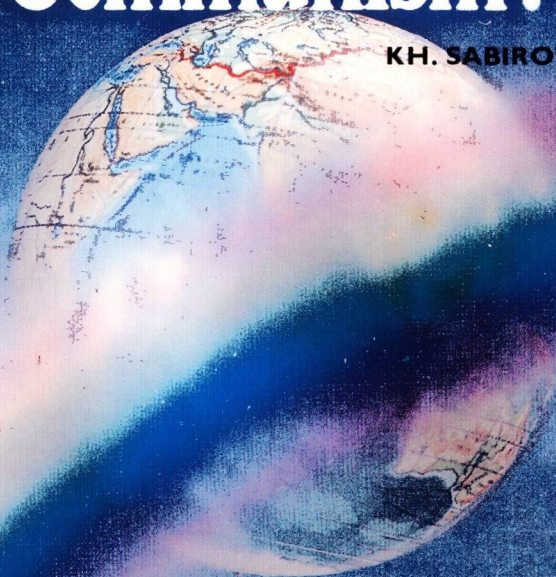


abc

OF SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL
KNOWLEDGE

WHAT IS
Communism?

KH. SABIROV



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

ABC of Social and Political Knowledge

Kharis Sabirov

**WHAT IS
COMMUNISM ?**



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS . MOSCOW

Translated from the Russian

Editorial Board of the Series:

F. M. Volkov (Chief Editor), Ye. F. Gubsky
(Deputy Chief Editor), F. M. Burlatsky,
V. V. Krapivin, Yu. N. Popov, V. V. Sobolev,
F. N. Yurlov, V. D. Zotov

АВС СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЗНАНИЙ

Х. Сабиров

ЧТО ТАКОЕ КОММУНИЗМ?

На английском языке

© Издательство «Прогресс», 1987

English translation © Progress Publishers 1987

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

С $\frac{0603010200-078}{014(01)-87}$ 31-87

CONTENTS

Foreword	7
<i>Chapter 1. PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM AND THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ITS DESTRUCTION</i>	<i>10</i>
The Primitive-Communal System and Its Communist Features	10
The Disintegration of the Primitive-Com- munal System	20
The Historical Role of Primitive Com- munism	28
<i>Chapter 2. 16TH- AND 17TH-CENTURY COM- MUNIST UTOPIAS</i>	<i>35</i>
In Search of Happiness and a Just Society	35
Thomas More's <i>Utopia</i>	42
Tommaso Campanella's <i>City of the Sun</i>	48
Gerrard Winstanley, Utopian Communist of the Bourgeois Revolution in England	57
<i>Chapter 3. FRENCH 18TH-CENTURY UTOPIAN COMMUNISM</i>	<i>62</i>

Jean Meslier	62
Gabriel Bonnot de Mably	66
Morelly	71
Babeuf and Babouvism	75
 <i>Chapter 4. THE SOCIALIST UTOPIAS OF THE DIRECT PREDECESSORS OF SCIEN- TIFIC COMMUNISM</i>	 86
Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon	87
François Marie Charles Fourier	95
Robert Owen	105
 <i>Chapter 5. THE EMERGENCE AND MAIN STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM</i>	 118
The Crisis of Utopian Communism and the Formation of the Prerequisites for the Creation of Scientific Communism	118
Marx and Engels Transform Communism from an Utopia into a Science	122
Marx and Engels, the Leaders and Theo- reticians of the Proletarian Movement Lenin—the Great Follower of Marx's and Engels's Teaching and Cause	140
Leninism and the Present Era	170
 <i>Chapter 6. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIAL- ISM</i>	 183
Socialist Revolution as a Social Revolution of a New Type	183

The Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism as the Continuation and Completion of the Socialist Revolution . . .	192
Abolition of the Capitalist Mode of Production and Formation of the Socialist Mode of Production	200
Remodelling Class and National Relations	206
Surmounting the Differences Between Town and Countryside and Between Mental and Physical Labour	215
The Cultural Revolution	220
The Results of the Transition Period from Capitalism to Socialism	223
 <i>Chapter 7. SOCIALISM—A NEW TYPE OF SOCIETY</i>	 229
A Society of Working People	229
A Society for the Working People	239
A Society Governed by the Working People	246
The International Significance of Socialism	256
 <i>Chapter 8. FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM</i>	 262
Consolidating Victorious Socialism . . .	262
Perfecting Socialism	267
Communism as the Great Goal and Ideal of Humanity	273
 Conclusion	 280
Glossary	286

FOREWORD

The Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and communism is the only scientifically true one among the various socialist teachings of our day. The author of this book provides an answer to the question of "What Is Communism?" on the basis of this theory.

Scientific communism did not just appear from nowhere. It widely uses the teachings of great thinkers of the past who, over the period of several hundred years, known as the period of developing utopian socialism and communism (i. e., non-scientific and, in many ways, fantastic socialist and communist ideas), outlined various communist and socialist theories.

The authors of the early communist utopias did not use the term "communism", which first appeared in the works of the 18th-century utopians, and the term "socialism" came into use in the 1830s. Often a merely arbitrary distinction was drawn between these two terms, for different authors attached different meanings to them. Only Marx and Engels provided a strictly scientific explanation of these terms, defining them as two stages (phases) in the development of one and the same communist socio-economic formation, which replaces the capitalist one.

Communist ideas have developed through three stages. The first was the period of utopian socialism; the second embraced the development of scientific communism prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, which initiated the third stage, devoted to putting the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and communism into practice, first in one separate country and, later, in a number of other countries, to form the world socialist system.

During the third stage, these countries set out on the path from capitalism to communism, with the Marxist-Leninist theory as their lodestar. This theory, too, was being advanced through past experience in the revolutionary transformation of capitalism to socialism and in the building and improvement of developed socialist society.

Socialism or, according to the Marxist-Leninist

theory, partial communism, or its lower, first phase, has become a historical reality for a third of mankind. The transition from capitalism to socialism by the rest of mankind forms the basis of the world revolutionary process today.

Chapter 1. **PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM AND
THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES
OF ITS DESTRUCTION**

The Primitive-Communal System and Its Communist Features

**The Appearance of Man and
the Life of the Human Herd.**

The existence and development of human society are based on two types of production and reproduction: production of means of subsistence (food, clothing, housing) achieved with the aid of tools; and the reproduction of man per se, which takes place in the historically developing forms of the family. This is a particularly important point in understanding the historical process of the appearance of man on Earth and the emergence of society.

The great British naturalist Charles Darwin (1809-1882) proved in his theory of evolution

that Man had evolved from a certain species of anthropoid ape, but his theory did not explain why man became *homo sapiens* capable of creating societies and living in them. Engels solved this problem in his work "The Part Played by Labour in the Transition From Ape to Man" in which he proved that it was labour that created man and that social ties and relations appeared among primitive people in the process of labour.

Primitive man underwent a long period of evolution through labour and emerging social factors before becoming *homo sapiens* nearly 40,000 years ago, when the primitive-communal system reached its development peak.

The first humans banded together in primitive human herds. Their chief occupation and means of subsistence were gathering and hunting (appropriating economy). Their tools were primitively sharpened or ordinary sticks, stones or animal bones.

During this period, the collectivity was the basic organisational principle of primitive social life. Tools could be only made, used and developed in a collective of primitive human beings. Collective labour took on the form of primitive cooperation (such as the trapping of large animals). As production activities progressed, a natural division of labour in accordance with sex and age took place. The men hunted and, later, fished; the women kept the hearth, brought up

children and gathered roots, fruits, berries, etc., while the old people made the tools. The natural division of labour in accordance with sex and age moved forward cooperation and increased the productivity of collective work.

A common household was the economic and social basis of the primitive human beings' existence. The gathering and hunting area, the dwelling, boats, fishing-nets, etc., were common property, while the tools were the personal property of the individual member of the pre-tribal commune. These tools were used, however, in collective work and were not a form of private ownership, as some bourgeois economists contend. The food obtained in the process of gathering or of collective or individual hunting was distributed equally among all.

In the primitive human herd, social ties and relations evolved slowly, step by step. The reproduction of human beings was not regulated by social norms, and their sexual relations were of an irregular nature.

The Primitive Commune and the Matriarchal Clan. Primitive society was progressing, although at an extremely slow pace. Approximately 60,000 years ago, at the beginning of the late Paleolithic period (the Stone Age), the primitive human herd, with its rela-

tively independent groups, was replaced by the matriarchal clan system. Thus, the biological regulators of collective life were supplanted by the social mechanisms of the clan system, and the formation of a human society was thus completed.

In his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels provided a detailed description of the matriarchal clan.

Why did women become the heads of the clan, thus giving rise to the new organisation of society known as matriarchy? The reason was that women played the leading role in the economic life, since gathering was a daily and more reliable food source than the men's hunting. The collective household based on gathering by the women and children determined the leading role of the female in social life and placed her in a position of leadership within the clan.

As primitive human beings living in small groups in the time of their separation off from the animal world and growth of the importance of the role of social factors in their life, men began to realise the pernicious consequences of promiscuous sexual relations. This marked the beginning of a protracted historical process during which the sexual life of human beings became limited and regulated, a process that culminated in the formation of the monogamous family.

During the transition from pre-tribal to tribal

organisation, the family appears in the form of group marriage. The mothers and sons, brothers and sisters and other close relatives could no longer be sexual partners within such a family. Group marriages also existed outside these families. Given these conditions, only the mother of a child was known, and the only possible and most expedient form of inheritance was from the female line.

Not the family, but the clan, with the single foremother, was the basic social unit. The family in the form of a group marriage could not become the basis of social structure, for the husbands, as representatives of another clan, were not members of the given clan. The clan consisted of the female descendants of every generation.

The development of the productive forces and the widening of labour activity shifted primitive society from an appropriating type of economic organisation to a reproduction type, which reduced the female role, and this meant a change from matriarchy (the matriarchal clan) to patriarchy (the patriarchal clan).

The Patriarchal Clan as the Pinnacle of Primitive-Communal Development. The transition from matriarchy to patriarchy was primarily determined by the fundamental, qualitative changes taking place in the development of

the productive forces. The first major social division of labour occurred with the separation of cattle-breeding tribes, with a result of the separation of animal husbandry (domestication and breeding of wild animals as cattle) from cultivating the soil (which at first amounted to just primitive tilling and sowing). The land, seeds and domesticated animals all became means of production.

During this period, man learned to use a number of metals (copper, bronze and iron) and to make various tools, weapons and adornments out of them. The plough and the chariot were invented already in the Bronze Age.

Successfully developing productive forces improved production relations—relations of property, labour organisation, exchange and distribution. The occasional exchanges that took place mostly among related communes were replaced by regular exchange among communes specialising in the production of given items.

The increase in labour productivity brought about a completely new phenomenon: the communes began producing more products than they needed for their daily consumption. Thus the additional, or surplus, product appeared, which could either be accumulated or redistributed.

During this period, the group marriage was replaced by monogamous marriage. Marriages

between close and, later, more distant relatives were eventually prohibited, thus negating group marriages and making the monogamous marriage the only acceptable one. This form of marriage introduced a new element: alongside the acknowledged mother, there now existed an acknowledged father. He was also the owner of cattle, which constituted an instrument of labour and a source of food. According to the laws of matriarchy, however, a child could not inherit his father's property, since the former did not belong to the latter's clan. That is why, when the men gained economic influence, they changed the traditional order of inheritance in favour of their children. This was a major blow to the society based on the matriarchal clan.

Engels called the replacement of the matriarchal by the patriarchal clan one of the most radical revolutions mankind had ever lived through. The essence of this revolution was the replacement of the system of social organisation in which descent and inheritance were traced through the female line by a social organisation marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family and reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line. He stressed: "The overthrow of mother right was the *world-historic defeat of the female sex*. The man seized the reins in the house also, the woman was degraded, enthralled, the slave of the man's lust, a mere instrument for breeding

children.”¹

This revolution had far-reaching social consequences: it paved the way for the monogamous family, accelerated the formation of the system of private ownership and promoted the appearance of classes and the state. The transition to the patriarchal clan led not to the consolidation but to the disintegration of the primitive-communal system. Mankind had begun its ascent from barbarism to civilisation.

The Primitive Communist Commune.

How exactly was the primitive-communal system's communist nature manifested? Private property and its result, the exploitation of man by man, were unknown to primitive society. The earlier tools of primitive people, especially during their initial social development made for an extremely low productivity of labour. These tools could only be used effectively in collective tasks: hunting in groups, joint tilling of the land, protection of the clan's domesticated animals against wild beasts, etc. The nature of the tools and their collective use made private ownership impossible and established collective, communal property as

¹ Frederick Engels, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 233.

the economic foundation of the primitive-communal system.

The productive forces of primitive communes (in which primitive tools were used) were of a social nature. They developed through collective activity and were based on a social organisation of labour. Production and other types of social relations were not of an individualistic, but of a team nature. Alone, primitive man was helpless against the forces of nature and wild beasts. His strength lay in numbers. In groups, people helped one another and could survive, providing for the further evolution of the clan system.

Under the clan system, all values were distributed equally. The collectively produced products, sufficient to sustain the life of every member of the commune (given the primitive, low-productive tools, the absence of surplus products and the insignificant division of labour), could only be distributed equally.

In his work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels described the communist features in the life of the members of society under the clan system, referring to it as a wonderful organisation, despite its naïvety. This system had no need for a state, with its inherent institutions such as the army, gendarmery, police, judges, prisons and an inflated and complex government apparatus, because the members of primitive communist communes had no concept of

exploitation, oppression, the existence of rich and poor, privileged and humble, and of higher power. There were no slaves. All were equal and free.

The communist commune cared for its own sick and aged members. A number of families would join forces and work together as the land was the common property of the tribe and only small plots could be temporarily owned individually.

Such primitive democracy, with its clan meetings, council of elders, equal rights and duties, the defence of the interests of the clan as a whole and of each member separately, allowed all kinsmen to participate directly in all the communal affairs and decisions. The psychology and behaviour of the members of the commune were free from egoism, greed, envy, self-interest and the desire to amass. All disputes were resolved by the interested parties: the clan (the tribe), or a number of clans (among themselves). Blood feuds were very rare.

It must be noted (without idealising primitive society) that it was a primitive, crude form of communism in mankind's infancy, doomed by the very course of social development. The clan system, lacking any historical prospects, became an obstacle to social progress.

Primitive communism attracts our attention, because it was the first stage in the history of mankind which initiated its ascent from one socio-

economic formation to another, and, in the future, to its achievement of real communism.

The Disintegration of the Primitive-Communal System

The Emergence and the Historical Place of Private Property. The disintegration of the primitive-communal system was caused by emerged private ownership of the means of production. During the thousands of years of its existence, private ownership was condemned and criticised from various positions: it was criticised by the Humanists of the Renaissance, rejected by the 18th-century utopian communists and critically analysed by the utopian socialists of the early 19th century.

Beginning with slave-owning society, progressive thinkers persistently sought an answer to the question of what private property actually was. Some believed that its emergence was an historical chance, a deviation from man's nature and reason; others held that it was the result of theft, of appropriation of spoils; yet others stated that it was a smart trick perpetrated by those who had fenced in a plot, declaring it to be theirs and theirs alone, etc. Some philosophers rejected private property, while others demanded that restrictions be placed upon it and that it be

redistributed justly. There were also those who, by means of various arguments, tried to justify and protect private property as an inherent and sacred human right. Only Marxism-Leninism, however, was capable of solving the enigma of private property. The emergence of private property is a logical and inevitable result of the development of the primitive-communal system and its productive forces. The need to withstand the forces of nature, to survive, to obtain and, later, to produce the means of subsistence (food, clothing and dwellings above all) prompted primitive man to search for more progressive ways of producing tools of stone, bone, wood, and metal. Cattle-breeding tribes split off from land-tilling ones; in time, various trades appeared. As exchange expanded, giving rise to money, the economic influence of those who had accumulated most became stronger. The sharp rise in labour productivity, brought about by the development of cattle-breeding and the appearance of new instruments of labour, resulted in the emergence of a surplus product, which gradually became a source of accumulating wealth.

These developments triggered the property stratification of the members of the clan. Under the new conditions, the family began losing interest in being a part of a communal household, since it could now provide for itself on its own. The development of cattle-breeding, smelting,

metal-working, weaving and fieldcrop cultivation proved a material incentive to break away from the commune and take possession of some of the cattle and the tools belonging to the clan. Thus, part of the communal cattle became the property of a given family, or, more precisely, of the husband as the head of the family. Not only the herd, but the members of the family (wives and children) also came under the sole power of the husband. The patriarchal family, which also included slaves (prisoners of war were no longer killed but made into slaves, since they could produce a surplus product), reflected the sole power of the father as the head of the family.

The establishment of paternal rights, with property being inherited by children, favoured the accumulation of wealth within the family, strengthening the latter, in opposition to the clan. During the transition period, the commune still owned the pastures, all arable land and some of the tools, which gradually either became private property or were regularly redistributed among the family communes.

It thus appears that the origins of private property lie in the economic sphere, in the development of the communal system's productive forces. Its emergence resulted in the exploitation of man by man which, in turn, gave rise to antagonistic socio-economic formations.

Three basic forms of private property—slave-

owning, feudal and capitalist – are inherent in the development of mankind. The emergence and existence of private property prior to capitalism and during its initial stages were historically justified, but the conditions for its elimination engender within capitalism, and from that moment it ceases to be an historical necessity.

The Emergence of Classes. The origination of private property was followed by that of antagonistic classes. The ideological advocates of exploitation disregard the scientific consideration of this question. They have produced numerous publications either denying the existence of classes and the class struggle, or distorting their true essence.

Marx, Engels and Lenin created a scientific theory of these social phenomena.

Lenin wrote: “Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in an historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another, owing to the different places they

occupy in a definite system of social economy.”¹

It follows that the origin of classes and the nature of their interaction lie in the historically determined modes of production. The primitive-communal mode of production excluded the possibility of the appearance of classes and of a division of society into exploiters and exploited. Communal ownership of the means of production guaranteed the kinsmen's equal relation to them, their compulsory participation in the work, as well as the equal distribution of the products and means of subsistence produced by team labour. The age of primitive communism was thus devoid of classes and class distinctions. It was a classless society.

As the primitive-communal mode of production developed, factors appeared that led to the disintegration of the communal system, to the replacement of communal property by private property, and to the emergence of classes—slaves and slave-owners. Not only prisoners of war but also former members of the clan were made into slaves; rich and poor appeared within the communes. The socially homogeneous clan society was supplanted by a slave-owning society made up of slaves, slave-owners, free peasants,

¹ V. I. Lenin, “A Great Beginning”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 421.

craftsmen, traders and money-lenders.

The split of society into antagonistic classes (the exploited and the exploiters) and the appearance of private property was an inevitable and logical process that gave rise to class societies.

What will become of classes in the future? Society will once again become classless when it consists of working people equally related to the means of production, which will be their common property. This will take place at the final stage of the socialist phase of communism.

The class struggle is the driving force behind the development of class societies; it reaches its pinnacle during social revolutions that effect the transition from one social formation to another. Thus, the power of the slave-owners was replaced by that of the feudal lords, which was, in turn, replaced by the power of the capitalists.

A socialist revolution puts an end to the power of the exploiting classes, establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. The completion of the transition period from capitalism to socialism marks the end of exploiting classes and the establishment of a non-antagonistic class structure of society.

The Origin of the State and the Historical Stages in Its Development. The emergence of private property brought about the exploitation of one group of people by another, and the divi-

sion of primitive society into a class of slaves and a class of slave-owners. The formation of the state was an inevitable result of these socio-economic changes.

The nature of social relations changed radically. Primitive-communal relations, based on communal ownership and the joint labour of free and equal members of the commune, were supplanted by private-property relations, with the slaves being exploited by the slave-owners. The clan organisation of primitive communist communes ceased to conform to the evolving exploiting relations.

Ties of kinship lost their former significance when private property and exchange appeared. As a result of the development of material production, representatives of the various clans began to associate within the framework of a given trade (cattle-breeding, land-tilling, crafts, etc.). Newcomers from other communes refused to submit to the clan ruling bodies on the given territory. Thus, the need arose to set up new bodies for governing the social affairs of the people inhabiting a given area, regardless of their former clan affiliation. The clan principle of association gave way to the territorial principle.

People not only of different clans, but of different social status (rich and poor) began to inhabit a given territory. The clan elite multiplied their wealth by various ways and means (looting, seiz-

ing communal fields and pastures, exploiting of impoverished kinsmen, etc.). While occupying a privileged position in the commune, the elite began to adapt the governing bodies (the general meeting, the council of elders, etc.) to the interests of the rich. The economically powerful class of slave-owners created the state to safeguard their own interests.

What is the historical destiny of the state?

Over a hundred years ago Marx and Engels scientifically substantiated the inevitability of the withering away of the state. It does not disintegrate, nor is it abolished; it gradually atrophies. This will happen after the establishment of a communist social system throughout the world.

The state first goes through a number of historical stages. One of them includes exploiting societies made up of antagonistic classes: slave-owning, feudal and capitalist. Another embraces the socialist phase of the communist formation, the establishment of a communist society throughout the world.

The slave-owning state was the first class state consisting of two basic classes: slaves and slave-owners. The feudal state was more complex in both its organisation and government; the feudal lords used more elaborate methods to exploit their serfs.

The bourgeois state, which was more highly developed than the two preceding types of state,

further elaborated the means for exploiting the working people. The capitalists have become adept at concealing the class, exploitative nature of their power.

A socialist revolution destroys the bourgeois state machinery and clears the way for the socialist state. According to Lenin, a socialist state is not a state in the old sense of the word, for it is no longer a weapon of oppression and exploitation; it safeguards the interests of the working people against the exploiters.

At first a socialist state is a state of the working class and the other working people in the towns and villages. Its task is to do away with capitalism and all its survivals, to build socialism and protect the socialist gains from imperialism. In the process of building developed socialism, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat develops into a state of the whole people which, as developed socialism is improved, is supplanted by communist self-administration.

The Historical Role of Primitive Communism

Was Primitive Communism the Golden Age of Mankind? The answer is a qualified no. The legend of mankind's Golden Age at the dawn of history has existed for many centuries. In the course of mankind's long development, this

legend assumed a variety of forms: poetic, religious, as a theory of a natural and happy primitive way of life, and as the concept of the unity of Man and Nature. All were nourished by a common source: idealisation of the primitive-communal patriarchal system.

The appearance of this legend is connected with the cardinal changes that accompanied the establishment of private property, the split of society into classes, the socio-proprietary differentiation into the rich and the poor, the existence of a parasitic minority and an oppressed, exploited majority. Suffering, regarded as the result of objective evil that seeped into the life of society destroying its primordial, traditional order, evoked an idealisation of this order.

This idealisation is followed by a rejection of the present—of its poverty, suffering and back-breaking toil, which does not provide the people with even the basic necessities. During the Golden Age things were supposedly different: Nature provided Man with an abundance of fruit, demanding no toil of him; people led a carefree and easy life. Since there was plenty, people knew neither envy, nor struggle. The Earth was a paradise. Such was the tapestry of the legend on which various myths and theories of levelling communism were embroidered.

The legend of the Golden Age gave rise to various theories concerning man's happy, natural

existence, which stemmed from the so-called common and permanent features of human nature. The primitive savage was viewed as Man in his natural state, while current social orders were regarded as pathological deviations from this natural state. Thus, it was believed that the natural order would most likely be found in the primary stage in the development of mankind at a time when it was closest to nature.

The idealisation of the patriarchal system implanted in the history of communist thought erroneous and, at times, reactionary views on the possibility of effortlessly reaching a state of bliss, on wives being common property, on the rejection of personal property, etc. In the different variants of consumer communism the equality of men was frequently presented as a levelling of distribution.

A number of philosophers acknowledged the impossibility of a return to the Golden Age and so called upon mankind to reconcile itself to the existence of private property.

On the whole, the idea of communism as the long-lost, happy past of mankind played a negative role. It lacked force and failed as an inspiring social ideal. At times it became a source of social pessimism. Yet this idea did have one positive feature: the different versions of the Golden Age linked all existing evil with the institution of private property, while communism was presented

as a necessary condition for social and personal well-being.

Mankind has no reason to regret the loss of the Golden Age. The transition from a communal system to a slave-owning one was neither a step backward, nor a sign of degradation. At the time, it took mankind from the age of savagery and barbarism to that of civilisation. The crown of mankind's development is going to be a communism which will justly be called the true Golden Age of mankind.

Primitive Communism and Social Progress. The current interest in the primitive-communal system stems from a desire to determine the historical place of this system in the forward development of mankind, and also to estimate correctly the survivals of this system. These survivals can still be found among certain nations which, for various reasons, have fallen behind the rest of mankind in their historical development.

Primitive communism is an inevitable initial stage in the evolution of mankind. It demonstrated, though on a primitive level, that people can exist without private property, exploitation, classes, the class struggle and the state. Primitive communism gave rise to many communist traditions: social property, collectivism, freedom, equality, democracy, etc., which have not perished in the course of history and find expression

on a new qualitative level in real socialism.

Bourgeois ideologists distort the essence of the primitive-communal system. They disregard its communist features, especially the main one – the communal ownership of the means of production. They attempt to prove that isolated individuals, the owners of private property who established relations of exchange among themselves, initiated the history of mankind. Despite the assertions of the advocates of capitalism, historical development began with the communal property of primitive communism; this was followed by a succession of forms of private property which led to the social socialist property that has been established in the socialist countries.

The primitive-communal system does not belong only to the past; its remnants and survivals still exist in the world today among some tribes living in remote parts of Latin America (for instance, in the Brazilian jungle), Australia, on some Pacific islands and in a number of African and Asian countries. These survivals include a subsistence economy, remnants of communal land-tenure, tribal separatism (isolation), the remains of clan-and-tribal solidarity, and the traditional rule of chieftains. They also include traditional communal commonness and mutual assistance.

The imperialist powers artificially preserved existing clan-and-tribal relations in their colonies

and used the clan-and-tribal élite to support their merciless exploitation of the majority of the population in the dependent countries.

Scholars and statesmen in a number of African states are now attempting to transform agriculture by introducing a communal economy. They preach the theory of communal socialism, i. e., an advance to socialism through the use of the remnants of the communal order. Reality has proved the futility of these attempts. It is impossible to move towards socialism on the basis of historically outdated patterns. Above all, the remnants of the communal order lack the communist features characteristic of the distant past. As a rule, they are applied by the chieftains in pursuit of their exploitative goals.

Such remnants as communal land-tenure, collective work and mutual assistance traditions can, however, be put to use during the transition by backward nations to socialism by-passing capitalism. The experience gained by the Soviet Union in the Far North and in a number of regions of Central Asia in eliminating the survivals of primitive-communal relations inherited from tsarism proves this point. This experience indicates that it is essential to use clan relations efficiently if they are to be transformed into socialist ones. In the Soviet Union, the proletariat of Russia, who triumphed in the October Socialist Revolution, helped the peoples of the Far North and Central

Asia to develop their economies and culture, establish equality of women, and trained national personnel to head the government, the economy and the party.

The Soviet experience of using the remnants of clan-and-tribal relations in advancing backward nations to socialism might be useful to the newly free states that have chosen a socialist orientation.

Chapter 2. 16TH- AND 17TH-CENTURY COMMUNIST UTOPIAS

In Search of Happiness and a Just Society

The Origins and Initial Stages of Communist Utopias. As slave-owning society developed, the objective conditions for the emergence of social utopias describing a just society gradually appeared. The aggravation of class antagonisms between the slaves and the slave-owners, between the ruined free peasants and the merchant-usury strata, and between the lumpen-proletariat and the slave-owning state promoted the evolution of these utopias. The movement of the lower classes laid the foundations for the appearance of the first, quite primitive communist utopias which upheld the ideals of a just society that would

bring happiness to all.

The ideologists of slavery were disturbed by this course of events and sought ways to save and stabilise the slave-owning system. This paved the way for the appearance of social utopias devoted to consolidating the slave-owning system through a certain reshaping of it, i. e., by ridding it of phenomena capable of aggravating social conflict. Jambul's communist utopia, written in the form of a travelogue, and Plato's description of an ideal state are typical examples of the two trends.

Jambul wrote of an island that he and his comrades had reached after a series of adventures, and where people lived happily and freely. His account of the islanders' life is nothing less than an idealised version of the primitive-communal order. As in the Golden Age legends, the abundance of benefits provided by nature serves as a prerequisite for social well-being. Although all that is necessary grows in abundance on the island its inhabitants lead a temperate and frugal life. They are in perfect health and extremely strong and enduring. Illness is unknown to them, and they live to the age of 150. They are strangers to envy, hostility and accumulation of wealth.

Clan communes of up to 400 people form the basis of the island's society. These communes are independent and not subordinate to any central power. Within the clan, everyone obeys the elder. Obtaining food and the process of production are

conducted along collective, communist lines. Jambul's communist utopia is an original form of protest against the slave-owning order.

In his writings the Greek philosopher Plato (427-347 B. C.) criticised the social relations of his time. He regarded the accumulation of wealth as an evil and held that property differences caused the disintegration of society. Believing that this differentiation was a result of commercial-usury relations, he castigated the merchants and usurers.

Plato's ideal Republic (the title of one of his works) is devoid of extremes (poverty and wealth) although it preserves the slave-owning system. The state is governed by the intellectual élite (philosophers, wise men) with which both slave-owning democracy and plutocracy are equally incompatible. Plato offered the ruling slave-owning class an idea of frugal life for everyone. He was an ardent opponent of revolutionary action and a defender of the slave-owning system. Though Plato's Republic was not a communist utopia, the utopians of the 16th and 18th centuries found much of value in his ideas.

Did Early Christianity Contain Elements of Communist Ideas? This question is still of interest. At present, and for different reasons, various clerical circles are disseminating a system of ideas directed towards merging Christianity with

communism. Christ is called the first communist, and his teaching is proclaimed to be a communist teaching. It is maintained that Christ and the Apostles, like present-day communists, were against the rich and sympathised with the poor, preaching equality of all men. As communists, they were against private and for common property. The first Christian communities are presented as examples of communist communes.

The attempts to merge Christianity with scientific communism are groundless. The only thing the Christian Apostles ventured to do was to appeal to the rich, asking them to help the poor through charity. Christianity's attacks on the rich were far from communist in nature. Christianity never attempted to eliminate the system of property inequality, exploitation and oppression.

The communism of apostolic communes had a certain impact on the development of communist ideas. The ideas of consumer communism and consumer communes appeared long before Christianity. Early Christianity appealed mainly to the poor oppressed strata. Despite the orientation of the Church, the oppressed used Christianity's opposition to wealth and the rich to express their own social protest and this was a progressive action.

The clergy gradually came to possess great wealth and became a part of the exploiting class. The Church, which was now controlled by the

exploiters, ceased to be a source of development of the ideas of early Christianity.

Are the elements of early Christianity still progressive today? No, they are not. Christianity never preached or defended communist ideas. Some communist elements of early Christianity have become historically outdated and are of no practical value. They are only capable of delaying the transition by the working masses to positions of true, scientific communism. The leadership of the Roman Catholic Church is anti-communist. This does not mean that communists oppose cooperation with progressive religious figures or refuse to carry on a dialogue with progressive religious thinkers. Communists wish to cooperate (for instance, in the peace movement) and to conduct a sincere dialogue with them. They do not conceal their scientific teaching and have no intention of forcing it upon anyone.

Communist Ideas and Movements in the Feudal Era. In the countries of Western Europe the feudal system, which supplanted slavery, lasted for almost a millennium.

It was a typical feature of the feudal era that peasant uprisings and wars and social actions by the urban lower classes were invariably of a religious nature. Communist ideas evolved on the basis of Christian traditions and a Christian religious world outlook and, as a rule, were regarded

as religious heresy. This was due to two circumstances: first, under the feudal system all social groups existed within the framework of a religious Weltanschauung; second, the Church already had at hand a well-established code of dogmatic rules, regulations and moral norms that were compulsory for all.

The official religion, represented by the Church, failed, however, to meet the social aspirations of the urban lower classes. Communist sects of a simultaneously religious and heretical (anti-Church) nature (due to the deviation of their ideas from dogmas of the official Church) began to appear. These sects were severely persecuted by both the secular and the religious authorities.

As a rule, the communist utopias of the feudal era took on a religious and anti-Church nature. They preached that the true Christianity did not need a Church, since its essence lay in a person's direct communication with God and in his submission to God's will. Mediaeval communists idealised the early Christian communes and preached mainly the ideas of consumer communism based on communal principles. They never advanced the idea of restructuring society, and the small self-sufficient communist commune was their ideal.

