's strategy and tactics were correct.

"Without such a 'dress rehearsal' as we had in 1905," Lenin wrote, "the revolutions of 1917—both the bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October revolution—would have been impossible."¹

For the Russian Communist Party and the entire Russian working class, the years following the defeat of the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 were spent not only on learning lessons

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Third International and Its Place in History", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 310.

from that failure, but preparing for new revolutionary battles.

Two years after the outbreak of the First World War, Russia was on the brink of economic catastrophe. In 1916, the country's towns and cities were faced with famine. The revolutionary situation brought about by the war in many European countries was especially felt in Russia, where the working class, hardened by the revolution of 1905-1907, was now determined to bring down the monarchy. Sporadic outbursts of unrest among peasants demanding that the land be taken away from the landowners were renewed while in the capital and other big cities, government troops started taking the side of the revolutionary forces.

The February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1917

On March 12, 1917 (or according to the Julian calendar, which Russia still used then, on February 27) the uprising spread throughout the capital of Russia, Petrograd, the new name for St. Petersburg. The revolutionary masses joined by the city garrison overthrew the monarchy. A new revolutionary body, the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, was created in Petrograd, and pretty soon such Soviets were elected by the working people in all the provincial capitals and many other Russian towns. These revolutionary organs introduced an eight-hour working day,

replaced the tsarist police with Red Guard units to defend the factories and plants, set up workers' control at the plants, and supported the workers in their disputes with managers. The garrisons were now controlled by the Soviets.

But alongside the Petrograd Soviet, the organ of the proletariat's and peasants' dictatorship, there appeared a Provisional Government, which represented the bourgeoisie and the landowners. This government was set up with the consent of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, because the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who at the time dominated the Central Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, were afraid of the development of the mass revolutionary struggle just as much as the bourgeoisie and decided to support the bourgeois Provisional Government.

That is how the Provisional Government acquired state power. In places where the tsarist officials (governors, district police chiefs, etc.) had been displaced, the bourgeois government appointed its own representatives from among the right-wing forces, attempting to keep intact as much of the tsarist state machine as possible.

So, although the workers and peasants were victorious in their struggle with tsarism, the Soviets—the organs of their revolutionary-democratic dictatorship—that they had elected, voluntarily gave up state power to the Provisional Gov-

ernment—the organ of bourgeois dictatorship.

This happened because the political leader of the revolutionary workers, the underground Bolshevik Party, had been weakened by the fierce persecution of the tsarist police, with many leading members serving prison sentences, exiled or forced to emigrate. For that reason the Party did not have a chance to carry out sufficient political education work among the masses, to organise them, or to explain the true essence of events and developments. The bulk of the Russian population—the peasantry and other petty-bourgeois strata—vacillated between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, with petty-bourgeois attitudes towards politics becoming widespread among workers as well.

2. The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia

Development of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution into a Socialist Revolution

In early April, Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, returned from his forced emigration to Russia. On April 7, he published his famous “April Theses”—“The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution”, where he outlined the course of action that the Bolshevik Party must take in order to develop the bourgeois-democratic

revolution into a socialist one.

“The specific feature of the present situation in Russia,” Lenin wrote, “is that the country is *passing* from the first stage of the revolution – which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie – to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants”.¹ After analysing the lessons of the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 and the February Revolution of 1917, Lenin came to the conclusion that the future Soviet Republic, which the working class and its allies were destined to create, would politically start out as a proletarian dictatorship. This was Lenin’s development of Marx’s teaching on political forms of government during the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Lenin’s “April Theses” dealt with all the aspects of the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to a socialist revolution, including the motive forces of a proletarian revolution, the stages of transition, and the Party’s economic policy, especially in agriculture. This was a theoretically substantiated plan of action for the transition to a socialist revolution.

After the victory of the bourgeois-democratic

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, 1980, p. 22.

revolution in February 1917, the working people hoped they would get peace, land, bread, and freedom, but the Provisional Government gave them none of these. Acting in the interests of the big bourgeoisie, it planned to continue Russia's involvement in the First World War, issuing the slogan "War Until Victory!". It had no intention of handing the land, which belonged to the landowners, over to the peasants, of improving the living conditions of the millions, many of whom were by then threatened by famine, or of putting an end to the oppression of ethnic minorities.

The Communist Party had to convince millions that the bourgeoisie was really their principal class enemy and that they should not expect anything good from the bourgeois Provisional Government. The Party issued a slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" which was welcomed by the revolutionary masses. At the first stage of struggle for the transition to a socialist revolution, up to early July 1917, this slogan was a demand that the petty-bourgeois parties, which then dominated the ruling bodies of the Soviets (the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks), give up their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie and support for the Provisional Government and uphold the transition of all state power to the Soviets. If the Soviets, which represented the overwhelming majority of the population, had announced that they were taking state power

in their own hands, the bourgeoisie would not have been able to defeat the Soviets by force for the simple reason that it did not have such a force. In other words, at that moment Russia found itself in exceptional circumstances, which meant the possibility of a peaceful transition of power from the Provisional Government to the Soviets—the possibility of a bloodless development of a revolution. Lenin considered this possibility “*extremely rare in history and extremely valuable*”¹.

However, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks had no intention of helping the Soviets achieve all the power or of renouncing alliance with the bourgeoisie, because they were afraid of the further development of the revolution.

Yet, as a result of the educational work that the Bolsheviks had carried out among the people, the Petrograd workers and soldiers no longer trusted the Provisional Government nor even the Socialist-Revolutionaries’ and Mensheviks’ policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie which they conducted in the Soviets. They were ready for an armed uprising to overthrow the Provisional Government, but the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party called upon them to wait. The

¹ V. I. Lenin, “On Compromises”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, pp. 310-11.

Bolsheviks explained that, although the revolutionary forces in Petrograd were strong enough to bring down the Provisional Government and take over state power, they would not have been able to retain it, because at the time the majority of the country's population was still under the influence of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

Seeing that the petty-bourgeois parties—the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks—were ready to help in crushing the revolutionary masses, in early July the bourgeoisie launched a counter-revolution, with many Bolsheviks being arrested and revolutionary-minded army units disarmed. The Socialist-Revolutionaries' and Mensheviks' Soviets now actively supported the bourgeois government.

The counter-revolution did not manage to crush the revolutionary movement, but it opened people's eyes. They learned from their own experience that the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks did not represent the interests and hopes of the majority of people and even collaborated with the people's enemies, the landowners and capitalists.

Taking into account an advancing counter-revolution, the Bolshevik Party suggested that the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" should be temporarily withdrawn.

By late August, through an heroic effort of the

revolutionary-minded workers and soldiers, the counter-revolution was defeated.

By that time, the petty-bourgeois parties of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks had been completely discredited; the people expelled them from the Soviets, replacing them with Bolshevik deputies. And when in late August the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" was issued again, it now referred to the Soviets with Bolsheviks and other revolutionary forces in the majority.

The Victory of the October Revolution of 1917 and the Establishment of the Working People's Power in Russia

Seeing that in large cities the Soviets were now headed by the Bolsheviks and that the working masses expressed their readiness to follow them, the Communist Party called upon the people to start an armed uprising aimed at bringing down the bourgeois government.

To coordinate and direct the insurrection, a Military-Revolutionary Committee was set up at the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies at the initiative of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. The Committee included a Military-Revolutionary Centre elected by the Bolshevik Party. The entire work of preparing and directing the uprising was headed by Lenin himself. In all the key areas of the country, revolutionary-minded workers, peasants and soldiers were now preparing for armed struggle.

The uprising began in Petrograd on November 6 and was over by the morning of November 7 (or, according to the Julian calendar used then in Russia, October 25th): the Provisional Government was overthrown. The Communist Party issued a declaration, "To the Citizens of Russia!", written by Lenin. It said in part:

"The Provisional Government has been deposed.... The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power—this cause has been secured....

"Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"¹

On the evening of November 7, the Second Congress of Soviets was convened, with about 400 delegates of the 650 being Bolsheviks. The discredited Mensheviks and right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries found themselves in a tiny minority at the Congress and walked out.

The Congress adopted a Declaration, "To Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!", which said in part:

"The Congress decrees: all power in the localities shall pass to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers'

¹ V. I. Lenin, "To the Citizens of Russia!", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1972, p. 236.

and Peasants' Deputies, which must guarantee genuine revolutionary order."¹

That is how the workers and poor peasants overthrew the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in Russia and established working people's power, the dictatorship of the proletariat. November 7 (October 25), 1917, has been recorded in history as the day of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On the next day, November 8, the Congress established the Soviet Government of Russia, the organ of state power of the people, which was called the Council of People's Commissars. It was headed by Lenin.

On the same day, the Congress adopted two decrees of the greatest importance, which expressed the will of the country's millions.

The first of these, the Decree on Peace, declared that the Soviet Government was renouncing all the annexationist treaties concluded by tsarist Russia and proposed that the governments of all the belligerent nations should forthwith initiate talks on a universal, just and democratic peace. The Decree described war as "the greatest of crimes against humanity"².

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, October 25-26 (November 7-8)- 1917. To Workers, Soldiers and Peasants!", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1972, p. 247.

² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

The second, the Decree on Land, declared the confiscation of all lands belonging to the landowners without compensation and their transfer to the people. This was, in effect, the nationalisation of the land.

Despite the varying local conditions and ethnic features in different parts of the country, Soviet rule was established in a short period of time over almost the entire territory of Russia.

The Causes of the Victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917

By the autumn of 1917, the First World War had produced a revolutionary situation in many European countries. Why then was it only in Russia that the proletariat heading the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and landowners for working people's power was successful?

The main reason was that the proletariat and the working masses in general were headed by the Bolsheviks, a revolutionary working-class party which had been steeled over many years of hard struggle. This party was guided by the Marxist teaching and by Lenin's theory of a socialist revolution, on the basis of which it had prepared a scientifically sound plan of transforming the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

The October Revolution of 1917 was a perfect

example of putting into practice Lenin's theory of a socialist revolution. Its success in Russia resulting in the establishment of working people's power is incontestable proof of the correctness of this theory.

By tirelessly explaining the true meaning of events to the masses, the Bolsheviks helped them to see the reactionary essence of the bourgeois parties and the Provisional Government and managed to build a sturdy alliance between the proletariat and the poor peasantry, who at the time constituted nearly two-thirds of Russia's rural population. The Bolsheviks helped the people to see, from their own experience, that the petty-bourgeois parties of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks were traitors to the cause of a socialist revolution and were actually collaborating with the bourgeoisie. As a result, the working people expelled them from the Soviets, which then became dominated by Bolshevik deputies. The Soviets turned into true bodies of revolutionary power, based on the alliance of workers and peasants, with the workers having the leading role.

The Bolshevik Party managed to unite and direct all the different revolutionary movements in Russia towards a single goal – the overthrowing of imperialism. The Bolshevik Party united the national movement for peace, the peasants' struggle for land, the national liberation struggle of

oppressed peoples of Russia, and the struggle of the leading social force, the proletariat, for socialism.

The international situation of those days was also conducive to a victorious revolution in Russia. The major imperialist powers were too busy fighting among themselves to extend any direct military support to the Russian bourgeoisie. Moreover, the mass revolutionary action of the proletariat in many Western countries also helped the Russian proletariat.

The International Significance of the October Revolution of 1917

The socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia had a tremendous impact on the whole world because it set off an unprecedented revolutionary wave in the capitalist countries and the colonies, ushering in a new age in human history, the age of destroying all forms of exploitation and establishing working people's power in all countries.

The October Revolution proved the correctness and international significance of Lenin's teaching on the proletarian dictatorship as being an alliance not only with the peasants but with the working people of all nationalities within a country, as an alliance of a working class of a progressive nation with the oppressed peoples of the colonies. The principles of Lenin's theory of a socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship

are today applicable to any country which has conditions ripe for such a revolution.

The victorious socialist Revolution of 1917 has shown the nations of the world the practical significance of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Even today, that Revolution inspires them to struggle for peace, democracy, people's power, and socialism.

Chapter V. FORMATION OF THE SOVIET
STATE: DEVELOPMENT OF
WORKING PEOPLE'S POWER
IN RUSSIA. BUILDING OF A
SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE
USSR

1. The Creation and Develop-
ment of the Soviet State

Soviet Government:

Its Birth and First Steps

The victorious socialist Revolution of 1917 brought about radical changes in the social status of all classes and strata in Russia. The proletariat became the dominating class, rallying around itself other working people in town and country, chiefly the poor peasants. The Soviet power was supported by the majority of the country's population—workers, soldiers, and working peasants. However, it also had many enemies, including the expropriated landowners, capitalists, rich farmers, and the various parties expressing their interests—the Monarchists, Constitutional

Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Anarchists, and Bourgeois Nationalists.

The Revolution also radically changed the status and activity of the Communist Party: it now became the *ruling party* of the first socialist state of workers and peasants in the world. Now the Party had new historic tasks before it: to organise the building and consolidation of people's power—the Soviet State—reconstructing society on socialist principles, to organise the country's defence against possible aggression from capitalist states, develop contacts with the proletariat of other countries and give it active support.

The Russian working class started to build socialism in very difficult conditions. The Russia of those days, the only socialist state in the world, was economically relatively backward, with an overwhelmingly rural population. The ongoing First World War had ruined the country's economy. It was the first attempt ever to build a socialist society. There were precious few people capable of running the affairs of state. The expropriated landowners and capitalists, supported by foreign capital, fiercely opposed the proletarian dictatorship.

