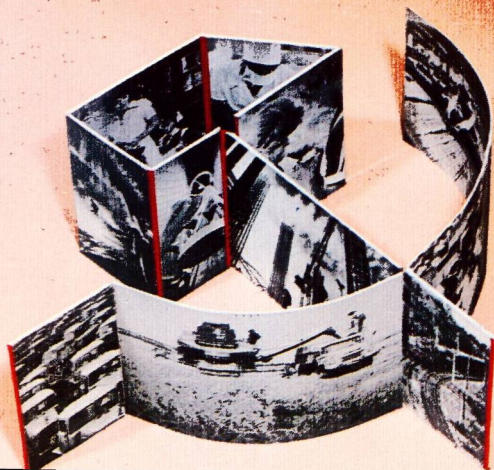


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OF SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL
KNOWLEDGE

WHAT IS Socialism?

D. KLEMENTYEV,
T. VASSILYEVA



PROGRESS PUBLISHERS

ABC of Social and Political Knowledge

**Dmitri Klementyev,
Tamara Vassilyeva**

**WHAT IS
SOCIALISM ?**



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ABC СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЗНАНИЙ

Д. Клементьев, Т. Васильева

ЧТО ТАКОЕ СОЦИАЛИЗМ?

На английском языке

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INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century has seen rapid and deep-going changes in the life of mankind and cardinal revolutionary reforms opening up opportunities for building socialism. The processes going on in the world today require that each man should clearly understand them and display a conscious attitude to life.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels proved scientifically that socialism was inevitable, and later Lenin drew up a plan of building it. Socialism has become a reality, and today it is a world system – the social, economic and political community of free and equal nations.

Socialism has put an end to exploitation, hunger, poverty and unemployment and established a public ownership of the means of

production. It has built a national economy and developed powerful productive forces based on public ownership and planning. The socialist society has effected a social emancipation of the working people, improved their living standards and provided opportunities for an all-round development of the individual.

This book reviews the scientific theory of socialism and describes socialism really existing today, examines the laws of its development, the practice of building socialism, and the foreign policy of peace pursued by the socialist countries.

Chapter One FROM UTOPIA TO SCIENCE

1. Utopian Socialism*— the Precursor of Scientific Socialism

Great dreamers believed in a better life on earth. They were called utopian socialists. Their theories, visualising future societies, anticipated the emergence of scientific socialism, which explained the historical necessity of establishing a communist system, indicated the ways of building it and formulated the principles of its organisation.

They were humanist-rationalist Thomas More (1478-1535), Italian philosopher Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), British ideologist of the poor Gerrard Winstanley (1609-c. 1652), French village priest Jean Meslier (1664-1729), French philosophers Morelly (18th century), Gabriel Mably (1709-1785), Gracchus Babeuf (1760-1797), Claude Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825), and Charles

* The term originates from the book *Utopia* by Thomas More.

Fourier (1772-1837), British philosopher Robert Owen (1771-1858), and Russian utopian socialist Vissarion Belinsky (1811-1848), Alexander Herzen (1812-1870), Nikolai Chernyshevsky (1828-1889), and others. They lived in different periods of history and came from different classes and social groups. But they all denounced a society of private ownership and exploitation, a society rigidly divided into classes, estates and castes, and they all wished a better life for mankind.

We shall review here the ideas of some of them.

Thomas More, the founder of utopian socialism, was one of the best educated men of his time. As he became Lord Chancellor of Britain, he hoped to use his post for exerting a positive influence on the policy of the king. But he refused to take the oath of supremacy to the king as head of the Church, which cost Thomas More his life.

The book which made Thomas More a man for all seasons is his famous *Utopia* (the full title is *A fruteful and Pleasent Worke of the best State of a Publyque Weale, and of the newe Yle called Utopia*). In his book he described an entirely new, non-existent, and ideal society free from exploitation, where all people work and are happy. Thomas More offered a thoroughly elaborated scheme of organising a new social system.