Mediaeval communists regarded power and the state from an anarchistic point of view, reject-

ing the state and state institutions as a "world evil" and considering participation in these institutions as sinful. In the feudal era, communism only took the form of a revolutionary movement in times of acute social crises and under the impact of the general revolutionary situation. During periods of relative social peace, mediaeval communists adhered to the idea of reshaping society through preaching and personal example, which was in full conformity with the peaceful anarchic traditions of early Christianity.

The feudal era saw not only communist ideas, but also numerous consumer communes appeared in various countries under various conditions and at various times. The Tabor commune founded in Czechia in the early 15th century during the Hussite War is one example.

The German Reformation (16th century), which developed into a peasant war, brought Thomas Münzer, an ideologist of the urban lower classes, to the scene. He was an ardent revolutionary who preached communist ideas based on the ideas of early Christianity. A religious-communist movement known as Anabaptism became widespread in Germany after the defeat of the Peasant War (1526). Although the Anabaptists made no significant contribution to socialist ideas, they occupy a prominent place in the history of socialism on the strength of their practical activities. In times of persecution they founded their com-

munist communes of a consumer character.

In the 16th century, Christian communism and the communist movement of the feudal era subsided. The further development of communist ideas was connected with the emergence, establishment and development of capitalism, with the creation of the ideological and theoretical prerequisites for scientific communism.

Thomas More's *Utopia*

Thomas More and His Time. Thomas More's book entitled *A Fruteful and Pleasaunt Worke of the Best State of a Publique Weale, and of the Newe Yle Called Utopia*, was published in 1516. Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* appeared in many subsequent editions.

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) was the grandson of London artisans, the son of a lawyer and a lawyer himself. He was an outstanding figure of his time; a Member of Parliament and its Speaker (the House of Commons) and carried out important diplomatic missions for the King. In 1529 he became Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII, an insidious and unrestrained autocrat. In defiance of the King, More defended his political and religious convictions, was accused of high treason and beheaded on July 6, 1535.

Thomas More lived at a time when the first

signs of the crisis of the feudal-serfdom system had taken shape, when capitalist relations and the formation of the basic capitalist classes – the bourgeoisie and the proletariat – were emerging within feudal society. It was a time of primitive accumulation of capital, when feudal economies were being increasingly drawn into market and commodity-money relations and when rich merchants were becoming businessmen. They subjugated the free craftsmen economically and founded the first manufactories employing wage labour on the basis of their shops.

The peasant masses were losing their land and were being driven from it by the landlords at a rate exceeding that of the development of merchant's and industrial capital which was thus unable to employ all these poverty-stricken and hungry people, deprived of all means of subsistence.

Thomas More not only sympathised with these wretched people, but tried to find a way out of the situation. He evolved an ideal model of state. His *Utopia* is a fantastic description of future society and it could not be otherwise, for the time had not yet arrived for a scientific approach to the problem.

Utopia is a travelogue to an unknown land, which fitted the mood of that time of the great geographical discoveries. Its central character, Raphael Hythloday, an old sailor and a philoso-

pher, tells of his many voyages and of the state he visited on Utopia Island. Naturally, Raphael Hythloday expressed Thomas More's ideas.

In the first part of *Utopia*, More criticised the social order in England. This critique concerned not only England, however, but the whole of Europe, for it revealed the vices of feudal-absolutist regimes in general.

Raphael Hythloday denounced absolute monarchy: sovereigns conduct an aggressive foreign policy and wage wars that ruin not only the countries against which they are fighting, but the people of their own country as well. He was against the idea that the poverty of the masses trained them to be patient, thus guaranteeing law and order. In his opinion, quite the opposite was true: poverty always paves the way for disturbances and those who are dissatisfied with the existing order are the ones who strive most for revolution. Thomas More detected new social evils stemming from the epoch of the primitive accumulation of capital, as well as from the penetration of merchant's and industrial capital into feudal relations.

The transition of landowners' economies from farming to sheep-breeding in pursuit of extra profits ruined the peasants and deprived them of land, which went for expanding pastures. Hythloday says: "Your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to

devour men, and unpeople, not only villages, but towns..."¹

Instead of restraining the arbitrary power of the rich, the state comes down, with the weight of its law, upon the poor, who are deprived of the chance to work and are forced to vagrancy and theft. More was close to realising the state's exploitative and class nature in his description of the state as a body of the conspiracy of the rich, who use power in their own interests. He regarded the supremacy of private property as the cause of all social evils.

More believed that justice and social well-being could not be achieved given the existence of private property. The fact that the few were rich and the majority were poor was a result of private property. The rich were rapacious and dishonourable people, while the poor were modest and simple people toiling for the good of society, and not for themselves. According to More, only the complete elimination of private property could do away with social ills and pave the way for a just social order.

Thomas More was not the first to advance an utopia in which a system based on private property was opposed by a system based on communal

¹ "Utopia" by Sir Thomas More in *Ideal Commonwealths*, P. F. Collier & Son, New York, 1901, p. 12.

property, but he was the first to show how to organise social production on principles of equality and without private property.

The Communist System of the Utopians.

The economic system of Utopia is based on families of craftsmen engaged in social production. Families, each being occupied in a certain trade, are the basic economic units of society. Children who want to follow a different trade from their parents join another family. State officials control the work of the craftsman's family shop; the family hands all the goods it produces to the state. There is virtually no rural population in Utopia and agricultural work is the obligation of the urban population. Each city has its own territory used for agriculture. During the agricultural season, the inhabitants of the cities work on the farms and later return to the cities to their chief occupation.

The citizens of Utopia are free and are strangers to private property and exploitation. Their work is organised along collective, communal principles. Under these conditions, everything produced both by the trades and in agriculture becomes the property of all. In his *Utopia*, More introduces distribution according to needs.

What is the political system of Utopia like? The Senate is the supreme state body. It takes stock of all the goods produced and, in case of

need (crop failure in certain regions, etc.), redistributes the products. The land in Utopia is common property. The state transfers the labour force from one area to another and conducts foreign trade. Utopia knows no, however, a centralised planned economy. Not the state, but cities are the basic organisers of production; More's state is something like a federation of cities.

All officials in Utopia are elected by the citizens. The lower category (syphogrants) are elected by the heads of families, while the higher category (tranibors and the head of the state) are elected by the syphogrants. In order to appraise More's democratic views fully, one must bear in mind that his time was one of the consolidation of absolutism, with its practice of appointing officials from the top.

The democratic educational system presented by More in his book contrasted sharply with the situation existing in the 16th century. In Utopia, all children of both sexes receive a public upbringing that includes an education and a practical training in trades and farming.

The Utopians lead a healthy life devoid of excesses. They do not have money or personal property and are alien to embellishment and luxury. More held that the political and economic system of Utopia was the best possible one, for it was reasonable and expedient from the point of view of the people's daily life and was in accor-

dance with the laws of nature. Thomas More's vital moral code, and his appeal to man's healthy, natural inclinations were of great revolutionary significance in his time.

Thomas More was a thinker who bequeathed to future generations the first integral scheme of a socialist society, with all its inherent utopian features, reflecting the insufficient level of economic development of 15th-16th century England. The author of *Utopia* was able, at the inception of a bourgeois society, and by observing its very first steps, not only to view its principles of private property critically, but to set off the principles of social equality and community against them. The creator of this scheme of "the best possible" society understood, better than anyone else of his time, that it could not be put into practice, as socialism was still only a dream.

Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun*

The Source of Tommaso Campanella's Social Philosophy. In 1623 the *City of the Sun*, written by Tommaso Campanella, a Dominican monk, appeared. Thus, a new plan for the communist changeover of society was made public, a hundred-odd years after Thomas More's *Utopia* appeared. Erasmus, the great humanist of the Renaissance, was Thomas More's spiritual men-

tor. Thomas More lived in his house while he wrote his *Utopia*. Campanella, on the other hand, created his "City of the Sun" when he was a prisoner in solitary confinement in Italy's most terrible prison. Campanella (1568-1639) spent 27 years of his life in the prisons of Naples and, later, in Rome, as a prisoner of the Inquisition.

Who was Tommaso Campanella and why was he persecuted by the Spanish monarchy and the Roman Catholic Inquisition?

Tommaso Campanella was born on September 5, 1568 in Calabria, in the small town of Stilo. His father was a poor, illiterate shoemaker. A boy of a poor family, who, at an early age, displayed a phenomenal memory and abilities, had only one choice if he wished to attain knowledge: to become a monk. Thus, at the age of 15 Campanella joined the Dominican Order. According to his own testimony, he taught himself numerous sciences.

In theory and in practice, as a scholar, social philosopher and politician, Campanella expressed and represented the plebeian opposition (the peasantry and artisans who were becoming impoverished, and the evolving urban pre-proletariat), who protested against the inhuman class and foreign oppression. In expressing the interests of these strata of the population, he overstepped national boundaries and put forth a programme for changing the world as a whole.

Campanella's social utopia reflected both the force of the protest by these strata (the ability to launch desperate spontaneous uprisings and mutinies) against injustice and inequality, and their subservience to the rulers, their passionate dream of a different and just society and, at the same time, their weakness and historical doom in the face of rapidly developing capitalism.

Campanella's gigantic task was to devise a system for changing the lives of the people all over the world as well as in Italy on a just, humane basis. He depicted this new society in the *City of the Sun*. Unlike More, Campanella not only believed it possible to create such a society, but was a zealous fighter for the realisation of his far-reaching plans.

According to Campanella, wise, educated kings, concerned for their subjects and not personal gain, as well as learned theologians who understood the language of Nature and the Holy Scripture, would be capable of bringing about the cardinal changes set forth in his programme. That is why he accompanied his appeals to the Spanish and French kings, Italian princes and the princes of the Catholic Church with the Pope at the head, with various praises incompatible with his own ideals. The princes of the Church and the kings were quick to realise, however, that the reforms proposed by the dangerous prisoner were directed not only against their own privileges, but

also against the social institutions that they upheld. No wonder the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish royal power persecuted Campanella, since they regarded him as their irreconcilable foe and made sure that he was kept behind bars.

The young Dominican Friar began his political career by organising a plot against the Spanish crown centred on his home town of Stilo. He was not only thinking of liberating Italy by throwing off the Spanish yoke, but of his free country becoming the first in the changeover of the world on principles of justice and equality and in this way serving as an example for the rest of humanity. In 1599, the plotters were betrayed and arrested. After two years of imprisonment, spiritual and physical torture, the rebel and revolutionary became still more convinced of the validity of his plans for changing the world and began work on his book *City of the Sun*.

The State of the Solarians and Their Way of Life. The book contains a daring protest against the injustice of the existing order and describes a new order, based on the principles of communal living.

Campanella was a complex and contradictory scholar and thinker. His brilliant conjectures rub shoulders with the heritage of mediaeval scholasticism, with belief in heavenly omens, and in

magic that could direct human actions. He believed that Biblical prophecies, the revelations of the mediaeval saints and the soothsayings of the ancients substantiated the need and inevitability of radical change. At the same time, the very thought of the need for change was dictated by the gloomy reality of life on Earth, by concern about the future of his native land, its unfortunates and paupers. Campanella's political and literary work was directed against personal interest, inequality, the tyranny of kings, strife among peoples, and private property, as the cause of all social and political contradictions.

City of the Sun, like *Utopia*, is in the form of a dialogue. Like all the other utopian writings here, too, we find a voyager, this time a Genoese, who discovers an unknown land where he finds a state with ideal social order.

In the *City of the Sun*, private property, as the basis of social inequality, has been abolished. The people own everything in common. According to Campanella, the commune makes everyone simultaneously rich and poor: rich because they have everything, and poor because they own no property; that is why they do not serve circumstances, but circumstances serve them.

The solarrians are not monogamous, for their wives are held in common. This, according to Campanella, was a necessary means for guaranteeing, preserving and supporting the common

position of property, as well as for the state to be able to control the birth-rate. Campanella held that the monogamous family was the source of private property. Further, the absence of such a family and the common possession of wives, as he saw it, would result in the state's bringing up and educating its children.

Everyone in the *City of the Sun*, that communist state, works. There are no loafers and no parasites. All the different types of work are divided up among the community in accordance with each person's abilities. At the same time, no work is disgraceful, no one feels humiliated to wait at tables, work in the kitchen, care for the ill, etc. Work here is not a curse but the most honoured and respected undertaking, the measure of a person's worth. The people of the *City of the Sun* honour with the first grade of nobility whoever is considered to have knowledge of arts and crafts. "They who are skilful in more arts, they consider still nobler."¹ The working day is only four hours long which, according to Campanella, was made possible by the fact that everyone worked and new technical inventions and discoveries were put into practice. We do not find this in More's *Utopia*.

In this country, where the family per se does

¹ The "*City of the Sun*" by Thomas Campanella in *Ideal Commonwealths*, P. F. Collier & Son, New York, 1901, p. 165.

not exist, life is conducted on a communal basis with all citizens living in public buildings, changing their place of residence every six months and eating in public dining halls. They receive all they need from the state, which sees to it that no one receives more than he needs and which regulates the type and kind of clothing worn. Distribution is of a levelling nature; there is no money for internal use, but only for foreign trade.

The political system of the *City of the Sun* combines the principle of democracy with that of "the rule of the wise". Democracy in many ways takes on a formal aspect. All citizens over the age of 20 form the Great Council, which meets regularly (twice each lunar month). The Great Council is only a consultative body; it discusses the order in which the officials are to carry out their duties, and proposes candidates for these offices, but does not elect them; at the meetings of the Great Council, all citizens may voice their opinions of any shortcomings. Campanella confined himself to a general declaration, stating that officials were replaced by popular demand, but did not go on to explain the actual replacement proceeding and, further, made the reservation that the higher leaders were not to be replaced. At the same time, he provided a detailed system according to which the "wise" were to rule, a system that was of a theocratic nature.

Accordingly, high priests, who would reflect

the unity of science and religion, would govern the state.

A great ruler, known as the Sun, would head the commune. He would have three co-rulers: Might, in charge of military affairs, Wisdom, in charge of the sciences, and Love, in charge of food, clothing, the birth-rate and education. These rulers, elected to life terms, in turn elect, but actually nominate, all other officials, whose candidatures are confirmed by the Small Council, made up of all officials.

Political rule in the *City of the Sun* was combined with the priesthood: the Great Ruler was the head priest, and the top officials were priests.

While retaining religion in the ideal state, Campanella regarded it as a magical force that united society. He could not imagine any other force capable of influencing the masses.

Tommaso Campanella did not derive his communist ideas from the laws of social development (which were unknown at the time), nor from the revelations of Christianity, but from philosophical deductions, from the potential of the human mind. He did not see the *City of the Sun* as a God-given state; he felt that his contemporaries could found a communal society.

As an exponent of the interests of the rural and urban poor, Campanella's views and actions reflected both their strong and their weak points. His protest against oppression goes hand in hand

with a hope for beneficial assistance from above; his Calabrian rebel's revolutionary views coexist with an attempt to convince rulers of the need for the desired change; his support for science is followed by an assertion of "natural religion"; and the call for common property is combined with theocracy.

While protesting against bourgeois individualism and egoism, he would place the individual under constant state control and direction. By rejecting marriage based on origin and material considerations, he ignored individual love. By focussing great attention on the public nature of education, he proposed that the citizens' everyday life be governed by the instructions of the learned high priests. The people of the City of the Sun not only worked in teams, but slept and ate together as well. Their private lives conformed fully with the instructions of the rulers and the signs of the planets. He also conceded the need for secret informers, was concerned about religious unity, and called for the death penalty for crimes against the Church. Thus, his dream of a just and wise social order included many features of "bar-racks communism".

At the same time, Campanella succeeded in formulating quite precisely many Communist principles and in putting forward a number of brilliant conjectures. His ideas of abolishing private property and exploitation, of compulsory

universal labour, the public organisation of production and distribution, the education of citizens through work, the role of science in social life, the education of the people, and an end to wars and strife are what have made it possible for the *City of the Sun* to survive for over three centuries.

Gerrard Winstanley, Utopian Communist of the Bourgeois Revolution in England

G. Winstanley, Ideologist of the Diggers.

G. Winstanley (1609-after 1652) conceived a communist utopia that differed from those of Thomas More and Tommaso Campanella. His utopia was a combination of Christian and rational views that gave rise to yet another example of a communist utopia.

Winstanley was born in Lancashire. His father was a petty trader. Winstanley received no formal education and, like his father, became a clothier. He went bankrupt and moved to the country, where he joined the Diggers' movement. In time, Winstanley became the leader and spokesman of this movement, the most democratic wing of the English Revolution of the 17th century.

The Diggers appeared as a movement in the spring of 1649, after the execution of Charles I and the establishment of a republic. A small group of rural poor became squatters on vacant

common land on St. George's Hill in Surrey, where they tried to set up a model commune. This group became known as the "Diggers", and the movement was known by this name. The movement was not strong, however. It was opposed by Parliament, the republican authorities, the landowners and the local farmers. In the spring of 1650, a year after it had been founded, the Commune on St. George's Hill was disbanded.

Winstanley's pamphlets, written during the existence of the Surrey commune (1649-1650), defended the Diggers' main position: the right of free people to till communal land jointly; justice and freedom would triumph wherever the land was common property, where it was tilled freely on a common basis, and where the bounty of the land was common property. Winstanley believed that no communist change could be brought about unless there was a definite amount of commonly-held land. This land of the Republic would include royal, Church and communal land. Rejecting (in this given instance) the appropriation of privately owned land, he held that the new society should be founded on Republican land.

Winstanley's most mature and best-known pamphlet *The Law of Freedom in a Platform* (1652), includes a detailed description of this future society.

The Law of Freedom. This was a period of change in England, when the common people had not yet lost all hope of improving their position as participants in the Revolution, and the middle nobility and bourgeoisie, who had gained most from the Revolution, were becoming reactionary, hastening to do away with the Republican regime.

Winstanley's pamphlet provides a plan for building a new society, a free republic in which private property, commerce and money would all be abolished. He believed that property inequality should be done away with as it stemmed from the appropriation of the products of the work of others.

Since there would be neither commerce, nor money in the Free Republic, the primary production unit, the family, would hand over everything it produced to public warehouses from which, in turn, it would receive all that it needed for both production and consumption free of charge. Consumption would retain its individual features. Winstanley's Free Republic would have neither public dining halls, nor agricultural cooperative associations (as in More's *Utopia*). Winstanley provided a more detailed description of the organisation of labour than merely the family unit. He had in mind public workshops which would serve as vocational schools, and the children who worked there would grow up to

become useful members of society. This idea of exemplary public workshops is a remarkable detail of Winstanley's plan for a society of the future.

In *The Law of Freedom*, unlike in his earlier pamphlets, the author admits the need for some definite social power which would channel social production and protect its basic principles against various infringements.

The political organisation of the Free Republic was to be based on consistently democratic principles, all officials being elected for one-year terms, the supreme legislative and executive power, and the supreme economic management being in the hands of a parliament, which was also to be elected for a one-year term. All persons who sided with the royalists during the Civil War, who traded on the black market in property confiscated by the Revolution, etc., were to be deprived of franchise.

Since Winstanley held that true religion lay in direct communication with God, there was to be neither a Church, nor a clergy in his Republic. This meant that education in the schools would be of a secular nature, with young citizens acquiring a general knowledge, and knowledge of languages, sciences and history, a truly moral education and skills in socially useful work, as the education was to be combined with productive labour.

17th-century utopian communism reached its highest theoretical point in Gerrard Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*. His teaching expressed the spontaneous protest of the oppressed and ruined masses against feudal and bourgeois exploitation, but the idea he presented had no roots in the material conditions of the 17th-century English society.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, utopian communism was a reflection of the conditions and situation of the primitive accumulation of capital and those forms of exploitation that were typical of early capitalism. It was a time when the proletarianisation of the masses was in its initial stage, as the proletariat had not yet evolved as a class. Therefore, the communist utopias inevitably assumed the nature of a fantastic portrayal of an ideal society. The three finest examples of such writings were Thomas More's *Utopia*, Tommaso Campanella's *City of the Sun* and Gerrard Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*.

Chapter 3. FRENCH 18TH-CENTURY
UTOPIAN COMMUNISM

Jean Meslier

Jean Meslier, Revolutionary Critic and Defender of the Oppressed. The 18th century was a new stage in the development of utopian communism, based on the further evolution of capitalist relations within feudal society.

At this time communist ideas were not so much utopian travel novels as the first examples of communist theories. They arose in 18th-century France when she saw the crisis of absolutist regime and the Great French Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution.

A village priest named Jean Meslier (1664-1729) was the founder of a new stage in the de-

velopment of utopian communism. He left for posterity an extensive manuscript, written during the last years of his life. In an effort to preserve it, he presented it to a notary as his last will and testament, intended for his flock, and it has taken its place in social philosophy as *Le Testament*. This work was condemned for its revolutionary content and militant atheism. Meslier, a communist-utopian who died 60 years before the French Revolution, was its ideological inspirer.

Meslier criticised feudal relations and royal absolutism from a moral and ethical point of view, for he saw them as sources of strife, enmity, falsehood, injustice, hypocrisy, tyranny and all vice and misfortune.

In his view, all rulers, be they kings or princes, were tyrants who always oppressed their peoples, although such a state of affairs was contrary to human nature. Meslier asserted that all men were born equal, that all had an equal right to live and enjoy life, to enjoy their natural freedom and a portion of the Earth's bounty, while doing socially useful work in order to acquire all they needed.

The state, as represented by royal power, used direct violence to sustain the existing system. Yet, the spiritual oppression perpetrated by the Church was still more terrible, for people, deceived by the shrewd lies of the clergy, voluntarily bent their heads to the yoke placed on them

by the strong and the rich.

Jean Meslier was a true foe of private property; he wrote that, given private property and the private use of wealth, each strives to grasp as much as he can by any means, for greed is insatiable and awakens all of man's vice inclinations.

Who then was to oppose tyranny and the existing injustice, and how was this to be done? Meslier concluded that those who bore the burden of tyranny, evil and injustice were to be the fighters; they were not, however, yet prepared for such a confrontation, for their ignorance meant they were incapable of unravelling the net of delusions in which they had been intentionally enmeshed. He saw a solution in educating and uniting the oppressed and impoverished masses. He believed that the duty of the advanced people of his time was to free the people from religious superstition, and to instil in them hatred of and contempt for their rulers, to bring them to the point where they would be able to cast off the yoke of tyranny.

Jean Meslier on a Just Society. In reply to the question as to the sort of social order for which the oppressed and the unfortunate, mainly the rural poor, were to fight, Meslier elaborated a type of communal, levelling communism. His concept of a just society was formed under the impact of village reality as he knew it, where communal traditions and the remnants of communal

tilling remained.

His ideal was a commune. The abolition of private property would free people from all the vice that had distorted their true human nature and then a new relationship, one of brotherly love, would be established. Communal property would result in people possessing all the riches of the earth and all of its benefits jointly, and in using them equally. He visualised the ideal society as an aggregate of parish-communes which, in order to preserve peace and mutual assistance, would band together in unions, since their well-being could not be ensured otherwise. His *Testament* does not contain the idea of a single economic organisation subject to any plan.

Jean Meslier's concept of a just society was of a decisively peasant, petty-bourgeois nature and was naively utopian.

According to his theory, the suffering of the great majority of people and the wealth of a small group of parasitic elements was caused by the ignorance and gullibility of the former and the shrewdness, vanity and greed of the latter. He saw religion simply as a means of deception, and not as a perverse reflection, in their minds, of the people's social existence. In his opinion, the road to revolution lay through the education of the masses, through freeing them from delusion and cultivating in them a hatred of and contempt for despots.

Jean Meslier was one of the first to link the struggle against religion with that against the masses' oppression, and to appeal to the working people with his materialistic and atheistic ideas. He called on the masses to eliminate the existing hated social system by revolutionary means and to replace this system by communist relations.

Gabriel Bonnot de Mably

The Ideological Foundation of the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution and Mably's Theory of Natural Communism. The Great French Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution took place in the late 18th century. Such brilliant philosophers of the Enlightenment as Rousseau, Diderot, Holbach, among others, were its ideological inspirers. In their *Holy Family* (1845) Marx and Engels indicated that the philosophical ideas of the Enlighteners that all people were equal by nature and that a person's happiness depended on reason and a justly organised society, had a favourable influence on the evolution of communist ideas. Thus, Jean Jacques Rousseau, who was against feudal and all other types of big property, stood for the establishment of a social order without rich or poor. He advanced an utopian theory of the equal distribution of wealth among all members of society. He contended that small-

scale private property, based on personal labour, would be the foundation of the new social system. He failed to realise that it was impossible to do away with inequality on the basis of private property, no matter in what form it existed.

The views of Rousseau and the other Enlighteners did not actually exceed the limits of bourgeois society. In one ideological form or another they expressed the interests and aspirations of the various groups of the evolving bourgeois class. At the same time, their progressive ideas paved the way for the elaboration and dissemination of communist utopias. Mably, who was strongly influenced by the Enlightenment, created a number of communist utopias.

Gabriel Bonnot de Mably (1709-1785), a priest, came from a noble family, studied at a Jesuit college and later at a theological college. Through his influential relatives he obtained a post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but left it, preferring a secluded, modest life on limited means. He devoted himself to literary research, took an interest in history, philosophy and law and became well known in Europe as a political philosopher.

Mably's theory of natural communism was his own, original variant of the Golden Age legend, which had appeared as far back as the slave-owning era. Like the other representatives of the Enlightenment's philosophy, Mably proceeded

from the theory of natural right and the humanistic nature of man. The bourgeois representatives of the Enlightenment used this theory for criticising feudalism and for justifying the bourgeois system that was to replace it, while Mably substantiated his communist utopia with the help of this theory.

He held that a communist order was the primordial and natural state of life for people, being in full accord with their nature. Mably declared that nature intended all people to be equal; it provided them with the same organs and needs and bestowed them with the riches of the earth for common use. In a natural state, no one is senior or junior and there are no such things as vanity and greed. All are equal in their rights and duties.

Mably's Communist Ideal and His Pessimism Concerning the Future of Mankind.

Mably sharply criticised private property and the social system based on it. He held that even the most just distribution of private property in time led to property inequality, to the division of society into classes and to the degeneration of the civic qualities necessary for maintaining order in a community into vices. Mably stated that inequality demoralised people, provoked pathological desires, filled the soul with superstitions and delusions and encouraged people to give way to

vanity and self-interest. He held that the rich were obsessed with imagined requirements, while the poor were unable to satisfy their most vital needs. The worker is deeply unhappy among the abundance of goods he produces: for his hard work he receives poor food and he does not know whether he will receive even this tomorrow.

Mably believed that the establishment of a communist system would be the best way out of the situation. He wrote that, while meditating on the misfortunes of mankind, he had come to the idea of founding a republic on some deserted island. All the people in this republic would be brothers, their fundamental law being not to possess anything of their own. Every citizen would hand everything he produced as common property over to public stores. Officials would distribute everything necessary to the citizens from this public treasury; they would also distribute the work among the members of society. Concern for the good of all and surrounding work with honour, would become important incentives. In an ideal republic, the laws would inspire citizens to work and would instil respect and love for common property. In Mably's opinion, a society in its present state could not return to its natural state. He went on to say that some people thought a natural state could be established as soon as the people realised its advantages, since a communal system was in line with human nature and it

seemed that people would wish to establish such a system. This is only true, however, for natural human beings and not for those who had been brought up under a system based on inequality. Once property had been divided, people were doomed for ever to suffer from the consequences of this folly. Society is divided into classes with hostile interests, and no order in such a society could suit all. Under these conditions, it is beyond human power to revive equality: all attempts to return to it would stir up greater disturbances in society than those that were to be done away with. Mably did not see any grounds in surrounding reality for building the ideal structure of communism. He thus came to the pessimistic conclusion that it was impossible to achieve communism and that nothing there was left but to try to carry out reforms designed to equalise property, while preserving private property.

Although Mably cannot be regarded as a consistent communist, his theory of natural communism and his reasoning on the advantages of a communist order and on the evils of the order based on private property, promoted the spread of communist ideas.

Morelly

The Transition of Society from Unconscious to Conscious Communism. The literary heritage of Morelly, a French utopian communist, occupies a permanent place in the history of communist ideas. His dates of birth and death are unknown, and there is practically no data on his life. It may be that Morelly was a pen name for the real author.

According to Morelly, the history of mankind began from unconscious communism, when people led a natural life, following the code of nature. They were unfamiliar with private property, the land and its fruits belonged to all, so there was no inequality and no rich or poor. This was the Golden Age of mankind.

Why was the natural state of primitive communism abandoned? Why did people depart from nature and its demands? Why did a system of private property come into being? In answering these questions, Morelly put forth a spiritual and a physical reason. The former lay in the weakness of the human mind, for while people lived in a commune they were unaware that it was the best possible order. In Morelly's opinion, this lack of awareness led to the disintegration of the system of natural communism.

The physical reason (the growth of the population and its consequences) also played a major

role in the deviation from primitive communism. While the numbers of people were not large, they lived in patriarchal families, subordinated to the natural and mild power of the fathers. They were bound by the laws of family love and tenderness. There was no need for written laws. According to Morelly, the gravest mistake in the history of mankind was made in the process of creating laws and state institutions: these rules did not conform to the laws of nature. In establishing private property, human society broke off irrevocably from nature and paved the way for the appearance of all social disasters.

Morelly believed that a system based on private property, which was a result of delusion, lacked reason. Yet, in order to transfer from an unconscious Golden Age to a conscious one, to ascend from the unconscious communism of the past to a conscious communism of the future, mankind would have to go through a thousand trials.

The Code of Nature – a Rationalistic Communist Utopia. In his major work entitled *Le Code de la nature ou le véritable esprit de ses lois*, Morelly presented a communist system created along rationalistic lines. He formulated the basic principles of a communist system in the form of three sacred laws:

The abolition of private property and the

establishment of social property; the right to live and the right to work; and the duty of all citizens to work for the common good and in accordance with their ability.

Morelly viewed the future communist system as a centralised economic commune covering the whole country, developing on the basis of a single economic plan and regulating the production and distribution of the material wealth. Like his predecessors, Morelly presented distribution according to one's needs as the general rule, but his ideal society had laws prohibiting luxury, calling for moderation in consumption and in this way limiting the introduction of the principle of distribution according to needs.

In Thomas More's *Utopia*, the family was the production unit headed by the father as the organiser of production, but in Morelly's new society it was the shop, headed by the foreman. These two very different approaches reflect two stages in production development: the artisan and the manufactory stages.

Unlike More's family, Morelly's is the basic unit of society's political system. Morelly accepts the concept of individual marriage, but regulated by strict laws: upon reaching a certain age all members of society must enter into marriage, and divorce is permissible only after 10 years of married life. Adultery is severely punished. All these measures are called because the stability of the

state depends on the stability of the individual family.

Morelly's nation is divided into cities, cities into tribuses and the latter into families. Only the father of a family, who can be the head of a tribus, city or the nation, enjoys political rights. The fathers of families do not elect officials; instead each in turn holds public office in ascending order. The political and state system Morelly proposed was a sort of patriarchal democracy that changed and extended the patriarchal order in a somewhat special way and was achieved by this system of serving in office by turn and by completely eliminating any kind of election. Morelly viewed the election of the most meritorious as an infringement upon the principle of equality, since in a society of equals all should be equally meritorious.

Unlike Jean Meslier, who called for a forceful changeover of society onto a communist basis, Morelly counted on a peaceful realisation of his ideal. He imagined that, sooner or later, the fruits of education would make it possible to correct the past error and humanity would then consciously accept the concept of the commune. Thus, according to Morelly, communism is introduced by reform from above. He was unable to supply a social basis for his theory; his faith in the realisation of the ideal of communism was based merely on the omnipotent power of reason.

Morelly's contribution as an utopian lies in the fact that, having at his disposal the principles of 17th-18th-century bourgeois social thinking-rationalism, natural law and social agreement—he tried to interpret the as yet scientifically unfounded social aspirations of the French pre-proletariat in his communist utopia.

Babeuf and Babouvism

Post-Revolutionary France and Babouvism. Gracchus Babeuf and his followers opened a new chapter in the development of utopian communism. It is impossible to understand Babouvism correctly without a clear understanding of the ideological, political and socio-economic consequences of the French Revolution (1789-1794).