The working class of Russia had to suppress the resistance of various hostile forces, who organised conspiracies and mutinies and resorted to sabotage, slander, provocations, and bribery. How-

ever, since the counter-revolution found no support in the masses, all its efforts to block the establishment of the power of the Soviets in the country ultimately failed.

The Communist Party had to lead the immense and complex work of creating a new type of state, a Soviet state, the first of its kind in history. Each new form of administration and economic management was an experiment, with nobody to learn from.

In building the Soviet state, just as in preparing and carrying out the socialist revolution, an exceptional part belongs to Lenin. Heading the Council of People's Commissars, he directed the establishment not only of the central organs of Soviet government, but of the entire system of Soviets nation-wide. At numerous meetings and rallies and through the press Communists explained to the people the essence of Soviet government, its policies and decrees.

The old tsarist state machine (government officials, police, army, courts of justice) was destroyed and replaced by a new, Soviet state apparatus.

The ministries of the bourgeois Provisional Government were abolished in the very first days of the revolution and replaced by People's Commissariats which organised economic and other state activity. The local bourgeois government bodies were also abolished. And the Soviets of

Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies became the only authoritative organs of state power. Instead of the old court and police system, there were now people's courts and a workers' militia. An All-Russia Extraordinary Commission was formed to combat counter-revolution and sabotage.

The counter-revolution did everything possible to block the establishment of a Soviet state apparatus, instigating sabotage among staff members of the former ministries, banks, post office and telegraph. The Communist Party responded by taking on thousands of workers, soldiers and sailors to work in the state bodies, thus creating the new apparatus of the People's Commissariats. The sabotage failed.

Another difficult task was building the new armed forces. Although the soldiers now supported the Soviet government, the old army was not capable of fighting any more, because the soldiers' only desire was to return home. The Council of People's Commissars decided to demobilise the old army and create, in January 1918, a volunteer Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. The nucleus of the new, revolutionary army was made up of workers and the poorest peasants. The most politically conscious working people joined the ranks of the Red Army.

After coming to power, the working class abolished the remnants of serfdom in land ownership

and all estate divisions and titles (nobility, clergy, merchants, petty bourgeoisie, etc.), establishing one common title for everybody—citizens of the Russian Republic.

The Soviet power proclaimed the freedom of conscience. The church was separated from the state and the school from the church. Women gained equal rights with men in all walks of life.

The socialist revolution put an end to the oppression and inequality of non-Russian nationalities in Soviet Russia. It set up a People's Commissariat for Nationalities. On November 15, 1917, the Soviet Government issued a Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, which proclaimed the complete equality and free development of all nationalities. All the nations and nationalities were granted the right to self-determination, including the right to secede and form an independent state.

The Soviet Government cancelled all the unequal agreements concluded by tsarist and Provisional governments with other countries. In its address "To All the Working Moslems of Russia and the East", the Council of People's Commissars declared all the ethnic and cultural institutions, customs and religious beliefs of Moslems to be free and legally protected, guaranteeing the Moslems complete freedom in organising their own lives. This was a radically new approach to the relationships between nations, a policy of

complete equality, a policy that dealt a heavy blow to imperialism and colonialism.

The bourgeois nationalists, who fought tooth and nail against working people's power, tried to sow discord among the nations in Russia. However, the workers and peasants of all nationalities hailed the October Revolution and expressed their support of the Soviet Government. Following Lenin's principles, the working class led by the Communist Party established a Soviet state based on a voluntary union of free national republics.

Despite efforts by right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries, who collaborated with the bourgeoisie, to isolate the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies from the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the working peasants' congresses voted for united Soviets. The setting up of united Soviets gave the proletariat political leadership of all the working masses, thus strengthening Soviet power.

The right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who had exposed themselves as allies of the bourgeoisie and traitors of the people's interests, placed themselves outside the bodies of Soviet government.

On the suggestion of the Communists, the Council of People's Commissars was joined by left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries, who said they supported the Soviet power (at that time, the left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries still commanded a

large following among the peasants).

In January 1918, a united All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted a Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People, which for the first time in history expressed the true will of the working classes, proclaimed their power, and set the goal of abolishing exploitation of man by man, building a socialist society, and eliminating all classes.

The Soviet government first of all set up workers' control at private capitalist enterprises, and by mid-1918 had nationalised all the large and medium-sized capitalist industrial enterprises, transport, the merchant fleet, and foreign trade. Thus, the Soviet state assumed control over the key positions in the country's economy.

In order to more effectively manage the country's huge economy, December 1917 saw the establishment of the Supreme Economic Council and a network of local economic councils. This, together with the nationalisation of banks, railroads and large industrial enterprises, made it possible for the Soviet government to start building a new, socialist economy. Having created the Soviet state, the workers and peasants were now learning to manage it.

Soviet Power Fighting for Peace

From the very first days of its existence, the Soviet Government launched an energetic strug-

gle for peace. The Decree on Peace had proposed that all the belligerent nations conclude a universal democratic peace, without annexations or contributions. However, the imperialist powers rejected any peace negotiations, making the conclusion of such a peace impossible.

It took a tremendous effort on the part of Lenin to bring about the signing in March 1918 of a peace treaty with Germany.

German imperialism was out to bite off as much territory as possible from the young and not so strong Soviet Republic, which at that time had no strength to defend itself. The urgent need to conclude a peace treaty with Germany was not readily realised even by many Communists, who had been taken in by the rhetoric of the "left-wing Communists" about "a revolutionary war" against German imperialism. However, in the course of passionate arguments within the Party and Soviet Government, Lenin's position finally won out. The conclusion of peace saved the Soviet Republic from the threat of ruin.

Lenin on the Immediate Economic Tasks of Working People's Power

In the spring of 1918, Soviet Russia started recovering her war-ravaged economy and reorganising it on socialist lines.

In April 1918, Lenin wrote his work *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*. In it, as well as

in a number of other articles, he outlined a plan for building the foundation of a socialist economy.

Developing Marx's teaching, Lenin founded the theory of a transition period between capitalism and socialism. The economy of this period, the period of a proletarian dictatorship, combines the elements of several socio-economic structures. The forms and methods of transition from capitalism to socialism depend on the specific conditions under which each particular country begins its movement towards socialism.

At that time, the economy of Soviet Russia combined the elements of five socio-economic structures: (1) patriarchal peasant economy, largely of a subsistence nature; (2) small-commodity production; (3) private capitalism; (4) state capitalism; and (5) socialist economy. The dominating structure was the small-commodity peasant economy, which was in fact the stronghold and breeding ground of capitalism in Russia. Millions of petty owners and traders in town and country engaged in profiteering. The rich farmers made especially large profits during the famine, selling grain at exorbitant prices. This petty-bourgeois activity constituted the main threat to the Soviet government and to the cause of socialism. The main task, Lenin wrote, was to overcome these petty-bourgeois elements, strengthen the socialist structure in the

economy, turning it into the dominant and later the only socio-economic structure.

The Soviet people were building the foundation of a socialist economy in the middle of unprecedented ruin caused by the war and by the depredation of the bourgeoisie. The politically conscious workers and peasants had to put up a mighty effort to rebuild the country's productive forces and bring order into the economy. Only the proletariat was able to alleviate the suffering and hardship of the people, but for that, broad sections of the working class had to have a clear understanding of the great mission that the revolution had charged them with.

In the economy, one of the chief tasks of the proletariat at the moment was to establish workers' *accounting and control* over production and distribution of goods. This function was assigned to the Soviets, economic councils, consumers' cooperative societies, and workers' committees at plants and factories. In order to protect the country's economic independence from foreign capital, the Soviet state had to have a monopoly on foreign trade.

One of the basic tasks of socialism, Lenin wrote, was to achieve a substantial rise in labour productivity. That demanded priority development of heavy industry: production of fuel, steel, chemical goods, as well as machine-building and electrical engineering.

An important condition for raising labour productivity, rebuilding and developing productive forces, Lenin said, was to raise the *cultural level of the population*. He assigned the Academy of Sciences the task of drawing up a plan for restructuring industry and boosting the country's economy.

The plan included: rational *location* of industry, bringing it closer to the sources of raw materials; *electrification* of industry, transport and agriculture; insuring the country's *economic independence*.

Lenin developed the principle of *democratic centralism in economic management*. The interests of the socialist economy, he stressed, demanded strict order and implicit obedience of the working people to the single will of the organiser of production. For that reason, economic management must be centralised, with enterprises headed by executives appointed by the Soviet government. However, such undivided authority should be combined with an active, creative activity by the working people themselves and with various forms of control by the working people.

Lenin attached great importance to developing a new type of conscious discipline at enterprises and organising friendly competition between teams for increased production.

All these measures, he said, should be aimed at *strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and developing Soviet society*.

By the spring of 1918, the mechanism of proletarian government had basically taken shape, with the system of proletarian dictatorship including the Communist Party, the Soviets, and the trade unions. It was especially important to establish a proper relationship between the Party and the Soviets. The Party managed to evolve such forms of relationship that gave the Soviets full initiative as state government bodies and at the same time assured the Party's leading role in the system of proletarian dictatorship. The Party was the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, determining its policies and rallying the efforts of all mass organisations in the struggle to strengthen the Soviet system and restructure society on socialist lines. The Party exerted political influence and conducted its policies through its representatives in the Soviets and trade unions.

In the summer of 1918, a critical food situation sharply deteriorated, with most of the towns and cities gripped by famine. This was largely brought about by the rural bourgeoisie (the *kulaks*, or rich farmers, who at the time totalled about two millions) who refused to sell grain to the Soviet state at fixed prices, sabotaging the state's grain monopoly and engaging in profiteering.

The Soviet power took firm steps to curb the kulaks, sending groups of politically-conscious workers to the countryside to help the poor peas-

ants combat that class. In every village, Poor Peasants' Committees were set up, becoming local strongholds of the proletarian dictatorship in the countryside: they confiscated surplus grain from the kulaks, organised food shipments to the towns and the Red Army, and recruited peasants to the armed forces.

The Poor Peasants' Committees promoted socialist transformations in the countryside, setting up village communes and other production associations of the peasants. The Committees existed until late 1918, when their functions were taken over by the village Soviets.

The First Soviet Constitution

On July 4, 1918, the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets was convened in Moscow, with Communists making up nearly two-thirds of the delegates. The petty-bourgeois party of the left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries, who had influence among certain sections of the rural population just half a year before, now carried very little weight.

This loss of influence resulted from their attempts to block the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, their sabotaging of the Soviet government's food policies, and their struggle against the Poor Peasants' Committees. On July 6, they killed the German Ambassador in Moscow, trying to provoke Germany into attacking

Soviet Russia, and started an anti-Soviet mutiny. However, all these actions ended in failure.

The left-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries ultimately revealed themselves as being an anti-Soviet party hostile to the interests of the working masses. The Fifth Congress of Soviets passed the decision to expel them from the Soviets and from the Government. As a result, since then the Soviet Government became a one-party government, the Communist Party being the only political party in the country.

The Congress of Soviets adopted the new official name of the Soviet Republic—the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) and passed the country's first Soviet Constitution. This fundamental law gave legal status to the great achievements of the October Socialist Revolution: Soviet power as a form of proletarian dictatorship, abolition of private capitalist and landlord ownership, equality of all the peoples inhabiting Russia, etc. The Constitution granted all the country's working people the right to take part in government and denied all voting rights to the exploiter classes.

Lenin stressed that this disfranchisement of the bourgeoisie was necessitated by the extraordinary conditions that had taken shape in Soviet Russia in those days, and was by no means a basic attribute of socialist revolutions in other countries.

Soviet power was the first state power in the

world to truly draw the working masses into ruling the state. The working people—workers and peasants—began to enjoy all the benefits of socialist democracy from the very first days of Soviet power. The strength and stability of the Soviet power, a new, higher type of democracy, lies in the fact that it combines democracy for the widest spectrum of people with revolutionary dictatorship directed against the exploiters. That is how the idea of a proletarian dictatorship was translated into reality, into true working people's power.

Soviet Russia Battling Against Foreign Military Intervention and Internal Counter-Revolution

In 1918-1920, the Soviet state suffered the ordeal of a foreign military intervention and a civil war.

The imperialist states did not wish to reconcile themselves to the existence of a socialist state, and in early 1918, they attacked Soviet Russia. The invaders' forces were made up of British, French, the United States, Japanese, and German armies.

In the same year, the overthrown exploiter classes unleashed a civil war against the Soviet Republic. The parties of Constitutional Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Anarchists, and Bourgeois Nationalists, who represented their interests, colluded with foreign imperialism.

For three long years the foreign military intervention and internal counter-revolution waged a bloody war against the Soviet people, destroying their towns and villages and trying to strangle the young Republic with famine.

But under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet government organised, on the basis of universal military service, a Red Army, made up of workers and peasants. With widespread support from the entire Soviet nation, the Red Army managed to defeat the invaders and counter-revolutionaries, showing the invincibility of the working people's state headed by a revolutionary party. The Soviet people won the opportunity to peacefully coexist with capitalist countries and gained favourable conditions for building a socialist society.

Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Soviet government scrupulously adhered to the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy. The right of self-determination granted to every nation that had formed part of the Russian Empire before the October Revolution, became the foundation of a voluntary unification of national republics in December 1922 into a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The state system of the USSR was improved and developed on numerous occasions over the subsequent years and decades. In 1924, when the

first USSR Constitution was adopted, the Union consisted of four Union republics. In 1924-1925, after the national-state delimitation on the territory of Kazakhstan and Soviet Central Asia and transformation of a number of Soviet national republics into Union republics, the second USSR Constitution of 1936 recorded 11 Union republics. Today, the multi-national Soviet Union is a voluntary alliance of 15 Union republics.