His merit is that he attempted to give answers to some acute social problems of his time. Seeing

the main cause of social injustice in the private ownership of the means of production, he was the first to suggest that production should be organised on principles of public ownership.

By the early 19th century, bourgeois revolutions were accomplished in Britain and France, and the capitalist machine picked up speed. The number of industrial workers was growing. Society became increasingly polarised into the class of the bourgeoisie and the class of the proletarians deprived of all production means. The class struggle was yet to develop, but spontaneous protest actions by the working class became more frequent. It was then that Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen produced their utopian systems.

Claude Henri Saint-Simon came from an old noble stock. But when the Great French Revolution of 1789-94 broke out, Saint-Simon welcomed it. However, the old traditions of the nobility made themselves felt, evoking in him protest against the forms of the class struggle in the epoch of the Great French Revolution. Saint-Simon dissociated himself from the revolution, and took no part in the political struggle.

In the early 19th century, Saint-Simon was on the brink of poverty. But precisely then his productive literary activity began, and he worked on his system to the end of his days.

What is the ideal society as visualised by Saint-Simon? It is a society governed by scientists and

industrialists, a community of people doing useful work. In that society, work is the key principle of public life. Saint-Simon was the first to suggest that it was possible to build a society in which each could work according to his needs and be paid according to the work done.

However, Saint-Simon thought it possible to reconcile the antagonistic classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They, according to his theory, were to merge into one class of “industrialists”.

Charles Fourier spent most of his life working in commerce. He hated the social system in which he had to live, for it was cruel and inhuman; under that system some got richer at the expense of others. Criticism of capitalism is the strongest aspect of his doctrine.

He saw his destination in finding a formula of happiness in which human needs would be fully met. The main idea of his theory was that capitalist society must be replaced by a society of social harmony.

But Fourier disapproved of class struggle and revolution, believing that socialist ideas could be carried into effect by peaceful propaganda and persuasion, also among capitalists, and that the antagonistic classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—could be reconciled.

Robert Owen was born into a family of a small craftsman. He had a gift for organising which, in

the conditions following the industrial revolution, enabled him to rise in the world, and to rise fast. At the age of 20 he was the manager of a textile mill and at 30 he was running a large factory in Scotland, where he effected a number of social measures: the workers, who used to live in shanties, were given decent housing, food supplies were increased, and a school, a day nursery and a kindergarten were built for their children. He reduced the working day (in Britain it was 12 to 14 hours long) to 10.5 hours. When the factory had to be closed down during the 1806 crisis in industry, Owen continued to pay the workers their wages. That small part of industrial Britain soon became a model workmen's settlement and was famous far outside Britain. The exploiter world levelled its anger at Owen.

But Owen had already joined a debate on unemployment and proposed a plan of its radical elimination by organising workmen's settlements or communities. To prove that his ideas were practicable, Owen, at the age of 53, left for America in the hope that it would be easier to effect his ideas in America where private-property and exploiter traditions were not yet deeply rooted at that time. He established a workers' community in the state of Indiana. Its statutes said: equal rights for all adults regardless of sex and origin, common property, and comradeship in all relations. Owen spent four years and a large portion

of his money on that experiment. Like most of other attempts to form a communist cell within a capitalist world, that attempt failed either.

Back home at the age of almost 60, Owen sought ways of applying his ideas in various forms of the working-class movement and advocated a unification of all workers' organisations in one national union.

Nikolai Chernyshevsky was a revolutionary, a philosopher, a writer and an economist. He came from a clergyman's family. By the time he graduated from St. Petersburg University, he was a convinced materialist and socialist. Opposed to serfdom* in Russia, he was subjected to harsh repression. He spent 27 years of his 61-year-long life in tsarist prisons or in exile.

Chernyshevsky chastised capitalism for anarchy of production, competition, crises, exploitation of working people, and inability to ensure the highest possible labour productivity.