On the eve of the Revolution, the French bourgeoisie came to the fore as the leader and guiding spirit of the people's struggle against feudalism and absolutism. During this period, as during the early stages of the Revolution, the line dividing the interests of the working people from those of the bourgeoisie was not yet distinct.

During the Revolution, a sharp delineation of the bourgeois strata took place, with the big bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie becoming the enemies of the Revolution and a reactionary and

counterrevolutionary force, as soon as their class interests had been satisfied. The Revolution reached its peak during the Jacobin dictatorship (1793-1794), which reflected the interests of both the urban and the rural petty-bourgeoisie. The fall of the Jacobin dictatorship signified the completion of the French Revolution. The big bourgeoisie's Directory, which replaced it, instigated a counterrevolutionary terror, caused a rapid deterioration in the conditions of the working masses, and paved the way for the establishment of Napoleon Bonaparte's empire. This was accompanied by aggravated social conflicts, class struggle and a revival of communist sentiments. The ideological separation of the pre-proletariat as a specific social group from among the overall working masses began under the impact of the class struggle.

The political differentiation of the working masses brought about a corresponding differentiation among their political leaders. The Left-wing, the most consistent groups, which had become disenchanted with the outcomes of the Revolution, turned to communism as the sole radical means for doing away with all social evils, as the only slogan that was eliciting a response among the proletarianised masses. The Babouvist movement was a political reflection of this process. Babeuf and his associates attempted to express the workers' vague social aspirations and

to provide an organisational interpretation of them in a theoretical and practical form.

François-Noël Babeuf (1760-1797), known as Gracchus Babeuf, was born in the North of France. His father, a man of peasant stock, was a retired army man. Babeuf began earning his own living at the age of 16. By the mid-1780s he had begun to propagate equalitarianism and later communist ideas. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, Babeuf adopted his new name after the famous Roman tribunes, the Gracchus brothers, and became an active participant in the revolutionary struggle. He was arrested and imprisoned more than once. Babeuf created the secret revolutionary organisation known as the *Société des Égaux* in order to organise an uprising against the Directory and establish a new social order. The plot was disclosed by a traitor, and Babeuf was arrested and executed.

Babouvism is the name usually given to the revolutionary and communist teachings of Babeuf and his followers. It was greatly influenced by the ideas of the pre-revolutionary French utopian communists, especially by Morelly. At the same time, the communist ideas of Babeuf and his followers had a number of new features in comparison with those of pre-revolutionary French utopian communism.

The Babouvists' communist propaganda was aimed not only at disseminating their views on

ways to solve social problems within limited groups of people; it was also intended as a means of raising the masses to a revolutionary coup in the name of communism. Herein lies the basic difference between the Babouvists and the communism of the pre-revolutionary theoreticians.

For the first time in the history of communist teaching the Babouvists (along with the basic outline of the future social system) charted a number of specific measures that, on the one hand, would improve the conditions of the poor and, on the other, would suppress the resistance of the counter-revolutionary forces. The Babouvists were the first to attempt to solve the problem of how to organise the state system after the revolution triumphed. They put forth the idea of a revolutionary dictatorship similar to that of the Jacobins.

Babeuf, unlike the pre-revolutionary communists, explained the appearance of private property and inequality by the existence of a plot by one part of society (the robbers) against the other with the ignorance of the masses serving to guarantee the success of the plot. This kind of reasoning caused the Babouvists to come to different conclusions than Mably and Morelly did: in order to bring about a new social order it would not be sufficient merely to educate the masses; a revolutionary struggle was also needed.

A Republic of Equals – the Ideal of a Communist Society. A communist society, which the Babouvists called the Republic of Equals, was to arise as a result of a revolution. Here a large communist economic commune was to be established nation-wide. The commune's supreme bodies would keep track of the population, determine its needs and distribute the work force among the various types of production activities. The latter would be aimed at providing everything necessary for the members of the national commune and supporting balanced abundance for all. There would be special bodies to control and expand production. They were to see that no industry produced more or less than was needed; the level of production was to comply with the needs of people taking into account the increase in population.

Equality in the distribution of products would be based on complete equality in labour, taking into account the intellectual and physical abilities of each member of society. Equality in labour meant (to the Babouvists) the compulsory engagement of all able-bodied citizens in labour activity, as well as the equal distribution of work and its products among all. Each citizen's conviction that his labour went to provide everything necessary for satisfying his own needs and those of his family would serve as an incentive to work. No one would fear the installation of new machines,

since under conditions of equal distribution of work it would not lead to unemployment, but would only lessen the share of each one's work.

A republic of equal working people enjoying equal rights was the political ideal of the Babouvists. They were convinced that in a society that had, in practice, achieved complete equality of its members opposing interests would not exist. In such a society all people would voluntarily observe the laws and reasonable proposals would not be opposed. A unity of interests, will and action would triumph in the political organism.

Babeuf and his associates outlined a number of measures for guaranteeing the democratic nature and stability of the Republic's political system. They proposed that so-called "censure meetings" be introduced at which the popular masses would discuss and evaluate the actions of officials. A person could only be elected to an administrative post if his previous record met with the people's approval. Persons who openly opposed the Republic's principles could not participate in assemblies representing government bodies.

The Republic of Equals was devoid of private property, exploiters and exploited and competition, which is ruinous to all, and of the division into rich and poor, slaves and masters, rulers and subjects. The joint efforts of all the Republic's citizens would be directed towards achieving universal well-being. Justice, loyalty, honesty and

sincerity would prevail in relations among people.

Babeuf's communist utopia called for blunt and automatic egalitarianism and asceticism, which was expressed in the excessive rationing and simplification of everyday life, and in recommendations to limit the level of consumption. Production in the Republic of Equals would not exceed the limits of small-scale artisan production. Clearly, the Babouvists underestimated the industrial development. Some of them insisted that religion be preserved in the ideal society, underestimating the role of brainwork, science and arts. The equality the Babouvists preached was primitive, rejecting the people's individuality in life, work and behaviour. Given conditions, in reality, Babouvist equality would have hampered the development of the personality and robbed it of its spiritual qualities. Yet, this does not belittle the new ideas the Babouvists introduced into the development of communist thinking.

Popular Revolution and the Ways and Means for a Communist Restructuring of Society. Babeuf and his followers tried to create an integral revolutionary theory. They regarded revolution as logical outcome of the constant centuries-old struggle between patricians and plebeians. They held that a new social system could not be achieved merely by educating the masses,

but by means of a revolution with education, as just one of the conditions and ways of the struggle. The Babouvists contended that people received their education not so much through books and other sources of theoretical knowledge (though these were important), but through harsh living conditions.

According to the Babouvists, the uprisings of the oppressed against the oppressors usually flared up at times when the majority was placed under unbearable conditions, when the ruinous consequences of the right to private ownership reached extremes, when the total sum of the common wealth was appropriated by the minority, and the majority owned nothing.

The revolution, anticipated and prepared by equals, was not to stop half-way. The old regime of oppression, superstition and prejudice was to be eliminated, the expropriated being deprived of the opportunity to re-establish the regime of usurpation.

The revolutionary forces would remain in power and implement their programme of social changes only if they enjoyed the full support of the masses. The revolutionary forces would, in turn: supply the poor with bread free of charge; hand over the houses and furnishing of the counterrevolutionaries to the poor; return to the poor all the belongings they had pawned; distribute the property of plotters and other enemies of the

people among the nation's defenders and the poor.

The experience of the French Revolution taught the Babouvists that a revolutionary dictatorship should mercilessly crush all opponents and should not stop at revolutionary terror. They regarded the eventual expropriation of the rich as a part of the system of terror aimed against forces hostile to the revolution.

The historic importance of the Babouvists lies in the fact that they viewed revolutionary power as a means for advancing from a bourgeois society to communist forms of social life. They did not, however, think immediate and universal expropriation of private owners possible. They intended to found a national commune based on communist principles immediately after the revolution. It would appropriate the property of the enemies of the revolution, communal and uncultivated land. According to Babeuf's scheme, proceeding from its economic might and socio-economic advantages, the commune was to supplant privately owned land and enterprises and provide for the transition to a communist way of life. At the same time, Babeuf held that only huge fortunes would be abolished, while the position of the small proprietors and shopkeepers would be preserved and consolidated.

Many features of Babouvist utopian communism were rejected by the subsequent develop-

ment of communist thought. The Babouvists' views on communism were permeated by asceticism and crude egalitarianism; their idea of the class structure of society is quite primitive, and they did not comprehend the proletariat's historic role. This prevented them from correctly outlining and tackling the basic problems of a social revolution. They imagined that the revolution would be achieved by the masses in general, which, in their understanding, meant the poor, the plebs.

Describing the early communist teachings Engels wrote: "... in every great bourgeois movement there were independent outbursts of that class which was the forerunner, more or less developed, of the modern proletariat."¹ He regarded the Babouvist movement as one such. Further he wrote: "There were theoretical enunciations corresponding with these revolutionary uprisings of a class not yet developed; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Utopian pictures of ideal social conditions; in the eighteenth, actual communistic theories (Morelly and Mably). The demand for equality was no longer limited to political rights; it was extended also to

¹ Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, p. 116.

the social conditions of individuals. It was not simply class privileges that were to be abolished, but class distinctions themselves. A communism, ascetic, denouncing all pleasures of life, Spartan, was the first form of the new teaching."¹

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

Chapter 4. THE SOCIALIST UTOPIAS OF
THE DIRECT PREDECESSORS
OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

During the first three decades of the 19th century, communist and socialist thought acquired qualitatively new features as a result of the teachings of Henri Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen who developed original systems of utopian socialism. This served as a direct theoretical source of scientific communism. Their historical contribution lay in their detailed and bold criticism of developing capitalism, the contradictions of which were not yet fully revealed. Engels wrote: "One thing is common to all three. Not one of them appears as a representative of the interests of that proletariat which historical development had, in the

meantime, produced. Like the French philosophers, they do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once."¹

Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon

Saint-Simon on the History and Future of Mankind. Claude Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825) was born in Paris in an old aristocratic family. D'Alembert, a renowned encyclopaedist, philosopher, and mathematician was one of his teachers. He became acquainted with the works of the representatives of the French Enlightenment at an early age. During the first years of the French Revolution, Saint-Simon cherished the ideas of freedom and political equality. He relinquished his title (he was a count) and adopted the name Bonhomme (Simpleton) endeavouring to show his link with the people, but he was soon disappointed by the results of the Revolution. Engaging in commerce he went bankrupt. The last 20 years of his life he subsisted on chance earnings and the support of his friends. Yet, it was during this period of semi-poverty that he conducted most of his philosophical research.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Saint-Simon attempted to develop a philosophical foundation of a new social system. He called it an "industrial system". Unlike the bourgeois Enlighteners, he evolved a theory according to which every new socio-economic formation is objectively progressive compared with the previous one. While being a materialist where Nature was concerned, however, Saint-Simon remained an idealist in dealing with social problems. He held that history was an ascending development with one social system replacing another on the basis of the advancement of human reason.

This great utopian combined an idealistic approach to history with brilliant conjectures of a materialistic nature. Saint-Simon came close to realising that economic conditions are the basis of political institutions, and socio-political forms depend on property relations. He indicated the important role of production played in social life and was close to comprehending the class structure of bourgeois society.

On Classes and the Class Struggle.

According to Saint-Simon, the class struggle is a common feature in human societies, which replace one another. In his "Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains" Saint-Simon came to the important conclusion that the French Revolution was the result of tremendous econom-

ic, political and ideological changes; that it was a struggle between classes – the nobility, the bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors. Engels noted, in this connection: "... to recognise the French Revolution as a class war [and not simply one between nobility and bourgeoisie, but] between nobility, bourgeoisie, and the non-possessors, was, in the year 1802, a most pregnant discovery."¹

At the same time, Saint-Simon did not possess a clear understanding of classes and the nature of the class struggle. He failed to comprehend correctly the social essence of classes and their origins. His works lacked distinct criteria for the division of society into classes. He believed that different features led to different classes. In relation to their property, he divided people into the "propertied" and the "non-propertied" and into "consumers" and "producers" in accordance with their relation to production. He provided an extensive interpretation of the class of industrialists consisted of all people engaged in production and in related fields.

Saint-Simon saw the difference between the possessors and the non-possessors, as well as the struggle between them in the society that was to replace feudal society. He applied the term "pro-

¹ Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975, p. 295.

letariat" to the non-possessors, yet he viewed the proletariat merely as a group of non-possessors within the industrial class, and not as an independent class.

The Industrial System as the Ideal of the Society of the Future. The concept of the industrial system is the cornerstone of Saint-Simon's philosophical legacy. It expresses his idea of the ideal social system of the future. He believed that the socio-political switch to the industrial system would transfer the power from the feudal and intermediate social groups to the industrialists and scientists.

His industrial system contained a general economic plan. Banks were to play a special role in planning the economy, since they distributed material values. Such an approach to the economy permitted Saint-Simon to call the future social system an association, but this association did not imply social ownership of the means of production. Saint-Simon did not support the abolition of private property or the expropriation of capital. He maintained that the state should only subordinate the activities of the industrialists to a general plan to a certain degree.

Saint-Simon was convinced that the industrial system would be most beneficial for the overwhelming majority of the people and, primarily, for the proletarians. Yet, he did not propose any

practical measures for raising the well-being of this most numerous class. In his description of the future system, he provides only one point directly connected with the needs of the proletariat: labour would be universal and accessible to all.

In the society of the future science would be closely connected with production. This, as well as the planned economy, would result in a considerable increase in labour productivity. Saint-Simon believed that the industrial system would abolish exploitation, since the entrepreneurs (according to his idealised view) would not appropriate material values created by the wage labour; their profits would simply be a reward for doing the most honoured and complex work. This was a truly utopian situation: by some miracle a society based on private property and private business undertakings would be devoid of exploitation of man by man.

The industrial system fundamentally changed the system of power. In previous societies where the bulk of population was uneducated (thus threatening the integrity and even the very existence of the social organism by their unrestrained actions), the authorities were compelled to place the majority of the population under their control, subjecting their interests to the interests of the minority. The minority used its power to keep the majority in check, while the latter was in constant opposition to the former.

Saint-Simon was convinced that, in his day, the majority was sufficiently developed both mentally and morally, and no longer had any need for control. Under his industrial system, the maintenance of law and order was to be the task of all. Things, not people would have to be guided. To spread culture throughout the world in the interests of all of mankind would be the basic task of the management that would replace governmental machinery. The management would be represented by scientists, artists and industrialists. The means previously spent on maintaining the army and police would be channelled into industry, to disseminate knowledge and for leisure purposes.

Saint-Simon's New Christianity. According to Saint-Simon's idealistic conception, the industrial system would triumph when knowledge and civilisation reached the level necessary for laying its ideological foundations: a new philosophy. This philosophy was to be adapted to the mental level of the common people, i. e., presented in the form of revelations by God. That is why his works are such a quaint mixture of logical demonstrations and revelations. In his opinion, traditional Christianity had outlived itself together with feudalism. He sharply criticised the Roman Catholic and Protestant religions and Churches for betraying the principles of God and Christ, including the chief one: that people

should abide in brotherly love. He saw that the clergy and the secular powers had concluded an ungodly pact aimed at protecting the interests of the rich and oppressing the poor. Unlike existing Christianity, the new Christianity would subordinate secular power and found a system of social relations based on Christian morality; it would direct society towards the fine goal of improving the life of the poorest class. During their life on earth people should work to promote the well-being of the human race.

Saint-Simon maintained that the new Christianity, being a renewed religion, would bring universal peace to all nations, uniting them against any nation that tried to attain its own good at the expense of the good of mankind.

Saint-Simon came out against any political struggle and favoured moral senses as a social transforming power.

Saint-Simon's Social Utopia. Saint-Simon's social teachings cannot be completely called a socialist utopia, for in his ideal society he preserved private property, classes (entrepreneurs and proletarians), and profits. He did not even mention partial socialisation of the means of production. In many ways, his industrial system is similar to state capitalism. The idea of subjecting the private interests of the entrepreneurs to those of society is only a good intention, since the class

of entrepreneurs is proclaimed to be the ruling class. This means that in the end, the "common" interests would turn out to be those of the entrepreneurs.

Saint-Simon's teaching is utopian through and through, and unrealistic in regard to his attempts to overcome the anarchy of the capitalist system, leaving its principles intact. He idealised the bourgeoisie (to which he referred as industrialists), presenting it as the most enlightened class and as the defender of the national interests, and he failed to see it as the class that exploited wage labour. In his plans on the possibility of harmony between workers and industrialists and on the salvation of the proletarians from poverty and suffering by the moral efforts of the industrialists and the intellectuals, Saint-Simon idealised and perpetuated the system of wage labour. He feared the revolutionary actions of the lower strata and was convinced that the proletariat had to remain passive, entrusting the protection of their interests to their natural leaders, the entrepreneurs.

Nevertheless, socialist tendencies can be found in Saint-Simon's social utopia: his ideas on social labour planning; on turning the state into production management; on work being duty for all; on the hierarchy of abilities; and the principle of the greatest good for the most numerous class. These and other theses of his teaching greatly influenced the further evolution of socialist thought.

According to Saint-Simon, the industrial system would be a society in which cooperation and mutual assistance among people and the whole nations would be the basic principle of life; it would lack both rich and poor, while the happiness of individuals and nations would blend with that of all mankind. Like the other pre-Marxist socialists, however, Saint-Simon failed to realise the historical role of the proletariat. His plans for social change were intended not for the working class, but for the rich and for intellectuals.

Despite his inconsistent and contradictory social views, Saint-Simon played a prominent role in the history of social thought and in the socialist movement.

François Marie Charles Fourier

Fourier's Views on History and Criticism of Bourgeois Society. Charles Fourier (1772–1837), another brilliant French utopian socialist, was the son of a merchant. As a school-boy, he was exceptionally bright and took an interest in geography, languages, music, poetry and drawing. After graduating from college and in accordance with his mother's wishes he became engaged in commerce, which he loathed. This occupation provided him with extensive data for his subsequent detailed and sharp criticism of

bourgeois society. Like Saint-Simon, Fourier too died in poverty.

Not all the ideas of the extensive legacy left by Fourier, an original thinker of the first half of the 19th century, are of equal value. There is hardly any other such a system, in which progressive and brilliant ideas are closely interwoven with backward and at times reactionary ones.

Fourier's system is based on recognition of three eternal principles—God, matter and mathematics—which together embody eternal justice. God, who creates the existing Universe from dead and formless matter plays the major role. He has a plan for developing the Universe, and all that occurs in Nature and society is in accordance with His divine plan. The Universe God created from matter is a harmonious system, owing to the mathematical laws of motion. In accordance with the general aim of His creation and in accordance with mathematical laws, God provided all parts of the Universe with their own respective laws.

Fourier stated that he had had the honour to discover the social code, to perceive God's providential plan. He held that if mankind followed his teaching, it would effortlessly achieve perfect harmony.

Criticism of the capitalist system, of its socio-economic foundation, political forms, and ideological and moral principles occupied a special place in Fourier's works.

He maintained that civilisation decreased the number of persons owning the instruments of labour, that capital was concentrated in the hands of a minority, while the expansion of production, in itself a necessity, was a social disaster. The concentration of capital put society at the mercy of a small group of capitalists, who used their positions to intensify the exploitation of the masses. Therefore, according to Fourier, the conditions of the working people were rapidly deteriorating. A wage worker, forced to toil by the prospect of starvation, hates the process of labour itself, regarding it as mere torture, as Hell. His only possessions were his meagre wages, which were gradually reduced to pittance due to labour redundancy. The more developed a country's industry, the worse the condition of the workers. Fourier stressed that the existing system was a tyranny of private property over the masses and that the entire social system was riddled with antagonisms.

Fourier criticised and exposed the false nature of the rights and freedoms set forth in bourgeois constitutions and praised by bourgeois ideologists, pointing out the paramount importance of the right to work, as the sole correct right. He noted that, when speaking of human rights, the advocates of capitalism overlooked the right to work, which was actually unrealisable under capitalism and the lack of which made all other

rights meaningless.

Despite his acute criticism of bourgeois society, Fourier's idea of its class composition was rather vague. Like the 18th-century socialists, he divided society into rich and poor.

Fourier believed that the anarchic order of *laissez-faire* capitalism was absolutely alien to a planned system. In the former, each was only concerned about his own interests, and no one was concerned about those of society. Social and private interests were opposed to each other. He declared that the existing social order was a war between the individual and society.

Fourier denounced the existing political order and its basic ideas. In many instances he noted the dependence of political and ideological aspects on economic relations. Economic disturbances are reflected, in his opinion, in the political sphere in the forms of political injustice, while he considered the state as being a slave and defender of the privileged and rich to the detriment of the working masses.

This great utopian also criticised the egoistic morality of the bourgeois civilisation. He rejected Christian morality because of its asceticism and suppression of human passions. He did not agree with the Christian idea of being recompensed for earthly suffering in the next world, i. e., of justifying the existing evil.

Fourier was among those few socialists who

stood for the emancipation of women. He held that social progress depended directly on the emancipation of women. Engels noted on this: "He was the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation."¹

Fourier's harsh criticism of capitalism and its ideologists played an important part in the evolution of the theoretical prerequisites for a comprehension of social phenomena. Marx and Engels often used this criticism in their works. A bold critic of capitalism, however, failed to recognise the basic cause of its vices. Time and again he blamed philosophers and economists for the existence of civilisation with its vices, evils and disasters, but could not rise to an understanding of the initial cause – the antagonism between labour and capital. Fourier pinned his hopes for resolving the crises of civilisation on the peaceful establishment of a system of universal harmony, and not on the class struggle and revolution.

Fourier's Societarian Harmony as a Kind of Socialist Utopia. Fourier used the notions "societarian system" and "societarian harmony" to define the future society that was to succeed

¹ Frederick Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, p. 122.

civilisation. He refrained from using the terms "socialism" and "communism". Yet, his societarian system may be called a variety of utopian socialism.

He viewed this future society as one that would be regulated by the mechanism of human passions. He divided them into three groups: 1) material or sensual (taste, touch, vision, hearing and olfaction); 2) feelings of attachment (friendship, love, ambition and fatherhood); 3) distributive (passion for competition or intrigue, passion for diversity and creative activity), with the third group playing the decisive role. The joint action of the distributive passions would lead to harmony.

According to Fourier, the distributive passions would be fully developed if work were organised in accordance with a person's natural inclinations. This would provide both physical and spiritual satisfaction with their labour and would inspire the working people with enthusiasm. Satisfying the whole range of distributive passions meant bringing every kind of work to a relatively independent work unit (*série*). The number of such units would correspond to the number of trades in a given society.

The association or *phalange* was the main cell of Fourier's harmonic society. The *phalange* was to be a producing and consuming association based mainly on farming, with a quarter of the work

being of an industrial nature. All members of the *phalange* would work voluntarily, governed by their own orientation. Work was to be organised in series, i. e., in accordance with the trades. Thus there would be series of gardeners, cattle-breeders, weavers, etc.

The existence of several passions and inclinations in every person would make it possible for him to switch from one series to another in the course of the working day, which would also satisfy his desire for diversity. Work groups were to be formed within the framework of series on the basis of mutual sympathy and affinity. The division into groups, and work within these groups would promote the satisfaction of both attachment and the distributive passions. Since a favourite type of work carried out in a freely chosen group satisfies a person both physically and spiritually, he would thus become inspired by the highest passion—enthusiasm. Work would then become a creative activity. The full promotion and satisfaction of all the passions would lead to harmony, as their natural synthesis. The personal interests of each member of the *phalange* would, therefore, be fused with those of society.

Fourier was convinced that, as soon as all classes of society joined the *phalanges*, they would find themselves united by the same interests, would forget their mutual hatred, and would be fascinated by attractive work; the poor would no

longer suffer under the burden of labour, and the rich would no longer despise manual work, in which they would now participate. He believed that class enmity would disappear in an atmosphere of universal harmony. Such was Fourier's extremely utopian social order.

The distribution of the product of social labour in the *phalange* reflected and secured the class division preserved within it. All social income were to be divided into three parts: 4/12 were to be handed over to the capitalists as dividend; 3/12 were to go to talent; and 5/12 were to be granted to labour. Every member of the *phalange*, including its workers, could be shareholders and receive dividends.

Distribution of income in the *phalange* would influence the division of labour: capitalists who had a sizeable income could join series with the easiest jobs and the lowest remuneration, while the poor members of the association (who had contributed nothing, except for their personal labour), are, naturally, obliged to choose the highly paid, but unattractive arduous work.

Consumption in the *phalange* would not be of an egalitarian nature. The living quarters and restaurants in a *phalange* were to be of different standards and with different payment for service. Only the rich would be able to afford the top-class dwellings and food.

The family, as an economic unit with its own

household, would not exist in the *phalange*. Neither would it bring up its children. The harmonious system would fully emancipate women, making them equal members of the *phalange*. Together with the men, the women would participate in the work of the various series. Children would be brought up by society from birth until they come of age. Such an upbringing would inculcate social feelings and work skills in the future members of the *phalange*.

Fourier believed that there could be a world union of *phalanges* expressed in a uniformity of economic foundations, on the organisation of industrial armies, on a universal currency and system of measures, a common language, type, etc.

The Historic Significance of Fourier's Socialist Utopia. Fourier strongly opposed political struggle and revolution. He called for reconciliation and cooperation between classes, for peaceful social transformation, and this was the basic fault of his teaching. At the same time, while examining his fantastic plans and utopian ideas, one must bear in mind that Fourier produced a whole range of brilliant conjectures that paved the way from utopia to scientific communism. Socialist experience has confirmed Fourier's foresight concerning the state of the future, guaranteeing its citizens the right to work, to an education and to a happy life. According to

Engels, Fourier was the first to establish the great axiom of social philosophy—every individual has a talent for a certain type of work. Fourier's ideas on competition, on moving from one kind of work to another, and on the free choice of profession are also of definite interest.

His opinions on education through work, on universal and free instruction, and on the training of comprehensively developed people are still pertinent today. He expounded a number of ideas on methods of instruction and upbringing. He expressed the idea of making work a vital necessity and of eliminating the antagonism between mental and manual work.

Fourier's social theory contained many petty-bourgeois features. Chief among them was his idea of harmony—the idea of peaceful cooperation between capital and labour, and reconciliation of classes. He hoped that capitalists, while retaining their unearned income, would become engaged in socially useful work, and that the workers would gradually become small capitalists.

In his teaching, this great utopian theorist reflected the aspirations of the petty-bourgeoisie, which felt helpless in the face of big capital. His views also reflected the position of the early 19th-century proletariat, which had not rid itself of its petty-bourgeois sentiments and had not yet become aware of its own class interests.

Fourier's conjectures on the principles governing a future just society gave Marx every reason to call him like Saint-Simon one of the "patriarchs of socialism".

Robert Owen

Owen's Teaching on Man and Society.

Robert Owen (1771-1858) was the third outstanding utopian socialist of the 1830s. His world outlook and socio-political views were formed during the industrial revolution, the growth of large-scale industrial production following the introduction of machinery and the accelerating division of society into capitalists and proletarians; a sharp deterioration of the artisans' and small traders' living conditions; an aggravation of social contradictions; and growing revolutionary sentiments among the working people of England.

Robert Owen came from a petty-bourgeois family. He did excellently at school and was the teachers' assistant for two years. At the age of ten he began working as a "boy" for a London trading firm. By the time he was twenty he owned a factory producing weaving-loom.

Initially, Owen acted as a bourgeois philanthropist who believed that a sensible approach could improve the position of the workers without

affecting the entrepreneurs. He tried to put this idea, which later proved to be utopian, into practice. At a large textile mill in New Lanark, of which he was a co-owner, Owen improved a food supply for workers, and set up a model school, an infant school for the workers' children, crèches and a sick fund.

Inspired by the initial results, in 1815 he extended his activities, advancing the idea of a humane Factory Act. He tried to pass a number of bills through Parliament in favour of the workers, particularly, a bill on child labour. Owen took an active part in discussing measures for eliminating unemployment and suggested that labour communes be established as a means to this end.

The harsh reality of life under capitalism had a sobering effect on Owen, however. His proposed bills met with the stubborn resistance on the part of Parliament and the proprietors. He gradually became convinced that it was impossible to resolve the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the framework of bourgeois society. He eventually rejected capitalism and adopted communist ideas. The early 1820s marked the beginning of the next period of Owen's activities, one during which he elaborated the theory of communism and communist experiments.

With the aim of proving the feasibility of his

ideas Owen decided to organise and subsidise a model commune. In 1824 he set off for America, where, together with his associates, he founded the New Harmony communist colony. This, however, was a failure, once again proving the impossibility of communist cells existing within a capitalist society. Four years later, on his return to England, Owen founded another commune, Harmony-Hall, which also collapsed.

The philosophy of the 18th-century Enlightenment-materialists and English classical political economy served as the ideological sources of Owen's teachings. He believed that the future communist society was to become a realm of reason and eternal justice on Earth. Owen was a consistent rationalist and materialist in his understanding of nature. He was also an atheist. His communist ideas were free from any theological or mystical admixtures of the sort to be found in the writings of Saint-Simon, Fourier and other utopian socialists.

Owen maintained that the laws of nature were more organised than society's, since the latter secured class distinctions and inequality. Proceeding from man's natural rights, Owen tried to substantiate the need to do away with class differences, private property, exploitation and oppression, and to establish universal well-being.

Owen's concept of the formation of a person's character reveals the connection between his

theoretical teachings and 18th-century materialistic philosophy. Owen wrote that according to the generally accepted false conviction that a person forms his own character, people believe that it was in their own power to be good or bad, while actually a person's character was moulded by his environment, which was, in turn, a product of certain ideas. Therefore, a person's character was formed by the ideas that created the given environment. Here, the materialistic conception of the determining role of the environment in forming a person's character was given an idealistic interpretation. Owen criticised capitalism for being a vile environment that demoralised people, but believed that the formation of a good environment through reforms based on the principles of new moral life could be established within its framework. Such was the idealistic foundation on which Owen tried to build his teaching on communism.

Criticism of Bourgeois Private Property and Capitalism. In 1817, Owen began to criticise capitalist relations: private property, the capitalist division of labour and competition. He contended that bourgeois society, which was as imperfect as previous social formations, would not last forever and that capitalism only replaced one form of oppression by another. Unemployment, poverty, and illness among the workers

were provoked by bourgeois society. Egoistic self-interest was the root of all misfortune and evil. While people are isolated from each other, social evils will continue to proliferate.

At that time machine production had reached a level high enough to satisfy masses' basic needs, but this could not be achieved because of the existence of private property. The great English utopian fully realised the progressive role played by machinery and the industrial revolution in the development of social life. According to Owen, the tremendous increase in industrial production that had taken place over the previous hundred years provided people with a means for improving conditions for all mankind. Not technical progress, but the way it was put to use by the capitalists, was the cause of the nations' disasters and suffering.

Owen's bold criticism of private property existed side by side with the naive idea that it prevailed owing to the ignorance, delusions and egoism of the proprietors. At the same time, he displayed much sagacity in stating that mankind's social, intellectual and moral progress could not be promoted without private property being eliminated.

According to Owen, matrimonial relations were crippled by private property. He contended that marriages were based not on the natural yearning of one sex for another but on foul money

considerations.

Owen called religion the third greatest evil of social development after private property and bourgeois family. He held that the clergy cultivated among the people the pernicious idea that, because of the Original Sin, they could not be honest, virtuous or happy. A communist reorganisation was impossible without the abolition of religion which brought the people up in an atmosphere of a distorted idea. At the same time, Owen stood for friendly relations among people of different beliefs and for freedom of conscience.

The great utopian theorist failed to understand the social and class nature of religion and, like the French 18th-century materialists, explained its origination and vitality by the fact that people lacked a knowledge of nature and its laws and were unaware of their own strength and right to happiness. His programme for combating religion was of an enlightening nature.

The Labour Commune—Owen's Communist Utopia. Owen conceived the future ideal society as a federation of free, self-governing labour communes that would gradually embrace the entire world. These communes, the basic cells of the future society, would be organised on the basis of science and truth, work for all, common property, and equal rights and duties of citizens. The laws of nature and the natural rights of man

would become its governing principles. Therefore, they would promote the people's physical and moral well-being; personal interests would coincide with those of society; there would be no rift between mental and manual labour; haphazardness in production would be replaced by planned economic activities; the free federation of self-governing communes was to have no central power or army, since there would be no reason for war. The new system, which would act in accordance with the teaching on human nature, would eliminate evil, thereby driving out violence and its institutions: punishment and prisons.