Their unification into a single state not only guarantees their national security against territorial encroachment by hostile imperialist powers, but also speeds up their economic development on the basis of cooperation, rational division of labour, and coordination of economic activity. It is another good example of the internationalist principles practised by the Soviet power. The economically more advanced Union republics, such as the RSFSR and the Ukraine, helped the economic and cultural development of the Asian Union republics, which before the revolution constituted Russia's backward borderlands. This brought about a rapid evening out of the economic and cultural levels of all the Union republics.

In creating their own multi-national state, the Soviet people followed the way shown by Lenin, the way of socialist federation based on a voluntary union of free peoples and on complete equality of all nationalities.

2. Lenin's Plan for Building a Socialist Society in the USSR and Its Realisation by the Soviet People

Lenin's Plan of Socialist Construction

In his works written after the October Revolution, including his last articles and letters written in 1922-1923, Lenin generalised the experience of the world revolutionary movement, gave a scientific description of the new historical epoch, showed the correlation of forces on the international scene and the prospects for the development of a world revolution, and enriched Marxist theory with a number of important concepts and conclusions.

Central to these works were the role and tasks of the first working people's state in the world and the prospects for the development of socialism in the Soviet Union. In his last articles and speeches, Lenin developed and scientifically substantiated a plan for building socialism in the USSR. The fundamental principles of Lenin's plan are as follows:

1. *The Soviet Union has everything necessary to build a full-scale socialist society.* The main task of the Communist Party, Soviet government, and the whole nation is to revive and develop industry, especially heavy industry, supply the country with electric power, and raise labour productivity nation-wide. In order to build up the material

and technological basis of socialism and strengthen the country's defence potential, the Soviet Union should *industrialise* its economy and overcome its technological backwardness.

2. The working class should draw the working peasants into socialist construction and help them reorganise their disunited individual households into large-scale socialised farms. The best way of involving the peasants in socialist construction is through *cooperation*.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government should help the peasants organise a cooperative system. This should be done gradually, step by step, so that the peasants would be convinced on their own of the advantages of production cooperation and would take the cooperative way of farming of their own free will. At the same time, industrialisation of the country and the creation of heavy industry would help to supply agriculture with farm machinery.

3. Another condition for the triumph of socialism is a *cultural revolution*, the aim of which is to develop a socialist culture and Marxist world outlook in Soviet society. Socialist culture does not evolve out of nothing, it would be the logical development of all the knowledge that civilisation has accumulated so far. The interests of the proletariat and its culture are expressed in Marxism, which is born from the sum total of human knowledge. The task of Soviet society is to wipe

out illiteracy, educate the youth, train a new intelligentsia, and give the Soviet people a sound political education—in a word, to give them not only general education but educate them in the spirit of a Marxist world outlook.

4. The most important condition of building socialism is a *proletarian dictatorship*. In order to protect and strengthen it, the Party's task is to consolidate the alliance of the working class and peasantry, with the leading role belonging to the working class headed by the Communist Party.

The Communist Party and Soviet government should control any factors that might threaten to split the worker-peasant alliance and take timely action to eliminate such a threat.

Under the power of the working class and other working people the state is a tool for building socialism. However, to raise the role of the state apparatus and make it more effective it should be streamlined. All bureaucratic and other alien elements of the past should be replaced with fresh forces from among the working people.

5. Building a socialist society is possible only if there is genuine *friendship between the nations* of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party and Soviet government should eliminate as quickly as possible the actual inequality of backward peoples, educate all the nations in the spirit of internationalism and fraternal unity, and treat the national culture and

feelings of each people with great respect.

6. The international situation is favourable for building a socialist society in the USSR. The antagonisms between classes and between countries in the capitalist world will be growing, and the class battles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will gather momentum. The developing national liberation movements in the colonies and semi-colonies, especially in the Orient, will increasingly undermine imperialist domination. All these factors taken together will weaken imperialism more and more. Any attempt by the Western powers to crush the Soviet system will be doomed.

7. The Communist Party and Soviet government should conduct a far-sighted foreign policy, aimed at preventing any military conflicts with the capitalist states. The mainstays of the foreign policy of the working people's state is the *persistent struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence, and economic competition between socialism and capitalism*. Lenin was absolutely sure that socialism would ultimately win such a competition, but at the same time he warned the Soviet people that they should strengthen the country's defence potential in order to repulse any aggressor.

8. *The guiding force in building a socialist society is the Communist Party*, which expresses the interests of the working people and maintains close links with the masses. The Party guides the state and

all public organisations, directs economic and cultural development along socialist lines, evolves the principles and methods of foreign policy, and inspires the people to build a socialist society.

“The dictatorship of the proletariat,” Lenin wrote, “would not work except through the Communist Party.”¹

After the October Revolution, the Communist Party became the leading and guiding force of Soviet society. The Party directs the development of society on the basis of scientific knowledge and Marxist theory. The Party works out a comprehensive programme of socialist transformations, determines its general line and the policy of the Soviet state, which meet the objective needs of society’s development, and the tasks of building socialism.

The Soviet People Reviving the National Economy

Guided by Lenin’s plan of socialist construction, the Soviet people undertook the building of a socialist society.

In 1920, the Soviet Government set up the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO), which worked out a comprehensive

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. (B.), March 8-16, 1921. Summing-Up Speech on the Report of the C.C. of the R.C.P. (B.), March 9”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 199.

plan for building a number of large electric power stations. That was the first long-term plan of economic development of Soviet Russia. In 1921, a State Planning Commission was formed to work out current and long-term plans for the country's economic development and to supervise their implementation.

After the civil war, the Soviet government began to set up economic links between town and country through trade, that is through market relations. It adopted Lenin's plan for a *New Economic Policy*, which opened up a large-scale exchange of industrial goods for farm produce. That created the economic foundation for strengthening the alliance between the working class and peasantry. To achieve that, the proletarian state was obliged to permit certain restricted capitalist economic relations for a limited period of time, while retaining government control over the key positions in the economy. The New Economic Policy helped to revive the national economy and start rebuilding it on socialist lines.

Building the Foundation of Socialism in the USSR

After solving the main problems of rebuilding the economy in 1921-1925, the Soviet people, under the guidance of the Communist Party, proceeded to carry out the first step of Lenin's plan for building socialism—*socialist industrialisation of the country*—which meant rapidly developing in-

dustry, concentrating first of all on heavy industry.

The role of the Soviets in political, economic, and cultural development was growing; an increasing number of the working class, working peasantry, women, and young people were being drawn into managing the affairs of state. The trade unions stepped up their activity in educating the people, especially young workers, and in involving them in socialist construction. New plants were built and old ones modernised. By late 1927, the socialist sector of industry made up 86 per cent of the country's total industrial production.

But the growth rate of the petty-commodity peasant economy trailed behind that of industry. Despite the stiff resistance put up by the rural bourgeoisie, the kulaks, already by 1928 there was a large-scale movement to unite small private peasant plots into agricultural production co-operatives—collective farms.

The Soviet government took a number of measures to limit capitalist elements in the economy—the kulaks and private owners. From then on, kulaks who concealed their grain surplus and refused to sell it to the state were prosecuted by law. The government also set up large state-owned mechanised farms (state farms), which became the bases of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

By early 1930, in a number of areas the cooperative movement in the countryside grew into *overall collectivisation*. In these areas the Soviet government set up state-owned machine-and-tractor stations, which helped collective farms in field work.

The state of the working people then started a new policy in relation to the kulaks, the *elimination of kulaks as a social class on the basis of overall collectivisation*. This policy consisted in depriving the kulaks of the means of production, the sources of their activity and development: farm implements, the right to rent, and the right to hire labourers.

An important part in collectivisation was played by politically-active workers who went to work to the countryside in 1930 following the appeal by the Party and Government. The trade unions sent 180,000 work teams to the countryside to help organise collective farms and repair farm machines. The Young Communist League was also active in helping to organise life and work at the new collective farms.

Yet the full-scale collectivisation campaign did not distract the Party and Government from the process of industrialisation. In late 1928 and early 1929, the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan was elaborated, which was in effect a programme for full-scale construction of socialism. Its aim was to *lay the foundation of a socialist economy*

and force out capitalist elements in the cities and villages and ultimately eliminate them altogether.

While organising the carrying out of the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan (1928/1929-1932/1933), the Party and Government explained the need to boost the rate of industrialisation, frankly warning the people of the difficulties ahead and developing in workers, engineers and technicians political awareness and initiative.

With the entire country a gigantic building site, life was difficult and people had to suffer many hardships. The country was still poor, with a shortage of clothes, footwear, and many other essentials, food rationing, and construction workers having to live in barracks and tents. But the workers realised that as the Soviet Union was encircled by capitalist countries, it could not develop into a powerful industrial nation without sacrifice and strict economy. The younger generation was especially enthusiastic in building a new life.

Putting forth a mighty effort, the Soviet people managed to carry out the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan ahead of schedule and in a number of industries even exceeded target figures. This was made possible largely by the nation-wide socialist emulation campaign, a kind of friendly rivalry between work teams for in-

creased production.

Over the five-year period, output in the mechanical engineering and metal working industries increased fourfold. A powerful technological foundation was laid for subsequent reconstruction of the entire economy along socialist lines. Of special importance was the creation of a modern ferrous metallurgy industry and heavy engineering industry, and also a tractor, motor-car, aircraft, chemical and a number of other industries.

In the countryside, there was a great rise in the collectivisation movement. By the end of the five-year period in the main grain and beet-growing areas collective farms united between 70 to 90 per cent of the peasants. Collectivisation was basically achieved in those areas.

The results of the first five-year period demonstrated the tremendous achievements of the first working people's state: the USSR had turned from an agrarian into an industrial country.

A massive network of *collective farms* had taken shape in agriculture, completely wiping out the kulaks.

The achievements of socialism in all areas of the national economy brought about a *sharp rise in the people's living standards*. An end was put to unemployment in the cities and poverty in the countryside. After the former village poor joined the collective farms, they began to live better. The

rise in the people's incomes and living standards was accompanied by a growth in their cultural level, and a rapid increase in the ranks of a new, Soviet intelligentsia. Nearly 75 per cent of students at higher and technical secondary schools were workers. Large-scale industry received about 100,000 new engineers and technicians during the five-year period.

Over the first five-year period the *foundation of socialism* was laid in the Soviet Union. Significant changes took place in the class structure of Soviet society. Capitalist elements were basically eliminated, while the social base of the proletarian dictatorship became broader and stronger. With the emergence of a *new class*, the collective farm peasantry, Soviet power found a *new support* in society. The alliance of the working class and collective farm peasantry took shape on a *new basis*—a *common goal* in building, strengthening and developing socialism in town and country.

This was a great victory for the first working people's state, for the entire Soviet nation led by the Communist Party.

Completion of the Socialist Reconstruction of the National Economy

During the Second Five-Year Plan Period (1933-1937), the socialist reconstruction of the Soviet economy was completed, which meant building a socialist society in the main. The car-

dinal task of a socialist revolution—creating a new, socialist economy—was accomplished. All the exploiter classes were eliminated. The common essence of the two forms of socialist ownership drew the working class and collective farm peasantry even closer together, strengthening their alliance. The new intelligentsia, springing from the midst of the people and devoted to the cause of socialism, had increased its numbers.

Over the years of socialist construction, all the peoples of the USSR finally matured as *socialist nations*.

The Soviet people were building a socialist society in the USSR according to Lenin's plan and under the guidance of the Communist Party.

The profound changes in the country's economy and social system were legally reflected in the second Constitution of the USSR, adopted in December 1936, which recorded the triumph of socialism in the USSR, and introduced substantial improvements into the Soviet state structure directed at further developing Soviet democracy and true internationalism between all the nations and nationalities in the USSR. The electoral system was further democratized, as unequal representation was made equal (according to the USSR Constitution of 1924, a deputy to the Supreme Soviet from a rural area represented a larger number of voters than one from an urban area), multi-stage voting was replaced by direct

ballot, and voting by show of hands replaced by secret ballot.

After that, the entire system of state power and management was restructured in accordance with the new Constitution.

The Constitution also underlined the leading position of the Communist Party in Soviet society.

Significance of the Victory of Socialism in the USSR

After socialism had been built in the main the Soviet state entered a new historical stage of development, that of completing the construction of the initial stage of a socialist society and creating the basis for a gradual transition to communism.

At this stage of development, socialism in many respects still bears the mark of the old society from which it originated. The level of social production is not yet able to fully satisfy the needs of all the members of society. There is still a certain inequality in distributing consumer goods. Socialist relations in such an important sphere of the economy as agriculture have only just been established. Although labour productivity has increased, it has not yet achieved the potential inherent in a socialist economy. In people's minds, there are still some remnants of private-owner mentality.

The Communist Party and Soviet government

concentrated their main efforts on developing the technological basis of socialism and improving socialist production relations. They saw to it that the socialist principle of distributing material benefits according to the work done was strictly adhered to; they raised material incentives in production, and increased the role of state and people's control over work and consumption, instilling working people with a truly socialist attitude towards work and public property.

The victory of socialism in the USSR increased the political and economic might of the country, broadening its socio-economic base. The working people's power entered a new stage of development, with a gradual transition from the state of proletarian dictatorship to the state of the whole people.

Under socialism, the leading role of the Communist Party in society had grown, and the new conditions demanded a higher level of the Party's organisational work among the masses.