The economic theory of Chernyshevsky was the acme of pre-Marxist economic thought. He rejected the idea that exploitation was inevitable and said that the economic forms (slavery, feudalism, and capitalism) were transient. His criterion

* Serfdom, an element of the feudal system, legally sealed peasants' dependence on feudal lords, who owned land: the peasants were tied to land. In Russia, serfdom was abolished in 1861.

in assessing the advantage of one form over another was ability to ensure labour productivity.

Chernyshevsky saw, already at that time, the role of the popular masses in history, in political struggle, revolution, and in a socialist remaking of society. As distinct from Saint-Simon and Fourier, who believed that the socialist system could emerge at any stage of human history, he considered socialism to depend on the course of human development.

As an utopian he thought it possible for Russia to go over to socialism by means of a peasant revolution and advocated communal socialism. He failed to find the true path to socialism and did not see the role of the proletariat.

Nonetheless, Chernyshevsky's ideas and his novels *What Is to Be Done?* (1862-63) and *Prologue* (c. 1867-69), in which he set forth socialist ideals and portrayed images of revolutionaries, largely influenced the political education of many generations of Russian revolutionaries.

The emergence and evolution of utopian socialism were called forth by the economic development of society and by the aggravation of its social contradictions. Various utopian systems expressed the hope for a better life in a fair society.

The great merit of utopian socialists is that they

censured capitalism and proved beyond doubt that a society based on exploitation can give people neither freedom, nor equality, nor brotherhood.

Utopian socialists proposed a number of most significant ideas on reforming society. These include ideas on the need for a public ownership of the means of production, on work as the primary requirement of man, on labour education, on the need for economic planning, on machine industry being the technical base of a new system, and on the all-round development of the individual. They paid great attention to fair distribution of material wealth – according to the work done and according to man's needs.

These ideas served as a starting point for Karl Marx and Frederick Engels as they elaborated their theory of scientific socialism. Engels wrote: "...theoretical socialism will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen – three men who, in spite of all their fantastic notions and all their utopianism, stand among the most eminent thinkers of all time and whose genius anticipated innumerable things the correctness of which is now being scientifically proved by us..."¹

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Two, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 169.

But utopian socialists failed to understand the laws governing the development of society. They did not see the social force which could create a new society because they lived at a time when the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie was yet to develop.

The socialist doctrines that emerged before the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin, proved unable to discover the laws governing the development of capitalist society and to explain the essence of hired slavery under capitalism; nor could they substantiate, in theoretical and economic terms, the regularities of mankind's advancement towards a new society and to map out ways of this advancement. They all were historically limited.

2. Marx and Engels Create the Theory of Scientific Socialism

Utopian socialism failed to answer the main questions pertaining to the development of society. The social needs of that epoch insistently demanded a scientific theory of social development. That demand was met by Karl Marx (1818-83) and Frederick Engels (1820-95), the founders of scientific socialism. Socialism became a science due to two great discoveries: a materialist understanding of history and the surplus value theory.

The materialist view of history. For all their diversity, the theories preceding Marxism had one common drawback: they all displayed an idealistic approach to explaining the life of society.

This was manifest in that, first, they at the best examined merely ideological motives of the historical activity of people, ignoring what had engendered these motives, not grasping the objective laws governing the evolution of social relations and not seeing that these relations hinged on the material production development level. Second, the preceding theories did not reflect popular action, the social conditions of the life of the popular masses and the changes in these conditions.

To create a scientific theory of social development was to prove that the material activity of people, i. e., production of material wealth, was at the basis of any other activity. To prove it was precisely what was to be done, for the idea that material production played a key role in the life of society had been voiced by the utopian socialists. What was needed was to analyse, proceeding from that idea, the development of society in the days of Marx.

This became possible when social production, in which the productive forces were fairly well developed, itself reached a high level of development; when production was becoming increasingly social and the workers became related with

one another in the common process of work not only at a factory but in a country as a whole, and when production could make headway only if all industries were linked together.