Unlike Fourier, Owen did not provide a detailed scheme of how labour would be organised in the communes. According to Owen's theory, the members of a commune would enjoy equal rights and duties and would work for the common good. The communes would use machines extensively in production. The introduction of scientific achievements and the use of machinery would reduce the labour input and make it possible to produce everything necessary in quantities exceeding the needs of the members of the communes. Owen erroneously believed that the introduction of machines in agriculture would result in unemployment, and so suggested that this should not be done.

Owen, an outstanding utopian, believed that a common interest in work would be a greater in-

centive than personal interest. The commune's management would assign jobs in accordance with the common interests and abilities of the members, while the output they produced would be distributed according to their needs. No one would take more than he needed, for accumulating wealth would be as pointless, as storing water where water was abundant.

Concerning the formation of the human character, Owen paid special attention to education. The new moral world would bring up developed, integral individuals who, as a result of the existing abundance, would have no egoistic traits. People would be brought up to feel, think and act sensibly. Thus, a society based on a scientific knowledge of the laws of human nature would inevitably become harmonious.

Owen acknowledged the possibility of revolution, but believed it could be prevented and a peaceful transition to the system of labour communes could be effected. He felt that the existing social order, which was alien to human nature, was perpetuated by ignorance, delusions and erroneous, baneful principles. He contended that, in order to reshape society, it would be enough to rid people of these evils and to instill scientific ideas and correct principles, i. e., his own ideas, in them.

Owen's views on bourgeois governments were of the same utopian nature. He maintained that,

as soon as bourgeois governments realised that social changes met the reasonable interests of all classes, they would adopt a policy of reforms. He held that unwise rulers were to be enlightened.

Owen's plan for a peaceful transition to a system of labour communes through reforms, introduced by the government, was not only naïve and utopian, but bore some reactionary features. The great utopian opposed class and political struggle and social revolution. He stated that the organisation and existence of labour communes depended only on an understanding of the new ideas, and thus denied the working people's need to win political rights. Owen did not believe that the expansion of political rights would improve society's social organisation. In reality, his ideas, which had a negative effect on the development of the British working-class movement and, in particular, on Chartism, were erroneous.

Owen did not consider government reforms to be the only means for reorganising bourgeois society along communist lines. He stood for the organisation of cooperatives in the sphere of production and exchange markets in the sphere of circulation, which would supplement one another.

Owen's idea of exchange markets arose from his views on the transition from money to labour, the "natural" criterion of the value of commodities. He contended that this transition would not

call for the immediate abolition of capitalism and private property, but would be a means of rooting out the evil they originated. Labour cheques would become a means of exchange instead of money. The exchange market would function on the basis of direct exchange between producers, in accordance with a labour standard.

The London Exchange Market, which Owen directed, existed from 1832 to 1834. It failed to overcome the capitalist anarchy of production in which the market played a regulating role and prices were formed spontaneously on the basis of competition.

In addition to establishing the Exchange Market, Owen devoted himself to an utopian plan for reorganising production by transforming the newly established trade unions on cooperative principles. According to his plan, the trade unions would be transformed into national associations (guilds), each of which would manage a corresponding branch of production. Thus, trade organisations would develop into cooperative ones. The union of associations would cover the country's entire production. Once the associations controlled all industries, they would set up exchange among themselves by means of exchange markets. This cooperative system would be organised within the framework of capitalism. In time, the associations would gain strength and pave the way for the foundation of a

network of labour communes. The cooperative system, which existed for less than a year, also proved a failure.

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

The Social Essence of Owen's Teaching.

Owen's theoretical system, as well as his practical schemes, contain many contradictory features. Objectively, he supported the interests of the working class and oppressed masses, but he acted in the name of all of mankind, not in the name of the exploited. He justly believed that all material wealth was created by those who were actually engaged in production, but he was mistaken in thinking that the most influential people from among the ruling classes (since they were the most educated ones), and not the workers and the peasants, would play the decisive role in remodelling society. On the one hand, Owen exposed

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On Co-Operation", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, 1973, p. 473.

the vices of private property, while, on the other, he suggested that its owners peacefully embrace the new society. In his teaching, the materialistic thesis that every man was the product of his social milieu was accompanied by an idealistic assumption that ignorance was the chief obstacle to the new social order. Owen justly regarded private property as the source of war, poverty and suffering, while at the same time placing the blame for mankind's ills on theologians and their propaganda of falsehood.

There are a number of petty-bourgeois features in Owen's teaching. His socialism is quite tolerant of the bourgeoisie, is mild and timid in nature and based on abstract principles. It preaches philanthropy and universal love and is opposed to the class struggle of the proletariat, and to revolution.

This does not, however, belittle the great English socialist's historical contribution. Owen, together with the other outstanding utopians, came out with criticism of capitalism that was vivid and profound for his time. He was the only utopian who tried to link plans for a socialist reorganisation with the workers' movement, though on inadequate theoretical grounds. He is rightfully ranked as one of the first of those great thinkers whose works served as a theoretical source of scientific communism.

The great socialist utopians – Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen – while displaying an idealistic approach towards questions of social development, could not comprehend the role of the class struggle under the conditions of an exploiting system, nor the historical necessity and laws governing the struggle for the political power of the working class, the aim of which was to create a new, socialist society. Hence, they were doomed to be solitary dreamers whose ideas could not attract the masses or become a material force capable of transforming the world. It was the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin that became just such an organising, mobilising and transforming force.

Chapter 5. THE EMERGENCE AND MAIN STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

The Crisis of Utopian Communism and the Formation of the Prerequisites for the Creation of Scientific Communism

The Proletariat Enters the Historical Arena. The concept of communism could not advance from an utopia to a science until the necessary socio-economic, class and theoretical preconditions had taken shape. Such preconditions, including the chief and determining one—that capitalism had reached its peak in the main states of Western Europe—were already in existence by the 1840s.

By that time economic crises of overproduction of goods had begun to occur regularly. These crises proved that the capitalist form of appropriation was entering an irreconcilable state of contradiction with the social nature of

capitalist production. This could only be eliminated by socialism, i. e., by replacing private capitalist property with social property.

Capitalism itself engenders the forces that destroy it. These are the productive forces, i. e., the means of production and the people who operate them, without the development of which the bourgeoisie cannot make any profits. However, the development of the productive forces aggravates the conflict between the social nature of production and the private, capitalist form in which it is conducted. The growth of the productive forces swells the ranks of the proletariat, so capitalism produces its own grave-digger.

By the 1840s, the English proletariat had become a major force. Workers' trade unions appeared in many branches of industry. Chartism, the first workers' national movement, originated in England in 1838 and existed until 1842. It advanced political demands and, primarily, the demand for universal suffrage.

A number of major proletarian actions took place in France. In the July Revolution of 1830, the working men of Paris were in the first ranks of the fighters against the restored feudal monarchy. They fought staunchly against the royalist troops. In 1831, the first workers' uprising in defence of the class interests of the proletariat flared up in Lyons. The insurgents' slogan was: "To live and work, or to fight and die!" In 1834, another

uprising took place in the same city. This time not only economic, but political demands were put forward, including that for the establishment of a republic.

In the 1840s, the German working class fell behind the proletariat of the other countries in its social and political development. The working class of German industrial regions was, however, rapidly growing into a real political force, whose activities began in 1844 with the uprising of the Silesian weavers echoed throughout the country.

Utopian Communism and Workers' Organisations of the 1840s. The 1840s marked a crisis in utopian communism which had reached its peak in the works of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. They had elaborated their utopian socialist and communist systems at a time when bourgeois reality still lacked the necessary conditions for devising the theory of scientific communism, but had already provided enough material for criticising capitalism in detail, for exposing its evils and vices, and for anticipating many features of the future communist social system. Without this theoretical heritage, the appearance of scientific communism would have been impossible.

The various theories of utopian socialism and communism created under the new conditions could not ignore the proletariat and the workers'

movement, but it was artisans and working men employed in enterprises, among whom petty-bourgeois views, habits and prejudices prevailed, who were presented as the driving social forces of these utopias, rather than industrial workers.

The proletarian movement's infancy was over. This was the first stage in the struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, which was not of a mass, but a partial nature. This stage was an inevitable one. The proletariat was not yet strong enough to act as a class, and remained, *en masse*, indifferent or even hostile to utopian teachings. The sects founded by the utopians were actually secret societies, opposed to the mass proletarian movement—strikes, unions or political activity. During this initial period of the socialist movement, the main role was played by artisans and semi-proletarians, strangers to methods of the industrial proletariat's struggle.

By 1840s, however, the situation had changed. Capitalism had reached a state of maturity at which it could be scientifically analysed. The socio-economic prerequisites had emerged for turning communism from an utopia into a scientific theory. The emerging industrial proletariat began to oust artisans and semi-proletarians from the socialist and communist movement. They were dissatisfied with the communist utopias, since these were of no help in their actual struggle against the bourgeoisie. Mass proletarian organi-

sations (trade unions, enlightenment societies) and strikes (a method of the workers' economic struggle) were strongly opposed to sectarianism and plotting. Thus the end of utopian communism came and the time for the creation of the theory of scientific communism arrived.

This historical turn from utopia to science had been prepared by the development of capitalism and communist thought. It was an historical necessity for the evolution of the workers' and communist movement. This stage called for the appearance of geniuses capable of realising this necessity: Marx and Engels, the creators and the founders of scientific communism.

Marx and Engels Transform Communism from an Utopia into a Science

The Formation of Marxism and Its Component – Scientific Communism. Karl Marx was born on May 5, 1818, in the small German town of Treves in the family of a progressive-minded lawyer. He studied at the universities of Bonn and Berlin, where he first took an interest in Hegel's idealist philosophy and its dialectics and strived to make a critical analysis of it. After graduating from the universities, Marx combined philosophy and reality and in 1842 became a journalist, first as a staff member and later as the editor

of the *Rheinische Zeitung* where his articles marked him as a convinced revolutionary democrat. The paper's radical spirit resulted in its suppression at the beginning of 1843.

After Marx's marriage to Jenny von Westphalen, since there was no outlet for his activities in Prussia, Marx and his wife moved to Paris. There Marx established close contacts with revolutionary circles of German artisans and French working men.

His ideological advance from revolutionary democratism to communism was completed in 1844, when, proceeding from Hegel's idealistic dialectics through Feuerbach's metaphysical materialism, Marx created a scientific philosophy: dialectical and historical materialism.

Frederick Engels was born on November 28, 1820, in the German town of Barmen, the son of a conservative, religious textile manufacturer. Engels showed himself to be a capable person at an early age. At his father's insistence, in 1837 he embarked on a business career. Engels and Marx first met in 1842, at the editorial offices of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. That same year Engels moved to Manchester, England, where he served as his father's agent. In England Engels studied the country's politics and the conditions of the working class. He visited working-class neighbourhoods, spoke to proletarians, and saw terrible working and living conditions first-hand.

Independently of Marx, Engels traversed the same ideological development path: from Hegel's idealistic dialectics, through Feuerbach's metaphysical materialism, to dialectical and historical materialism, i. e., from revolutionary democracy to scientific communism. Thus, two geniuses, independently of each other, approached a new science, which they were to develop jointly.

Marxism did not arise in isolation from the preceding trends in social thought; it was the legal heir of all that was best in mankind's understanding of nature and society. Marx and Engels critically revised the achievements of German classical philosophy (Hegel's idealistic dialectics and Feuerbach's materialism), of English classical political economy (the labour theory of value created by Adam Smith and David Ricardo), of utopian socialism (Claude Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen), which were the theoretical sources of Marxism. Marx and Engels developed this science on the basis of the practice and experience of the working-class movement and thus accomplished a revolution in three fields of knowledge.

Marx and Engels were only able to achieve their revolutionary feat because they consciously went over to the side of the working class. They did not view the proletariat as just the rising class of a new era, but as a class interested in acquiring a scientific knowledge of nature and society. The

founders of Marxism felt that only by serving the working class could they serve science. They were the first to realise that it was essential to adopt the class position of the proletariat in order to create a new social science and transform communism from an utopia into a science.

On the whole, Marxism is the science of communism, since each of its component parts—philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism—substantiates, each within the framework of its own subject, the inevitability of mankind's development into a communist formation. The entire complex of socio-political problems of this development constitute the subject known as scientific communism, which examines the historical transition from capitalism to socialism through the class struggle and the socialist revolution, the socio-political laws governing the building of socialism and communism, and the world revolutionary process as a whole.

The Theoretical Basis for Transforming Communism from an Utopia into a Science.

The transformation of communism from an utopia into a science became possible as a result of two of Marx's great discoveries: the materialistic understanding of history and the theory of surplus value. Engels also made a substantial contribution to these discoveries.

The structure of philosophical materialism was

incomplete at the time the founders of Marxism began their study of it. The materialists who preceded them had confined their studies to a materialistic understanding of nature, while remaining idealists with respect to social life. By extending dialectical materialism to society, as well as to nature, Marx and Engels rounded out and completed the materialistic approach.

The essence of the *materialistic understanding of history* lies in demonstration of the fact that mankind's social life is not determined by any spiritual force, no matter what it is called (God, the absolute spirit, the ideas of geniuses, etc.), but by material one. In the system of social life, the production of material values as the basis of society's existence and development, is of primary importance. The social orders that succeeded one another in the course of history differed in the mode of production of material values. There have been five modes of production in history: the primitive-communal, slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and communist. Each one constitutes the basis of a corresponding socio-economic formation and determines its social aspect. Each formation is a specific, historical stage in society's advance, and they succeed one another in regular strict succession. A communist socio-economic formation is the result of mankind's natural advance.

What contribution did the materialistic under-

standing of history make to transforming communism from an utopia into a science?

The utopians believed that communism could become established at any moment in history, since they regarded it as a chance discovery made by a genius. The materialistic understanding of history rejects such mistaken ideas. Communism is the result of all mankind's previous history, while only capitalism can create the immediate prerequisites for the transition to communism. Communism is not the chance discovery of a great mind, but the natural result of mankind's material and spiritual development.

The mistaken belief that communism could be discovered by chance at any time in history by any great mind led logically to the conclusion that any great mind could discover its own version of communism. Each creator of a communist utopia believed that he alone possessed the absolute truth and that only his ideas would lead to a communist transformation of the world.

The materialistic concept of history proves that none of the communist utopias, being built on idealistic foundations without any knowledge of the laws of social development, could be scientific, so they were of no practical value and incapable of serving as a true guide to action. This lack of a scientific essence explains why there were so many different utopias. On the other hand, communism, which is based on a knowledge of the

laws of social development, the laws of development of capitalism and the proletariat's class struggle, acquires validity and, thus, singularity. Marx and Engels, having created a materialistic understanding of history, imbued the concept of communism with a single scientific meaning. That is why the theory they created has become the embodiment of true communism.

In their efforts to bestow happiness upon humanity, the great minds of the past attempted to provide a most detailed description of the future society. The general outlines of the future society may only be predicted, however, on the basis of a study of the existing prerequisites, for the future arises from the present, and the present has evolved from the past. Scientific communism, which is based on a materialistic understanding of history, is devoid of utopian or imaginative descriptions of the future. Marx and Engels, both adherents of strictly scientific thinking, could deduce only that which the knowledge available at their time permitted concerning the communist society of the future.

The utopian communists held that they represented all mankind. This conviction resulted from their mistaken idea that nature had endowed all men with equal and similar traits and qualities, having invested them with justice to begin with. The utopians believed that if these qualities were awakened, they would prove stronger than class

distinctions, the class struggle, egoism, hatred, and enmity, all of which had been sowed by private property relations.

The materialistic approach to history destroyed these illusions and mistaken ideas. It revealed the class struggle as the driving force behind the development of antagonistic formations. This meant that only through a class struggle, through a socialist revolution, would the proletariat achieve a communist rejuvenation of the world.

The idealist understanding of history (with its cult of geniuses and heroes) led the utopians to appeal to kings, rulers, financiers and representatives of the bourgeoisie to carry out their plans for saving humanity and the communist transformation of the world.

The materialistic understanding of history has proved that the people are the moving force of history and that only the proletariat is capable of acting as the lever in the communist transformation of the world. Marx and Engels transformed the communism of the utopians, which was common to all mankind and of no use to any one class, into proletarian communism.

Marx's *theory of surplus value* was the second theoretical basis for transforming communism from an utopia into a science. It embodies the essence of the revolution that Marx accomplished in the sphere of political economy, which was the

scientific solution to the mystery of capitalist exploitation.

Capitalist exploitation is accomplished by the capitalists by appropriating the product created by wage workers over and above the cost of their labour, i. e., of the means of subsistence required to sustain them in their work. Marx's discovery of the surplus value appropriated by the capitalists revealed the true condition of the working class under capitalism as well as the source of the basic contradiction of capitalism – that between labour and capital.

What contribution did Marx's theory of surplus value make to transforming communism from an utopia into a science?

Utopian communism was mostly concerned with the spiritual factors of the communist transformation of society. The theory of surplus value disclosed the decisive role of the capitalist economy, which created the material prerequisites for the changeover to socialism.

The utopian communists commiserated with the proletarians, but in describing their poverty they merely saw the degree to which they were oppressed and enslaved by an unjust social system. Marxian theory of surplus value, on the other hand, revealed that capitalism not only exploits, oppresses and enslaves the working class, but that it also makes it strong. Proletarians employed in capitalist enterprises are hardened

by the strict schooling of the class struggle; they learn solidarity and mature politically in order to carry out their historic mission of overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie.

The utopian communists condemned the exploitation of man by man, but they did not understand its mechanism, and therefore, the true source of capitalist wealth. They sought the chief source of the working people's poverty in the sphere of distribution and commerce, instead of that of production. The utopians would have no merchants or usurers in their ideal society, for they regarded them as merciless exploiters, yet, they welcomed industrialists. The theory of surplus value proved, however, that the latter were the chief exploiters. Surplus value is born deep within capitalist production on the basis of exploitation of wage labour by capital and, through the mechanism of distribution, is appropriated by various groups of the capitalist class: industrialists, bankers, usurers and merchants.

An ignorance of the economic basis of the division of society into classes and the evolution of the class struggle led the utopians to seek unrealisable ways of reconciling the classes. It prevented them from understanding the origin and true nature of classes. The theory of surplus value proved that it was impossible to reconcile antagonistic classes, since the bourgeoisie existed at the expense of the proletariat's labour, so the former was interested

in preserving, and the latter in destroying, the exploiting society.

Guided by the materialistic understanding of history and by the theory of surplus value, Marx and Engels transformed communism from an utopia into a science.

The Teaching of Marx and Engels on the Party of the Proletariat. Marx and Engels created scientific communism as a theoretical expression of the proletariat's position in its class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The objective place of the working class in the system of capitalist production makes it the natural grave-digger of capitalism and the creator of socialism.

The proletariat can throw off the yoke of exploitation only under the leadership of its own party. The creation of such a party was an essentially new undertaking. Marx and Engels countered the bourgeois-idealistic view of the party as an ideological union of people, regardless of their class status, with their own view of the party as the vanguard of a given class, representing its economic, social and political interests.

The socialist utopians created their organisations, in the main, among the educated representatives of the propertied classes, contending that they alone were capable of ensuring a transition to socialism. From the very start, Marx and Engels proceeded from the premise that the core

of the communist party should be made up of industrial proletarians; the proletariat's political party should express and defend the interests not of individual strata of the proletariat, but of the class as a whole, and it should use all forms of class struggle in the fight against capital.

The socialist utopians, who supported non-political socialism, rejected all economic and political struggle and were carried away by fanciful projects. Marx and Engels insisted that the proletariat must wage a political struggle and tied this in with the day-to-day economic struggle and the fight for socialism.

The founders of Marxism solved a three-fold task: the creation of a scientific communist theory, the building of an independent, class party of the proletariat, and criticism of all types of utopian communism and socialism. They found the appropriate organisational form for fulfilling this task: correspondent committees. Marx, who was banished from Paris for his revolutionary activities, took up residence in Brussels, where, in 1846, he and Engels created the first communist correspondent committee. These committees, set up in various European countries, established postal contacts between groups of socialists: they exchanged material on communist propaganda issues and criticised the mistaken views and theories then prevalent in the socialist movement.

The occasion of Marx and Engels joining the League of the Just early in 1847 was an important practical step towards the creation of a class party of the proletariat. They influenced and guided the reorganisation of the League. Its first Congress was held in London, where a new name was adopted: the Communist League. The former motto—"All men are brothers"—was replaced by the slogan of the proletarian international: "Working men of all countries, unite!" This slogan, which first appeared in the Draft Rules of the Communist League, was to become the battle cry of the international working-class movement.

The Second Congress opened in London on November 29, 1847. Representatives from Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, England, Poland and a number of other countries took part in its sessions. In fact this was the international congress of the proletariat that established the ideas of scientific communism in its decisions. The Communist League proclaimed its goals to be: the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois system as being based on class antagonisms, and the founding of a new, classless society without private property.

Desirous of presenting the communists' programme to the world in the most clear and open manner, the Congress entrusted Marx and Engels with working out a Manifesto of the Communist

Party as quickly as possible. This epoch-making document was created in just two months, from December 1847 to January 1848, and was published in February.

The Communist League was the first international working-class organisation to adopt scientific communism as its programme and to join Marxism with the working-class movement. This was the first practical experience Marx and Engels had of creating a proletarian party.

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* as the First Programme Document of Scientific Communism. The *Manifesto* begins with a pithy phrase: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism". This meant that communism was still a vague concept lacking definition. The time had come to endow the spectre of communism with theoretical clarity and concreteness, to express its image in the form of a definite political movement. The *Manifesto* scientifically expressed the ideological and political trend which could justifiably be termed "communist" and dissociated itself from all forms of unscientific (utopian, Christian, feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois) communism and socialism. The *Communist Manifesto* was the first programme document of Marxism and scientific communism.

The scientific, materialist understanding of the development of society permeates the whole

Manifesto. The history of society is presented as one of class struggle, and in capitalist society specifically as the history of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The *Manifesto* revealed the historic role of the bourgeoisie, which first appeared as a revolutionary class. Its struggle against feudalism to abolish serfdom, the privileges of the estates, feudal fragmentation, etc., was all progressive. At the same time, the historic role of the bourgeoisie was contradictory in nature. Having destroyed serfdom, it did not provide any other ties between the people apart from those prompted by mercantile interests and merciless profiteering. "It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade."¹

While making the fruits of knowledge of individual nations available to all, the bourgeoisie turned doctors, lawyers, writers and scientists into its wage labourers. It fathered large-scale industry, powerful means of production and exchange, and revolutionised the productive forces and yet the bounds of bourgeois property

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. 487.

gradually became fetters on their development. The basic contradiction of capitalist society evolved from the conflict between the productive forces, which had grown immensely, and bourgeois property relations.

The proletariat, being forced to sell its labour to the capitalists, found itself oppressed on many sides: by the bourgeois state, by the manufacturers, by the overseers, and even by the machines, for they had become human appendages to machinery. Marx and Engels were the first to prove scientifically that the proletariat was not merely a suffering class, but a fighting class, society's most consistent revolutionary force, which held the keys to the future.

Marx and Engels substantiated the need for the working class to fight against the capitalists, and this battle could only be won if the communists headed it. The advantage enjoyed by the communists over all other proletarians was that "of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."¹

The authors of the *Manifesto* presented a positive programme that the communists intended to realise, and the principles and ideas which they defended. The most pertinent point in the pro-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 497.

gramme of the communists was the abolition of bourgeois private property, which is not of a private, but of a social character, meaning that it should not belong to individuals, but to society, to the people at large.

The bourgeois ideologists could not imagine the existence of a society without private property, so they saw its abolition as the oppression of the individual, destruction of uniqueness, of freedom and independence, establishment of universal sloth, and even the abolition of the family and the nation, and the establishment of communal wives. Marx and Engels unmasked these slanderous fictions perpetrated by the bourgeoisie's ideological flunkies.

The *Manifesto* puts forth the idea of the working class coming to power and of its assuming political power. The *Manifesto* reads, in part: "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i. e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible."¹

The proletariat's struggle was intended not only to replace capitalism by socialism, but also to abolish the conditions of classes' existence in

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

general, and thus its own supremacy as a class. Marx and Engels formulated the ultimate humanist principle and goal of the revolutionary changes under which capitalism would be replaced by a society in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all".¹

The *Manifesto* criticised the various trends of non-scientific socialism, which expressed the interests of certain classes.

Marxism was first presented as a logical programme for the communist transformation of the world in the *Manifesto* of the Communist Party, the concepts of which still hold true today. The proletarian and communist movements have been developing for nearly 140 years, implementing the provisions of this outstanding work of scientific communism in reality. The proletarian revolution that Marx and Engels predicted has come true in many countries. Life in the countries of the socialist community today has corroborated their scientific prognosis concerning the inevitable abolition of private property, inequality and exploitation.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

Marx and Engels, the Leaders and Theoreticians of the Proletarian Movement

Marx's and Engels's Participation in the 1848-1849 Revolution. Marx's Capital. The publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* coincided with the beginning of the 1848-1849 bourgeois revolutions in a number of European countries. In February 1848, a revolution in France overthrew Louis Philippe, "the king of bankers" and established a republic. In March the uprising spread to Austria, Italy and Germany; a liberal bourgeois government came to power in Prussia.

During this revolutionary period, Marx and Engels were chiefly engaged in the publication of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which came out in Cologne from April 1848 to May 1849. From its very first issues, it was imbued with a spirit of class struggle. In their many articles Marx and Engels analysed current events charting the direction of action for the revolutionary forces, strongly criticising the cowardice and indeterminateness of the bourgeois opposition, mocking its leaders for their vacillations, indecision and lack of principles.

The revolutionary programme was directed towards activating the revolutionary democratic forces and thus forcing the bourgeois opposition to the royalist-Prussian order to be more decisive,

to fight for a democratic unification of Germany and the establishment of a republic. Marx and Engels stood for the unity of all democratic forces. The newspaper became more than a revolutionary tribune: it became a revolutionary headquarters of sorts. According to Engels, the articles that appeared in the paper were like hand grenades and shells.

Marx and Engels were forced to emigrate to England after the defeat of the bourgeois revolutions of 1848-1849. Marx took up residence in London, while Engels settled in Manchester, where for many years he once again acted as his father's agent. He returned to the life of commerce that he abhorred, in order to obtain funds for his revolutionary and scholarly activities and to be able to assist Marx and his family, who were in dire financial need.

No obstacles could halt Marx's and Engels's scholarly and revolutionary work. Having gained experience from the 1848-1849 revolutions, they continued to work on their theory of scientific communism, as their participation in the revolution had given them the opportunity to test their teaching in practice. The course of events upheld their conclusion that the European bourgeoisie had already exhausted its revolutionary nature and was being replaced historically by the proletariat, which was now the leading revolutionary force.

In London, Marx devoted most of his time to writing *Capital*, a work that was to be his greatest contribution, although it was never completed. The first volume of *Capital* was published in 1867; Engels published the three volumes after his great friend's death in 1883. The writing of *Capital* was a truly scientific and human feat. According to Marx *Capital* was the most crushing shell ever fired at the heads of the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

In *Capital* Marx synthesised the three component parts of his teaching: philosophy (dialectical and historical materialism), political economy and scientific communism. He not only dealt with problems concerning the political economy of capitalism, but also analysed many cardinal aspects of the theory of scientific communism, providing them with a profound philosophical, economic and historical substantiation.

In *Capital*, Marx revealed the laws governing the development and functioning of the capitalist socio-economic formation, exposed its antagonistic contradictions and proved that it would inevitably be replaced by a communist social formation through a proletarian revolution.

Capitalism both created the material prerequisites for socialism and gave rise to the proletariat, which is a revolutionary force capable of ending the rule of the bourgeoisie and establishing a new society. Taken as a whole, "Capital" serves one

purpose: to prove that only the proletariat could carry out a revolution directed at overthrowing capitalism and eliminate the division of society into classes once and for all. The theory of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat was placed in *Capital* on a sound economic foundation. In writing *Capital*, Marx provided the working class with a powerful theoretical weapon for remoulding the world, wiping out exploitation and advancing to a classless society.

The Founders and Leaders of the First International. Marx's and Engels's scientific research work and revolutionary activities were inseparably connected and contributed each other. In 1864, when the first volume of *Capital* was almost complete, Marx interrupted his work to devote all of his time and energy to founding the First International—the International Working Men's Association. The International was set up at a meeting of workers' and democratic organisations of a number of countries, held in London on September 28, 1864. The participants decided to found the International Working Men's Association and elected a Provisional Committee charged to map out its programme and charter.

The task facing Marx—that of drawing up the Charter and Inaugural Address of the new organisation—was a difficult one, since the Inter-

national was to become a mass organisation drawing more and more groups of class-conscious proletarians into its ranks. The goals and direction of the proletarian movement had to be formulated in a way that would be acceptable to the various groups intending to join forces. At the same time, no deviation from the principles of scientific communism could be allowed and the petty-bourgeois elements, influential among the workers' movement, had to be prevented from becoming entrenched in the International. Marx solved this problem brilliantly. The Charter and Inaugural Address he designed formed the basis of the organisation and its work.

The International was headed by the General Council, in which Marx occupied a leading position. The International would never have gained such strength and influence in the international arena without Marx's tireless organisational work and political activities. The prestige of the International grew by the year. A large number of British trade union organisations joined it. The proletarian movement in France and Germany was also coming under the influence of Marxism.

In 1869, the Social-Democratic Labour Party – the first proletarian party organised on a national scale and based, in the main, on the principles of scientific communism – came to existence in Germany. This was yet another victory for the teaching of Marx and Engels, the beginning of a new

stage in the history of the international workers' movement, with new mass parties appearing in other countries. The main issue at the 1871 London Conference of the International and at the 1872 Hague Congress of the International was the creation of workers' political organisations—of proletarian parties—in various countries.

Meanwhile, the conditions under which the International worked had steadily deteriorated. The reactionary forces launched a campaign against the working class. Thus, in a number of countries, in addition to political repression, the bourgeois press began a fierce, slanderous campaign against the leaders of the International. It was becoming impossible for the international mass organisation of the proletariat to continue operating on a legal basis. By the end of 1873, the International virtually ceased to exist and in 1876 it was officially dissolved. The working-class movement was now faced with the task of founding a socialist party in each individual country.

The First International was a vivid example of how the ideas of scientific communism could be implemented: by allegiance to the principles of scientific communism; an internationalist alliance of the forces of the proletariat and its allies; and by a constant struggle against the oppressive policy of the rulers of the old world.

The Lessons of the Paris Commune and the Further Elaboration of the Theory of Scientific Communism. Marx and Engels lived to see the implementation of many of their ideas in the proletarian movement. They saw the European proletariat gather strength and mature to become society's most advanced and revolutionary class, in opposition to the bourgeoisie. The First International—an international organisation of the proletariat which put into practice the appeal of the *Manifesto*: "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!"—existed for nearly ten years. Marx and Engels also witnessed the world's first proletarian revolution and the world's first proletarian state: the Paris Commune.

On March 18, 1871 a revolution flared up in Paris. Several days later the Paris Commune came to power. The first revolutionary measures were aimed at crushing the bourgeois state mechanism and establishing a new type of power: the regular army and political police were abolished; a national guard was organised; the Church was separated from the state; a democratic system of elections was introduced, as were new administrative and legal systems; the principle of responsibility and of electing and replacing officials was put into practice; and their salaries were levelled with those of workers.

The Paris Commune existed for only 72 days. Marx and Engels enthusiastically met the news of

the establishment of the Paris Commune. They followed closely the measures it introduced and by providing advice and recommendations tried to prevent its leaders from making fatal mistakes. After the defeat of the Commune, they thoroughly analysed its experience, thereby deriving a lesson for the world proletarian movement.

Marx stated that the historic significance of the Paris Commune lay in the fact that it served as practical proof of his thesis concerning the need to destroy the bourgeois state mechanism and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Commune he perceived the features of the state of the future.

Marx considered the chief reasons for the Paris Commune's defeat to be its leaders' indecisiveness and the fact that it lacked a revolutionary proletarian party to organise and direct its forces.

In 1869, Engels left his job in the trading firm and moved to London, where he and Marx devoted themselves to scientific and revolutionary work. The workers' movement in Germany attracted their special attention. In 1875, at the Gotha Congress, the Social-Democratic Party united with the General Association of German Workers, founded by Ferdinand Lassalle, a petty-bourgeois revolutionary. In the Programme adopted at the Congress, the Marxists made considerable concessions to Lassalleanism and relinquished a number of important positions in the

theory and practice of communism.