After the socialist reconstruction of the economy was completed, in the late 1930s the country's industry got a fresh impetus, with constant introduction of modern technology. At the same time, the organisational and economic structure of collective farms improved, mechanisation was stepped up and productivity increased. The ranks of the working class also grew as did their level of qualification, and there was a sub-

stantial increase in the ranks of scientists and engineers. Over the last three pre-war years (1938-1940), the national income went up by more than a third, while wage fund grew 50 per cent. The earnings of collective farmers, both in money and in kind, also grew. The cultural level of all the nations within the USSR was raised.

The Soviet Union's political, economic, and defence potential was strengthened when in 1940 the USSR was joined by the socialist republics of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia after socialist revolutions had taken place in those Baltic countries. The same year, Moldavia was made a Union republic.

3. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People Against Fascism

Soviet People Fighting Against Fascism

In the autumn of 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland and rapidly advanced towards the Soviet border. The Soviet Union found itself in mortal peril, which demanded a great effort on the part of the Communist Party, Soviet Government, and the entire nation in raising the country's defence potential. But they did not manage to do all they had intended to. In June 1941 the Nazis attacked the USSR. That was the beginning of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people.

Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR disrupted the peaceful life of the Soviet people.

The Party and Government called upon the Soviet people to defend their country, and mobilised the entire nation to defeat the enemy.

The German imperialists were planning to seize the Soviet Union's territory and all its national wealth, destroy the socialist system, slaughter millions of Soviet people and turn the rest into slaves.

After Nazism came to power in Germany in 1933, the imperialists of Britain, France and the United States fostered that fascist aggressor so as to set it on the USSR. But when in 1940, contrary to their reckoning, Nazi Germany turned its might against Western Europe, there was no force in the capitalist world that could bar its way. By the time Germany attacked the USSR, it had established its domination over almost the whole of Western Europe, with Britain virtually blockaded on her island, France occupied by Nazi troops, and the United States assuming a wait-and-see policy. In that situation, the Soviet Union was the only power in the world that stood in the way of imperialist Germany's monstrous plans.

For four long years the Soviet people waged that exhausting war. The Party and Government's call for the people "All for the Front! All for Victory!" became the motto of every Soviet

citizen. Heroism and selflessness were observed on a mass scale not only among soldiers at the battlefield, but among working people at plants, in collective farms, and on the transport as well. The Party and Government managed to turn the entire country into a single well-organised fighting camp, with women and teenagers replacing their menfolk who had gone to the front.

The Soviet people had to pay a dear price for their victory over fascism, losing upwards of twenty million lives. The invaders destroyed 32,000 enterprises, 70,000 villages, and hundreds of towns and cities.

The sources of the strength of the working people's power – the Soviet state – have clearly manifested themselves in the war. It is first of all the *unbreakable alliance of the working class and peasantry*, the decisive force of Soviet society and the guarantee of its vitality both in peacetime and in war.

Another factor of tremendous importance was the genuine *friendship between all the Soviet nations*. Hitler's plans to split this union of nations were an utter failure. From the very first days of the Nazi invasion, all the peoples of the USSR rose to the defence of their country. The socialist state system proved to be not only the best form for the development of nations but also the most rational form of cooperation among nations in a multinational state for the victory in a just war of liberation.

Despite the tremendous difficulties, the country managed to create a well-organised military economy, providing the growing might of the Soviet Army.

In a word, the decisive factors of the victory were Soviet patriotism and the unity between the battle-front and the home-front, the Army and the people.

The force which inspired and organised the Soviet people and its Army during those crucial war years was the Communist Party, the guiding force of Soviet society.

The International Significance of the Soviet People's Victory in the Great Patriotic War

In the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people won a military, political, and economic victory over fascism. They managed to defend socialism, the most progressive social and state system, and the freedom of all the Soviet nations.

What is more, the Soviet Union played a decisive part in saving Europe from fascist slavery, greatly aided China and other Asian countries in their struggle against Japanese imperialism, and in fact saved the whole world from the threat of fascist enslavement. The rout of Nazism created favourable conditions for the German people to develop along the road of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Second World War aggravated the

general crisis of capitalism, further undermining the world capitalist system. In a number of European and Asian countries the people brought down the power of capitalists and landowners and established people's democratic governments, opening the way to socialism. The liberation struggle against the fascist invaders raised the class-consciousness of the proletariat, increasing the influence of Communist and other working-class parties among the masses.

The crisis of the whole colonial system of imperialism intensified, and the national liberation movement reached an unprecedented scale.

These are only the main points characterising the international significance of the victory over fascism in the Second World War and the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to that victory.

Chapter VI. THE POST-WAR REHABILITATION OF THE SOVIET ECONOMY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST STATE

Main Tasks of Post-War Development

After the end of the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people resumed their peaceful constructive work. In the pre-war period, the Communist Party and Soviet Government had laid down a programme for strengthening and advancing socialist society and set forth general guidelines for building developed socialism in the USSR. But this process had been interrupted by the war. Now the Soviet people could return to that task.

In the field of *production*, it was important to revive the economy in the shortest time possible, greatly surpass the pre-war level,

increase the country's industrial production, strengthen its might and safeguard it against any contingencies. The more long-term objective, the main economic task, was to overtake the capitalist countries in labour productivity, thus gaining an economic victory over capitalism.

In the field of *economic and social relations*, socialist production relations had to keep up with the growth of productive forces. That meant: raising the role of the whole people's property and enhancing collective ownership of the means of production; correcting any deviation from the socialist principle of distributing material wealth according to the quantity and quality of work done; constantly raising the people's living standards, i. e. increasing wages and old-age pensions, boosting housing construction, abolishing food rationing, which had been introduced during the war, constantly improving the supply of goods to shops, developing health care and public education, and encouraging cultural development and science.

In the field of ideology, it was important to resolutely combat the remnants of bourgeois psychology, habits and manners, and to educate all Soviet citizens as conscious patriots and internationalists.

The Party and Government's policy both at home and abroad was aimed at accomplishing these tasks.

The main aim of Soviet *foreign policy* was to ensure a stable and lasting peace, consolidate the positions of socialism in the world, and help nations that had broken off with capitalism to build a new society.

1. Changes in the International Situation and Soviet Foreign Policy

People's Democratic Revolutions in Europe

After the war, there was a sharp shift in the correlation of world forces in favour of socialism. In the USSR, the unity of the people, the Party and the Government became even stronger, with a growth in the prestige and political influence of the Soviet Union on the international scene.

The world capitalist system was greatly weakened by the war. A new revolutionary wave swept the planet. In Europe, the capitalist system lost Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, and East Germany (on the territory of which in 1949 the German Democratic Republic was formed). The development of all these revolutions followed a common pattern, although each had certain local features arising from the historical and socio-economic background of each country. The people's governments which came to power in those countries put through radical democratic changes, giving their

nations broad democratic rights and freedoms. They carried out an agrarian reform which abolished large landed estates (where they had existed), giving the land to the peasants.

In the process of putting through democratic reforms, the working class in the people's democracies gradually began carrying out socialist transformations. The property of the invaders—the German and Italian imperialists, as well as the former collaborationists, was confiscated. As a result of fierce class struggle, capitalist domination was overthrown and the question of power decided once and for all.

The power of the working class triumphed in the countries of central and southeastern Europe in the form of people's democratic republics; their industry, banks and transport were nationalised and the economy started developing towards socialism.

The people in those countries managed to win a fast victory over the capitalists thanks to the correct policy of the Communist Parties and the leading role of the working class. This victory was achieved in favourable conditions after the Soviet Army routed the fascist invaders and their local reactionary supporters in those countries.

The Soviet Union recognised and politically supported the governments of the newly-formed people's democracies, at the same time strictly adhering to the principle of non-interference in

the internal affairs of those countries. Faithful to its internationalist duty, the USSR shared with these states its grain, seeds and raw materials, although its own stocks were greatly depleted by the war. This assistance helped the people's governments to feed their population and restore their national economies. Soviet foreign policy at the time aimed to protect the young democracies against interference by US and British imperialists trying to restore capitalist power there. The Soviet troops present in a number of those countries also prevented foreign imperialism and internal counter-revolution from launching a military intervention or unleashing a civil war. Thus the Soviet Union managed to foil attempts by foreign imperialist powers to interfere in the internal affairs of the people's democratic states.

The National Liberation Struggle and People's Revolutions in the Countries of Asia and Africa

The peoples of Asia also scored sizable victories over imperialism. After many years of armed struggle against the landowners, foreign imperialists, and their supporters among the local bourgeoisie, the people of China, led by the working class and headed by the Communist Party, brought down the capitalist-landowner government and took power into their own hands. With the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the nation embarked on the road to

socialist development. The Chinese revolution dealt a powerful blow to imperialism and especially to its colonial system. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam also chose to follow the socialist path. (After the people brought down the reactionary regime in South Vietnam and united with North Vietnam, the country was in 1976 called the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.) Later, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos (1975) and the People's Republic of Kampuchea (1979) also announced their intention of building a socialist society.

Already within the first few years after the Second World War, the capitalist system lost eleven countries. The USSR was no longer the only socialist country in the world, and that meant the beginning of a new stage in the development of socialism.

After the war, the national liberation movement gained momentum. Whereas the October Revolution of 1917 sparked off a profound crisis of the colonial system, the period after the Second World War marked the beginning of its disintegration, as India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon (now called Sri Lanka), and many other countries rose to independence. The liberation struggle spread to Africa too, with seventeen countries gaining independence in 1960 alone. The national liberation movement sapped the

strength of imperialism, contributing to the world revolutionary movement and strengthening support to the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Division of World into Two Social Systems

During the first few post-war years, the economy of Britain and France stagnated, while Italy, Japan and West Germany remained in economic disarray. The British empire began to disintegrate. At the same time, the economic and military potential of the United States increased immensely, as that power became the economic, financial and political centre of the capitalist world and the leading force of imperialist reaction. Almost all the capitalist countries, including Japan, West Germany, Italy, France, and Britain, became dependent on the United States.

As a result of the radical changes taking place in the world after the Second World War, it split into two socio-political systems—socialism and capitalism.

The Socialist System

The socialist system consisted of the USSR and the countries of people's democracies of Europe and Asia. In 1961 they were joined by Cuba, which by early 1959 had undergone an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution.

The socialist countries launched a consistent

struggle for peace, against the threat of a new world war, and for the freedom and national independence of all nations. The emergence of a number of new socialist countries created the need to set up international relations of a new type, based on friendly cooperation between socialist states. The Soviet Union, as a socialist state, took on a new function—that of helping other countries build and defend socialism and of establishing international socialist relations.

As economic cooperation between the socialist countries developed there arose the need for a special body that would coordinate their economic relations. In early 1949 the USSR and other European socialist states set up the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

An important form of economic cooperation and mutual assistance was the coordination of national economic development plans based on production specialisation and cooperation. The CMEA outlined the general areas of socialist economic integration which then became the basis for a comprehensive programme for economic cooperation within the socialist community.

As more and more young nations in Africa and Asia took the path of social renovation and progress, there developed broad cooperation between these countries and the Soviet Union and other socialist states. The Soviet Union

assisted them in building large industrial projects, setting up educational and cultural centres, and training specialists.

The Imperialist System

The basis of the imperialist system was a bloc of leading capitalist powers headed by the United States, which was joined by reactionary, anti-democratic forces in other capitalist countries. This bloc aimed at strengthening the positions of capitalism, crushing the communist movement throughout the world, and suppressing the desire of peoples for national independence.

On the initiative of the United States, in 1949 the imperialist powers set up the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which was followed by a number of other aggressive military blocs. As a result, the world was faced with the threat of a third world war fought with weapons of mass extermination, especially nuclear arms.

The Non-Aligned Countries

Another important force in world politics is the non-aligned movement, which embraces about a hundred countries, most of them young, newly independent states. The non-alignment process is a significant factor in the movement for peace, security, detente, cooperation based on the principle of equality, for setting up a fair system of international political and economic relations, and

in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and other forms of domination and exploitation. Such a position brings the non-aligned countries closer to the socialist community. From the very first day of the movement's existence, the Soviet Union has staunchly supported it.

2. The Soviet Union in the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament

The defence of peace, a problem of paramount importance, became a top-priority national issue in every country. A mass international democratic movement emerged: the *world peace movement*, the widest-reaching socio-political movement in history, embracing members of different classes, parties, religious beliefs and political affiliations.

Consistently pursuing a policy aimed at achieving peace and security, the Communist Party and Soviet Government called on all states to try to solve international disputes through constructive negotiations. In promoting that aim, they attached great importance to the development of international trade relations.

In foreign policy, the most important objective of the Communist Party and Soviet Government was to achieve universal disarmament. The Soviet Union made repeated efforts in the United

Nations to bring about a convention banning nuclear weapons under close international control, also proposing that conventional weapons and armed forces be reduced and placed under international control. Back in 1951, the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a law qualifying the propaganda of war as a grave crime. In its struggle for peace, disarmament and the just solution of international issues, the USSR attaches great importance to the United Nations; it takes an active part in all UN activities, considering this organisation an important factor in international cooperation and the struggle for peace.

The Soviet Union regards general and complete disarmament as the most radical way of strengthening world peace. Soviet representatives have spoken on this issue on numerous occasions in the UN and during bilateral talks with the United States.

But the US and other NATO members have chosen an opposite course of action – that of systematically building up tensions in international relations and creating hotbeds of a new war in Europe and Asia. Soon after the end of the Second World War, they began to revitalise the militarist forces in the Federal Republic of Germany. Already by the mid-1950s a dangerous situation had developed in the world. As a result, in May 1955 the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries were obliged to conclude in

Warsaw a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. Defensive in nature, the Warsaw Treaty became a stabilising factor in Europe, safeguarding the security of European nations and preserving peace in the whole world.