In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1847-48) Marx and Engels noted the specific features of the development of capitalist production, such as centralisation of the means of production, and concentration of property in the hands of few people. Within less than one hundred years of its class rule the bourgeoisie created productive forces more numerous and powerful than all the preceding generations put together had done. In the heyday of the bourgeois system the significance of material production as the basis of social development became most obvious. Social relations assumed a clearly material character, and the main contradiction of capitalism made itself felt – the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private form of appropriation, because all means of production were in private hands. The social nature of production required general planned development and a balanced growth of individual industries, while private ownership gave rise to crises in production and made general development dependent on the private interests of individual capitalists.

This is what Engels wrote about what had been achieved by Marx in social science: “Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic

nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case.”¹

From material conditions Marx singled out economic ones and proved that precisely they determine in the long run the historical development of society.

It is material activity, or production, that determines any other activity of people, while material relations, taking shape in the process of production, determine other kinds of social relations. The relations of production taken all together constitute the economic set-up of society, the basis with the legal and political superstructure over it, and with corresponding forms of

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, 1976, p. 162.

social consciousness. "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness."¹

Social being is the material life of society, above all the mode of producing material wealth and the relations people enter into in the production process.

Social consciousness is the totality of ideas, theories, views, feelings, sentiments, habits and traditions reflecting the nature and material life of society and the system of social relations as a whole.

According to the materialist view of history, social being is primary.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had formulated the term "socio-economic formation", which means a society at a definite stage of social development. A socio-economic formation is based on a definite mode of production. The latter is a dialectical unity of productive forces and relations of production. Every system of relations of production, which makes up the economic basis of a socio-economic formation, goes together with a definite political, legal and ideological superstructure. The socio-economic formation incorporates not only economic, but also all social

¹ Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 21.

relations existing in a given society, and definite forms of way of life and family.

Having summarised the evolution of mankind, Marxism singled out the following socio-economic formations appearing as stages in the progressive development of mankind from the primitive-communal system through the slave-owning system, feudalism and capitalism to the communist formation. The successive change of socio-economic formations is caused above all by the antagonistic conflict between new productive forces and outdated relations of production, the latter being a brake on the former. This conflict is resolved through a social revolution. The mode of production is a determining factor of historical development, while classes and class struggle are a motive force of this development.

After Marx and Engels scientifically grounded the materialist understanding of history and the role of material production as the basis of social activity, they could then explain the role of the popular masses in history and indicated the way to their genuine liberation.

The source of misfortunes for the working people should be sought not in the political superstructure but in the economic conditions of society. The emancipation of the working class, and all working people for that matter, from oppression and exploitation is associated primarily with a revolution in the mode of production,

that is, in the economic sphere.

Marxism named a real social force capable of effecting a transition from capitalism to socialism – the proletariat. The evolution of the proletariat is closely related with the development of material production, of industry. The proletariat has the main role to play in the development of industrial production and productive forces. It creates most of everything that is produced by society. It is employed at big enterprises using sophisticated machines. The growth of industry brings about an increase in the number of workers. The role of the proletariat keeps growing, while the bourgeoisie, on the contrary, is departing ever farther from production and becomes a class slowing down its development.

The proletariat is a consistently revolutionary class. Due to its objective position in capitalist society (the proletariat does not own the means of production, sells its labour, and a large part of its labour is appropriated by capitalists in the form of profit) it is interested not only in its own emancipation but in the liberation of all working people and all the oppressed from exploitation and oppression. The proletariat struggles against any exploitation, leads the revolutionary struggle of all exploited working people and, acting in alliance with them, is capable of accomplishing a socialist revolution.

So, the materialist understanding of history, a

fundamentally new view of social life, substantiated by Marx and Engels, boils down to the following:

1. The history of society is an objective historical process of development.

2. The notion "socio-economic formation" was formulated as social processes were studied.

3. The social nature of production contradicts the private capitalist form of appropriation.

4. The conflict between the productive forces and relations of production is expressed in the struggle between antagonistic classes and is resolved through a social revolution.