In *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which he wrote in 1875, Marx criticised the faults of this programme. Marx's work is important in that it enriched scientific communism with new ideas and theoretical tenets. Marx proved that Lassalle's views on the extra-class role of the bourgeois state, and on the possibility of making it a people's state, were erroneous and harmful to the workers' movement, since the bourgeois state was hostile towards the proletariat and had to be replaced by a dictatorship of the proletariat by means of a revolution.

In *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx concisely presented his views on the communist socio-economic formation. He wrote that communist society would emerge as a result of long-term and profound revolutionary changes that would embrace all spheres of social life, and that there would be a period of transition between capitalism and communism. The communist formation would go through two stages in its evolution: the socialist and the communist. Marx described the basic features and principles of each of these two stages and formulated the chief conditions necessary for the transformation of socialism into communism.

Marx and Engels could not ignore the emergence of a conciliatory attitude towards petty-bourgeois, reformist ideology among certain

groups of German Social Democrats, or their unscrupulous attempts to combine Marxism with the fashionable bourgeois philosophical theories. This tendency was extremely destructive for the proletarian movement. Eugen Dühring was one such fashionable theoretician who tried to replace Marxism with his own theory, which consisted of ideas taken from various trends of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thought.

In his fundamental work, entitled *Anti-Dühring* (1878), Engels lambasted Dühring's constructions, and summarised and further developed the three component parts of Marxism: philosophy, political economy, and scientific communism. After reading the manuscript Marx approved of the work and wrote a chapter on the history of political economy. *Anti-Dühring* is rightly called "an encyclopaedia of Marxism".

Meanwhile, Marx continued his work on the second and third volumes of *Capital*. In the process he studied world history and the economies of various countries, including Russia. The death of his wife in 1881 was a terrible blow to Marx, who was ill at the time. He himself died on March 14, 1883.

Marx was the acknowledged leader of the international workers' movement. After his death, Engels assumed this role: he was adviser to and leader of the European socialists; continued the struggle against reformism and for the purity of

Marxism, for a correct strategy and correct tactics of the proletarian parties that had appeared in a number of countries; further developed the scientific Weltanschauung, adapting it to the new conditions. At the same time, Engels was preparing the second and third volumes of *Capital* for publication. Frederick Engels died in 1895.

The Triumph of Marxism in the Workers' Movement. Lenin described the history of the workers' and socialist movement of the first two-thirds of the 19th century as follows: "This was the period of preparation and of the birth of Marxism, the only socialist doctrine that has stood the test of history. The period occupied approximately the first two-thirds of the last century and ended with the complete victory of Marxism, the collapse (especially after the Revolution of 1848) of all pre-Marxian forms of socialism and the separation of the working class from petty-bourgeois democracy and its entry upon an independent historical path."¹

Why did Marxism triumph in the workers' movement? Primarily because of the tremendous scientific and revolutionary work carried out by Marx and Engels. The development of their new

¹ V. I. Lenin, "August Bebel", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1973, p. 295.

teaching was in close contact with the proletarian movement. This teaching itself largely advanced along with the growth of the working class and its class struggle. Right at the beginning Marx and Engels concluded that only a class revolutionary party of the proletariat could fuse a spontaneous workers' movement with scientific socialism. That is why they put such efforts into creating a revolutionary party. The foundation of correspondent committees in various countries, the reorganisation of the League of the Just along principles of scientific communism into the Communist League, which was a prototype of a communist party, were important landmarks in the spread of Marxism among the advanced section of the proletariat.

The work of the First International which laid the foundations for the formation of mass proletarian parties in various countries, promoted the victory of Marxism within the workers' movement. Marx's and Engels's outright criticism of all schools and trends of utopian socialism and communism paved the way for the spread of Marxism among the proletariat.

They closely followed the evolution of workers' movements in other countries and did everything within their power to promote the ascendance of a Marxist platform in the emerging working-class organisations and parties. Marx and Engels had many disciples and followers. The most outstand-

ing of them contributed to the development of Marxism becoming its ardent publicists and defenders. They introduced Marxism as the ideological, organisational and tactical basis of the evolving social-democratic parties.

August Bebel, Wilhelm and Karl Liebknecht, and Franz Mehring, distinguished leaders of the German social-democratic movement, made a notable contribution to the victory of Marxism in the German workers' movement. Antonio Labriola was the theoretician and propagandist of Marxism in Italy, while Paul Lafargue, the husband of Marx's daughter Laura, performed the same mission in France. Georgy Plekhanov was an outstanding propagandist of Marxism in Russia. In 1883 in Geneva he founded the first Russian Marxist group—Emancipation of Labour. The Bulgarian revolutionary Dimitr Blagoyev, the founder and leader of the Bulgarian *tesnyaks* (Revolutionary Party) was the pioneer in disseminating Marxism in Bulgaria.

The establishment, in 1889, of an international association of the workers' organisations of almost all European countries and also of the United States and the Argentine, at the Inaugural Congress of the Second International held in Paris, was convincing demonstration of the triumph of Marxism in the workers' movement. At first, the Second International, guided by Engels, functioned as a proletarian organisation following the

principles of Marxism. It facilitated the dissemination of Marxist ideas, mobilised the forces of the working class and established ties between the workers' parties. During that period, the socialist parties of a number of European countries became an influential political force. After the death of Engels in 1895, the leadership in the Second International was gradually assumed by opportunists, who proceeded to revise Marx's revolutionary teaching.

The next stage in the development of Marxism and the theory and practice of scientific communism was connected with Lenin's scientific and revolutionary activities.

Lenin—the Great Follower of Marx's and Engels's Teaching and Cause

Leninism as a New Stage in the Evolution of Marxism. Leninism was a new stage in the evolution of Marxism. It was founded by Lenin, a brilliant thinker and great revolutionary. Leninism, which first appeared in Russia, is by no means a purely Russian phenomenon. It is an international teaching of the working-class and communist movement, engendered by the imperialist age.

Lenin was the only Marxist of his time to grasp the essence of the time, to create a scientific

theory of imperialism, and to draw new theoretical and political conclusions from this theory, the most important being that imperialism was moribund, decaying and parasitic capitalism, the eve of the socialist revolution.

Lenin pointed out that the workers' and socialist movement of the early 20th century did not fit the new tasks advanced by the new, imperialist age. The parties of the Second International, led by the opportunists, had lost their Marxist image; they had ceased to be revolutionary parties and had become reformist ones. The ideological tone was set by the revisionists, who, under the guise of "free criticism", distorted Marx's teaching, nullifying its revolutionary essence. Such parties were obviously incapable of leading the European proletariat in its attack on capitalism.

Lenin came to the conclusion that Marxism could only be revived in the workers' movement by a new type of party, one that differed fundamentally from those of the Second International. This was to be a party free from opportunism and factions, and guided by the principles of scientific communism.

The fact that Russia was the birthplace of Leninism only serves to prove its international nature. By the early 20th century, the centre of the world revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia, now the most vulnerable link in the imperialist system and the focal point of its contra-

dictions. The revolutionary fire that flared up in Russia might have spread at any moment to the other European countries becoming the prologue of a world proletarian revolution. That is why the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat acquired international significance.

Capitalism in Russia, as in other European countries, had reached the imperialist stage in its development. The character of imperialism is not national, but international. Therefore, Lenin's theoretical discoveries, concerning Russia, are of an international importance and are the creative development of Marxism.

The Formation of Leninism and the Beginning of Lenin's Revolutionary Work.

Leninism took shape as the Marxism of a new age, the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Its founder, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (whose real surname was Ulyanow), was born on April 22, 1870 in the town of Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk). His father, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov, the son of a Russian serf, was a teacher and, later, inspector and director of the Simbirsk Gubernia public schools. He was a distinguished pedagogue and enlightener, and a cultured man of high moral standards. He shared the views of the Russian revolutionary democrats of the 1860s—Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev. Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna Ulya-

nova, was an educated woman, who was talented in music, took an interest in literature and art, and spoke several languages. She was indeed a heroic woman, who bore the blows of fate staunchly: in 1886 she lost her husband, and a year later her elder son, Alexander Ulyanov, was executed for participating in the assassination plot against Alexander III. During the subsequent years her other children, all of whom became professional revolutionaries, were imprisoned and exiled time and again. Maria Alexandrovna died in 1916.

In the summer of 1885, Vladimir Ulyanov, then still at school, first began to read Marx's *Capital*, which his brother Alexander had brought him from St. Petersburg. Lenin acquired his Marxist views at an early age. At seventeen, when his brother Alexander, a member of the People's Will (Narodnaya Volya) Party, which did not acknowledge Marxism, was executed, Vladimir Ulyanov said: "No, we won't take that path. That isn't the path to take". Lenin admired his brother and the other revolutionaries of the People's Will Party, but disagreed with their terrorist methods and attempts to put an end to autocracy and oppression by assassinating certain high officials and even the Tsar. Vladimir Ulyanov chose another course of struggle, the Marxist one.

In 1887, Vladimir Ulyanov graduated from the Simbirsk school with excellent marks and

enrolled at the Law Department of Kazan University. Soon afterwards he was arrested, expelled from the University and exiled to the village of Kokushkino (Kazan Gubernia) for participating in the students' revolutionary movement. In the autumn of 1888, he was permitted to return to Kazan. The following autumn the family moved to Samara. In 1891, as an external student, Lenin took the exams for the full law course of St. Petersburg University and passed with excellent marks. In August 1893, he left Samara and moved to St. Petersburg.

While in exile in Kokushkino, Lenin continued studying the works of Marx and Engels and, on his return to Kazan, joined a Marxist circle. While in Samara, Lenin organised a Marxist circle there. Young Lenin had a remarkable knowledge of Marxism, and soon after his arrival in St. Petersburg, he became the leader of the local Marxists. He was greatly respected by the more politically advanced workers, who were members of the Marxist circles where he lectured.

More clearly than the other Marxists, Lenin realised that, without the ideological defeat of the *Narodniks* (a petty-bourgeois peasant socialist movement), Marxism could not triumph in the Russian revolutionary and workers' movement. In 1894, Lenin wrote his first major work: *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. In it he demolished the views of

the liberal Narodnik movement. Lenin also devoted a number of other works to the same topic.

At that time, on the wave of successful struggle by the Marxists (first of all by Lenin and Plekhanov) against the *Narodniks*, there appeared a number of ideologists calling themselves "Marxists", but who interpreted Marxism from their own, bourgeois-liberal point of view. These people were referred to as "legal Marxists". Lenin denounced this false Marxism in another of his major works written in the 1890s, *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of It in Mr. Struve's Book*.

In 1899, while in exile, Lenin completed yet another of his principal works *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. In this book he proceeded from extensive factual data, to prove that Russia had embarked on a capitalist development course and that all theories concerning the possibility of Russia advancing towards socialism, by-passing capitalism, through the establishment of peasant communes, were not only unrealisable but reactionary.

Lenin strongly criticised the various theories on Russia's unique and original historical development. His theoretical theses and conclusions had always been of an international, not a national or regional nature. This was only natural, since Russia, on taking the course of capitalist develop-

ment, had joined the world capitalist system, thus becoming subject to its common international laws.

In works written in the 1890s, Lenin not only defended Marxism against its ideological opponents, but also creatively developed its three component parts. During this period, *Leninism, as Marxism of the age of imperialism and proletarian revolutions*, appeared in the historical arena.

Lenin—Founder and Leader of a New Type of Party. From the very start of his revolutionary activities, Lenin proceeded from Marx's and Engels's fundamental idea that only under the guidance of its own party could the proletariat *fulfill its historic mission*. Thus, a party of a new type was to be created, since the parties of the Second International, so infected with opportunism, could not meet this requirement.

The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin in 1895 in St. Petersburg, was the prototype of such a party. For the first time in the Russian history scientific communism was combined with the workers' movement. The St. Petersburg Marxists, headed by Lenin, united the workers' circles of young Marxists into a single revolutionary organisation that led workers' strikes, published leaflets and distributed them in factories. In late

1895, most of the League's leaders were arrested. Lenin spent over a year in prison, after which he was exiled to Siberia for three years.

In exile, Lenin continued his revolutionary activities. By the end of his sentence, he had elaborated a plan for building up a party of a new type. The distinctive feature of this plan was that the organisation of the new party would be initiated not at a congress, but as a result of the setting up of a national Marxist newspaper. It would attract agents, thus forming the nucleus of the future party. The main point was to unite all the Marxists of Russia ideologically. The current conditions made it impossible, however, to start a newspaper in Russia.

In June 1900, Lenin went abroad. There, together with prominent Marxists Plekhanov, Akselrod and Zasulich he founded *Iskra* ("The Spark") which was illegally distributed in Russia. Both ideologically and organisationally, Lenin's *Iskra* helped to unite the socialist circles of Russia into a party. The editorial board of *Iskra*, in which Lenin played a decisive role, elaborated the Party's draft Programme and Rules.

The organisational structure of the Party was worked out at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP), held in Brussels, and then in London in July-August of 1903. A sharp struggle with the opportunists, which was led mainly by Lenin, resulted in the

adoption of the *Iskra* Programme, including its provisions concerning a dictatorship of the proletariat, an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the right of nations to self-determination and proletarian internationalism.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP failed to found an integral, monolithic party. The Party was divided into distinct wings. The Left, Leninist wing, known as the "hard" Iskristis, received a majority of the votes during the elections to the central bodies and thus came to be called Bolshevik (after the Russian word *bolshe* – more), while the right, opportunist wing was called Menshevik (after the Russian word *men-she* – less). Although, prior to 1912, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were officially considered as two parts of a single organisation, they were, in fact, two separate parties. The Mensheviks had much in common with the opportunist parties of the Second International. The Bolsheviks acted as a consistently revolutionary proletarian party. The subsequent course of events in the international workers' and socialist movement demonstrated convincingly that the split of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was not a national phenomenon, but an international one. The proletarians of all countries needed parties, that aimed to achieve a socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin's teaching

on the party of a new type, elaborated on the basis of the situation in Russia, was of international significance.

Lenin was both the theoretician and leader of the proletarian party of the new type. The Bolshevik Party headed the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1905 and February 1917, and accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the first triumphant socialist revolution in the history of mankind.

Proceeding from the new conditions, Lenin devoted many years of his life to devising the theory of a socialist revolution. At the time of the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, he provided the Bolsheviks with a basic theory on the direct transformation of such a revolution into a socialist revolution. This theory was devised in the midst of an intense theoretical and political struggle against the Mensheviks, who supported the outdated theoretical dogma of the opportunists of the Second International. They held that a proletarian revolution had to be divided by a considerable span of time from a bourgeois-democratic one, which was needed, in the opportunists' opinion for creating the necessary preconditions for a socialist revolution in the course of the further development of capitalism.

Lenin proved that this opportunist dogma was obsolete and irrelevant in the new era, since im-

perialism was already mature enough for a socialist revolution. He continued that the bourgeoisie, terrified by the proletariat, flung itself into the arms of the reactionary feudal and landlord forces, thus ceasing to be a revolutionary force. The proletariat, rather than the bourgeoisie now assumed the role of the leader and hegemon of the revolution. In alliance with all the peasantry, it was capable of achieving a bourgeois-democratic revolution and, later, in alliance with the poorest peasantry, would be able to accomplish a socialist one. Lenin's thesis on the transformation of a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one has been fully confirmed by the revolutionary events in Russia and other countries.

Lenin's theory on imperialism provided the basis for his further development of his theory of socialist revolution. A key element of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution was his thesis that socialism could triumph initially in just a few countries or even in one. This thesis stemmed from the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalist countries during the imperialist age. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, where the weakest link in the early 20th-century imperialist chain was broken, and the subsequent successful building of a socialist society under conditions of capitalist encirclement, verified Lenin's prediction. It was further reaffirmed by the victorious revolu-

tions in a number of countries after World War II.

On the eve of the October Revolution and, in particular, in the summer and autumn of 1917, Lenin wrote a number of works on the socialist reconstruction of Russia. *The State and Revolution*, the most outstanding of these, deals with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the pressing problems involved in founding a proletarian state.

Lenin defended Marx's and Engels's teaching on the state and revolution against its numerous adversaries and enriched it with new theses and provisions.

Lenin's Great Theoretical and Practical Contribution to the Building of Socialism.

Lenin is known to the world for his leadership of the Great October Socialist Revolution and for his outstanding theoretical and practical activities in building socialism.

Marx and Engels, for whom the building of socialism was a relatively remote phenomenon, did not have the necessary historical material at their disposal for outlining an integral theory of the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism. Lenin's situation was quite different especially after the October Revolution. He created the science of the building of socialism and the theory of the period of transition from

capitalism to socialism, which was a notable contribution to the development of scientific communism.

Lenin's plan for building socialism was actually a programme for changing all spheres of the life of society—economic, social, class, national, political and every-day—in line with the principles of scientific communism. The main directions of the socialist reconstruction of Russia were: the socialist industrialisation of production, cooperation of individual peasant holdings and a cultural revolution. Although this was necessitated by Russia's socio-economic backwardness, Lenin's ideas on building socialism were of international significance and were successfully implemented in other countries after World War II.

The need to restore the national economy at a time when the Soviet state lacked the necessary economic resources to do so, obliged the Government to resort to capitalist elements to encourage an economic revival. Lenin had no fear of these new private capitalist elements, since state power and the key industries were in the hands of the working class and its allies. A sensible use of private capital actually hastened the building of socialism. This policy, called the New Economic Policy (NEP), is characteristic of the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

By overcoming immense difficulties, Soviet Russia progressed towards socialism. On Lenin's

initiative, GOELRO – the plan for the electrification of the country and the first long-term plan for the national economy – was drawn up in 1920.

In 1922-1923, shortly before his death in 1924, Lenin wrote a number of small articles that were extremely important from the theoretical, practical and political points of view. In these works he summarised the grandiose post-revolutionary socialist reorganisation, outlined the prospects for building socialism in the Soviet Union and devised a plan for promoting the world liberation movement.

Lenin died on January 21, 1924 at 6.50 p.m. The Bolshevik Party he had founded successfully implemented Lenin's plan for building socialism in Russia.

Lenin's Theory of the World Revolutionary Process. Throughout his scientific and revolutionary life, Lenin dealt with the cardinal theoretical questions of the world revolutionary process. After the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia his activities in this field became especially intensive. On the basis of an analysis of the Revolution's national and international consequences, Lenin laid the foundations for the teaching on the present era, one of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Lenin's theories on building socialism and on

the world revolutionary process imparted new qualities to his teaching. Leninism thus became the Marxism of the period of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism as well as that of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The union of all revolutionary forces and, primarily, of the working class, on both a national and a world scale, is the key element in Lenin's conception of the world revolutionary process. Lenin linked the fulfilment of this task with the unification of all the truly revolutionary forces in the Third Communist International.

The October Revolution exerted a major influence on the formation of communist parties in capitalist countries and brought about the necessary conditions for the establishment of the Communist International. In 1918, communist parties were organised in Hungary, Germany, Poland, Finland, Austria, the Argentine, Holland, and Greece. In a number of countries (Italy, France, Britain, the USA, etc.), communist groups emerged and developed both within and separate from the socialist parties. The First Inaugural Congress of the Third Communist International (March 1919) was joined by representatives of communist parties and groups from 30 countries.

The Third Communist International, founded by Lenin, was the heir and successor of the First International, which had laid the ideological foundations for the proletariat's international

struggle for socialism, as well as of the best traditions of the workers' movement in the subsequent period. The Comintern existed from 1919 to 1943, during which time 7 congresses were convened; the last (in 1935) represented 76 communist parties, of which only 22 were legally recognised.

The Comintern's historic significance lies in the fact that it established and strengthened the ties between the working people of various countries; worked out theoretical questions concerning the workers' movement under the new conditions after World War I; outlined the general principles for disseminating communist ideas; protected the Marxist-Leninist teaching from being distorted by opportunists; and trained the leadership of the communist parties. Thus, the Comintern paved the way for turning the young communist parties into mass workers' parties. Lenin's theoretical and practical contribution to the work of the Communist International was truly great.

Lenin founded the Third Communist International with the aim of uniting all the isolated revolutionary contingents and groups into organised revolutionary forces capable of taking decisive offensive on imperialism. Lenin held that the chief task of the communist movement was to attract the majority of the workers to its side, while that of a revolutionary party was to unite the workers on both a national and an interna-

tional scale.

Lenin advanced and elaborated the idea of merging the socialist revolution with the national liberation movement of the oppressed colonial peoples within the world revolutionary process. Thus, he considered the Comintern's slogan "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!" to be of vital significance. Proceeding from Lenin's ideas, the Comintern carried out extensive work by uniting the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Lenin's thesis on the possibility of countries with a low level of socio-economic development advancing to socialism by-passing the capitalist stage of development, has been confirmed by subsequent events. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (1969) stressed that the advance of a number of African and Asian countries along a non-capitalist development path was an outstanding achievement of the national liberation movement. A socialist orientation has become the official policy of many newly liberated national states.

The unification of the revolutionary forces in a joint struggle against imperialism, and the interaction, development and consolidation of these forces constitute the cornerstone of Lenin's conception of the world revolutionary process. Under current conditions, this conception is reflected in

the increasingly strong links between the national liberation movement, the world socialist system, the working class and other progressive forces in the capitalist countries.

The struggle for peace and against imperialist aggression, militarism and war occupies a special place in Lenin's theory and programme for the communist movement. The mapping out of the ways and means for preventing a new world war has become an important contribution of Leninism today.

Lenin's ideas on the world revolutionary process and the evolution of the international workers' and communist movement continue to serve today's communists and world's progressive forces in their struggle against international imperialism, and for peace, democracy and socialism.

Leninism and the Present Era

Leninism as the Marxism of Today. A Critique of Bourgeois and Revisionist Conceptions. The term Leninism customarily used to imply more than Lenin's works only. Over the last 60 or more years since Lenin's death, tremendous and irreversible revolutionary changes have taken place in the world.

The present-day epoch is an epoch of the transi-

tion from capitalism to socialism and communism, of the historic competition of two world socio-political systems, an epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, of the downfall of imperialism and of the struggle of the basic forces of social development—world socialism, the workers' and communist movement, the nations of the newly-free states and mass democratic movement—against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression, and for peace, democracy and social progress.

The present age has brought about new phenomena and factors, calling for a further development of Leninism. This is being done by the communist parties' and the international communist movement's theoretical research. This, on the whole, makes up the content of Leninism as the Marxism of the present era.

Lenin realised that no revolutionary practice could exist without a revolutionary theory. He wrote: "...the absence of theory deprives a revolutionary trend of the right to existence and inevitably condemns it, sooner or later, to political bankruptcy."¹ Lenin was concerned about the elaboration of a revolutionary theory and about

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Revolutionary Adventurism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1977, p. 186.

combining it with the workers' movement, since he contended that advanced ideas become a mighty revolutionary force when they reach the consciousness of the masses.

The adversaries of Marxism-Leninism are also aware of this, however, which is why they are putting in so much effort in discrediting Leninism in the eyes of the working masses, and in ideologically disorienting the international workers' and communist movement by such unscrupulous methods as misinterpreting Lenin's revolutionary activities and his theoretical legacy.

The ideologists of anti-communism and opportunists of all lines allege that since the world has changed so radically, Leninism has become obsolete and cannot serve as the Marxism of today. The world has, indeed, changed greatly. Not only do communists acknowledge this; they also study these changes from a Marxist point of view in order to develop Leninism further on this basis. The revolutionary forces, guided by Marxism-Leninism, have been greatly responsible for these changes.

Leninism cannot become outdated, since the world is developing according to its predictions, devised on the basis of a profound study of the new situation. The changes that have taken place in the world conform to the forces and historical patterns discovered by Lenin. The changes that have taken place in modern capitalism have not

affected the nature of imperialism, its aggressiveness or the economic and socio-political laws of development Lenin revealed. This means that the laws governing the proletariat's class struggle and the patterns of socialist revolution, and the building of socialism revealed by Lenin continue to exist in a modified form. Nor have these changes affected the internationalist nature of the working class or its historic mission. The economic and social factors that engender opportunism within the workers' movement still exist in the capitalist countries. Thus, Lenin's teaching on the revolutionary party of the proletariat and its allies in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism, on the struggle against right-wing and Left-wing opportunism, on the ways and means for uniting the working class and the communist movement, is as valid as ever. It can be justifiably stated that no one fundamental provision of Leninism has become outdated, since the phenomena, forces, classes, conditions and economic and socio-political laws and patterns that originally gave rise to Leninism still exist and are valid today.

Rejection of the international character of Leninism is yet another method used by anti-communist, opportunist and revisionist propaganda. It declares that a teaching lacking international significance cannot be the Marxism of today. In order to prove that Lenin's teaching is not of an international character, they focus on

only those aspects of Lenin's theoretical legacy that concern Russian conditions and reiterate the socio-economic backwardness of pre-revolutionary Russia. By means of such misrepresentations, they try to demonstrate that Leninism is a product of Russia's backwardness and her specific historical conditions, and that it is only a national, not an international phenomenon. They claim that Lenin's contribution lay in his ability to apply Marxism to an economically backward country, so his legacy is at best of local significance, and then only to backward nations.

The inventors of these constructions ignore the fact that Russia, which was relatively behind the other countries in embarking on its capitalist development, lived according to the same uniform international laws that governed the capitalist mode of production. The specific Russian conditions and backwardness had no effect on the international nature of imperialism, which had become established in the country, but only interlaced it with the survivals of feudalism. The proletariat in Russia was formed in accordance with the same laws as in the other capitalist countries. Its class struggle also took shape in accordance with general international laws. The only distinction was that it was oppressed also by the remnants of feudalism and by tsarism, the stronghold of military-feudal imperialism. Leninism did not appear in Russia because it was a back-

ward country, but because it had become the centre of the world revolutionary movement since the country included all the basic contradictions of world imperialism, and was therefore its weakest link.

In his theoretical and practical revolutionary work, Lenin dealt not only with specific Russian conditions (of which he was always aware), but mainly with the general patterns of capitalism during its imperialist stage of development. Leninism was never a national or regional doctrine. Its international nature is expressed in the fact that it is a continuation of Marxism developed during a new stage in the history of mankind; it reflects the vital interests and aspirations of the international working class, and provides and scientifically substantiates solutions to the most pressing problems of today and the revolutionary struggle by all working and oppressed nations.

Anti-Marxists have lately put forward a new argument that they hope will nullify the international nature of Leninism as the Marxism of today. They tirelessly propound the idea that there is no longer any such thing as a single Marxist teaching, since so many modifications of Marxism have appeared; Marxism cannot, therefore, be regarded as a scientific theory, for it gives too many interpretations of each individual issue. Within the framework of such reasoning,

Leninism is presented as one of the many varieties of Marxism, the relationship between Lenin's legacy and that of Marx and Engels is distorted, and the rightfulness of the concept of Marxism-Leninism as such is negated.

Indeed, falsehood has many faces, while scientific truth has but one. It is also true that, nowadays, there exist many trends calling themselves Marxist, Leninist or Marxist-Leninist. Yet, only the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and their followers can be regarded as true, scientific Marxism, a teaching that has been proved correct by actual revolutionary events. Marx's and Engels's teaching consists of three components, which Lenin developed and defended against various misinterpretations and distortions. Any attempt by bourgeois and revisionist ideologists to oppose Lenin to Marx and Leninism to Marxism are scientifically futile, since Leninism succeeds Marxism both historically and theoretically. Generally speaking, Marxism and Leninism are the Marxism of the modern age, because the fundamental ideas of Marx and Engels are as valid today as they were before.

The appearance of various interpretations of Marxism is proof of a growing interest in this doctrine and not of its crisis. It would be naive to believe that socialist ideas will be equally and identically accepted by the millions of people who are drawn into the revolutionary movement, and

by the countries that have taken a socialist development path and differ greatly from one another in their historical traditions and levels of economic, social, class and political development. Yet, the fact that millions of people in various countries are attracted by scientific socialism attests to the increased strength and influence of Marxism.

There is good reason for the opponents of communism to attack Leninism and not the revisionist versions of "Marxism". To regard Leninism as a locally limited theory, or to view it as a variation of Marxism is to misunderstand the international essence of Marxism-Leninism as the one and only scientifically substantiated viewpoint of the revolutionary working class.

Marx's and Engels's ideas, elaborated and enriched by Lenin, are the leading ideas of our day. At present, Marxism-Leninism is playing a major progressive role in the lives of nations. It is being further developed and updated by new social phenomena. The victory of socialism in a number of countries, the emergence and development of the world socialist system, the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system, the aggravation of the general crisis of imperialism, the 20th-century scientific and technological revolution, the progress achieved in the field of education and culture have formed the basis for the further development of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin as the Great Theoretician of Communism. From the 1890s, when he appeared on the political scene, Lenin studied not only the Russian workers' movement, but the history of the world revolutionary struggle. He assumed the role of both the leader of the Russian proletariat and the founder of its revolutionary party becoming an outstanding figure in the international working-class movement and heading the bitter struggle against right- and Left-wing opportunism. Lenin was highly regarded as the teacher and leader of the world proletariat.

In *What Is to Be Done?* and *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Lenin developed the Marxist teaching on the strategy and tactics of the class struggle and revolution, proceeding mostly from the experience of the Russian working-class movement, compared with the experience gained by the European proletariat. In *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* and "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* Lenin proved the validity of this teaching on the basis of the history of the international workers' movement.

Lenin proved that Russia's development was governed by the general laws of capitalism, since she had taken the capitalist road of development. At the same time, he wrote a classical work on imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, in which on the basis of data on world development

he revealed the economic relations of this new historical stage.

Lenin was a great authority on agrarian relations in Russia. He studied this question concerning many other countries as well and created a theory and programme on agrarian relations.

Lenin, a true internationalist, was quick to respond to the urgent issues confronting the national movements in tsarist Russia. He supported all forms of struggle against national oppression, and worked out the communist party's programme on the nationalities' question. Lenin's works on the national and colonial issues, written on the basis of a study of international relations, are an outstanding contribution to Marxism.

Lenin's works amassed the experience of three Russian revolutions and the first years of building socialism in Russia. They obviously exceeded national limits, and were of tremendous international importance.

Lenin summarised the experience of the world liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat with a view to the tasks presented by the new era. He concluded on that basis that the proletariat could fulfill its historic mission if it were guided by a revolutionary theory and by a revolutionary organisation – a party of a new type. Lenin fulfilled both of these tasks brilliantly.

At the same time, Lenin generalised the experience of the world working-class movement, as well as the progressive scientific ideas of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In the struggle against opportunist leaders of the Second International (who had descended in their political views to the idea of capitalism gradually turning into socialism and who rejected revolutionary struggle), Lenin defended and further developed the Marxist theory and programme of the world working-class movement.

Even this brief description of Lenin's contribution to the Marxist theory of socialism and communism is sufficient to demonstrate that Lenin's works brought scientific communism into the present age and form the current stage in its development.

The Creative Development of the Teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The theory of communism is now being theoretically and practically developed by the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the communist parties of the other socialist countries.

The CPSU and the other fraternal parties are constantly concerned with the further elaboration of the three component parts of Marxism: philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. The latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution are being philo-

sophically analysed and the dialectics of current social development studied. The political economy of socialism is being further elaborated, and the contradictions and new phenomena in the economy of state-monopoly capitalism are being examined.

The communist parties of the socialist countries are making a major contribution to the study of the basic laws and motive forces behind socialist society. They are developing and giving concrete expression to the Marxist-Leninist provisions on the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, on the economic and cultural development of socialist society, on changes in class structure, on the ways and means for eliminating class distinctions, on the role of the working class and its party, and on socialist statehood and democracy during the building and improvement of developed socialism.

The communist movement is developing and scoring new victories under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Socialism has become a way of life for millions of people inhabiting a third of the globe. It first triumphed in Russia, the homeland of Lenin, but nowadays embraces many other countries as well. The ideas of Leninism on the uniformities of the victory of a socialist revolution and on building socialism are being accepted by an ever-growing number of politically advanced workers in the developed capitalist and develop-

ing countries.

Leninism is resolutely opposed to revisionism and all other political trends that support a revision of what has long since proved valid. At the same time, the Leninist method is incompatible with stagnant philosophical thought. Marxism must not be regarded as a chest full of treasures that can be pulled out whenever the need arises. Yet, all attempts to impart various ideological constructions to Marxism (including bourgeois-liberal and revisionist conceptions) on the pretext of further developing it, are most harmful.