Strong alliance and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries is the cornerstone of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Union's relations with other socialist countries are based on *socialist internationalism*, a new type of international relations built on friendship, equality, respect, comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance. Socialist internationalism is an essential condition for the development of the world revolutionary movement, for building socialism, and averting a military threat.

Soviet Peace Initiatives

Back in 1971, the Communist Party and Soviet Government drew up a Peace Programme which determined the main directions of struggle against imperialism, for peace, international security and socialism. The aims and principles of this Programme are:

eliminating trouble spots in Southeast Asia and the Middle East and assistance in a just political settlement in the two regions; an immediate rebuff to any international aggression or arbitrary action; renunciation of the use or threat of use of force in solving international disputes;

final recognition of territorial changes which took place in Europe after the Second World War, and a radical turn to détente and peace on the European continent; convening of a general European conference aimed at achieving collective security in Europe. The Soviet Union has reiterated the readiness of the Warsaw Treaty countries to dissolve their organisation simultaneously with NATO or, as a first step, to disband their military organisations;

conclusion of treaties banning nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons; halting nuclear weapon tests by all states and in all spheres, including underground tests; setting up of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world; nuclear disarmament of all nuclear powers;

stepping up the struggle to stop the arms race including all types of weapons; calling a world conference to discuss disarmament issues; dismantling foreign military bases, reduction of armaments and armed forces in regions where military confrontation has become especially dangerous, particularly in Central Europe; working out measures to reduce the possibility of accidental or intentional military incidents and their development into a full-scale war; reduction of military expenditures, especially by the major powers;

full implementation of the UN decision on the elimination of the remnants of colonialism;

general condemnation and boycott of racism and apartheid.

The Soviet Union expressed its readiness to develop mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres with any country desiring such relations and to work with all states concerned on the solution of such problems as environmental protection, development of energy and other natural resources, development of transport and communications, prevention of the most widespread and dangerous diseases, and research and peaceful development of the world ocean and outer space.

In the years following the adoption of the Peace Programme, the Soviet Government, Communist Party and the entire Soviet people, supported by peace-loving forces in all countries, put forth a mighty effort to strengthen peace, develop détente, stop the arms race, and reduce armaments in Europe. The Soviet Union proposed numerous peace initiatives aimed at reducing the threat of a new world war and normalising the international situation.

In contrast to these peace efforts put forward by the USSR and other socialist community members, the United States declared it was "freezing" the ratification of the Soviet-American treaty reducing strategic offensive armaments, known as SALT-2 (signed in 1979), and, with the help of a number of NATO members, began to

deploy in Europe its medium-range nuclear missiles aimed at the USSR and other socialist states. With the US military budget growing in unprecedented proportions, in the 1980s the US Administration started developing new types of nuclear missiles, pushing forward plans to militarise outer space and deploy its nuclear weapons there. At the same time, the United States is developing an anti-missile defence system that would ward off any retaliation from a country attacked by the United States.

The Soviet Union strongly opposes such US policies, which greatly increase the threat of a nuclear war, a war that would spell the end for mankind.

Today, defending peace is a top-priority objective not only for the Soviet Union, but for all the nations of the world.

3. Revival of the Soviet Economy and Development of Socialist Construction

The Revival and Development of Industry and Scientific and Technological Progress

With the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union was faced with the task of converting the economy to peace-time needs. Socialism made it possible to accomplish this difficult task in a planned manner. Industrial enterprises

received target figures for production of peacetime goods. This involved the redistribution of manpower, raw material and energy resources between the different industries. Reduced military expenditure made it possible to greatly increase investment in the peacetime economy. The greater part of the military industry was now used for peaceful purposes. Enterprises and offices were returning to a normal schedule of work, with regular holidays provided. The conversion of the economy to peaceful production was almost completely accomplished in 1946.

In 1948, industrial production in the USSR had exceeded the immediate pre-war level. While rebuilding the economy in the areas liberated from Nazi occupation, the Party and Government at the same time directed efforts at developing industry in all the republics and areas of the Soviet Union. The territorial distribution of productive forces was being improved, with a rapid growth in the productive capacity of metallurgical plants in the Urals and Siberia, emergence of new centres of iron and steel production in Central Asia and Transcaucasia. First steps were taken in creating a metallurgical centre in the North of the European part of the USSR. The output of coal was increased in the Kuznetsk Basin, Karaganda and the Urals. Oil production grew between the Volga and the Urals. New thermal and hydroelectric power plants were being

built, with construction of two major hydroelectric power stations started on the Volga. Great strides were also made in the machine-building and chemical industries.

During the first two post-war decades the Soviet Union continued to give priority to the growth of heavy industry. In its efforts to boost the growth rates in the economy, the Soviet Union took into account the rapid advances in science and technology taking place in the world. Science and technology were increasingly influencing the Soviet economy. In the mid-1950s, the Soviet Government launched a programme aimed at raising the efficiency of social production and boosting scientific and technological progress in the country. Power engineering and machine-building were becoming increasingly automated. The Soviet Union was the first to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes, with the construction of an atomic power plant.

As the economy advanced, the Government directed more effort towards developing the country's Eastern regions – the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, Kazakhstan and Central Asia – and more effectively using their raw material and energy resources. The major Siberian rivers became the construction site of large hydroelectric power stations. New rich deposits of iron ore, coal, oil and other minerals began to be developed in Soviet Asia. The construction of atomic

power stations assumed a large scale.

Bearing in mind the growing role that science was to play in developing the socialist economy and strengthening the country's military might, the Government set up a number of new research centres and put forth considerable efforts to build up their material basis. Special attention was paid to boost such new and promising branches of science as nuclear physics, semiconductor physics, biophysics, biochemistry, rocket and computer technology, electronics, and radio-engineering. Soviet scientists achieved outstanding results in harnessing nuclear energy, which made it possible in 1949 for the Soviet Union to manufacture its own atomic weapon, thus putting an end to the policy of threats and blackmail pursued by the United States, which from 1945 had had a monopoly on atomic arms.

Developing the peaceful use of atomic energy, in 1957 the Soviet Union built an atomic-powered ice-breaker, the first of its kind in the world. Work was started on the peaceful exploration of outer space. In 1957, the USSR launched into near-earth orbit the first ever artificial satellite, and in 1961, the first man in history, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin, went into space aboard the Vostok spacecraft.

The Revival and Development of Soviet Agriculture

After the end of the Second World War, the

Soviet people faced the arduous task of reviving and developing its socialist agriculture. In the vast areas of the European part of the USSR, which had been under Nazi occupation, agriculture was left in a state of ruin. The war had done great damage to the entire country's agriculture. There was an acute shortage of manpower, seeds, cattle, and farm machinery. The cultivated area in 1945 was only three-quarters of what it had been in 1940. As a consequence, grain, meat and cotton production in 1945 was only half, and milk only one-third of the 1940 level.

In the liberated areas, the Government organised the rehabilitation of ruined collective and state farms. The peasants, who had learned from their own experience the advantages of collective labour, enthusiastically got down to the job of reviving their collective farms, which received substantial aid from the state. Besides that, collective farms in the east of the country helped out by sending cattle, seeds, and farm implements.

It was a more difficult task to revive agriculture than it was industry. The able-bodied rural population had been sharply reduced by the war, especially people trained in the operation of farm machines. At the same time, the interests of a swift economic recovery demanded that a large proportion of the young rural population be directed into industry. Besides, over the four war

years the tractor fleet had become considerably worn out, while the number of horses was reduced to less than half.

By 1950, the Soviet Union had managed on the whole to regain the pre-war level of farm production. Back in 1947, food rationing was replaced by normal state and cooperative trade. However, even in the early fifties the countryside could not fully provide the nation with sufficient food and raw materials.

In the mid-1950s, the Soviet state launched a massive campaign to boost farm production, with heavy capital investment, shipments of hundreds of thousands of tractors and lorries, tens of thousands of grain harvester combines and other machinery. In addition, many experienced managers, agronomists, technicians and other experts were sent to collective and state farms.

In order to raise the country's grain yields, the Party and Government organised the development of virgin and long-fallow lands in Kazakhstan, Siberia, North Caucasus, along the Volga and in other regions, calling upon the youth to give their energy and enthusiasm to this task. A veritable army of volunteers, totalling over 350 thousand young men and women, took off for Kazakhstan and Siberia. Between 1954 and 1956, they developed about 36 million hectares of new land, thus giving the country millions of tons of additional grain.

Guaranteed monthly wages in cash and kind, introduced for collective farmers in 1966, played an important part in raising material incentives and boosting farm production. The new financial policy also included remuneration according to the end result, that is the quantity and quality of produce or gross income. State farms were put on a self-supporting basis. These and other measures brought about an increase in the production of grain and other crops, and also animal products.

Developing Socialist Democracy and Raising the Nation's Living Standards

After the end of the war in September 1945, the State Defence Committee, the highest emergency body of state authority in the USSR during the Great Patriotic War, was abolished, with all the bodies of people's power, from the USSR Supreme Soviet to local city and village Soviets, resuming their normal peace-time duties. By a Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet, all the supreme executive and administrative powers were returned to the USSR Council of People's Commissars. In March 1946, the People's Commissariats were transformed into ministries, and the USSR Council of People's Commissars became the USSR Council of Ministers.

Guided by the Communist Party, all the Soviets of People's Deputies returned to carrying out, both at the national and local levels, the

general tasks of socialist construction, along with directing the post-war revival of normal administrative, political, economic, social and cultural activities on the territory within their jurisdiction. The Soviets played an important part in mobilising the population for tackling these problems and in directing the supplying of the population with housing and food, the construction and functioning of schools, medical institutions, community centres, theatres, and solving other everyday problems.

Following its consistent course of developing socialist democracy, the Party condemned the flagrant violations of inner-Party and socialist democracy and law which had taken place in the latter half of the 1930s and in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Party took measures aimed at preventing such violations from occurring in the future.

A Party decision adopted in January 1957, On Improving the Work of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies and Strengthening Their Ties with the Masses, determined the main tasks of the Soviets in strengthening their work and increasing their role in economic and cultural affairs. Party and Government bodies of the Union republics were advised to render all possible assistance to the local Soviets in planning economic development, production and distribution of goods by local and cooperative industries, in

organising the construction of roads, housing, and cultural facilities, in developing the production of building materials and fuel, and in handling finances. This increased the activity of the Soviets and the role of their deputies.

The policy of constantly developing socialist democracy included giving more rights to each Union republic: they now gained administrative control over many industrial enterprises and transport organisations, got more extensive budgetary rights, were granted jurisdiction over legislation concerning the courts, and the right to set up new administrative territories and areas within their boundaries.

An important field of developing socialist democracy was the drawing of increasing numbers of working people into local Soviets and into various commissions set up by the Soviets, especially those dealing with questions of social welfare, service facilities, culture and education.

An increasingly important part in advancing socialist democracy was played by the trade unions and the Young Communist League (YCL) which were very active in reviving the country's economic, social and cultural life and boosting socialist construction.

The trade unions launched a nation-wide socialist emulation campaign for early fulfilment of the Government plans for economic recovery and development. At the same time they studied

the advanced know-how used by the best workers and teams in order to spread it to all the country's enterprises.

In 1957, the Party Central Committee issued a decision broadening the functions of factory, shop and local trade union committees, giving them the right to participate in working out production plans, wage norms and work quotas, and granting them the right to supervise the observance of labour legislation, initiate proceedings leading up to the discharge of a manager who violates labour legislation, voice their opinions on candidates for executive posts, and have the final say in cases involving the dismissal of an employee.

The YCL was also very active in rebuilding the Soviet economy. Young men and women showed examples of labour heroism in the campaign to develop the virgin lands, built hydroelectric power plants and industrial enterprises in the eastern and northern regions of the Soviet Union and helped the local Soviets in developing education and culture in those regions.

After the war, the Party and Government paid special attention to raising the people's living standards and satisfying their every-day social requirements and cultural needs. Besides all the measures already mentioned, the Government repeatedly raised salaries and wages; in 1956 it passed a Law on Pensions, which now embraced 18 million people, reduced the working day to

seven and even six hours, abolished tuition fees at secondary and higher educational establishments; in 1958 it made eight-year school education compulsory, and in 1970 extended that to universal ten-year secondary education.

By the early 1970s, the Government had put most industrial and office workers on a five-day working week, extended minimum vacations at enterprises and institutions, increased pension funds, and greatly stepped up the construction of housing and public facilities.

Ideological Work

The transition from war to peace-time construction required that the Communist Party, the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, restructure and upgrade its entire organisational and political work. New Party functionaries had to be urgently sent to Party organisations in the Union republics and areas which had suffered from fascist occupation. These gaps were filled with experienced Party people who had fought in the Soviet Army during the war.

The building up of the local Party organisations by Communists who had served in the Soviet Army and the lifting of restrictions of the inner-Party democracy which had been imposed during the war, made those local bodies more active and in general raised the Party's authority and leading role. The Party increased its control

over the administrative and economic activity of local government bodies. Following instructions from the Party Central Committee, its local organisations increased their role as political leaders, concentrating on the basic problems of rebuilding and developing the socialist economy and culture and mobilising the people to carry out the Government's economic development plans.

An important aspect of the Party's activity was ideological education. The Party had always promoted the growth of political awareness and creative initiative among the masses. Over the years of socialist construction, the Party had educated the Soviet people in the ideals of communism, creating a new, socialist personality. Soviet man is characterised by firm ideological principles, indestructible faith in the cause of socialism and communism, conscientious attitude to work, Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and the understanding of national interests as one's personal interests.