5. The class struggle is the motive force of the historical development of antagonistic classes.

The theory of surplus value is another great discovery of Marxism, which led to the creation of scientific socialism. The task of scientific socialism was, on the one hand, to explain that the capitalist mode of production was inevitable and even necessary only for a certain period of history and was therefore doomed, and on the other, to reveal the nature of the capitalist mode of production.

Commenting on the law of surplus value discovered by Marx, Engels wrote: "It was shown that the appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of the capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; that even if the capitalist buys the labour power of his labourer at its full value as a commo-

dity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the ultimate analysis this surplus value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes.”¹ So, surplus value is created by the wage labour of the worker in excess of the cost of his labour power and is appropriated by the capitalist without any compensation.

The production and appropriation of surplus value are the basic economic laws of capitalism. As he elaborated the theory of surplus value, Marx was the first to show the work of the capitalist exploitation mechanism. When organising production, the capitalist spends a certain sum of money to buy the means of production and labour power. His only goal is to gain more money than he originally spent, that is to receive surplus value. The means of production by themselves cannot be a source of surplus value, for they do not create a new value but merely transfer their own value to the newly-manufactured product. However, the specific of “labour power as a commodity” is that the worker can in the process of his work create surplus value. The capitalist achieves this by making the worker work longer than it is necessary for the reproduction of the value of labour power. The value of labour power

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, p. 133.

is determined by the cost of the means of subsistence required by the worker and his family for maintaining his normal working capacity and also by the expenditures on his cultural needs, on education, and on acquiring skills in his trade. The magnitude of labour power value changes with the development of society and depends also on the economic level, national specifics and historical development of individual countries.

Thus, the labour of the wage worker is the only source of surplus value.

The discovery of the law of surplus value enabled Marx to analyse in his main work, *Capital* (the early 1840s-1883), the development of capitalism and to show that its replacement by the communist formation in a revolutionary way was inevitable. The creation of the theory of surplus value and discovery of the basic economic law of capitalism made it possible to look deep into the capitalist mode of production and see its exploiter nature and the cause of antagonistic contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Lenin called the theory of surplus value the corner-stone of the economic theory of Karl Marx.

The materialistic view of history and the theory of surplus value offered an opportunity to prove scientifically that the socialist revolution, the utter failure of the capitalist mode of production,

and the coming of socialism were inevitable. Socialism became a science. From then on socialism was, wrote Engels, "no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie".¹

Marx and Engels grounded such fundamental propositions of scientific socialism as the world historic mission of the working class and the significance of the class struggle, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; the need for a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and the conclusion that socialism and communism are two phases of the communist formation. Lenin pointed out that "the chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society".²

Why is it precisely the working class that is capable of leading a world historic struggle for the overthrow of the system of exploitation, for the victory of socialism?

The revolutionary-transforming and creative role of the working class is determined by a number of objective factors. First, it is the main productive force of society and at the same time is

¹ Ibid., p. 132.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1973, p. 582.

the most exploited class in bourgeois society. Workers create material wealth, but in capitalist society it is the bourgeoisie that take control over it. Second, the working class is the only class which has no private property in the means of production and is therefore interested in making them public property. Third, the proletariat is the best organised class. The conditions of work at bigger enterprises make the working class more disciplined and united, and more receptive to the ideas of scientific socialism.

The interests of haves and have-nots are irreconcilable, which is the cause of struggle between them, noted Marx and Engels. The awareness by a class of its interests stimulates its historical activity: a "class-in-itself" becomes a "class-for-itself". In the process of struggle the proletariat forms its own organisations. The supreme form of its class organisation is the communist party. The communist party brings socialist consciousness into the working-class movement, thereby fusing scientific socialism with this movement, combining theory with practice.