Marxism-Leninism does not claim to have a complete and final knowledge of all world phenomena or to possess a set of absolute truths that are easy to repeat and apply. Marxism-Leninism is a living and developing teaching. Leninism's strength and its immense influence on world history and progress lies in its strictly scientific nature, in its constant correlation of theoretical provisions with social reality, in its correct analysis of the present and forecast of the future on the basis of definite knowledge of life.

Chapter 6. THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
AND THE BUILDING OF
SOCIALISM

Socialist Revolution as a Social
Revolution of a New Type

The Socialist Revolution as a Governing Principle of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism. As capitalism develops, it creates the conditions for its own downfall and the necessary prerequisites for building socialism. Lenin wrote: "...it *has its origin* in capitalism, ... it develops historically from capitalism, ... it is the result of the action of a social force to which capitalism *gave birth*."¹ From capitalism society progresses to the first stage of communism, i. e., socialism.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, 1977, p. 463.

The downfall of capitalism is inevitable for the following reasons: (a) its production relations (based on private capitalist ownership) hamper the development of the productive forces, which have acquired a social nature; (b) the development of the capitalist mode of production leads to accumulation of capital, of tremendous fortunes at one pole of society, and to unemployment, misery and a deterioration of the working masses' conditions at the other pole; (c) as capitalist production increases, its inherent contradictions—between wage labour and capital, between the social nature of production and the private capitalist form of its organisation, between the developed productive forces and the outdated relations of production, and between production and consumption—become more and more acute; (d) the intensification of the antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist economy aggravates all the other antagonisms of bourgeois society—social and class, social and political, ideological—and results in the growth and intensification of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Capitalism is unable to solve the antagonistic contradictions that it itself engendered so their accumulation and aggravation over time bring bourgeois society into deep crisis. The only way to eliminate this crisis is to replace capitalism by socialism.

In its development capitalism produces the following factors which govern this replacement: (a) the productive forces created by capitalism become the material and technical basis for building socialism; (b) the progress achievements of bourgeois science, technology and culture are employed by socialist society; (c) after a certain reorganisation bourgeois institutions on banking, finances, commodity-money circulation, accounting and distribution serve the socialist state; (d) a certain professional structure—the working people—needed to found a socialist economy, is left over by capitalism.

The proletariat, which grows in numbers and changes qualitatively as the productive forces develop, is the chief prerequisite. When capitalist society reaches an average level of development, the proletariat becomes a force potentially capable of achieving transition to socialism. At this stage, Marxism-Leninism becomes its ideological guide in the struggle against capitalism and for socialism. The class struggle of the proletariat gives rise to trade unions and a communist party, which unites the spontaneous workers' movement with scientific communism. Thus, an ideological theory becomes a material force capable of destroying capitalism and creating socialism. Proletarian internationalism unites the proletarians of the world into a mighty army based on class solidarity, and ensures the unity of the proletarian

ranks.

No matter how deep the crisis of bourgeois society, capitalism cannot disintegrate automatically or spontaneously. The capitalists resort to all possible ways and means to defend their privileges: the state power and its punitive mechanism, the army, which is ideologically brainwashed, the Church, the workers' bureaucracy, bourgeois ideological advocates, even criminal elements, and so on. This situation excludes any evolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism, i. e., one that does not include a socialist revolution. A socialist system can only replace a bourgeois one through revolution.

A socialist revolution is not a conspiracy. It is not a coup, carried out by a group of revolutionaries, but a movement and struggle by millions of working people, headed by the working class and guided by a Marxist-Leninist party.

The founders of scientific communism strongly opposed the attempts by right-wing opportunists to replace the theory of the revolutionary class struggle by preaching class cooperation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They exposed the reformist ideas on the peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism and the elimination of the basic vices of capitalism while preserving its socio-economic foundations. At the same time, Marx, Engels and Lenin criticised the adventurist tactics and pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric of the

petty-bourgeois Leftist opportunists and sectarians. The classics of Marxism-Leninism warned against attempts to achieve a revolution without analysing the situation and noted that "a radical social revolution is connected with definite historical conditions of economic development".¹

In "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* Lenin demonstrated that social revolutions cannot be carried out to order, or exported from one country to another. Social revolutions evolve in the course of a given country's historical development, flaring up as a result of an intensification of the acute national and international contradictions of capitalism, and take place when a revolutionary situation and the necessary objective and subjective factors are present.

Marxist-Leninist parties have always been against the export of revolution, since while being a part of the world-wide socialist revolutionary process, each individual revolution is carried out by the working class and working masses of each country separately. At the same time, the Marxist-Leninist parties protest against the imperialist export of counterrevolution, and resolutely

¹ Karl Marx, "From Comments on Bakunin's Book, *Statehood and Anarchy*", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Two, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 411.

rebuff the imperialists' interference in the affairs of other countries.

The ideologists of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism try to present the victorious socialist revolutions as historical mistakes, as chance occurrences of history, and as deviations from the regular course of history. They deny that the new proletarian revolutions are logical, inevitable and lawful. The adherents of imperialist technocratic conceptions try to prove that the scientific and technological revolution eliminates the need for social revolution in general, and socialist revolution in particular. They state that the scientific and technological revolution creates a new "technical" civilisation that allegedly does away with the contradictions between capitalism and socialism. Revisionists view socialism as an automatic consequence of the scientific and technological revolution, thus asserting that socialism can be achieved not through a socialist revolution, but through "improved" capitalism.

The Main Question of a Socialist Revolution. The question of state power is basic to every revolution. A socialist revolution deprives the bourgeoisie – the last exploiting class in history – of power. The bourgeoisie never relinquishes its power voluntarily. The working class and the communist party solve the main question of the revolution by overthrowing the power of mo-

nopoly capital and establishing the power of the working class. This is necessary in order to put down the bourgeoisie's resistance to protect the revolution and its gains, to eradicate capitalism and build a socialist society.

It is sometimes erroneously stated that there is no need for a dictatorship of the proletariat or, in other words, the political power of the working class, during a peaceful transition to socialism, but only when the proletariat attains power through an armed uprising, civil war, guerilla actions, etc. Such an approach regards the dictatorship of the proletariat as an indispensable limitation of democracy. Any limitation of democracy that may occur during the transition from capitalism to socialism is not, however, a feature inherent in the dictatorship of the proletariat, but a result of an intensification of the class struggle, of a civil war launched by the overthrown bourgeoisie, of its counterrevolutionary activities and sabotage. In its socio-class essence, the power of the working class means a democracy for the working people, i. e., for the majority and a weapon for suppressing the resistance of the exploiting class and their allies.

Such power is a necessary condition during both peaceful and armed forms of revolutionary transition to socialism in any country. Experience has shown that it can be established as a direct result of socialist revolutions, or of transitional

stages in the struggle, within the framework of a non-capitalist road of development, or the development of democratic revolutions of all types and forms into socialist ones.

The establishment of the political power of the working class calls for the disintegration of the state power mechanism. This includes: (a) removing the bourgeoisie from power (abolition of the bourgeois government and the bureaucratic apparatus); (b) disbanding the old army and eliminating the military-police and military-bureaucratic apparatus; (c) changing the class function, reorganising and adapting such bourgeois institutions as banking, accounting and economic management, etc., to the needs of the revolution, and of building socialism.

The need to destroy the bourgeois state power mechanism does not predetermine the ways and means by which this is to be carried out. They depend on the form of socialist revolution in the given country.

The Forms of Socialist Revolution. Historical experience has proved the validity of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on peaceful or armed forms of socialist revolution. The two forms are interwoven with one sometimes developing into the other. The experience gained from both peaceful struggle and non-peaceful one and from their interconnection in the course of the October

Revolution in Russia, the people's democratic revolutions in the countries of Central and South-East Europe, Asia and the Cuban Revolution is of major importance.

A peaceful attainment of power by the proletariat, one not involving armed clashes, in which the proletariat makes use of bourgeois parliamentary institutions, has nothing in common with superficial parliamentary activities or with the usual struggle to gain a majority in parliament. A peaceful revolution can be achieved when the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie is blocked and the army mainly refuses to support it. In this case, the bourgeoisie has no choice but to relinquish its power voluntarily.

It is impossible to pledge, in advance, to use only one of these two forms for gaining power in any situation. Lenin wrote on this: "To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position."¹

Anti-communists depict communists as supporters of military conspiracies and of only vio-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Guerrilla Warfare", *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, 1972, p. 214.

lent methods of struggle. They identify socialist revolutions with armed uprisings, civil war and bloodshed. Communists refute these slanderous fabrications. They follow the precepts of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and stand for the less painful and relatively peaceful forms for achieving a socialist revolution and establishing the power of the working class. The choice of the form of struggle does not, however, depend entirely on their wishes. It is determined by the correlation of the opposed classes and the form and degree of the bourgeoisie's resistance to the revolution. The communists of Russia, like those of other countries where socialist revolutions have taken place, took advantage of every opportunity to follow a peaceful course of revolution. At the same time, communists do not give preference to one single form of the proletariat's struggle for power and do not bind themselves beforehand to any given way of carrying out a socialist revolution.

The Period of Transition from Capitalism to Socialism as the Continuation and Completion of the Socialist Revolution

The Class Struggle During the Transition Period. In the course of its emergence and evolution a communist formation passes through three basic stages: (a) the period of transition from

capitalism to socialism; (b) socialism – as the first phase of the communist formation; (c) full communism, as its highest stage.

The period of transition is a period during which socialism rather than full communism is established. This determines the place of the transition period in the general chain of the emergence and evolution of a communist formation.

Socialism, which is the negation of capitalism, means a revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of bourgeois society on the principles of scientific communism. A socialist revolution, unlike preceding social revolutions, is not limited to a political coup; it begins with a political coup and is completed once socialism has been in the main built. Such a grandiose task can only be accomplished under conditions of a class struggle, since the deposed bourgeoisie desperately resists all socialist transformations.

At the initial stage of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the bourgeoisie is still stronger than the proletariat, since it possesses money, certain means of production and extensive public relations. Its skill in managing the state, military and economic mechanisms is yet another advantage it enjoys.

It is impossible to deprive the deposed bourgeoisie of its privileges and advantages immediately. This can only be done in the course of a relentless struggle by stamping out the sources of

its might and power step by step. Once the bourgeoisie is removed from power, it feverishly starts finding schemes for restoring capitalism. The nature and content of its schemes and the ways of carrying them out, change as the socialist revolution becomes more established.

The class struggle becomes especially acute during the period of transition, for this is the time when the question of "Who shall win?" is being answered, i. e., of whether the bourgeoisie will succeed in restoring the former order and put an end to the power of the working class, or this class will succeed in eliminating capitalism and building socialism. This class struggle is not merely a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (as is the case within the framework of bourgeois society), but between moribund capitalism and nascent socialism. The nature and content of the class struggle of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie changes markedly once the bourgeois rule is overthrown and the political power of the working class has been established.

The proletariat regards the class struggle chiefly as an economic revolution. According to Marx and Engels, the aim of this economic revolution is "to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i. e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as

possible”¹.

An economic revolution involves a socialist restructuring of all spheres of social life. That process intensifies the class struggle and concerns the fate of all classes, social groups and strata, developing some of them and destroying others.

The bourgeoisie has to wage the class struggle under new conditions as well. Deprived of its political power and its privileged position with its very existence as a class threatened, the bourgeoisie resorts to violent resistance thus intensifying the class struggle.

As the new power resolves its current constructive problems, rooting out capitalism and successfully building socialism, the balance of power within the country changes in favour of the proletariat. The class struggle in its entirety (as well as by its varieties) gradually dies down. This takes place, however, as a result of protracted revolutionary changes. Lenin wrote: “The dictatorship of the proletariat does not signify a cessation of the class struggle, but its continuation in a new form and with new weapons.”²

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 504.

² V. I. Lenin, “Third Congress of the Communist International. June 22-July 12, 1921”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, 1977, p. 460.

The experience gained in building socialism in the USSR and in the countries of people's democracy (the political power of the transition period) makes it possible to establish the validity of Lenin's teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat as a continuation of the class struggle of the proletariat in a new form. Marxism-Leninism is alien both to the adventurism of the Leftist revisionists, who stir up class struggle artificially, and to the right opportunists, who try to prove that building socialism results in an automatic weakening of the bourgeoisie's resistance which, in turn, results in steady attenuation of the class struggle.

The Class Essence of the Proletarian State. The essence of power in any society is determined by its class content, historical purpose and basic tasks. The society of the transition period cannot yet be called a socialist society, for the mere fact that the bourgeoisie has been deprived of political power and even that large-scale capitalist property has been expropriated, does yet not mean that the bourgeois class has been abolished. This transition society cannot, however, be called bourgeois, since the process of doing away with the old social order has begun.

It is only in the power of the working class state to eliminate capitalism and build a new, socialist society. This state is a new type of state, because,

for the first time in history, the power belongs to a formerly exploited class, the proletariat.

The state faces the following national and international tasks:

- crushing the resistance of the exploiting classes within the country, defending the gains of the socialist revolution and the new state against attacks by the imperialist powers;
- introducing socialist transformations in the economy and all other spheres of social life, and improving the living conditions of the working people;
- the working class's guidance of the peasantry and other working masses with the aim of drawing them into the process of building socialism;
- strengthening international ties with the working class of the world and the national liberation movement; supporting the struggle of the revolutionary forces in other countries.

Under the power of the working class the building of socialism is promoted by the fact that millions of working people begin to participate in the country's political life, learning to manage the state and the economy. Lenin pointed out: "We shall inevitably make mistakes; but now every mistake will serve to teach, not handfuls of students taking some course of theory in state administration, but millions of working people who will personally suffer the consequences of every mistake. They will themselves see that they

are faced with the urgent task of registering and distributing products, of increasing labour productivity, and will see from experience that power is in their own hands and that nobody will help them if they do not help themselves.”¹

The proletarian state re-educates the workers and peasants in a spirit of socialism; it frees their consciousness and behaviour from private-ownership mentality and from such survivals of capitalist society as egoism, individualism and money-grubbing; it forms a socialist state of mind and makes them realise that they are the true masters of their country. The proletarian state searches for and promotes, from among the masses, people with a talent for organisation, otherwise it is impossible to build socialism.

The state is not the only body that exercises the political power of the working class. An entire political system, consisting of state and public organisations, is formed for this specific purpose. Although these systems may differ in different countries, the common necessary elements are: a state of the proletariat, a Marxist-Leninist party, trade unions, youth organisations, cooperative organisations and associations of people in the arts. Every organisation of the political system dealing

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Report at the Second All-Russia Trade Union Congress, January 20, 1919”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1977, p. 427.

with its own specific tasks and using its own methods, helps to implement the new power. This system is guided by a Marxist-Leninist party.

The proletarian state is a new type of power, because it is based on the revolutionary, creative activity of the working class, the working peasantry and the working urban and rural masses, whom it guides. Lenin wrote: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty-bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata."¹

The fact that Lenin did not confine the participants in this alliance to the peasantry, but included all the intermediate strata between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, is highly essential to present-day social conditions from both the theoretical and the practical points of view. Thus, Lenin's concept of an alliance is applicable to the industrial capitalist countries, where the peasantry is now numerically small but where there exist numerous, mostly urban, middle strata. A

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Foreword to the Published Speech 'Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 381.

transition to socialism is impossible if these strata are not drawn to the side of the proletariat. Naturally, in countries where the peasant class is large, paramount importance attaches to an alliance with it. The proletariat guides and organises this alliance, uniting the non-proletarian working masses.

Abolition of the Capitalist Mode of Production and Formation of the Socialist Mode of Production

Transformation of the Mixed Economy into a Socialist Economy. Capitalism creates the necessary prerequisites and conditions for a transition to socialism. A socialist economic system based on public ownership, however, cannot automatically emerge from deep within it. The economic basis of socialism cannot appear within capitalism's framework. The abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the formation of a socialist one take place during a period of transition.

A mixed (i. e., multi-structural) type of economy is characteristic of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Economic structures are certain types of production relations based on one form of property or another. These exist both under antagonistic formations

and during the transition from capitalism to socialism.

From the very start of a socialist revolution political transformations are closely linked with transformations in the economy. Immediately after attaining power, the proletariat proceeds to create a socialist economy. The key levers of the economy—heavy industry, the banks, transport, communications, foreign trade—become public property, belonging to the proletarian state and making up its economic basis. At first, this basis exists as a socialist economic structure since it does not embrace the entire economy of the country.

The mixed economy of the transition period is a result of a number of factors. The complete nationalisation of capitalist property requires time and the presence of the necessary conditions. The new state may make use of, while controlling, certain capitalist elements (for instance, small-scale private property) in the interests of building socialism. The period of transition thus includes both capitalist and socialist elements and features.

A mixed economic system is typical of all countries in a state of transition from capitalism to socialism. The correlation of socialist and capital elements may be different, but the former always gets the upper hand.

The elimination of capitalist property, the for-

mation of socialist property and its transformation into state (public) property is accomplished through socialist nationalisation of the basic means of production: large industrial and agricultural enterprises, transport, the banks, domestic and foreign trade, etc. The experience gained in this field by the USSR and other socialist countries has demonstrated that, depending on the given situation, socialist nationalisation can be carried out in three different ways: (a) confiscation of the property owned by big capitalists; (b) compulsory partial or full redemption of large capitalist enterprises; (c) socialist transformation of the middle and petty-bourgeoisie's property through various forms of state capitalism.

In Russia and in Mongolia all land was nationalised. Large tracts of forest, irrigation systems and vacant land were nationalised, with most of the arable lands handed over to the peasants, in the European and other people's democracies.

Socialist nationalisation differs radically from bourgeois nationalisation, since it eradicates the very basis of capitalism: private capitalist appropriation and the sale and purchase of labour power. Since all state power belongs to the working people, all nationalised property becomes public property whereas partial bourgeois nationalisation, which is always carried out in the interests of monopoly capital, results in the re-

placement of private capitalist ownership by state monopoly ownership.

Industrialisation and Cooperation in Agriculture. When a socialist revolution occurs in a country with averagely developed capitalism, its productive forces become socialised in nature, but lag behind the productive forces of the developed capitalist states. They cannot, therefore, fully become the material and technical basis of socialism. In such cases, socialist industrialisation becomes a means for accelerating economic development and overcoming economic backwardness. In fact, all countries in which socialism was being built (except Czechoslovakia and the GDR, both of which had reached a high level of capitalist development by the time of their socialist revolutions) went through a period of industrialisation.

In the early 20th century, Russia's productive forces were only a quarter of those of Britain, a fifth of Germany and a tenth of those of the United States. The country's economy was devastated by three years of World War I and the four years of the Civil War. From the economic point of view, Russia was thrown back several decades. The working people of the Soviet Union, guided by the Communist Party, carried out socialist industrialisation placing the USSR among the world's most developed industrial states.

The socialist industrialisation created the necessary social, economic, material and technical prerequisites for turning the socialist sector of the economy into a socialist mode of production. This was made possible as a result of the socialist transformation of agriculture, which may include, first, the establishment of large state-run socialist agricultural enterprises in the place of the nationalised capitalist farms and confiscated landed estates, and, second, the voluntary cooperation of peasant holdings in countries where they still exist at the time of the revolution. The latter was more widespread in countries where the peasantry was the basic socio-economic force in agriculture.

The socialist transformation of agriculture and the voluntary cooperation of peasants have their own specific features in different countries.

For instance, in the USSR collectivisation (cooperation) was conducted, in the main, on the basis of and following socialist industrialisation, while in a number of people's democracies these two processes took place simultaneously, which was made possible by a supply of agricultural machinery from the USSR and other industrially developed socialist countries.

In the European people's democracies, for a certain period of time peasants who joined the cooperatives received rent for land they had turned over to the cooperative. After the expiry of

this period, the land became the property of the cooperative, not of the state.

Why cannot socialism be built without cooperation in agriculture? Private property, be it large or small (like the peasants' property) draws its owners into commodity-money and market relations, and this inevitably leads to a stratification into the rich and the poor. The former have an opportunity to become still richer by exploiting the rural poor. As long as private property exists, it is impossible to do away with the exploitation of man by man. Peasants who own small plots of land cannot escape poverty and back-breaking toil, for they cannot run their farms rationally and make use of scientific and technological achievements. The voluntary association of peasants in cooperatives, supported and aided by the working class, is the only possible and correct way.

The working class cannot build socialism by relying solely on its own strength. This can only be accomplished in alliance with the peasantry. In order for this alliance to be stable, not only the workers, but the peasants as well must be the bearers of socialist property. Cooperative ownership, a specific form of socialist ownership, emerges on the basis of peasant cooperation. The voluntary cooperation of peasants and the establishment of cooperative farms completes the socialist revolution in rural areas.

The establishment of socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state (public) property and collective-farm and cooperative property becomes the economic foundation of the workers' and peasants' power. Now the two friendly classes become the bearers of a socialist mode of production. Thus, the mixed economy is abolished: the capitalist structure is eliminated; the petty-commodity structure is transformed through cooperation; and the socialist structure develops into a socialist mode of production.

Remodelling Class and National Relations

Changing the Class Structure. The socialist revolution, as a compound of a political, economic, cultural and ideological revolution, abolishes the exploiting classes. Anti-communist propaganda misrepresents the communist stand in this respect, alleging that communists want to annihilate all capitalists and landowners physically. Indeed, if the deposed exploiting classes unleash a civil war and embrace terrorism in combatting the supporters of the revolution or if they engage in armed conspiracies and uprisings this results in casualties on both sides.

A political revolution deprives the bourgeoisie of political power and it thus ceases to be the ruling class. A revolution in the economy, which in-

cludes the nationalisation of capitalist private property, deprives the bourgeoisie of its property, its basic class feature. A cultural revolution rids society of bourgeois ideology, bourgeois newspapers and publishing houses are closed down, and bourgeois political parties outlawed.

Therefore, on being deprived of their economic and political power, of their political supporters in the bourgeois parties, and of their ideological advocates, represented by the bourgeois mass media, the capitalists cease to exist as a class.

The rural bourgeoisie is dissolved as a class in the process of cooperation. The forms and the ways and means for eliminating this class depend on its attitude to the revolution, the new power and socialist cooperatives. In Russia, the kulaks (well-to-do peasants) took an active part in the Civil War on the side of the landowners and capitalists. They launched armed uprisings resisting collectivisation, secretly and openly undermining the newly established collective farms, setting fire to collective-farm property and murdering collectivisation activists, party and Soviet officials. Under these conditions Soviet power was forced to refuse the kulaks membership in the collective farms and to expropriate their holdings. In the European people's democracies, the petty rural bourgeoisie joined cooperatives voluntarily, displaying their loyalty to the revolution, the new power and the cooperative movement.

Thus, we may say that the abolition of the exploiting classes does not mean the physical annihilation of the people who make up these classes (as anti-communists contend), but is a protracted process in the course of which they are deprived of their economic, political and ideological means of supremacy.

The formation of a socialist working class begins once the political coup has been accomplished and the working class power established. The working class becomes the ruling class of society. It proceeds to implement its communist ideals and heads the alliance of all the working people of both town and countryside, joined together to build socialism. The socialist working class which is associated with the state (public) property and with large-scale social machine production, and which exercises state power, heads the economy, evolves as the leading force of society. Its party, which adheres to the principles of scientific communism, is the leading and guiding force of the peoples who are building socialism. The peasantry arises as a socialist class through cooperation. It becomes a bearer of socialist production relations based on joint, co-operative ownership. The cooperated peasantry shares its socialist goals with the working class, participating in the exercise of state power in union with and under the guidance of the working class, and voluntarily recognising the leading role

of the communist party. The peasants' everyday life and work thus become socialist in nature.

The workers and the cooperated peasants, these two friendly classes of socialist society, have much in common: they are bearers of socialist production relations; they are associated with socialist ownership; they are free from exploitation; they live by their own labour; they take part in managing the affairs of society and the state on the basis of socialist democracy; and they share the same socialist ideal.

The new socialist intelligentsia is formed in the process of building socialism. It comes from a worker or peasant background, recognises Marxism-Leninism as its ideology, and is devoted to the cause of the working class. Together with the workers and cooperated peasants, the intelligentsia runs the affairs of society and the state.

This is how the socio-class structure of socialism is established. It is based on the two forms of socialist property: state (public) property and joint, cooperative property. The alliance of the working class and the cooperated peasantry serves as the social foundation of the proletarian state.

Remodelling National Relations. In the process of its development, capitalism gives rise to bourgeois nations, which are torn apart by the class struggle between the capitalists and the pro-

letarians. The bourgeoisie of all countries, rivals in the pursuit of profit and wealth, join forces to defend and uphold capitalism. In multi-national states the bourgeoisie transforms national relations in the object of exploitation, sowing national enmity among the proletarians of different nations, thus making it easier to exploit them and to fracture their class and international solidarity. The bourgeoisie of the ruling nations purposely inculcates ideas of great-power chauvinism in the minds of the working people of their nations and grants them insignificant concessions aimed at setting them against the working people of other nations. In defending its class interests, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations stirs up local nationalist sentiments, presenting itself as a fighter for the interests of the entire nation and calling upon the workers to abstain from the class struggle for the sake of national unity. The bourgeoisie uses its own working people to bargain over privileges and concessions with its rivals – the bourgeoisie of the ruling nation.

The beginning of the colonial era transformed the national question into the national-colonial question. The imperialist colonialists resorted to the “divide and rule” policy, obstructing the national development of the oppressed nations. During the struggle for national liberation, the bourgeoisie’s nationalism in the oppressed nations is of a certain progressive, though limited,

significance.

Lenin analysed imperialism and revealed two historical tendencies in the development of nations and the national relations engendered by capitalism. He wrote: "Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the break-down of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.

"Both tendencies are a universal law of capitalism. The former predominates in the beginning of its development, the latter characterises a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society."¹

The development of these objective tendencies within the framework of capitalism becomes antagonistic. Imperialism, which defends the colonial system, opposes the foundation of independent national states and uses the growing international alliance of capital and business to plunder

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question", *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, 1977, p. 27.

the peoples of the dependent countries, as well as to promote the supremacy of the economically and politically strong imperialist powers over the weaker ones.

Russian tsarism kept its many peoples (who had variously become a part of the Russian Empire) in a state of semi-colonial dependence. The Russian capitalists and landlords pursued a policy of great-power chauvinism with regard to these nations, while the emerging national bourgeoisie supported nationalistic sentiments. Both the former and the latter aimed to poison the minds of the workers, peasants and the other working strata by spreading reactionary nationalistic ideas and sowing national enmity and discord.

The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia would have been impossible without a valid solution to the question concerning the fate of the peoples. Prior to the Revolution, Lenin outlined the communists' national programme. It stemmed from the internationalist nature of the working class, which was opposed to any manifestations of nationalism. Lenin provided all Russia's working class of different nations with an ideology and policy of proletarian internationalism and class solidarity. He upheld the principle of internationalism and launched an uncompromising struggle against infecting the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism. Lenin's pro-

gramme for solving the national question rejected all national privileges; it called for complete equality of all nationalities and languages, it recognised the right of every nation to self-determination, up to and including cessation and the formation of an independent national state.

Lenin linked the realisation of these demands with the proletariat's class struggle, with the ability of the working class of every nation to isolate the national bourgeoisie politically and ideologically, to head the working masses and to establish the international class unity of all proletarians, regardless of their nationality. Lenin regarded the question concerning all nationalities of Russia and its solution as a component part of the socialist revolution. According to Lenin, the national liberation movements of the peoples oppressed by Russian tsarism, were to develop into a socialist revolution. This forecast later proved correct.

From the very start of the socialist revolution, the communist party, led by Lenin, directed its activities towards solving the national question. The appeal "To the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants"—the first historical document of the Soviet power, written by Lenin and adopted by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets (October 25, 1917), declared that Soviet power "will guarantee all nations inhabiting Russia a true right to self-determination". Shortly afterwards, on November 15, 1917, the Council of People's

Commissars (the Soviet Government) adopted "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples", a document of constitutional significance that abolished national oppression and established by law the free development of Russia's peoples and their equality. The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on December 30, 1922, served as the actual implementation of Lenin's teaching on the multi-national socialist state.

By pooling the country's material resources, drawing all its peoples into socialist construction, and by consolidating the friendship between them, it was possible to overcome the economic, social and cultural backwardness of Russia's former underdeveloped regions. The equality under law of the nations and nationalities provided by the socialist revolution, was consolidated by actual equality.

The unity and solidarity of the socialist nations are based on the socialist economy in the form of a single national economic complex; the existence in the economies of all nations of identical socialist production relations, excluding exploitation of man by man and of one nation by another; and the similar socio-class structures comprised of working people only. Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism have become the ideological foundations of all the socialist nations and nationalities.

Socialism transformed the two trends in the

development of nations and relations between the peoples of various nationalities, engendered by capitalism, into tendencies towards the comprehensive development and drawing together of nations and nationalities. Under socialism, the first tendency is directed towards the comprehensive development and flourishing of each socialist nation and nationality.

As for the second trend, the drawing together of nations, the break-down of national barriers, and the creation of the international unity of economic life under socialism are achieved voluntarily and on democratic principles. The development and drawing together of nations during the period of building socialism are interconditional processes with the second as the main trend. A correct solution to the national question in the course of building socialism creates favourable conditions for rooting out the survivals of nationalism and forming an internationalist world outlook among the masses.

Surmounting The Differences Between Town and Countryside and Between Mental and Physical Labour

The Differences Between Town and Countryside. Towns and villages as historical types of settlement appeared at the junction of the primi-

tive communal and slave-owning systems. Under slave-ownership, feudalism and capitalism, towns and villages developed under antagonistic conditions, with the exploiting classes of the town exploiting the countryside and impeding its socio-economic, political and cultural development. The antagonistic differences between the two reached their peak under capitalism. Lenin wrote that "the predominance of the town over the countryside (economically, politically, intellectually, and in all other respects) is a universal and inevitable thing in all countries where there is commodity production and capitalism".¹

The differences between town and countryside are erased in the course of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. This is achieved, first, by abolishing private property, creating a socialist economic sector and establishing socialist production relations. The socialist revolution and nationalisation of industry and trade undermine the very foundation of the differences. Only by means of peasant cooperation, however, which rids the villages of class stratification, ruin and poverty and forms the class of socialist peasantry, can the fundamental differences between town and countryside be completely and finally eradi-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Characterisation of Economic Romanticism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, 1977, p. 229.

cated. Large-scale state agricultural enterprises and production cooperatives promote the economic and cultural development of the villages. New relations based on equality, fraternity and mutual aid, evolve between the urban and rural working people.

The socialist transformation of town and countryside, which is a key element in overcoming the differences between them, takes place with the former playing the guiding role. Socialist industrialisation gives rise to new cities and towns, encourages the growth of the urban population, makes it possible to distribute the productive forces more evenly and ensures an improvement of the rural population's economic and cultural life.

A cultural revolution is an important factor in eliminating the differences between rural and urban areas. It increases the educational level of the rural population, changes its everyday and spiritual life, trains farming specialists and provides villages with teachers and doctors.

In Soviet Russia, the working class played a major part in eradicating the differences between town and the countryside by aiding the peasantry with personnel, agricultural machinery, and goods, and helping in the cooperation movement. These differences were erased under the conditions of a class struggle. Only thanks to the alliance of the peasantry and the working class as

well as to the leadership exercised by the Communist Party, could the peasants overcome the class resistance of anti-socialist elements and embark firmly on the road to socialism.

At the same time, there still exist a number of fundamental differences between towns and villages in the spheres of production, work, everyday life and culture, which are, however, of a non-antagonistic nature. These differences are gradually being eliminated in the process of the further development of socialism.

Surmounting the Antithesis Between Mental and Physical Labour. Socialist revolution triggers the process of eradicating the differences between mental and physical labour, which is an inherent feature of all class-antagonistic social formations. This antithesis was a specific form of class antagonism, since mental labour was always the privilege of the exploiting classes and served as a means for exploiting physical labour.

After a socialist revolution has been achieved, and the proletariat has become the ruling class, the intellectuals begin to serve the cause of building socialism.

In the initial stages of socialist construction, when the working class lacked its own intelligentsia, it had to employ old-time specialists. Lenin wrote in this connection: "A new, difficult, but extremely gratifying problem must be solved,

that of combining all the experience and knowledge which these members of the exploiting classes have accumulated, with the initiative, energy and work of the broad masses of the working people. For only by this combination is it possible to build the bridge leading from the old capitalist to the new socialist society.”¹ The differences between mental and physical work are, therefore, done away with by changing the role of the old intelligentsia in the life of society and creating a new intelligentsia.