At the same time, the Party realises that it still faces complex problems in ideological education, as certain sections of the Soviet public still have survivals of private-owner mentality, bourgeois morals, elements of nationalist attitudes, and have uncritical views on the reactionary part of capitalist culture, while Western propaganda is doing its utmost to win over ideologically un-

stable and politically uninformed elements in Soviet society.

During the war, ideological and political education in certain Party organisations was slackened, as some Party functionaries for a long time had no possibility to advance themselves in Marxist-Leninist theory, while many young Communists who had joined the Party during the war did not have an adequate theoretical background. Because of all this, the Party's ideological education work was not keeping up with the current tasks of socialist construction that the Party now had to tackle.

In the context of the nation's needs at the current stage of building socialism, the Party stepped up its work of ideological and political education among Communists. This meant re-establishing the system of Party education, which included schools of political knowledge, district schools of Party education, universities of Marxism-Leninism, and local groups studying Party history, political economy and philosophy. Many Communists studied on their own or at scientific seminars. As a result, the ideological level of Party members rapidly rose, making it possible for the Party to step up its political education work among the masses.

This ideological campaign launched by the Party had a great impact on the Party's activity, the entire people's way of life, and on the devel-

opment of Soviet culture as well. The advance of science, literature and art began to be seen as a truly national cause. The rising ideological level of Soviet culture promoted the growth of the cultural level and political awareness of the Soviet people.

The Transition from the State of Proletarian Dictatorship to the State of the Entire People

At its 22nd Congress in 1961, the Communist Party reviewed the implementation of its Second Programme, which had been drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Party in 1919, concluding that its most important result was the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR.

The new Programme outlined three closely connected tasks: developing the material and technological foundation of socialism, perfecting socialist relations in society, and educating a new type of man. The Programme said: "The state, which arose as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has, in the new, contemporary stage, become a *state of the entire people*, an organ expressing the interests and will of the people as a whole."

The Programme also stated that the Communist Party, originally the party of the working class, had become *the party of the whole Soviet people*.

In determining the tasks aimed at raising the people's living standard, the Programme outlined

two basic principles of satisfying the people's needs: first, raising wages and salaries according to the quantity and quality of work done, and second, increasing the social consumption funds, designed to satisfy people's needs regardless of their labour contribution. With the development of socialist society, the importance of social consumption funds and the rate of their growth would increase.

The Communist Party Programme contained a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the basic social processes taking place in the world socialist system at the time, stressing the importance of proletarian and socialist internationalism, the need for all the socialist countries to join efforts in developing socialism, and the urgency of combatting elements of bourgeois nationalism and national narrow-mindedness.

The Programme proclaimed the slogan of the Party, which had become the slogan of the entire Soviet society: "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man!" These words summed up the main direction of the Party's activity—to steadily increase the Soviet people's standard of living and cultural level.

Chapter VII. THE SOVIET STATE AT THE
STAGE OF DEVELOPED SO-
CIALISM

*The USSR Enters the Stage
of Developed Socialism*

The tremendous work done by the Communist Party, Soviet Government and the entire nation in the post-war decades through the 1960s greatly changed the face of the Soviet Union. The economy surpassed the pre-war level, the level of the initial stage of socialism, many times over and was now based on highly developed productive forces – advanced industry and large-scale mechanised socialist agriculture. The socialisation of the economy gathered momentum, as the state (the whole people's) and cooperative forms of socialist ownership came closer together in

character. This was followed by an immense growth in the living standard and cultural level of the people.

Profound changes also took place in the class structure and socio-political system of Soviet society, with the drawing together of all classes and social groups, the strengthening alliance of the working class, collective farmers and intelligentsia, as a result of which the social base of the Soviet system broadened and the friendship between all the nations of the USSR grew. As all the working people in Soviet society adopted the ideology of the working class, the state of proletarian dictatorship gradually developed into a socialist state of the whole people. And finally, a *new social and international entity formed in the USSR, the Soviet people.*

All this showed that back in the 1960s, Soviet society had reached a new stage, the stage of developed socialism.

At its 24th Congress in 1971, the Communist Party gave a scientific description of developed socialist society in the USSR, and in subsequent years the Party continued to work out the theoretical concept of developed socialism.

The achieved level of production and social relations required further perfection of socialist statehood and socialist democracy. In this connection, the Party and Government concluded that the time had come to prepare a new Soviet

Constitution which would reflect the main achievements of socialism, recording not only the general principles of the socialist system and the class essence of the state of the whole people, but the basic features of a developed socialist society and its political organisation as well.

After the entire Soviet nation considered the draft of the new Constitution over a four-months period, it was passed by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in October 1977 and put in force.

1. The Constitution of a Developed Socialist Society

The Basic Features of a Developed Socialist Society

The new Soviet Constitution is the Constitution of the first *developed socialist society* in world history. The basic features of that society are:

- powerful productive forces, advanced science and culture, which form the basis of a steadily rising living standard and all-round development of the individual;

- mature socialist social relations. As a result of all the classes and social strata drawing closer together, the legal and actual equality of all nations and nationalities and their fraternal co-operation, there has developed a new historical entity, the Soviet people;

- good organisation, political awareness, and

firm ideological principles characteristic of Soviet working people, who are at the same time patriots and internationalists;

– concern of all for the good of each and concern of each for the good of all as the supreme law of socialist society;

– true democracy. The political system of a developed socialist society makes possible the effective management of all public affairs, and increasingly active involvement of all working people in the affairs of state, and the unity of citizens' rights and freedoms with their duties and responsibility to society.

The new Soviet Constitution is the Constitution of the first state of the entire people in world history. Rapid economic growth and the convergence of the state (the entire people's) and cooperative forms of socialist ownership brought about profound changes in the social structure of Soviet society. The working class, which constitutes two-thirds of the active population, is as before the leading force of society. The collective farmers are growing closer and closer to the working class in their social status, manner of work, cultural level, and life style. The needs of society for highly skilled personnel in all branches of the economy and the rapid advance of the scientific and technological revolution brought about growth in the country's intelligentsia. Just like the working class, the collective farmers and the peo-

ple's intelligentsia have implicit faith in socialism. Their indestructible ideological unity constitutes a firm basis for the free development of all Soviet nations and nationalities. The new Constitution recorded the basic result of these profound changes taking place in the Soviet society—the development of the state of proletarian dictatorship into a state of the whole people.

The Political System of a Developed Socialist Society

The new USSR Constitution explains in more detail the essence of the political system and policies of the Soviet Union. Stressing that the socialist state of the entire people expresses the will and interests of the workers, collective farmers, and intelligentsia, the Constitution proclaims: "All power in the USSR belongs to the people."

The people exercise state power through the *Soviets of People's Deputies*, which constitute the *political foundation* of the USSR. All other state bodies are under the control of, and accountable to, the Soviets of People's Deputies.

The Soviet state is organised and functions on the principle of democratic centralism, namely the election of all bodies of state authority from the lowest to the highest, their accountability to the people, and the obligation of the lower bodies to observe the decisions of higher ones. Democratic centralism combines centralised leadership with the initiative and creative activity of local

Soviets and all working people, and with the responsibility of each state body and official for the work entrusted to them. The Constitution assigns the Soviet state and all its bodies with the task of ensuring the maintenance of law and order, and safeguarding the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of citizens.

The Constitution determines the part played by the Communist Party in the political system of Soviet society as follows:

“The leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organisations and social organisations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people.

“The Communist Party, armed with Marxism-Leninism, determines the general perspectives of the development of society and the course of the home and foreign policy of the USSR, directs the great constructive work of the Soviet people, and imparts a planned, systematic and theoretically substantiated character to their struggle for the victory of communism.”

All Party organisations shall function within the framework of the USSR Constitution. All social and state organisations, all Government officials and all Soviet citizens shall observe the Constitution and other Soviet laws.

The Constitution recorded the long-established practice of the trade unions, the Young Com-

munist League, cooperatives, and other social organisations participating (in accordance with the aims laid down in their rules) in managing state and public affairs.

The new Constitution includes an article on work collectives. It determines the decree in which work collectives take part in discussing and deciding state and public affairs, in managing production, in improving working and living conditions, in using funds allocated both for developing production and for social and cultural purposes and financial incentives, in promoting socialist emulation, in strengthening work discipline, in educating their members in the spirit of communist morality, and in raising their political awareness, cultural level and professional skill.

In accordance with this article, in June 1983 the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the Law of the USSR on Work Collectives and on Increasing Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Institutions, and Organisations. All the articles of this new Law are aimed at promoting in work collectives the principles of collectivism and self-government, characteristic of a socialist society.

The Constitution defines the principal direction in the development of the political system of Soviet society as the extension of socialist democracy, namely ever broader participation of citizens in managing the affairs of society and state, constant improvement of the state appa-

ratus, greater activity of social organisations, strengthening people's control, consolidation of the legal foundations of state and public activities, greater openness and publicity, and constant responsiveness to public opinion.

The Economic System of the USSR

The Soviet *economic system* is based on socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state property (belonging to all the people), and the property of collective farms and cooperatives. Socialist ownership also embraces the property of trade unions and other mass organisations which they require for the purposes laid down in their rules.

The state protects socialist property and provides conditions for its growth.

No one has the right to use socialist property for personal gain or other selfish ends.

State property, i. e. the common property of the Soviet people, is the principal form of socialist ownership.

The land, its minerals, waters, and forests are the exclusive property of the state. The state owns the basic means of production in industry, construction, and agriculture; means of transport and communication; the banks; the property of state-run trade organisations and public utilities, and other state-run enterprises; and other property necessary for state purposes.

The property of collective farms and other co-operative organisations comprises the means of production and other assets which they require for the purposes laid down in their rules. The land held by collective farms is secured to them for their free unlimited use.

The state promotes development of the property of collective farms and cooperatives and its approximation to state property.

Earned income forms the basis of the personal property of Soviet citizens. Personal property includes articles for individual use, the implements and other objects of a subsidiary small-holding, a house, and earned savings. The personal property of citizens and the right to inherit it are protected by the state.

Citizens may be granted the use of plots of land, in the manner prescribed by law, for a subsidiary small-holding (including the keeping of livestock and poultry), for fruit and vegetable growing or for building an individual dwelling. The state and collective farms provide assistance to citizens in working their small-holdings.

Property owned or used by citizens shall not serve as a means of deriving unearned income or be employed to the detriment of society.

The source of the growing wealth of society and rising living standard of each individual is the Soviet people's labour, free from any exploitation.

The state exercises control over the measure of labour and of consumption in accordance with the principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It fixes the rate of taxation on taxable income.

Socially useful work and its results determine a person's status in society. By combining material and moral incentives and encouraging innovation and a creative attitude to work, the state helps to transform labour into the prime vital need of every Soviet citizen.

The supreme goal of social production under socialism is the fullest possible satisfaction of the people's growing material, cultural and intellectual requirements.

The economy of the USSR is an integral economic complex comprising all the elements of social production, distribution and exchange on its territory. The economy is managed on the basis of state plans for economic and social development, with due account of the sectoral and territorial principles, and by combining centralised direction with the managerial independence and initiative of enterprises and other organisations.

The law permits individual labour in handicrafts, farming, the provision of services to the public, and other forms of activity based exclusively on the personal work of individual citizens and members of their families. The state

regulates such work to ensure that it serves the interests of society.

Social Development. Peace Policy. Defence of the Socialist State

The *social basis* of the USSR is the unbreakable alliance of the workers, collective farmers, and intelligentsia. The state helps to enhance the social homogeneity of society, namely the elimination of class differences and of the essential distinctions between town and country and between mental and physical work, and the all-round development and drawing closer together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR. The Constitution sets forth the general policy of the Soviet state aimed at raising the people's living standard, improving their working and living conditions, advancing science and culture, and developing ethical and aesthetic education.

The Constitution includes a new important chapter which records the peaceful character of Soviet foreign policy. It states that the USSR steadfastly pursues a Leninist policy of peace and stands for strengthening the security of nations and broad international cooperation. In the Soviet Union war propaganda is banned. The foreign policy of the USSR is aimed at ensuring international conditions favourable for building communism in the USSR, safeguarding the state interests of the Soviet Union, consolidating the

positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression, achieving universal and complete disarmament, and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

As UN member and participant in the major international conferences, the USSR scrupulously honours its commitments arising from the generally accepted principles and norms of international law and international agreements concluded by the Soviet Union. As part of the socialist community, the USSR promotes and strengthens friendship, cooperation, and comradesly assistance with other socialist countries based on socialist internationalism.

Defence of the Soviet Union's sovereignty is one of the most important functions of the state. The state ensures the security and defence capability of the country, supplies the Soviet Armed Forces with everything necessary for that purpose, and keeps them in constant combat readiness, guaranteeing that any aggressor is instantly repulsed.

The National-State Structure of the USSR

A separate section of the Constitution deals with the national-state structure of the USSR. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is an integral, federal, multi-national state formed on the

principle of socialist federalism as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary association of equal Soviet Socialist Republics. The USSR embodies the state unity of the Soviet people and draws all its nations and nationalities closer together for the purpose of jointly perfecting the developed socialist society and building communism. The Constitution clearly defines the jurisdiction of the Union as a whole and of the individual Union republics. Each republic has its own Constitution, corresponding to the USSR Constitution and at the same time reflecting local differences in each republic. Each Union republic retains the right to freely secede from the USSR. The laws of the USSR are equally valid in each republic.