Class struggle problems are central in the theory of scientific socialism. Marx and Engels revealed the nature and origin of class struggle and defined its tasks on the basis of an in-depth study of the regularities of the capitalist mode of production, summarising the experience of the working-class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The economic and political conditions of the two main classes in bourgeois society – the bourgeoisie and the proletariat – are diametrically opposite, which makes the struggle between them unavoidable.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism pointed out that the proletariat was not only the most oppressed class, that in bourgeois society it was really a revolutionary class. Its struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie leads to the elimination of the capitalist mode of production and provides conditions for doing away with classes and class struggle once and for all. Marx and Engels considered the proletariat a natural ally of all the oppressed and exploited. Only through active participation in this struggle was class awareness spreading in the working class and its alliance with broad non-proletarian masses – the working peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and employees – is growing stronger. The working class speaks for the interests of all working people. Freeing itself from exploitation, it relieves the whole of society from it.

In *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, the first programme document of scientific communism, Marx and Engels proved that a transition from capitalism to socialism could be effected only in a revolutionary way. The goal – socialism – can be attained only through a forcible overthrow of the capitalist system. “Let the ruling classes tremble

at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.”¹

The idea of proletarian dictatorship, a central one in Marxist theory, runs all through *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Marx and Engels, not yet using the term “dictatorship of the proletariat”, explained its meaning, pointing out that the first step in a socialist revolution would be when the proletariat became the ruling class.

In the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels expressed the main principle of proletarian internationalism, the idea of international solidarity, in this call: “Working men of all countries, unite!” Capital is an international force and it can be defeated by an international alliance of workers.

The task of building a new, fair society is common for the workers in all countries. Marx’s views on the stages in the development of the communist socio-economic formation were epitomised in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875) which gave a brief analysis of the foundations of a future society.

Marx’s idea of socialism and communism is regarded as scientific prevision. And since it is scientific prevision, what were the facts Marx relied on when he described a future society? The

¹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 519.

views of Marx regarding the communist formation, bourgeois ideologists say, are a utopia of a kind – the reality is not in the least reflected in them. But Marx did have reliable data enabling one to judge about the nature of the communist formation, said Lenin in *The State and Revolution* (1917). The new formation “*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 Marx drew the main outlines of a new, socialist society on the basis of the objective tendency of the development of large-scale capitalist industrial production – the all-round socialisation of labour and production. “Centralisation of the means of production and socialisation of labour at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. Thus integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds.”²

These are the theoretical outlines of a new social system. Upon examining the utmost operation of all-round socialisation of labour and production, Marx predicted all possible consequences of this, drawing a picture of socialism and communism.

But could Marx and Engels, at that time,

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, 1977, p. 463.

² Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1984, p. 715.

visualise a new social system in detail and give it a comprehensive characteristic? Of course they could not, for no facts of relevant practical experience existed to rely on. Marx did not claim to have drawn a precise picture of a new society, he had presented a general outline.

The theoretical picture of socialism drawn by Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Programme* had no allusion to the specific historical, national or geographic conditions of any country. It took no account of the difference in the level of socio-economic and cultural development of states; nor did he single out phases of socialism's maturity (the first phase of the communist formation and communism proper). This "limited nature" of Marx's prevision is a sign of its universality. Systematising the doctrine of Marx in *Anti-Dühring* (1876-78), Engels devoted a section in his book to reviewing the theory and history of scientific socialism.

Marx and Engels wanted not only to prove in theory the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism and establishment of socialism and communism. Their purpose was to help the working class practically to organise the struggle against its class enemies. The Communist League (1847-52) was formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels. This was the first ever international communist organisation. Marx and Engels wrote *Manifesto of the Communist Party* which

became a programme document of the world communist movement. They were the founders and leaders of the First International (1864-76), the first international mass organisation of the proletariat.

Marx hailed the Paris Commune of 1871 as the first attempt to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. He organised every possible support to it, and after its defeat he summarised its historic experience in the book *The Civil War in France* (1871).

Engels also had a great influence on the development of the socialist working-class movement in Europe and America. In 1889, he headed the preparations for the international socialist congress in Paris (at which the Second International was founded) and won hegemony for Marxism in that international association of socialist parties.

Marx and Engels developed a truly scientific doctrine on socialism, which is the theory and programme of the revolutionary working-class movement.