Under socialism mental work ceases to be the privilege of an individual class or social stratum and becomes accessible to all members of society. Workers and collective farmers (people engaged in physical labour) are drawn into various forms of mental work, for instance by suggesting improvements in production and taking part in managing it. Through various socialist democratic institutions, workers and collective farmers participate in managing the affairs of the state and society. Owing to scientific progress, the share of mental in physical labour is constantly growing.

Under socialism, the workers, cooperated farmers and their children are guaranteed access to mental labour by free and democratic educa-

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Original Version of the Article ‘The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government’”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, 1971, pp. 77-78.

tion at all levels and by the absence of any kind of social limitations on the mastering of any mental profession.

The eradication of the differences between mental and physical work also means that intellectuals cease to participate in the exploitation of physical labour. The new intelligentsia is linked to the two friendly classes (workers and peasants) by its origins, common social ideals and vital interests. Intellectuals are not a privileged social stratum, but the same kind of socialist working people as the workers and peasants.

The abolition of private property, as well as of the entire system of exploitation removes the economic basis for antagonistic relations between people who do mental and physical work. For the first time in history, the activities of mental and physical workers, directed and inspired by socialist ideals, constitute a single creative work process.

The Cultural Revolution

Culture and Education. The theory of cultural revolution, devised by Lenin, is a component part of his plan for building socialism. It was first put into practice in the Soviet Union, then later in other socialist countries. It is compulsory for all nations making the transition to

socialism and is carried out specifically in each country, account being taken of the traditions of the progressive national culture. Cultural revolution is a two-fold process: on the one hand, it critically revises the cultural heritage of the past and eliminates the ideology of the exploiting class and, on the other, it establishes a new, socialist culture. Yet the content of the cultural revolution is much broader.

The cultural revolution solves three groups of problems. The key problem of the first group is the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism among the working people as a means of their ideological and political education. At the same time, illiteracy is wiped out among the population and the working people acquire the necessary knowledge and skills for working in socialist industry and agriculture. The socialist system of free public education is established.

The aim of the second group of tasks is, according to Lenin, the combination of "the victorious proletarian revolution with bourgeois culture, with bourgeois science and technology, which up to now has been available to few people".¹ This combination is ensured by the nationalisation of publishing houses, libraries, museums, theatres,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 74.

the radio, etc., which begin to serve as means for the cultural education of all the working people.

The third group includes tasks pertaining to the creation of a socialist culture and of a new intelligentsia of worker and peasant background; to drawing the broad masses into vigorous creative activities and enriching their inner world with the achievements of culture. A single culture common to all classes and social strata comes into being only under socialism.

The Socialist Way of Life. As the foundations of a socialist society were laid down all types of human relations—socio-economic, class, moral and family—were being restructured along new, community principles. Private property alienates people. It fosters in them such traits as egoism, self-interest and money-grubbing. People become hostile towards each other and engrossed in their own well-being, which makes them indifferent towards others.

Socialist ownership gives rise to a completely new system of human values and relationships. A person's dignity and worth are measured not by his wealth, but by his work. Once freed from exploitation, people do not regard each other as enemies or rivals, but rather as colleagues working together for the common good. The people's work, which has acquired a socialist nature, is based on friendly emulation, cooperation and

mutual aid. Under socialism, one lives according to a new, collectivist morality: all for one and one for all.

These qualities are not acquired spontaneously, but come as a result of socialist changes in the economy, in everyday life and in the way of life. At the same time, it is the people who bring about all these changes. This means that as the workers and peasants move towards a revolutionary transformation of bourgeois society into socialist society, they, too, are changing. As their socialist consciousness increases, they become more active in all aspects of building socialism.

The Results of the Transition Period from Capitalism to Socialism

The substance of the transition period is the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism. The duration and rate of socialist transformations depend upon the internal and external situation of a given country. In all countries the transition from capitalism to socialism takes place in the course of a relatively long period of time.

The fact that it took the Soviet Union 20 years to accomplish this was due to the hostile attitude of the surrounding capitalist world towards the only socialist country of that time. Moreover, the

class struggle in the new Soviet country took on such acute forms as an armed uprising and civil war. This prevented the country from immediately proceeding to solving the tasks of socialist construction. The period of transition was also so prolonged because the Russian economy was relatively weak and, being such, was ruined by three years of the First World War and four years of the Civil War.

The period of transition in the countries of Central and South-East Europe lasted from 10 to 15 years. This was in many ways ensured by the favourable international situation which resulted from the defeat of Nazi Germany and militarist Japan. The Soviet Union supported and aided these countries while they were building socialism.

During the present epoch the period of transition for countries which have embarked upon the road of socialist construction is in many ways determined and will continue to be determined by such international factors as the radical shift in the balance of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism, and by the support and aid which the socialist community renders to countries carrying out socialist transformations.

The duration of the transition period in industrial capitalist states and in economically less developed countries will differ, since these countries possess different material prerequisites for

transition to socialism, the levels of their working classes' revolutionary consciousness and organisation also differ.

The activity of a Marxist-Leninist party is the main subjective factor which also determines the duration of the transition period. A communist party which guides the people in accordance with a scientific theory and which is able to find and apply the most rational and effective ways and means in solving the tasks of socialist construction can shorten the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. At the same time, mistakes and miscalculations made by the party and state leadership can slow down the rate of socialist construction and thus prolong the transition period.

Right and Left opportunists distort the essence and length of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Right opportunism, represented by social-reformists, rejects the existence of a qualitative demarcation line between socialism and capitalism. They put forth various conceptions such as that of "democratic socialism", according to which the roots of socialism emerge and develop within the framework of capitalism. This erroneous thesis leads to the conclusion that socialism can evolve from capitalism without a socialist revolution. This, in turn, negates the transition period as a process of revolutionary transformation of capitalism to socialism. The "democratic socialism" conception

leaves the basic features of capitalism intact: private ownership of the means of production, and bourgeois political "pluralism", under which the working class is assigned the role of an "equal" partner within the bourgeois social system. The social-reformists' "democratic socialism" is, in fact, a model of slightly reformed and democratised capitalism.

The essence and duration of the transition period are also distorted by the Leftist elements, who, in expressing the views of the petty bourgeoisie, overlook the objective conditions and laws of social development and demand an immediate carrying out of socialist revolution. They do not believe, however, in the possibility of building socialism in countries which have already gone through the initial stages of socialist revolution.

The transition period is completed when socialism has been built on the whole, i. e., society has entered the first phase of communism. This means that a socialist society has emerged with its principles and specifics. The socialist mode of production and the two forms of social property have become the economic basis of the new society. The proletarian state, the Communist Party and Marxist-Leninist ideology form the political and spiritual basis of the new socialist society. The alliance of the working class and the co-operated peasantry become its social foundation. Economic, class, national, political and everyday

relations acquire a socialist nature as a result of the changes introduced into all spheres of social life.

However, after the completion of the transition period, socialism is as yet immature. Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen the economic, political, social and spiritual foundations of the new society. Socialist norms and principles have to be introduced into everyday life. At this stage some spheres of socialist society have not yet been completed in full. Thus, the completion of the cultural revolution, the full formation of a new socialist person and of a socialist way of life all take place long after the transition period.

Socialism inherits the unevenly developed spheres of social life from capitalism. For instance, in the developed capitalist countries a strong economy can go hand in hand with the cultural backwardness of the working masses. As a result of such uneven development, by the end of the transition period various spheres of social life differ in regard to their level of socialist maturity.

The new socialist society which comes into being at the end of the transition period is a complex organism whose basic principle is: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work.

The class struggle and antagonistic contradictions therein serve as the driving forces in social

development during the transition period from capitalism to socialism. These forces cease to exist after the abolition of the exploiting classes. New driving forces of social development emerge and begin to act in the process of building socialism. These are: the non-antagonistic contradictions, criticism and self-criticism, friendship among peoples, socialist patriotism, and moral and socio-political unity.

Any social organism functions and develops through the people's material and intellectual activities. The laws of social development only become valid through the people's practical activity. During the various historical stages the relationship between society and man took on different forms. Socialism is the first social system that provides for its harmonious unity and development.

Chapter 7. SOCIALISM—A NEW TYPE OF SOCIETY

A Society of Working People

Work for All. For many thousands of years the finest minds dreamed of a just society in which each of its members would work freely and would live by the fruits of his own work. This dream has become reality in socialist society, whose the great and noble goal is to build communism.

Capitalism is unable to provide all able-bodied people with jobs. Unemployment is an inherent feature of capitalist development. Those who have a job are not much better off than the unemployed, since they are really working not for themselves, but for the capitalists, the owners of the means of production, who exploit them

mercilessly to gain ever-greater profits.

Exploitation of man by man becomes non-existent after the abolition of the exploiting classes and the replacement of private property by public property. The just motto of socialism – “He who does not work, shall not eat” – is being put into practice. It means that every able-bodied person must work, since that is both his right and duty. Working people cannot be indifferent towards those who evade to work for the good of society. Under socialism every able-bodied person is provided with work that is free from exploitation and refusal to work for the good of society is incompatible with the economic and moral principles of the new social system.

Work is the basis of life and existence of any society. Under socialism, work is compulsory, but this does not mean that the state just forces its citizens to work. This means an acknowledgment of the fact that work is the source of the prosperity of society and individuals. Under capitalism people work by discipline of hunger, while under socialism they realise that no one can exist without sharing the fruits of common labour. Justice calls for everyone to contribute to this common treasury.

A person's social status under socialism is determined by the results of his work. Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR is devoted to this matter. The source of the growth of social wealth and

of the well-being of the people, and of each individual, is the labour, free from exploitation, of Soviet people. Socially useful work and its results determine a person's status in society.

Under socialism relationships among people in the process of production are based not on supremacy and subordination, as under capitalism, but on collectivism and friendly cooperation and mutual aid among equal members of society.

Socialism ensures a truly scientific organisation of work which provides regular working conditions, with health, sanitary and safety standards strictly observed. These measures help increase labour productivity, the quality of work and enhance the people's creative abilities.

Under socialism there still exist a number of essential distinctions between physical and mental labour, as well as between work at agricultural and industrial enterprises and between skilled and unskilled work. Socialist society is concerned about eliminating unskilled types of work which often require heavy physical inputs.

Socialist labour is organised with full observance of the norms of labour, production and technological discipline.

High creative activity of the workers is characteristic of socialist society. It is connected with the scientific and technological revolution, the mastering of new technology and the collective participation in managing production. This creative

activity is encouraged both materially and morally and is mutually beneficial to each worker and society as a whole.

Private property gives rise to rivalry, while public ownership encourages work in a friendly spirit of competition among people free of exploitation, i. e., socialist emulation. This is an unprecedented phenomenon in history. Lenin wrote: "Far from extinguishing competition, socialism, on the contrary, for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really *wide* and on a really *mass* scale, for actually drawing the majority of working people into a field of labour in which they can display their abilities, develop the capacities, and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people whom capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions."¹

Socialist emulation is an effective means of boosting the productive forces and of ensuring the fulfillment of national economic plans. It brings to the fore millions of front-rank workers, innovators and inventors. This reflects socialist emulation's economic and production functions. Socialist competition also helps to solve social tasks, such as equalising the cultural and technical

¹ V. I. Lenin, "How to Organise Competition?", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1972, p. 404.

levels of the workers and the intelligentsia, increasing the skills of those involved in emulation, drawing the masses into managing production, and developing their production and social activity.

Labour Remuneration Under Socialism.

Socialist society frees working people from exploitation. It guarantees the right to work and to freely choose one's trade or profession. How is labour remunerated under socialism? And how are the demands of the working people met?

The existing level of the development of the productive forces does not yet provide an abundance of consumer goods, thus making it impossible to distribute them according to the people's demands. Above all, work has not yet become a vital need for every member of society. Hence the need for distribution according to the quantity and quality of one's work, which is the only correct and just expression of social equality.

The quantity of labour is determined by time inputs. The quality of labour is characterised by its complexity, skill required, responsibility involved, etc.

Instances of egalitarian distribution, when labour inputs by each worker into social production were not taken into account (which occurred during socialist construction, both in the USSR and in other countries), proved to be invalid.

Wage-levelling is unjust, because it makes it possible both the efficient and the run-of-the-mill worker are paid equally, and so nullifies the material incentive which influences the quality of work.

The socialist principle of distribution is effected through state control over the measure of labour and consumption. Therefore, workers or work collectives are remunerated in accordance with their labour inputs. State control over wages guarantees remuneration for all employees; equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, age or nationality; established wage minimum; the participation of the trade unions in work and wages norm-setting. Material incentives, such as bonuses for efficient work, are widely used.

Work in agricultural cooperatives is also remunerated in accordance with the socialist principle of "to each according to his work". Here, as at state enterprises, wages, and bonuses and material incentives, are guaranteed. A cooperated farmer is paid in cash for most of his work and in kind for a part of it.

A socialist state combines material incentives with various forms of moral incentives, public acknowledgement of a worker or a work collective's labour achievements.

Distribution according to work done is realised through the wage-rate system which is expressed in the monetary form. Measures are taken to

place wages in strict dependence upon the results of labour, its productivity and conditions. Certain shortcomings in distribution (when wage increases exceed the rise in labour productivity, or when good results achieved in work are not remunerated accordingly) are being overcome. New steps in wage rating are directed towards enhancing the people's personal interests in their work.

The socialist principle of remuneration according to the quality and quantity of work is an expression of social justice; it ensures a harmonious combination of social and personal interests. High-quality work also raises the workers' standard of living and increases the country's national wealth. Socialist labour is the only possible road towards prosperity for all.

Socialist Property. The position of classes and social strata in the system of social production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material wealth is tied to their relation to property.

Social property of the means of production forms the basis of the socialist economic system. In the USSR public ownership of the means of production exists in the form of state (public) property and collective-farm and cooperative property; socialist ownership also embraces the property of the trade unions and other mass organisations which is necessary for their activity.

State property, i. e., the common property of the Soviet people, is the principal form of socialist property. It expresses the relationship between the members of a socialist society as the co-owners of the means of production. 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; the means of transport and communication; the banks; the property of state-run trading organisations, etc. The working class – the driving force of socialist society – operates on the basis of state property.

Collective-farm and cooperative property is owned by those respective organisations. The collective farms own agricultural machinery and implements, the means of transport, production and other premises and structures, cattle, the produce and financial resources. Fishing collective farms own fishing-boats. The collective farmers' labour is the chief source of the growth of this form of property.

This differs from state property in the degree of socialisation. The output of state enterprises is the property of all the people, while the output of a collective farm belongs to its members. The general meeting of the members of a collective farm and the farm management it elects, distribute the property and produce. In accordance with the collective farm's rules and the state plan

for purchasing the collective farm's produce, they establish the purpose and amount of the received income to be spent.

Under socialism there also exists the personal property of citizens. It includes the articles of individual or family consumption. It is based on earned income and includes articles of everyday use, personal consumption and convenience, the implements and other objects of a small-holding, a house and earned savings. Under the socialist principle of distribution according to one's work, personal property serves as the basic means of utilising the share of the consumption funds each member of society is entitled to. The right to own personal property is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR. The personal property of citizens and the right to inherit it are protected by the state.

From the very inception of scientific communism, bourgeois propaganda has been falsifying the communist stand regarding individual property. That is why Marx and Engels wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*: "We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence..."

"Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it

does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.”¹

Citizens can own any article of everyday use or personal consumption. Thus, legislation in the USSR does not limit the number of articles owned by citizens, with some exceptions: citizens can only own one house; and, according to the civil codes of the Union Republics, there is a limit to the number of cattle owned individually.

In cases when property has been acquired illegally, or when legally acquired property is used for making profit and is employed to the detriment of society, Soviet legislation provides for the use of legal sanctions against such owners.

Under socialism the purpose of personal property earned by one's own labour is to promote all-round, harmonious development of the individual and the family, and the upbringing of children. The structure and composition of personal property must meet the reasonable material and cultural requirements of the working people and provide them with recreation.

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 498, 500.

A Society for the Working People

The Absence of Exploitation Under Socialism. Does the absence of exploitation in a socialist society mean that a person receives full pay for his work? In other words, does he receive the full cost measure of the product he produced by his labour? The absence of exploitation should not be understood thus.

The life of society and of each of its members is tied to material production, where the aggregate social product, i. e., the material wealth produced by the national economy (namely, producers' and consumer goods), is created. The national income is a part of the aggregate social product. It would be impossible to maintain the non-productive sector—public health, education, etc.—if those in the productive sector received the full cost measure of the product they produced.

There is another aspect to this problem. The growth of the population and the appearance of new production and personal requirements call for the establishment of new public utilities. As long as imperialism exists, the socialist countries are compelled to make capital investments into the defence industry. Society also needs a social security fund (pensions, benefits, etc.). Therefore, the national income cannot be consumed in full: an accumulation fund must be derived from it. It would be impossible to create such a fund if the

workers in the productive sphere spent all of the newly created wealth on themselves.

As a result of the need for developing the non-productive sector and creating an accumulation fund, the labour of the workers employed in production is divided into the necessary and surplus labour.

Necessary labour creates the necessary product—the goods of life—needed for maintaining the workers employed in production. Surplus labour creates the surplus product which goes to meet the social requirements.

Under socialism the product created in the sphere of material production is divided into the necessary and the surplus product, not as a result of relations of exploitation, but, as a result of the need to promote social development. Relations of exploitation cannot emerge under such conditions, since the working people are simultaneously the owners of the means of production and the direct creators of material wealth. Such a situation excludes any possibility of turning the means of production into capital and a means of exploitation, and the labour force into a commodity, i. e., into an object of exploitation. This freedom of all working people from exploitation reflects the true economic equality of people under socialism.

Working man is most highly valued under socialism. He is not regarded as merely the crea-

tor of material wealth, but as a person. The amount of the necessary product created by the worker is determined not only by the compensation of the input of the labour force, but by the all-round development of the personality. This is impossible under capitalism.

Wages and Social Consumption Funds.

The way the national income is distributed reflects the absence of exploitation under socialism. Close to three-quarters of the national income in the USSR is spent on consumption, while one-quarter goes for accumulation. The consumption fund consists of two parts: the individual and the social. The individual consumption fund is made up of wages fund of the productive workers; of the fund which is distributed among the workers of the non-productive spheres; and of the social security fund (pensions, benefits, grants).

Consumption funds under socialism imply not only individual consumption. In keeping with the interests of the working people, large investments are channelled into maintaining government and defence bodies (which do not participate in the creation of the national income), and for the development of science, culture, etc.

All working people of a socialist society are equally concerned about these expenses. However, one must bear in mind that the socialist principle of distribution according to work done

does not yet provide for economic equality among the families of working people. It is a just principle, since one's wages depend upon a single factor: the quantity and quality of one's work. However, people differ in talent, skills, physical and mental abilities. Therefore, the quantity and quality of their work also differ, which means a difference in remuneration. This is one of the essential reasons for the differentiation in income of the working people in a socialist society. The other reason is the size of the family. The family's per capita income depends not only on the ratio of working members to non-working members, but on the total earned income of the family.

Remuneration according to work done at the socialist phase of communism is the basic form of distribution, since it most strongly and directly influences social production. Remuneration in accordance with the quality and quantity of work ensures the working people's material interest in advancing the socialist economy.

Besides remuneration according to work done, a socialist society has a system of public consumption funds which provide for free social services (education, advanced training courses, medical service, free vacations at resorts and sanatoriums, etc.). The public consumption funds are conducive to balancing the material position of the various social strata. They provide equal opportunities for all citizens to receive a free education.

Thus, state outlays for general education schools amount to over 200 rubles per pupil annually, for secondary specialised schools they are over 750 rubles a year, and for higher educational establishments—over 1,100 rubles a year.

The maintenance of a child in a nursery school comes to close to 600 rubles a year, and in a kindergarten to over 500 rubles a year, with 80 per cent of the bill footed by the state out of the public consumption funds. In recent years the food budget of orphanages and boarding schools has been increased. All children attending general education schools are provided with free textbooks. In 1983, a system was introduced according to which 50 per cent of children spend the summer in Young Pioneer camps free and for the remaining part of children only 20 per cent of the actual cost of accommodation is paid.

A sizeable portion of the public consumption funds is allocated for free medical care. Such dangerous infectious diseases as smallpox, typhus and the plague, which in the past brought untold suffering, are non-existent in the USSR. Instances of malaria, poliomyelitis and diphtheria are extremely rare, while other infectious diseases are receding steadily.

Social consumption funds guarantee to all citizens of a socialist society maintenance in old age, in cases of illness or the loss of a breadwinner. In the USSR old-age pensions (55 years of age for

women, and 60 for men) are provided without any deductions from their incomes. People employed in hazardous work become eligible for old-age pensions 5 to 10 years sooner.

In the USSR there are no homeless people or people living in slums. The state provides the citizens with free housing. The state shoulders the brunt of the cost for housing maintenance and public utilities. The average cost of rent and public utilities comprises 3 per cent of an employee's family budget.

These are but some of the privileges which socialism grants the working people. They prove that socialist society is following its basic principle: everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man.

The Growth of Real Incomes and the Improvement of Consumption. The working peoples' real incomes depend not only upon their wages, but also on the taxes they pay, on retail prices, the benefits and privileges they receive from the social consumption funds, and the revenues they receive from personal holdings.

In the USSR the Communist Party and the Soviet Government direct their activities towards establishing stable retail prices for consumer goods and reducing prices for goods produced on an ever increasing scale.

Over the course of several decades the prices of

such basic foods as bread, meat, milk, cereals and potatoes have remained stable, as have the prices of many consumer goods. Rents, which are the lowest in the world, have not risen since 1928. The cost of electricity and public transportation has been the same for nearly 30 years.

Baby food, children's clothing and footwear, many school supplies, some cereals and certain varieties of fish are sold lower than their actual cost.

The policy of stable prices has one aim: to promote the people's well-being. The Soviet fiscal policy serves the same purpose: during recent years, taxes on relatively low wages were abolished or cut.

Do the working people of a socialist society have personal savings? Naturally. People living in a socialist society save money for reasons that differ from those in a capitalist society. The former have no need to put away money for a rainy day, for they are confident of the future: they are guaranteed work with just remuneration, old-age pensions and state maintenance in case of disability or illness. Why do people save, then? Families that have a relatively high income save up money left after necessary spending for buying expensive durables such as country houses, cars, colour TV-sets, etc. Saving helps to purchase additional amenities, to reasonably fulfill the people's additional material and cultural

needs and to further develop their personalities.

Socialism has radically changed the very notion of "a better life", ridding it of its narrow consumer content, which only means a larger salary and income. In a socialist society the material side of life is by no means underestimated, but it does not overshadow the spiritual side. Along with material values, spiritual, moral and psychological values are promoted on an ever-increasing scale. "To live better" under socialism means to have an interesting job, to be respected for one's work by one's colleagues, to increase one's cultural standards by making use of all the achievements of socialist culture.

A Society Governed by the Working People

The Socialist Self-Administration. Socialist self-administration is a democratic system of managing the affairs of society and the state which exists not only for the working people, but which is effected by them, as well. The socialist political system makes it possible for every citizen to personally participate in managing affairs of society and the state. The right to participate in the management of society and the state has no social limitations or exclusions.

Socialism arouses an interest in state affairs among the people, thus putting an end to bour-

geois back-room policy, when crucial decisions are made secretly without the people's knowledge.

Only the participation of the people at large in management can ensure the normal development of society and the state. During the first years of Soviet power, Lenin linked this task with two important circumstances: wiping out illiteracy and teaching the people to manage the state.

Lenin time and again stressed that an illiterate person stayed out of politics. He could be easily deceived, made vacillator and could even become involved in a policy alien to his interests; literacy was the chief condition which permitted the working people to become conscious builders of a new life. The cultural revolution in the Soviet Union eliminated illiteracy in the entire country. At present secondary education in the Soviet Union is compulsory.

How can millions of working people be taught to manage the affairs of society and the state? Firstly, they must acquire a new way of thinking, one that is incompatible with the bourgeois prejudiced view that only the chosen few can govern the state. This new way of thinking means that in a society of the working people and for the working people they can and must manage society. Teaching the working people the art of management is a special challenge. Books, newspapers, speeches and booklets fail to suffice. People must

learn in practice and test their ability to manage state affairs. Thus did Lenin view this task.

The political system of socialism is a mechanism by means of which the people carry out socialist self-administration. This system includes the Communist Party, the state, numerous public organisations and work collectives. This complex administrative mechanism functions according to the basic principles of socialist democracy.

Socialist Democracy. The word "democracy" in Greek means "the power of the people". However this word only acquired its true meaning in a socialist society, where the power belongs to the people. True democracy is impossible without socialism, as socialism is impossible without the constant promotion of democracy. Ideological opponents of socialism often distort the essence of measures taken by the socialist state to strengthen law and order. Promoting more discipline and responsibility in people towards society they portray as the violation of the principles of democracy. In fact the personal responsibility and duty of each citizen to be a conscientious worker and constructive member of society creates a reliable basis for a thorough implementation of the principles of socialist democracy.

Nation-wide discussions of major draft laws and issues are a form of the citizens' direct partici-

pation in democratic self-administration. Thus, 140 million people took part in the discussion of the Draft Constitution of 1977. Over 110 million people participated in the discussion of the draft law on work collectives. The draft reform of general and vocational education was also submitted for popular discussion.

Socialist democracy embraces all spheres of social life, including the economic sphere, thus drawing millions of working people into managing production, the affairs of the state and society. The rights of the working people concerning production are being expanded. The working people take part in production planning and social development of their given enterprises, in training and placing personnel, and in discussing matters concerning the management of enterprises, the improvement of working and living conditions, and the use of funds allocated both for developing production and for social and cultural purposes and for material incentives. These rights are guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR and the Law on Work Collectives.

Democratic centralism is the paramount organisational principle of socialist democracy. Centralism means organisation, unity and planned actions of millions of people. Only centralism can make the various spheres and component parts of the social organism function as an integral and harmonious system.

There is both democratic and bureaucratic centralism. The latter implants strict regimentation from the top, crushes local initiative and neglects diversity. The infallible and omniscient centre which controls everything—the ideal of bureaucracy—is alien to socialism.

Democratic centralism, while granting the centre the right to determine the most important tasks, the ultimate goals, and the single programme of actions, and to coordinate all administrative bodies, promotes local initiative in every way and encourages every administrative link to use its rights and opportunities in the interests of the common cause and within the framework of the integral whole. Democratic centralism rejects local whim, national isolation and narrow-mindedness. It is incompatible with anarchism, which results in arbitrary rule, and lack of discipline, which damages socialist statehood.

Democratic centralism is synonymous with the electiveness of all administrative bodies from bottom to top highest, and for their accountability to the people. At the same time, it is reflected in a single policy, the obligation on the part of the lower bodies to observe the decisions of the higher ones, and majority rule.

Soviets of People's Deputies—the Basis of Socialist Public Self-Administration. Under socialism all power belongs to the people and is

exercised by the people in their own interests. This is the essence of socialist democracy. In the Soviet Union, the people exercise state power through the Soviets of People's Deputies. Soviets of People's Deputies at all levels constitute a single system of bodies of state authority.

The full authority of the Soviets is expressed by their exclusive right to form other state bodies (executive, administrative, supervisory, control, etc.). All state bodies are endowed with authority by the Soviets, are accountable to them, and are controlled by them.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the highest body of state authority, adopts laws, institutes higher state bodies, decides on major matters of the country's economic and social development, and supervises the activity of all lower state bodies.

Deputies to all Soviets are elected from the people by the people who are expressing their free will on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot; they are the plenipotentary representatives of the people.

During each election approximately half of the composition of the Soviets' deputies is renewed. Thanks to this, millions of people pass through the "schooling of state management".

The law endows the people's deputies of all ranks with extensive rights. It also charges them with extensive duties in many ways and estab-

lishes their relationship to their constituents. Deputies must implement the mandates of the electors and report to them regularly. The USSR Constitution provides that deputies who have not justified the confidence of their constituents may be recalled at any time. Lenin attached great significance to this right. He wrote: "No elective institution or representative assembly can be regarded as being truly democratic and really representative of the people's will unless the electors' right to recall those elected is accepted and exercised. This fundamental principle of true democracy applies to all representative assemblies without exception, including the Constituent Assembly."¹ For example, nearly eight thousand deputies who failed to justify the confidence of their electorate were recalled within 20 plus years.

There are no professional parliamentarians in the USSR. People's representatives exercise their state duties while continuing in their regular jobs. The enemies of socialism use this truly democratic fact as a pretext to criticise Soviet power bodies. They hold, for instance, that the deputies "lack professional qualities". Indeed, if having "professional qualities" means turning the deputy's

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Draft Decree on the Right of Recall", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 336.

activities into a profession, deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR indeed lack such qualities and do not intend to acquire them. They possess other, more important qualities: there is a greater understanding of various complex state problems and efficiency in solving them since they represent practically all walks of life.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR exercises its duties not only during its regular sessions, but does it continuously through the standing commissions of its two chambers enjoying equal rights: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The deputies, continuing their regular employment hold jobs while simultaneously carrying out their elective duties, are thus in direct contact with the people they represent and have first-hand knowledge of their interests and needs.

The Leading Role of the Communist Party. The Communist Party is the nucleus and the leading guiding force in carrying out the people's socialist self-administration. It acts as the main carrier of the principles of socialist democracy and guarantees their further development. The Party's activities are an example of a consistent implementation of true democracy. The Party fuses the creative endeavour of millions of working people engaged in the various spheres of

social life and directs them towards the common goals.

The Party is the political leader of socialist society; of the state and its central and local bodies; of all public organisations (trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative organisations, unions of the arts, etc.), and of the creative activities of the whole people. It unites and coordinates their efforts. The Party asks of all state and public organisations that they draw the masses into managing their affairs, in close cooperation and without useless overlapping.

The Communist Party creatively uses the harmonious system of interconnected and interconditional forms and methods in its guidance of public organisations. This system includes such elements of major importance as the Party's working out a well-grounded political line; assuming systematic control of the implementation of Party policy by mass organisations; accurately dividing the functions of Party, state and other bodies; efficiently coordinating their joint activities, and extending and deepening their influence in all spheres of social progress; the organisational and political consolidation of the mass organisations; selecting, placing and training the management of these organisations; enhancing the leading role of communists working in these organisations; constant thorough study, summarising and disseminating the most valuable experience of Party work accu-

mulated by mass organisations.

The Communist Party does not take over the responsibilities of the state and public organisations, but directs their activities through the communists working in the Soviets of People's Deputies and in other bodies. The Party's line is pursued not through enforcement, but through the close cooperation of Party, state and public organisations.

The Communist Party gained its leading position in society through its selfless struggle to realise the ideals of scientific socialism in the interests of the working class and of all working people. The history of world socialism has proven that a new social order can only function successfully when it is guided by the Communist Party. The leading role of the Party is enhanced at every new historical stage in the development of socialist society. The Party carries out its leadership by working out the guidelines of the economic and social policy, by controlling the implementation of this policy and through its cadres and communists who are engaged in all spheres of socialist construction.

The Communist Party ensures the community of interests of all classes and social groups of society, opens great vistas for the people's initiative and creative activity, and provides for the direct participation of every citizen in managing the affairs of the state and society.

The International Significance of Socialism

The Forms of Establishing and Developing Socialism. Socialism is built on the basis of cognised objective laws. It does not evolve spontaneously, but proceeds from a scientific theory. This has been proved by the example of many different nations, which have achieved a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The laws governing this transition, as well as the principles of socialism and its key social, economic, political and ideological features, are of objective nature, and universal. The basic principles of socialism are of an international nature and are not limited by regional or national borders.

The socialist countries guided by the theory and practice of scientific communism, provide for a correct combination of general, international factors and specific national factors in their advance towards communism. This is the source of their strength, of their growing solidarity and unity.

Nations which differ from one another in regard to their economic development, the degree to which they are prepared for a transition to socialism, in their socio-class structure, national traditions, culture and the level of education, yet have embarked upon the road of socialist development. Some nations advance to socialism di-

rectly from capitalism, as they have a mature working class, while others by-pass the stage of capitalist development. Such was the case of the peoples of tsarist Russia's outlying national districts, and of Mongolia. A number of young developing countries chose the non-capitalist way of development with socialist orientation.