An Important Stage in the Advance of Soviet Democracy

The new Soviet Constitution reflects an *important stage in the development of Soviet democracy*. The forms in which the people participate in state and public management have diversified. Some forms of people's power which had been practised for a number of years without being constitutionally recorded, were now reflected in the new Constitution.

For instance, nation-wide public discussion of major bills had been practised for a long time, and now the Constitution granted the USSR Supreme Soviet the right to submit the most im-

portant state matters for nation-wide consideration and to put them to a popular vote (referendum).

People's power is exercised through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which elect standing commissions and form executive, administrative and other bodies accountable to them, and set up organs of people's control. Through these bodies, the Soviets organise the implementation of voters' mandates and inform citizens about it. The Soviets' executive committees report on work done to their Soviets at meetings held at the voters' work places and homes.

The Constitution has a separate chapter on people's deputies, defining their powers, rights and duties, immunity and other guarantees of their activity. Deputies who have not justified the confidence of their constituents may be recalled at any time by decision of a majority of the voters in accordance with the procedure established by law.

The Rights and Duties of Soviet Citizens

A developed socialist society provides *broader citizens' rights and freedoms*, and the USSR Constitution reflects the qualitative changes in the way Soviet citizens exercise them. There are more rights today, and each right has more meaning and firmer guarantees.

The Constitution fully confirms all the free-

doms recorded in the Constitution of 1936: freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations. Soviet citizens are guaranteed freedom of conscience, inviolability of the person and of the home. Respect for the individual and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens are the duty of all state bodies, social organisations, and officials.

The Constitution legalised a number of *political rights* which have long become part of everyday life. Of crucial importance is a new article which proclaims that citizens of the USSR have the right to take part in the management and administration of state and public affairs and in the discussion and adoption of laws and measures of all-Union and local significance. This is supplemented by an article on the right of every citizen to submit proposals to state bodies and social organisations for improving their activity, and to criticise shortcomings in their work. Persecution for criticism is prohibited. Persons guilty of such persecution shall be called to account.

The socio-economic rights of Soviet citizens have been greatly expanded. Whereas Soviet people have enjoyed the right to work, that is, to guaranteed employment, for over half a century, they now have the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of

society. Today, their rights to rest and leisure, health protection, education, maintenance in old age, in sickness, and in the event of complete or partial disability or loss of the breadwinner have acquired additional meaning. They now have the right to enjoy cultural benefits, and are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic work.

The Constitution grants Soviet citizens the right to housing. This right is ensured by the development and protection of state and socially-owned housing stock, and by assistance to cooperative and individual house building. Public control of distribution of housing assures its fairness. At the same time, it is the duty of Soviet citizens to take good care of the housing allocated to them.

The Constitution stresses that the exercise of one's rights and freedoms is inseparable from the performance of one's duties and obligations. Citizens of the USSR are obliged to observe the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws, comply with the standards of socialist conduct, and uphold the honour and dignity of Soviet citizenship. It is their duty to engage in socially useful work, observe labour discipline, preserve and protect socialist property, and to protect nature and conserve its riches. Soviet citizens are obliged to concern themselves with the upbringing of their children, and likewise children must care for their

parents.

Enjoyment by citizens of their rights and freedoms must not be to the detriment of the interests of society or the state, or infringe on the rights of other citizens. Their duty is to respect the rights and lawful interests of other persons, respect the national dignity of other citizens, and strengthen the friendship of all nations and nationalities in the multi-national Soviet state.

Citizens of the USSR are obliged to safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, and to enhance its power and prestige. Defence of the Socialist Motherland is the sacred duty of every Soviet citizen. Military service in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces is their honourable duty. It is the internationalist duty of Soviet citizens to promote friendship and cooperation with peoples of other lands and help to maintain and strengthen world peace.

The democratic system of developed socialism does not merely proclaim broad political and socio-economic rights, but provides their firm guarantees: the Constitution defines specific measures guaranteeing each right.

The new Constitution grants Soviet citizens extensive opportunities for broad political, economic and intellectual activity and directs their energies towards the perfection of developed socialism and achievement of the ultimate aim—that of building a communist society.

The Significance of the New Soviet Constitution

The new Soviet Constitution is an important contribution to the theory and international practice of building socialism. It concentrates the collective experience accumulated by all the countries of the socialist community in building and organising a developed socialist society and advancing its political system.

The international significance of the new Soviet Constitution lies in the fact that it makes and will continue to make an increasing impact on the struggle between the two world socio-economic systems. It magnifies the attractive force of the socialist example and demonstrates to the working people of the non-socialist world practical ways of achieving a truly democratic solution to the basic problems of social development.

This document is also of great international significance because it aims at strengthening world peace, the security of nations and the international solidarity of all progressive forces.

The Achievements and Current Tasks of the Soviet State at the Stage of Developed Socialism

As the Soviet Union entered the stage of developed socialism, the Communist Party and Soviet Government worked out a long-term economic strategy corresponding to the requirements of this

new stage. This strategy uses the already achieved economic level as a foundation and aims at steadily raising the people's living standard on the basis of a growing national income. Since the principal source of the growing national income is the increase of labour productivity, the strategy is based on raising the efficiency of social production, boosting scientific and technical progress, and transferring the economy to intensive methods of development. All this means:

- rational placement of productive forces and use of manpower;
- better use of production capacities and fixed production assets;
- saving raw materials, fuel and energy;
- raising the effectiveness of capital investment;
- rapid introduction of scientific and technological achievements into production;
- scientific methods of organising production and constant perfection of economic management.

With these goals in mind, the Soviet planning authorities have elaborated a long-term plan for the country's socio-economic development for the period up to 2000, a master layout for the location of productive forces, a national energy programme up to the year 2000, a national Food Programme up to 1990, and a long-term programme of land reclamation. These guidelines

have become the basis for about 200 comprehensive national scientific and technical programmes aimed at solving specific problems of economic development. In each Union republic, territory and region, the local Party and Government bodies are now implementing their own comprehensive special-purpose programmes.

In all branches of the economy, active work is being done to mechanise and automate production and introduce computer technology. More and more plants and factories are applying flexible technologies (making it possible to quickly switch production from one type of goods to another), laser technology, powder metallurgy, biotechnology (using biological processes in industrial production), and waste-free and energy-saving technology. Power engineering now uses the newest atomic reactors. Great advances in science have given a tremendous boost to such promising areas as atomic engineering, the electronic, microelectronic and microbiological industries, new space technology, and production of artificial diamonds. The Soviet Union has taken the lead in the production of a number of major items.

Recently developed commercial deposits of oil and gas in western and northern Siberia have become their principal sources in the USSR. A transcontinental gas pipeline 4,500 kilometres long was built in record time in 1982-1983, con-

necting the Urengoi gas field in northwestern Siberia with the western borders of the USSR and making it possible to export gas to a number of European countries.

In the autumn of 1984, through traffic was opened ahead of schedule over the entire length (more than 3,000 kilometres) of the Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM), constructed under the difficult conditions of permafrost, mountainous terrain and numerous water barriers. In order to speed up the commercial development of the rich natural resources in the Asian regions of the USSR, especially the areas around the Baikal-Amur Mainline, powerful territorial-industrial complexes have been built and are developing there. A territorial-industrial complex is a new economic unit combining all the various industrial and agricultural enterprises in a specific area, which are economically integrated by virtue of common natural and economic resources and a common system of settlement.

Great strides have been made in the mechanisation of agriculture, with intensive efforts to develop the Non-Black Earth Zone of the Russian Federation and raise yield capacity there.

Much attention has been devoted in recent years to improving the system of economic management. In industry, coordination between plants and factories taking part in the production of a specific type of goods is being improved

through setting up production associations, while the introduction of scientific and technical achievements in production is accelerated with the formation of scientific and industrial complexes. In agriculture, the coordination between collective farms and the enterprises that serve them or process their produce is being improved through the development of regional agro-industrial complexes.

Many other measures to improve economic management are also being taken.

The growing national income made it possible to raise the people's living standard more quickly, with a substantial growth in recent decades in real per capita income, a steady increase in the production of consumer goods (whose growth rate now exceeds that of the means of production), growing state aid to families with children, a rising minimum for old-age pensions, and expanded housing construction.

Besides measures to develop industry and agriculture, the national five-year economic development plans set forth programmes for social development and raising the people's living standard.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government have made noteworthy progress in advancing education at all levels, developing the multinational culture, strengthening friendship among all Soviet nations, and educating people in the

spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Marxism-Leninism has become the dominant ideology in Soviet society.

Over the recent decades, the Soviet people have made tremendous progress in building socialism under the guidance of the Communist Party, which has been steadily leading the nation along the road outlined by Lenin.

The stage of developed socialism is a great achievement of the Soviet people in their steady advance to the supreme goal—communism.

But in analysing what has been achieved, the Party concludes that Soviet society has only entered the stage of developed socialism and that this stage will constitute a historically long period before one can start building communism.

Proceeding from this conclusion, the Communist Party is now directing the efforts of the Soviet people towards perfecting the material and technological basis of developed socialism, eliminating the existing shortcomings in it, overcoming the discrepancy between the tremendous possibilities of socialist democracy—especially in the work of the Soviets—and the way they are used, and eradicating abnormalities which still sometimes occur in the relations between nationalities.

The basic economic goal of the Soviet Union is still to surpass the capitalist world in labour productivity, which will be made possible with the

transition to intensive methods in production and the creation of the most advanced material and technological basis of developed socialism.

The main aim in developing the political system of developed socialism is to fully implement the socialist principle of the people's self-government, which requires raising the role of the Party still higher and upgrading the qualitative level of its political guidance.

Socialism expresses its tremendous advantages through democracy. The growing leading role of the Party and the advance of socialist democracy are both part of a single natural process. The Communist Party and Soviet Government will always continue their search for still more effective expressions of people's power and for more efficient use of time-tested forms of democracy. At present, the key task is the consistent and full implementation of the extensive rights possessed by the Soviets, work collectives and all other elements of the Soviet democratic system.

Under developed socialism, the Party and Government's ideological work, education of the masses—and especially the younger generation—in the spirit of socialist consciousness, and strict observance of the unity of ideological and organisational work acquire special importance.

At the present stage, the principal task of the Communist Party, Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people is to further develop social-

ism – the first phase of communist society.

The 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held on February 25-March 6, 1986 in Moscow, was a new landmark in the life of the Soviet state, signifying a turning point in the development of Soviet society.

Throughout all the documents of the Congress – the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress and its resolution on that Report, the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, and the New Edition of the Party Programme adopted by the Congress – a fundamentally new strategy can be seen, a strategy of accelerating the country's socio-economic development.

The achievement of this great goal, unparalleled both in scale and historic significance, requires, first of all, raising the rate of economic growth. Its essence is a new quality of growth: an all-out intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technological progress, a structural reconstruction of the economy, and effective forms of management and of organising and stimulating labour. The strategy of acceleration envisages an active social policy, a consistent emphasis on the principle of socialist justice, an improvement of social relations, a renovation of the forms and methods of work of political and ideological institutions, a deepening of socialist

democracy, and resolute elimination of enertness, stagnation and conservatism – of everything that is holding back social progress.

The main guarantee of success in achieving this historic aim is the living creativity of the masses, the maximum use of the tremendous potentialities and advantages of the socialist system.

CONCLUSION

This book gives a brief account of the principal events in the long struggle waged by the working masses in capitalist countries against the exploiter classes and for establishing their own power, and shows the significance of Marxism, which in the mid-19th century showed the working people of the whole world the way to social liberation.

The authors set forth the principles of Lenin's theory of a proletarian, socialist revolution, a proletarian dictatorship, and Lenin's plan for building socialism in Soviet Russia. Using the example of the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class of Russia under

the guidance of the Communist Party, the authors show how Lenin's ideas were embodied in the power of the Soviets—a new, socialist state of the working people—and in the building of socialism in the USSR.

The book tells the reader how the Communist Party and Soviet Government mobilised the masses to build socialism, what the establishment of working people's power and the building of socialism gave the Soviet nation, how this power functions under developed socialism, and what specific problems of socialist construction the Party, Government and the entire Soviet nation will have to tackle in the coming years and decades.

The book mostly speaks of one form of proletarian dictatorship—a socialist state, the power of the Soviets. But this does not at all mean, as Lenin repeatedly emphasised, that Soviet form is the only possible form of proletarian dictatorship.

“The transition from capitalism to communism,” he wrote, “is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat.*”¹

An example of creative development of Marxist theory is a new form of proletarian dictator-

¹ V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 418.

ship discovered by Communists in a number of European and other countries at the end of the Second World War and in the post-war years. This form got the name of *people's democracy*. But all these countries also differed from each other in the way people's power was established, depending on the correlation of class forces in each of these countries, national background and external conditions. However, in countries where the working class is in the minority or almost non-existent and does not yet have its own party, various non-proletarian revolutionary-democratic forces and organisations have become the vanguard of social progress, and in those countries there will inevitably be more local variety in the way the working masses will gradually, stage by stage, come to power. Experience has shown that today, under the present conditions, certain countries can develop into socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of evolution.

The authors had no intention of giving recommendations on how people's power should be established in a particular country, nor to describe the way people's power was won in each of the existing socialist countries.

Their basic intention was to present a brief account of the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction carried on by the Communists, working class and the entire working people of the Soviet Union—not so much because the his-

tory of the country is most familiar to them, but mainly because this experience is particularly rich and hence especially valuable, being the first state in the world where the theory of socialism became *living reality*.