3. The Leninist Stage in the Development of Scientific Socialism

The work of Marx and Engels was continued by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870-1924). Never after Karl Marx did history produce such an outstand-

ing man as Lenin. All his life was an example of relentless struggle for the purity of Marxism, for the happiness of the working people.

Leninism matured in the struggle against revisionist and dogmatic distortions of the doctrine of Marx and continued the cause of Marxism and ushered in a new stage in its history, which was an achievement of not only Russian but also world culture. Lenin's ideas, growing out of Marxism, were rooted in the world reality of the new historical epoch and applied not only to Russia but to the whole of mankind.

In the Leninist phase in the development of the theory of scientific socialism the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the conditions of imperialism was summarised, the specific regularities of socialist revolution determined, mankind started the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the building of communist society began. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the victory of national liberation revolutions, the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism.

In his works, specifically in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), Lenin showed that capitalism had changed drastically at the turn of the 20th century and entered upon its highest and last stage—imperialism. He

pointed to the chief signs of imperialism and formulated its main contradiction – that between labour and capital, between the social mode of production and the private way of appropriation. The enslavement of all nations by a handful of “great powers” inevitably sets off a tide of national liberation, and the workers in capitalist states and the peoples of colonial countries join hands in the struggle against imperialism. Imperialism brings the contradictions of capitalism to the limit, beyond which there starts a revolution. Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism, the eve of the socialist revolution.

Lenin displayed a new approach to the victory of socialism. In the conditions of pre-monopoly capitalism, Marx and Engels believed that socialism could win only simultaneously in all, or in the majority, of advanced capitalist countries, since in the situation of continued capitalist development a revolution in one country would most certainly be crashed by the joint efforts of capitalists in other countries. The lessons of the Paris Commune confirmed the correctness of that conclusion.

Lenin showed that under imperialism a society developed by fits and starts. The contradictions among capitalist countries sharply increased, hamstringing imperialism. Therefore the imperialist front could be breached by the proletariat in one place or in several places, and socialism

could win first in a few capitalist countries, or even in one of them, but not in all countries simultaneously. Lenin arrived at this conclusion in his works *On the Slogan for a United States of Europe* (1915) and *The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution* (1916), which was a creative development of Marxism and a major scientific discovery.

Proceeding from the ideas of Marx and creatively applying his method in new conditions, Lenin discovered ways of development of the socialist revolution under imperialism and elaborated the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary working-class movement. He also proved that the democratic and socialist tasks of the proletariat should be combined in its just struggle, that there existed diverse forms of transition to socialism in different countries, and advanced a doctrine on revolutionary alliances of the working class, and showed that the peasantry should be an ally of the working class. Lenin said the national liberation movement should merge with the socialist one into a united anti-imperialist front and determined the role of the communist party in this struggle. He regarded the national question to be part and parcel of the socialist revolution. This question, he said, could be solved completely only under socialism, in the conditions of a free national development of all formerly oppressed peoples. Lenin dwelled on these prob-

lems in his works *Critical Remarks on the National Question* (1913), *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (1914), and *The Working Class and the National Question* (1913), and others.

Lenin's principal propositions on the great difference in the conditions for revolutionary struggle in the West and in the East, which should be thoroughly taken into account, on alliance between the working class of Soviet Russia and the national movement in the colonies, and on the possibility for non-capitalist development are of vast significance for the international working-class and liberation movements today.

He drew a most important conclusion from the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia that some of the main elements of the Russian revolution would inevitably be repeated on the international scale, primarily such its elements as the dictatorship of the proletariat, alliance of the working class with the peasants and other non-proletarian sections of the population, and the leading role of the communist party. These regularities were confirmed by the subsequent socialist revolutions in other countries. When the October Revolution was accomplished and the world's first socialist state was formed, Lenin drew up the main provisions of the plan of building socialism, charted practical ways and methods of socialist construction and formulated the principles of socialist econom-

ic management.