Those countries which have embarked upon the road of socialist development differ in geographic location, natural resources, traditional economic and cultural ties, and in their way of life. In some countries Marxism-Leninism was deeply rooted when they embarked upon the transition to socialism and there were tried and tested communist parties. In others the various trends of petty-bourgeois socialism and anarchism resisted the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism. Here the communist parties, in which peasant and petty-bourgeois intellectuals prevailed, had not yet become completely Marxist-Leninist in nature.

Thus, the above fact makes it possible to understand why in some countries, in the process of building socialism, the unity of the nationally specific and the international factors was violated, and the general principles and laws of scientific communism were twisted by nationalistic tendencies. In other cases the application of Marxism-Leninism in building socialism was followed by attempts to create "own" national socialism. In

practice, this deformed the emerging socialist society.

Sometimes students of the Marxist-Leninist theory on socialism and communism wonder whether acknowledging the general obligatory principles and laws of socialism results in a neglect of a given country's own history and development.

This is not so. The laws governing the building of socialism and the organisational principles of a socialist society are not foisted upon a given country, but emerge from within in the process of revolutionary changes. It is impossible to build socialism without adhering to these laws and principles. They are not a superhuman force which acts independently of the people, but the rules which govern the people's practical activity. Therefore, the builders of a new society are not only able to cognise these laws and principles, but also to find concrete historical forms for implementing them which are in full accord with a given country's conditions. The experience gained under real socialism provides examples of the various forms of the laws of socialist construction in different countries. In each given country the international content of scientific communism acquires specific national features.

A knowledge of the laws governing the building of socialism and of the principles of organising a socialist society is not yet sufficient for a success-

ful outcome. It is important to find the correct forms and methods of solving the problems of socialist construction which take the various specific features of each given country into account. Experience has shown that the international essence of socialism is realised through the concrete, historical forms of organising socialist society. These forms reflect the national specifics of a country which has embarked upon the road of socialism.

Critique of the Revisionist “Models of Socialism”. Anti-communists misrepresent the essence of socialism, claiming that Marxism (formally a uniform theory) has now disintegrated into multiple patterns represented by the various socialist countries.

Rightist revisionist models of socialism ignore the general laws governing the development of socialism and exaggerate the significance of national and regional features. The authors of these models refuse to take the principles of proletarian internationalism into account. As a rule, flagrant misrepresentations of the principles of scientific socialism (for instance, the rejection of the role of the state in establishing a socialist economy, the distortion of socialist democracy, and a rejection of the socialist principle of remuneration in accordance with the quality and quantity of labour, etc.) are presented as special

“models of socialism”.

According to the revisionists, there is no single model of socialism, applicable to all countries. They allege that all “models of socialism” are unique and reflect the national features of their respective countries. This means that there are no international, common and ruling factors and no general laws governing the struggle for socialism, but only the specific national factors.

The Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism and communism has nothing in common with dogmatic exaggeration of the standardisation and unification of the process of building socialism and organising the life of socialist society in various countries. This is an instance of an evident misapplication of scientific communism by anti-communist propaganda. The anti-communist and anti-Soviet idea that the Soviet Union is trying to “export” its own model of socialism by implanting it in a number of socialist countries is absolutely false.

In fact, there is no such thing as the Soviet “model of socialism”, or multiple “models of socialism”. There is only one international Marxist-Leninist model which reflects the fact that the laws governing the building of socialism are not of a national or regional character, but of an international character, i. e., they are obligatory for all countries and nations embarking upon the road of creating a new world. The socialist soci-

eties which have emerged in the countries of the socialist community, function on the basis of common principles and laws, and possess similar economic, social, class and political structures.

The idea of "models of socialism" is an invention of anti-communists and of all those who have deviated from consistent Marxist-Leninist positions. They are using this idea in an attempt to reject the international essence of scientific communism and activate nationalism to the detriment of proletarian internationalism. These attempts are aimed at discrediting real socialism in the eyes of the working people, at stirring up anti-Soviet sentiments and at opposing those countries which have chosen a socialist road of development to the Soviet Union.

Revisionism is a specific form of bourgeois ideology within the revolutionary workers' movement which tries to disguise its actual aim: the destruction of Marxism-Leninism. The theories of the rightist revisionists which misrepresent the existing socialist societies and the ways and means of building socialism, serve the same end.

Chapter 8. FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM

Consolidating Victorious Socialism

Stages of Development of the Socialist Phase of Communism. A victorious socialist revolution marks the beginning of society's advance towards communism. This advance is comprised of three major stages: a period of transition when the foundations of socialism are laid, followed by a period of building developed socialism, after which comes an historically long period of perfecting developed socialism.

At the time of the inception of Marxism-Leninism, given the existing historical conditions, there was no way of creating an integral theory of the exact step-by-step advance from socialism to com-

munism and outlining the programme and ultimate tasks of each phase. However, the classics of Marxism-Leninism created the philosophical basis for this future theory primarily through dialectical materialism. This approach made it possible for Marx and Engels to proceed to devising a scientific understanding of the history of mankind which they came to regard as an objective, logical process in which each new stage could take place only after the necessary material and spiritual conditions were established. A dialectical approach is the cornerstone of Marx's and Engels's conception of the need for a socialist transformation of society, and of their teaching on the two phases of the single communist formation. Lenin proceeded from the same idea in creating his theory of the socialist revolution, the period of transition, and the advance of a socialist society through the socio-economic stages of its maturity.

Lenin predicted that socialism, as a protracted lower phase of the communist formation, would pass through a number of stages on its way towards full communism.

According to Lenin, the end of the period of transition is marked by the victory of socialism, i. e., by the victory over the capitalist elements within the country and the creation of a situation that excludes the possibility of capitalism being restored by the forces of internal counterrevolution. Lenin predicted that immediately after the

victory of socialism and the establishment of its foundation, the new social order would not be sufficiently mature to completely realise its principles to a full extent. Therefore, it was evident that the emerged socialism would continue to progress, becoming more stable and developed.

Developed socialism is a necessary stage in the social progress of all nations which accomplish a transition from capitalism to socialism, and, then, from socialism to communism. The Soviet Union has reached the stage of developed socialism, while the countries of Central and South-East Europe are still in the process.

Towards the Stage of Developed Socialism. How was victorious socialism consolidated in the Soviet Union and how did Soviet society advance towards developed socialism?

After the period of transition the further development of socialist society continues on its own basis. This means that the onward movement towards developed socialism was carried out through building up and improving the basic economic, social, political and ideological foundations of socialism. The position of victorious socialism in all spheres of social life is being strengthened, with the gradual elimination of the remainders of non-socialist elements on all levels of the social system. The entering of the stage of developed socialism is the outcome of this.

In the USSR the period of transition was completed in the late 1930s. The country's further socialist advance was interrupted by Nazi Germany's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, and was only resumed after the victory of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War in 1945. The following years were characterised by the rapid development of socialism as a social system. The persistent efforts of the Soviet people and great achievements reached in the economic, social and political spheres placed Soviet society on a new level of historical development: developed socialism.

A new, solidified material and technical base of society was established. It was now in full accord with the nature of socialist social relations. The integration of industry and agriculture deepened and expanded with the interaction and drawing together of the two forms of socialist ownership. In the sphere of socio-political relations, the state of the working class, having fulfilled its historical mission, became a state of the entire people. The Marxist-Leninist Party, still being the party of the working class in regard to its class nature, ideology, policy and organisation, became the political vanguard of the entire Soviet people. The essential distinctions between the classes and social strata were gradually eradicated, with the socialist nations continuing to develop and draw closer together.

The basic features of the accomplished level of social development can be determined as follows:

- developing further the material and technical basis of socialism in the form of large-scale production, the electrification of the country and automation in all branches of the national economy;

- making highly effective use of socialist forms of economic management in the spheres of production, exchange and distribution;

- gradual creating the optimum branch structure of the economy through higher efficiency and intensification of production, making it possible to direct development towards a fuller satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements, raising their standard of living, and solving wide range of social tasks providing for the all-round development of the individual;

- achieving the socio-political and ideological unity of all classes, social groups, nations and nationalities comprising a society which is advancing towards complete social homogeneity, overcoming the essential class distinctions within the framework of socialism;

- turning the proletarian state into a socialist state of the entire people (which means democracy for all) on the basis of changing the social structure of society and expanding the social base;

— following the demands of developing socialism and the scientific and technological revolution, to increase the cultural level of the masses, to gradually surmount the essential distinctions between the urban and rural populations and between mental and physical labour, and to promote the socialist way of life and socialist mentality.

Perfecting Socialism

The Place of Developed Socialism. What is the role of developed socialism in the overall formation of communism?

Marx and Engels did not determine at which point in the development of the socialist phase of communism socialism would begin to develop into communism proper. Lenin, who dealt with this problem, assumed that a transition to communism would begin after socialism became fully established. How will this occur in practice? An analysis of the experience gained by real socialism has made it possible to answer this question. Thus on the basis of the experience gained in the Soviet Union, it is possible to analyse developed socialism from the point of view of its present achievements and with an eye to its future goals.

Developed socialism is a logical and protracted

stage on the path to communism, a period when all the advantages of a socialist system are realised.

Developed socialism provides for the final eradication of the incompatibility and disproportion among the various aspects of life in socialist society which have been inherited from the past. All aspects of social life, primarily the economic, socio-political and spiritual, are gradually brought into conformity.

A developed socialist society means a rapid growth of production and the harmonious development of the people who have greater opportunities for raising their material and cultural levels. It establishes an optimum proportion between the sectors of the national economy, achieves a balanced development of all aspects of social life, and helps those sections of socialist construction that lag behind to catch up with the others.

At the stage of developed socialism the restructuring of social relations along collectivist principles inherent in socialism is completed. At this stage the laws governing socialist development have full range, revealing the advantages of socialism.

During the stage of developed socialism the productive forces reach such a level of development as to provide for the rapid technical progress of production, to make it possible to more

fully meet the requirements of the people, and to create conditions for the all-round development of their abilities.

The CPSU which uses dialectical materialism in its study and further development of socialism, has elaborated an integral system of views on the socialist phase of communism. The conception of the stages through which socialism advances towards communism is a component part of this system.

The creation of this system was in no way an easy process. The Party had to overcome such negative phenomena as manifestations of subjectivism and voluntarism in theory, policy and practice. The Party denounced both the forestalling of events in theory and practice and procrastinating in setting and solving the new tasks of developing socialism. As a result, the Party acted in accordance with the spirit of political and scientific realism approaching socialist society in its versatility, many-sidedness and constant motion. Socialist society is studied and analysed realistically.

The Advancement to Communism. Society advances towards communism on the basis of the all-round perfection of socialism. This is a prolonged historical period which will have its own stages, sequence of tasks and deadlines.

At present socialism is perfected in the Soviet

Union on the basis of the country's accelerated socio-economic development. This is the programme for achieving peace and social progress. The Soviet people correlate their many-faceted endeavour with the communist perspective. The Soviet Union has undoubtedly advanced markedly within the framework of the first stage of communism.

It went through the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the period of consolidating socialism. The USSR's entering the stage of developed socialism is a natural result of the creative activity by the Leninist Party and the Soviet people.

The reality of Soviet society is characterised by both large, indeed historic achievements, gained in the building of socialism, and problems yet to be solved.

The Soviet economy now boasts its highly efficient production units equipped with latest technology. These are the links in the national economy of the USSR which have at present reached the level demanded by today. They are the true heralds of the future, which must multiply and grow stronger together with the all-out progress of the scientific and technological revolution, and its integration with production and agriculture.

At the same time, there still exist enterprises in the Soviet Union which employ outdated

machinery and technology, as well as those where unskilled manual labour prevails. The technical and organisational aspects of production at these enterprises lag behind the demands of the development of socialism.

There are also discrepancies in the level of social maturity in some other spheres. At times examples of a conscientious attitude towards one's labour and socialist property exist side by side with breach of discipline, mismanagement and the desire of some people to make good at the expense of society. It has not yet been possible to completely overcome the remnants of the past in people's minds, or the manifestations of local prejudices or national narrow-mindedness. These negative phenomena will be done away with as socialism progresses.

Does this mean, then, that interest in the USSR in advancing towards communism has lessened or been lost, or that its construction is no longer a pressing issue? This would be an erroneous supposition, and one that is far from both the theory and practice of socialism, as the importance of these problems is not slackening, but increasing.

An unrealistic programme for advancing towards communism, that is one of running blindly ahead, would result in wanton waste of resources, would be detrimental and would slow down the growth rate. In the end, the advance towards

communism would be artificially hampered while the magnetic force of the communist ideal would be weakened. The CPSU approaches the problem of Soviet society's advance towards communism on a strictly scientific basis.

The unceasing advance of socialism towards communism cannot be terminated. At each stage of its development the socialist phase of communism strengthens the socialist society ever more fully revealing its potentials and imbuing it with qualitatively new features, meanwhile, bringing it, step by step, to communist stages. As a result, the general advance towards communism becomes accelerated and feasible goals are set and achieved by effective means. Soviet society is at present advancing towards communism but this advance is expressed by the perfection of socialism.

The length of the path does not signify a slow rate of advance. In order to hasten the tempo of development one must be aware of the stages of advancement towards communism, the tasks to be solved at each of these stages, the ways and means and basic directions of perfecting socialism, and the way in which the prerequisites of communism are created. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union provides clear and concise answers to all of these questions and thus provides the Soviet people with a realistic programme for advancing towards communism.

Communism as the Great Goal and Ideal of Humanity

Socialism and Communism. As we have said, the communist social formation consists of proper two phases, i. e., socialism and communism. They have some features in common, as they are phases of one and the same formation, but, at the same time, they differ in many significant features, as they represent the lower and higher stages of its development.

The common features of socialism and communism are:

- the mode of production of material values at both phases is based on public ownership of the means of production, and on relationships of friendly cooperation and mutual aid between working people who are free from exploitation;
- there are no exploiter classes, no exploitation of man by man, no forms of social, racial or national oppression;
- social production is subservient to the well-being of the working people, to meeting their growing material and cultural needs, to developing their abilities and talents. This is achieved by the working people themselves providing for the constant growth and improvement of social production on the basis of scientific and technological advances;

- work in accordance with one's abilities is universal, and this excludes parasitism and money-grubbing. Conscientious, honest labour is the only criterion of the person's worth and position in society;

- socialist production, as well as all sides of social life, develop on a planned and proportional basis;

- the working people take part in managing production on a broad scale;

- society is an integral organism, free from antagonism and conflict;

- the spiritual life of society is based on a scientific outlook;

- social progress, peace and friendship among nations are promoted constantly.

These common features have their own qualitative specifics characteristic of the two phases. Besides, each of the two phases has its own specific features.

Socialism can be characterised by the following features:

- two basic forms of socialist ownership constitute the basis of the economic system of socialism: state (public) and collective farm-and-cooperative;

- the material and technical basis of socialism enables it to develop the productive forces to such an extent that they make it possible to realise the basic principle of a socialist society: from each

according to his abilities, to each according to his work ;

- under socialism commodity production and money relations still exist ;

- there are two friendly classes: the working class and the cooperated farmers, as well as the intelligentsia, a social stratum. The inviolable union among them comprises the social basis of society ;

- the basic elements of the political system of society are as follows: the state, the Marxist-Leninist Party, as the guiding and directing force of society, public organisations, and work collectives ;

- the spiritual life of society is notable for the prevalence of a Marxist-Leninist ideology in the social consciousness of the people, a socialist culture, the communist education of the people, and the formation of a new person ;

- there still exist essential distinctions between the cities and the villages, as well as between mental and physical work ;

- socialism cannot yet provide for complete social equality, and a certain property inequality still exists among various families ;

- society is not yet completely free of capitalist remnants, or of a private property psychology in people's minds and behaviour.

The distinctive features of a communist society are :

- a communist mode of production envisages a single (public, i. e., belonging to the whole people) form of ownership of the means of production;

- the all-round development of society will make it possible to realise the great principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs;

- people will be engaged in communist labour, and will receive no wages for their work. They will experience a vital necessity to work for the good of society, putting the abilities of each to the greatest use for the people;

- as a result of the disappearance of classes in society, the complete social equality of all members of society will be reached;

- public self-administration means drawing the free and socially conscious working people into managing all the affairs of society and all spheres of social life;

- well-being and the all-round harmonious development of the people will become the goal of the existence and development of a communist society per se.

Thus, under complete communism, those features, which are common to socialism and communism, will become more mature. At the same time, some features that are only inherent to a socialist society will naturally disappear in the process of building a communist society. In the

end, a single ownership, belonging to the whole people (instead of the two basic forms of ownership—state and cooperative) will be established. Money-commodity relations will no longer exist; society will become classless, the distinctive features of urban and rural areas and mental and physical labour will disappear together with remnants of social inequality among people. The social consciousness, behaviour and life style of the people will be completely free of all leftovers of the past. When communism triumphs internationally, the state will wither away.

A generalised characteristic of the communist formation reflects the present level of Marxist-Leninist teaching on communism. Its basic stages were: (a) Marx's and Engels's founding and development of the teaching of the communist formation and the ways of its establishment; (b) Lenin's creative elaboration and enrichment of this heritage by new conclusions and provisions; (c) the present contribution of the CPSU, the other communist parties, and the entire communist movement to the Marxist-Leninist conception of the communist formation. This is the focal point of the theory of scientific communism, as the changeover to communism is contemporary mankind's road of development.

The Result of Mankind's Forward Movement. Marx and Engels proved that history is a

process of ascension incline. Historical progress is the forward movement of society, its qualitative change from the old to the new, from the simple one to the complex, from the lower to the higher forms of social organisation.

The history of society cannot be completed in a perfect, ideal condition of mankind, on the contrary, "all successive historical systems are only transitory stages in the endless course of development of human society from the lower to the higher. Each stage is necessary, and therefore justified for the time and conditions to which it owes its origin. But in the face of new, higher conditions which gradually develop in its own womb, it loses its validity and justification. It must give way to a higher stage which will also in its turn decay and perish."¹

Mankind's evolution in the line of ascent does not proceed according to a predetermined (providential) plan, but on the basis of objective laws governing the change of socio-economic formations. The change of socio-economic formations is determined by the development of the productive forces and the outdated production relations which enter into conflict with them hampering their further development. New production rela-

¹ Frederick Engels, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, p. 339.

tions only appear when the material conditions that bring them into life mature.

Each new formation is a higher stage of social development, as compared to the preceding one. The primitive-communal system was the initial stage of mankind's progressive development. It gave way to slave-owning system, which was replaced by feudalism, which was, in turn, supplanted by capitalism. A communist socio-economic formation is the next stage after capitalism with communism presenting the final result of mankind's forward movement through many changes of social formations.

According to the materialist concept of history, the communist formation is the last one, and all further development will take place within its framework. It will proceed from one stage of development to another, acquiring ever more perfect qualities in its endless forward movement, while preserving its basic features, principles and laws.

Communism is the highest type of social progress which provides for the unlimited self-perfection of society for the good of all people.

CONCLUSION

In our task to find the correct answer to the question "What Is Communism?" we have undertaken a historical journey, though rather brief, along the paths of spiritual searching traversed by the best minds in their quest of an ideal and just society on Earth. Under slavery this quest was perhaps best expressed as a yearning for a lost Golden Age, or as a vague dream of reasonable social systems which would exclude the possibility of the existence of rich and poor, and which would provide for each person his share of happiness during his lifetime. During the feudal epoch this search was clothed in the vestments of various reli-

gious heresies which in time became the ideological call to revolutionary actions by the peasantry against the feudal landlords. Attempts were made to found various religious communities of a consumer-communism type. The numerous conceptions of a just social order, which arose under slavery and feudalism, no matter how naive, fantastic and vain, made a contribution of their own, as they served as a social protest against the miserable conditions of life of the oppressed and exploited slaves and serfs.

As capitalism developed, the ideal of a just social order began to take on the nature of communist and socialist utopias. Having arisen in the epoch of the primitive accumulation of capital in the form of fantastic, detailed descriptions of ideal social orders, capable of bringing happiness and well-being to all, the communist ideas in the 18th century had already taken on the form of various theories which were, in fact, attempts to substantiate the feasibility of establishing the communal system (communism) by means of a system of rational logical proofs and their historical understanding of human life.

Utopian socialism reached its summit during the first third of the 19th century in the works of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen. These great utopians provided a detailed criticism of capitalism and brilliantly predicted many features of the future communist society. However, their

theories were unscientific. They could not be otherwise, since the laws of social development, the economic laws of capitalism, and the laws governing the class struggle had not yet been discovered. That is why the precursors of Marxism had an idealistic view of history and man's social nature. The great utopians could not comprehend the historic mission of the proletariat. Speaking on behalf of mankind and addressing themselves to the abstract nature of an abstract man they sought a road to socialism in the moral perfection of all people, regardless of their class affinity. At the same time, this centuries-old heritage of communist and socialist thought served as a spiritual foundation for the creation of scientific communism, while Saint-Simon's, Fourier's and Owen's critical utopian socialism was its direct theoretical source.

Marx and Engels transformed socialism from an utopia into a science, creating scientific communism. Lenin developed and enriched their great teaching under new historical conditions.

Marx, Engels and Lenin created proletarian socialism, revealing the historical mission of the working class as the grave-digger of capitalism and the creator of socialism. By its class nature, scientific communism is the theory of the revolutionary working-class movement, the theory of the proletariat's class struggle against capitalism and for socialism. This theory arms the proletar-

iat ideologically, while the theory of communism becomes a material force in the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. The proletarian nature of scientific communism found expression in the creation of the communist party which united the spontaneous working-class movement with scientific socialism.

The socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin was not only of a scientific and proletarian nature, but of a political nature as well. The founders of Marxism-Leninism proved that the road to socialism lies only through class struggle which can be realised in three forms: economic, political and ideological. Of the three, political struggle is paramount, as in it and through it the primary question of the class struggle—the question of power—is resolved. The socialist revolution, as the apex of the class struggle, becomes the starting point of the revolutionary changeover from capitalism to socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia marked the beginning of the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of communism. Mankind's first socialist society to practically carry out the principles of scientific communism was built in the Soviet Union. Later, socialism triumphed in a number of other countries. Today there exists a world socialist system which embraces one-third of humanity.

Of the many formerly and presently existing

socialist and communist teachings only Marxist-Leninist theory of communism proved capable of being realised. Its scientific and proletarian nature has made this possible.

Of all the political parties that have proclaimed socialist and communist programmes, the Marxist-Leninist parties alone, proceeding from the principles of scientific communism, were able to head a number of victorious socialist revolutions, which resulted in the creation of socialist societies and in the opening of perspectives of building communism in several given countries at first and then throughout the world.

The inception of the socialist world took place in the crucible of revolutionary, class battles against all the forces of the old world. The builders of socialism overcame insurmountable odds, they experienced the joy of victory and the sorrow of failure and even of temporary defeats. The creators of a new society consciously embraced a life of deprivation and sacrifice when they were called upon to do so. Mistakes were also made, and no wonder, if we bear in mind the main point: a new, unprecedented social order, differing principally from the past centuries of civilisation which had been based on private property, exploitation and various forms of national and social oppression, was being born.

The historical experience of existing socialism fully corroborates the Marxist-Leninist predic-

tion on the stages of communist socio-economic formation. In the existing socialist societies, which represent incomplete communism, the basic features, principles and laws of socialism, predicted by Marxism-Leninism, have been implemented. The achievements of the socialist community are irrefutable. Thus they prove ever more strongly that socialism is superior to capitalism as a social order.

The present epoch, begun with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, is an epoch of world transformation from capitalism to socialism. Communism is the future of all mankind. Such is the logic of history, which develops along the laws discovered by Marxism-Leninism.

GLOSSARY

ACCUMULATION FUND—a part of the national income channelled for expanding production in socialist countries.

AGGREGATE SOCIAL PRODUCT (comparable to GNP in capitalist countries)—material values created by society during a certain period of time (usually a year). In its natural form, the ASP consists of the produced means of production and articles of consumption. Its monetary expression is subdivided into the value of material expenditure (which is to be reimbursed) and the newly created value which society earmarks for the population's consumption and for the needs of expanded reproduction.

COMMUNISM—the socio-economic formation which replaces capitalism and which is based on public ownership of the means of production; the

second, higher as compared with socialism, phase in the development of the communist formation. The material and technical basis of communism will provide an abundance of material and spiritual values; the planned nature of production and labour productivity will reach their zenith. Distribution according to work will be replaced by distribution according to needs. The basic principle of communism – “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” – will be implemented. Society will become classless, with the complete social equality of people.

COMMUNIST PUBLIC SELF-GOVERNMENT – a principle of social organisation under communism. A system of managing social affairs, based on the citizens’ voluntary fulfillment of their duties and participation in the affairs of society which will replace the state (as it withers away) in a classless society.

COMMUNE – a form of people’s association, characteristic mainly of the primitive-communal system. In a commune the means of production were owned jointly and it was managed by complete or partial self-administration.

CONSUMPTION FUND – in socialist countries a part of the national income used for meeting the social and individual needs of the working people.

DEMOCRACY—a form of political organisation of society, based on the acknowledgement of the principles of the sovereignty of the people, freedom and equality of all citizens. Democracy is of a class nature.

DEMOCRACY, BOURGEOIS—a form of the bourgeoisie's political supremacy. It is a democracy for the exploiter minority, serving as an instrument of protecting the capitalists' interests.

DEMOCRACY, SOCIALIST—the higher type of political democracy, which provides for the socialist self-administration of the people and guarantees the citizens true political rights and freedoms and equal rights and duties. It encourages the working people to participate in managing the affairs of the state and society. Under communism, as a result of the all-round perfection of socialist democracy, the state will be replaced by communist public self-administration.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT—the power of the working class which is established in the course of a socialist revolution. The revolutionary remolding of society, the elimination of capitalism and the building of socialism are its ultimate goals.

GOLDEN AGE—a legend spread among the

ancient peoples, according to which during the earliest stage of mankind, people remained young all their lives, led easy lives, were godlike yet mortal, with death coming to them like a sweet dream.

LUMPEN-PROLETARIAT—declassed strata of an antagonistic society (vagabonds, beggars, criminal elements, etc.). Lumpen-proletariat is especially numerous under capitalism. It is formed of representatives of various classes and is incapable of conducting an organised political struggle.

MARXISM-LENINISM—the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, an integral, scientific system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views expressing the outlook of the working class. It is concerned with the revolutionary reshaping of the world and with the laws governing the development of society, nature and human thought.

MATRIARCHY—an early period of the primitive-communal system, a form of the tribal order where woman occupied the dominant role in economy, society and family. Descent and inheritance were traced only through the female line. Matriarchy reached its peak during the Neolithic Age, the last stage of the Stone Age.

MODE OF PRODUCTION—historically conditioned manner of obtaining material values; a unity of the productive forces and production relations. The basis of a socio-economic formation. In the course of historical development the primitive-communal, slave-holding, feudal, capitalist and communist modes of production succeed one another.

NATIONAL INCOME—newly created value in the course of a year in the sphere of material production, or the corresponding to it part of the aggregate social product in natural form without all the expenses to produce it. Physically the national income consists of the means of production and the articles of consumption. The national income is a general indicator of a country's economic development. Under socialism the national income belongs to the people and is used in the interests of society on a planned basis. Subdivided into the accumulation fund and the consumption fund.

NATURAL LAW—a concept of the political and legal thought meaning the aggregate of principles and rights which are allegedly derived from the nature of man and are independent of social conditions. Ideas of natural law were put forward in the ancient world (Greece, Rome). This idea was taken up widely in the 17th and 18th centuries as

an ideological weapon in the bourgeoisie's struggle against feudalism.

NECESSARY LABOUR—labour, expended by the workers of the productive sphere for creating the necessary product.

NECESSARY PRODUCT—a part of the newly created value produced by the workers of the productive sphere, necessary, in regard to the existing social and economic conditions, for the normal reproduction of the labour force.

PATRIARCHY—social organisation marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family, the legal dependence of wives and children, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line. It emerged during the disintegration of the primitive-communal system as a result of an upsurge in cattle-breeding, land cultivation and metal working.

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL—the historical process of forced transformation of the bulk of direct producer (chiefly the peasants) into wage workers. Simultaneously the means of production and hoards of money were turned into capital. Preceded the capitalist mode of production and accelerated its emergence. As a result of the primitive accumulation of capital the

classes of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat were formed.

PRIMITIVE-COMMUNAL SYSTEM—the first social and economic formation in human history embracing the period beginning from the emergence of human beings to the emergence of a class society, and characterised by public ownership of the means of production, team work and consumption—a result of the low development level of the productive forces.

PRODUCTION RELATIONS—relations existing among people in the process of production, exchange and distribution of material wealth. The nature of production relations depends on the relation of the people to the means of production. Take shape and develop in accordance with the level and nature of the productive forces.

PRODUCTIVE FORCES—the means of production and the people who use them. The latter are the most important part of these forces. Each stage in the development of the productive forces possesses corresponding production relations.

SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM—one of the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism, the theory on the class struggle of the proletariat, the socialist revolution, the socio-political laws gov-

erning the building of socialism and on the world revolutionary process as a whole.

SOCIAL CONSUMPTION FUNDS—means allocated by the socialist state in the form of certain payments, free services or privileges, not counting remuneration for work (free education, medical care, grants, old-age pensions, benefits, payments during annual vacations, maintenance of children in pre-school centres, etc.)

SOCIAL LABOUR—activity of people connected by the social division of labour. Under the primitive-communal system, social labour exists in its direct form (joint work within the framework of a commune); under conditions of commodity production based on private property it takes on the form of private labour whose social nature is revealed indirectly through commodity exchange; under socialism it is a direct social labour organised in a planned manner on a national scale.

SOCIAL RELATIONS—the many-faceted ties both among social groups, classes and nations, and within them, which take place in the course of economic, social, political and cultural activity. Socialism establishes a new system of social relations, one free of antagonisms and developed consciously, on a planned basis.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FORMATION—society on a certain stage of historical development, a historically determined type of society. Each formation is based on a certain mode of production, with the production relations serving as its essence. There are five social and economic formations which supplant one another in the following order: primitive-communal, slave-holding, feudal, capitalist and communist.

SOCIALISM—the first, lower phase of communism. Socialist ownership of the means of production forms its basis. It does away with private property, exploitation of man by man, economic crises and unemployment, and opens wide vistas for the balanced development of the productive forces and the perfection of the production relations. Under socialism social production is aimed towards increasing the well-being of the people and ensuring the all-round development of each member of society. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is the basic principle of socialism.

SOCIETY—the sum total of historical forms of the people's joint activities; a specific historical type of a social system (for instance, capitalist society), or a certain form of social relations. The truly scientific theory of society was created by the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

STATE—political organisation of power in a class society.

STATE, BOURGEOIS—an instrument of the capitalists' political rule serving to suppress the class opponents, firstly the proletariat, with the aim of strengthening the bourgeoisie's economic and political domination.

STATE, SOCIALIST—appears as the state of the working class as a result of a socialist revolution; a political organisation of the working class's rule over the overthrown exploiters; a means of building socialism and defending its gains. The complete and final victory of socialism marks the transformation of a proletarian state into a socialist state of the whole people.

STATE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE—a form of socialist state, a political organisation of the whole people under the guidance of the working class. In the USSR, after the complete and final victory of socialism, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into a state of the whole people. According to the Constitution of the USSR, the Soviet Union is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the country.

SURPLUS LABOUR—labour, expounded by the workers of the productive sphere for creating the surplus product.

SURPLUS PRODUCT—a part of the aggregate social product created in the sphere of material production in addition to the necessary product, and intended for maintaining the producers and their families, as well as for training new workers. Under conditions of exploiter formations the surplus product is wholly appropriated by the exploiter classes, while under socialism it goes to fulfill the social needs of the working people.

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM—a teaching on the ideal society based on common property, compulsory work and just distribution. The term “utopian socialism” comes from *Utopia* by Thomas More. Utopian socialism is one of the sources of scientific communism which has turned socialism from an utopia into a scientific theory.



OF SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

Books of the Series ABC of Social and Political Knowledge

1. A Reader on Social Sciences
2. What Is Marxism-Leninism?
3. What Is Political Economy?
4. What Is Philosophy?
5. What Is Scientific Communism?
6. What Is Dialectical Materialism?
7. What Is Historical Materialism?
8. What Is Capitalism?
9. What Is Socialism?
10. What Is Communism?
11. What Is Labour?
12. What Is Surplus Value?
13. What Is Property?
14. What Are Classes and the Class Struggle?
15. What Is the Party?
16. What Is the State?
17. What Is Revolution?
18. What Is the Transition Period?
19. What Is the Working People's Power?
20. What Is the World Socialist System?