Therein lies the immortal historic contribution of the Soviet people, of its vanguard, the working class, of its leader, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of Vladimir Lenin, the greatest theoretician of scientific communism in the 20th century, founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state and leader of the working people of the whole world.

GLOSSARY

ANARCHISM, a petty-bourgeois socio-political trend advocating the immediate elimination of all state power (as a result of a "spontaneous" uprising of the masses) and the setting up of a federation of small autonomous associations of producers. It rejects all political struggle by the working class and all political parties.

BOLSHEVISM, a trend of political thought and a political party which took shape in 1903 as a result of the struggle of Russian revolutionary Marxists headed by Lenin for a truly revolutionary party of the working class. The Bolshevik Party was officially renamed several times: first, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) (1917-1918); then, the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (1918-1925); later, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) (1925-1952); and finally, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (since 1952).

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY, see **DEMOCRACY**.

BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION, BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION. A bourgeois revolution aims at destroying the feudal system or its vestiges and establishing the power of the bourgeoisie, thus opening the way for capitalist development. In dependent and colonial countries, it also aims at winning national independence and putting an end to the domination of foreign imperialists and colonialists.

A bourgeois revolution, distinguished by the participation of the majority of the people pressing their own demands is known as a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

COLLECTIVISATION of agriculture in the USSR, the voluntary association of small individual peasant households into large-scale collective farms. Collectivisation makes it possible to apply more effectively advanced technology and scientific methods of crop and stock farming, and to liberate the peasants and other small proprietors from exploitation and poverty. Collective farms operate on the basis of collective labour and socialised, commonly-owned, means of production.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION (BOLSHEVIKS) or CPSU(B), see **BOLSHEVISM.**

CONGRESS, the legislature of the United States, the highest representative body of power. Consists of two houses: the Senate and the House of Representatives.

CONSTITUTION, the fundamental law of a country defining its social and state organisations, the principles and structure of representative Government bodies, the electoral system, and the rights and duties of citizens. The Constitution forms the basis for the country's entire legislation.

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM, a method of exposing the contradictions of social development, one of the basic principles of the revolutionary transformative activity of Marxist-Leninist parties and, in a socialist society, the activity of the entire nation. It is one of the motive forces in the advancement of a socialist society. By exposing contradictions, mistakes and shortcomings, it helps to overcome them and to find the best forms and methods of building a new society.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION, a radical change in the cultural development of a country

and an integral part of socialist transformations. It includes setting up a socialist system of public education, re-educating the bourgeois intelligentsia and training a new, socialist intelligentsia, overcoming the influence of the old ideology and establishing Marxist-Leninist ideology, creating a socialist culture, and reshaping the entire way of life.

DEMOCRACY, the power of the people (from the Greek *demos* – the people, and *kratos* – power), a form of government which proclaims the people to be the source of power and recognises their right to participate in deciding state affairs in combination with a broad range of civil rights and liberties. In a class society, democracy expresses the dictatorship of the ruling class.

Bourgeois democracy differs from other regimes (e. g., a military dictatorship) by the formal (verbal) recognition of the equality of all citizens, proclamation of political rights and freedoms, electiveness of representative bodies of power, and the establishment of universal suffrage. In reality, bourgeois democracy is meant to ensure the class domination (dictatorship) of the bourgeoisie and to protect its privileges.

Socialist democracy is the highest type of political democracy, in which democratic rights are not merely proclaimed, but actually guaranteed by the state. Socialist democracy develops in

several stages:

proletarian democracy, as a form of proletarian dictatorship during the transition from capitalism to socialism;

democracy of the entire people, as a form of the political power of the whole people in the period of perfection of developed socialism. Socialist democracy includes the demand for discipline and self-discipline.

Inner-Party democracy ensures the equality of all Party members, the development of criticism and self-criticism, raises the activity and political awareness of Communists, and strengthens discipline and unity within the Party.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, the organisational principle of Communist and Workers' parties. It means the electivity of all executive bodies from top to bottom, their accountability to their Party organisations and to higher bodies, subordination of the minority to the majority, and the obligation of lower bodies to observe the decisions of higher ones. Democratic centralism also forms the basis of the organisation of the state apparatus, economic management bodies, and all social organisations in a socialist society.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, power of the working class established as a result of a socialist revolution with the

aim of building developed socialism. The highest principle of proletarian democracy is the dominant position in society and government of the working class, which acts in alliance with the peasantry and other democratic forces. Proletarian power exercises the broadest possible democracy for the working people, suppresses the resistance of the exploiter classes and clamps down on the subversive activity of elements hostile to socialism. The power of the working class and other working people is expressed in a system of political and social organisations (state bodies, political parties, trade unions, the youth organisations, etc.). The leading force in the system of proletarian power is the Communist Party.

FASCISM, a political trend expressing the interests of the most reactionary and aggressive circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Fascism in power is an openly terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary forces of monopoly capital. The principal features of fascism are: extensive use of extreme forms of violence against the people, militant anti-communism, chauvinism, racism, political demagoguery aimed at drumming up mass support for fascist parties and organisations, and an aggressive foreign policy. Fascist regimes existed in Italy, Germany, Spain and a number of other capitalist countries. Today, fascist methods of government are used by the military dictator-

ships in Paraguay, Chile and the Republic of South Africa. Neo-fascist groups and parties currently exist in a number of imperialist states.

GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION of 1917 in Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in human history, accomplished on November 7, 1917 (October 25 by the Julian Calendar then used in Russia), by the working class of Russia in alliance with the poorest peasantry under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Lenin. The Revolution overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie and landowners, established working people's power and created the Soviet state.

GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET UNION (1941-1945), a just war of liberation waged by the USSR against Nazi Germany and her satellites, an integral part of the Second World War. The German Nazis were planning to exterminate a large part of the Soviet nation and to enslave the rest, seizing Soviet territory up to the Urals. The Soviet Union played a decisive part in the victory over Nazi Germany, crushing the greater part of her armies and liberating many European countries from fascist enslavement.

In August 1945, the Soviet Union took part in the campaign against militarist Japan, routing

the bulk of the Japanese land forces, which had been threatening Soviet borders, and liberating the southern part of Sakhalin Island and the Kuril Islands.

The Great Patriotic War brought about radical changes in the international situation: a number of European and Asian countries took the road of socialism, the world socialist system appeared, and the national liberation movement in the colonial countries mounted, marking the beginning of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism.

IMPERIALISM, monopoly capitalism, the highest and last stage of capitalism, the eve of a socialist revolution.

INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY, see **DEMOCRACY**.

INTERNATIONAL, FIRST, the International Working Men's Association, the first mass international organisation of the proletariat (1864-1876). Founded and headed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

INTERNATIONAL, SECOND, an international association of socialist parties. Founded in 1889. Collapsed as a result of the chauvinist position adopted by its leaders during the First World War.

INTERNATIONAL, THIRD, the Communist International, also known as the Komin-tern (1919-1943), an international revolutionary proletarian organisation. Founded by Lenin.

INTERNATIONALISM. Proletarian internationalism is the international solidarity of workers and Communists of all countries in the struggle for common goals, their solidarity with the struggle of all peoples for national liberation and social progress, and voluntary cooperation between fraternal parties, strictly observing the principles of equality and independence of each of them.

Socialist internationalism is a new type of relations of friendship, equality, mutual respect and comprehensive cooperation of nations who have embarked on the road of socialism.

KOMSOMOL, see **YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE**.

KULAKS, the Russian name for the rural bourgeoisie. They systematically used hired labour and exploited the poorest peasants and farmhands. In the USSR, the kulaks ceased to exist as an exploiter class as a result of the collectivisation of agriculture.

MARXISM-LENINISM, a scientific system

of philosophical, economic, and socio-political views which make up the world outlook of the working class, a science of the cognition of the world and its revolutionary transformation, a science of the laws of nature, society and human thinking, the laws of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and all working people to overthrow capitalism and build socialism and communism. The founders of Marxism were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. An outstanding contribution to the development of Marxism was made by Vladimir Lenin. Today, Marxism-Leninism is developing through the collective efforts of the Communist Parties.

MENSHEVISM, the main opportunist reformist petty-bourgeois trend in the Russian Social-Democracy, a variety of international opportunism. It formed at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (1903) after those who opposed Lenin's principles of building a party of a new type found themselves in the minority as a result of the election of central Party bodies. The Mensheviks opposed the leading role of the proletariat, a socialist revolution, and favoured a compromise with the bourgeoisie. In the summer of 1917, the Menshevik leaders joined the counter-revolution.

NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisa-

tion (founded in 1949), an aggressive military and political alliance of imperialist states headed by the United States and directed against the socialist and other progressive countries.

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP), the policy of the Communist Party and Soviet Government in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. It was new because it differed from the policy of so-called war communism, which the Soviet state was obliged to take at the time of economic dislocation, foreign military intervention and civil war. The principles of the NEP were worked out by Lenin. This policy allowed the revival of certain capitalist elements, with the proletarian state retaining the key positions in the economy. The NEP helped to revive the ruined Russian economy and rebuild it along socialist lines.

NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, countries which have proclaimed themselves to be unaffiliated with any military or political blocs. They are making efforts to coordinate their activities on the international scene in order to combat imperialism, colonialism and racism and to defend peace and establish equitable economic and political relations. The non-aligned movement embraces over half the world's countries.

OPPORTUNISM, a theory and practice in the working class movement, which goes against the true interests of the proletariat, prompting it to take the road of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Right opportunism includes a number of reformist theories and policies of compromise based on the ideas of spontaneity in the working-class movement, "transformation" of capitalism into socialism, and the renunciation of socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Left opportunism combines ultra-revolutionary theories and adventuristic tactics, rejects all compromise, absolutises violent forms of struggle, disregards the specific local situation, and urges the revolutionary forces to take the road of plots, terror, political gambles and senseless sacrifices. Marxism-Leninism resolutely fights all forms of opportunism.

PARIS COMMUNE, the first proletarian revolution and the first working-class government in history, which existed in Paris from March 18 to May 28, 1871. The Paris Commune dismantled the capitalist state machinery and established a new type of state, the first ever form of proletarian dictatorship, combining legislative and executive power. It put through a number of measures to improve the life of the people. The Commune was ultimately crushed by counter-revolutionary forces, but its experience played an important

role in developing the struggle of the working class and its revolutionary theory.

PEOPLE'S CONTROL, a system of official bodies in the USSR which combines Government control with public control, involving active participation by masses of working people, at industrial enterprises, collective farms, organisations and institutions. These bodies supervise the carrying out of state plans and combat violations of state discipline, mismanagement, red tape, and other negative phenomena.

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution carried out under the leadership of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party, with the active participation of the peasants, petty bourgeoisie, certain sections of the middle or national bourgeoisie, and other strata. The victory of such a revolution results in the establishment of the power of democratic forces led by the working class, and in radical changes in the interests of the people. As the influence of the working class grows, the people's democratic revolution gradually develops into a socialist revolution. Such revolutions took place in a number of European and Asian countries after the Second World War.

PETTY BOURGEOISIE, a class of small pro-

prietors in cities and rural areas who live exclusively or mainly by their own labour (peasants, farmers, artisans, handicraftsmen, small shopkeepers and petty entrepreneurs), economically and socially the most unstable stratum in capitalist countries. The dual socio-economic nature of the petty bourgeois as both proprietor and working man determines his fluctuation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between supporting extreme revolutionary and the most reactionary forces. The working class, in its struggle for democracy and socialism, strives to establish an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN RUSSIA, the central body of the bourgeois-landowner power which existed from March 15 to November 7, 1917 (according to the Julian Calendar, used in Russia at the time, March 2 to October 25). It was formed after the February Revolution of 1917 by the Provisional Committee of the State Duma (National Assembly) with the consent of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks. It pursued the anti-popular policies of continuing Russia's involvement in the First World War and crushing the revolutionary movement. The Provisional Government was brought down by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

ST. PETERSBURG, capital of the Russian

Empire. In 1914 it was renamed Petrograd, and in 1924 became Leningrad.

SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, representative bodies of state power in the USSR, through which the working people exercise their political power. The Soviets set up executive, administrative, and other bodies accountable to them, elect standing commissions, and form organs of people's control.

STATE, the main instrument of political power in a class society, it appeared with the emergence of social division of labour, private ownership of the means of production, and antagonistic classes. The exploiter state is always a dictatorship of a particular class or classes, defending their interests and establishing legislation advantageous to them.

As a result of a socialist revolution, the exploiter state is replaced by an absolutely new type of state, a socialist state.

The state of proletarian dictatorship is the principal instrument of the political power of the working class after a victorious socialist revolution. It expresses the interests of the working class and peasantry. A state of the whole people develops from the state of proletarian dictatorship with the building of developed socialism.

The state then represents the interests of the entire people.

TROTSKYISM, an ideological and political petty-bourgeois trend in the working-class movement hostile to Marxism-Leninism, which tries to conceal its opportunistic essence behind ultra-leftist ideology. It is characterised by sharp fluctuations between ultra-revolutionary radicalism and readiness to capitulate to the bourgeoisie. Named after the ideologist Lev Trotsky (1879-1940), it emerged in the early 20th century in Russia as an offshoot of Menshevism and on the world scene as part of centrism, later degenerating into an anti-Soviet, anti-communist trend. Modern Trotskyites operating in a number of capitalist countries use ultra-revolutionary slogans to incite the masses to adventurist actions.

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE (full name: All-Union Leninist Young Communist League), a socio-political organisation of progressive-minded Soviet youth (aged 14 to 28), an active helper and reserve of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Founded in 1918. Also known as the Komsomol (a Russian acronym).

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