Lenin considered the utmost increase of labour productivity to be most important for the victory of socialism and communism. After the winning of state power by the working class and nationalisation of industry "there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system superior to capitalism, namely, raising the productivity of labour, and in this connection (and for this purpose) securing better organisation of labour".¹

The October Revolution signalled the start of a new stage in the working-class and communist movement—it had a revolutionising effect on the working people the world over. The Communist parties began to form in many countries.

Lenin was the leader of the international working class. He pioneered what has grown today into the international communist movement. The Second International, corroded by opportunism, ceased to exist. Its alliance with the bourgeoisie led it to a collapse, to a betrayal of working-class interests. Lenin exposed the betrayal committed by the Second International leaders who came to serve the bourgeoisie at the start of the imperialist war (1914) and became advocates of war. In the first days of the war, Lenin set out to bring together forces to found a new, Third International.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, 1977, p. 257.

The Third, Communist International (1919-43) was formed on Lenin's initiative. Lenin headed its first congresses, at which its ideological and organisational foundation was being forged.

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

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

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

The significance of Leninism is more than the contribution made by Lenin himself in the Marxist doctrine. Lenin set an example of a creative approach to Marxism, of using the ideological wealth of Marxism for gaining a deeper understanding of the changing objective reality.

A great contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism – the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin on socialism – is being made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal communist parties of other socialist countries, by the world communist movement. A scientific characteristic of the modern epoch has

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 307.

been elaborated in relation to the phenomena and problems of our time. New phenomena have been studied in the development of modern capitalism. The general laws governing the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, discovered by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, have been formulated and systematised. Research has been made into the ways of development of socialist revolution in the present conditions, and a correct combination of peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle for power has been studied.

The general laws governing the development of the world socialist system have been discovered, the main principles of relations among socialist countries have been determined, and ways of ensuring the collective security of the community of socialist countries have been charted.

The socialist world is a social phenomenon progressing at a fast and steady rate. Life sets before it ever new tasks requiring a profound study and theoretical analysis. Proceeding from the fundamental ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the communist and workers' parties give answers to the burning questions of our day and age and develop the Marxist-Leninist theory in relation to present-day phenomena and problems.

The correctness of the doctrine on socialism has been convincingly borne out by practice and by the emergence and rise of existing socialism, of the world socialist system.

Chapter Two EXISTING SOCIALISM

1. Socialism as a Social System

The USSR set out to build what is known today as existing socialism right after the October 1917 Revolution. Life has proved the vitality of the new social system. Socialism today is an example of how economic, social, political and cultural problems are solved for the benefit of the working people. Socialism is gradually extending its bounds. Ever more nations are taking the socialist path. Existing socialism now offers a wealth of know-how in building and improving the new social system. The practice of socialist reforms in the USSR and other socialist countries has borne out the principal conclusions made by the classics of Marxism-Leninism on the nature of socialist society.

Socialism is built on the founda-

tion prepared under capitalism. The latter creates different material, political and cultural conditions for it in various countries, which begin their advancement to socialism from different initial levels. At the same time, the experience of the USSR and other socialist states has demonstrated that the stages in the development of socialist society are necessary, and are of common significance.

The principles of establishing the periods in the rise and growth of the new socialist system had been formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. They believed that on this path a society should inevitably pass through three different historical phases of development: the transition period, the first phase (socialism) and the second phase (communism *).

In his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx for the first time formulated the idea of a special transition period from capitalism to socialism. This period is necessary because, as distinct from all the preceding societies, the new social system – socialism – does not emerge within the previous capitalist society. Capitalism only prepares material conditions for transition to socialism. But in order to abolish the private ownership of the basic means of production it is necessary to

* Communism – from Lat. *communis*, common, general.

develop the productive forces, to socialise them along socialist lines, and also to eliminate exploiter classes, which is tantamount to eliminating class antagonisms.

A socialist society can be built provided the bourgeoisie is barred from power and the power of the working class is established in some form or another. As soon as it is established, the transition period begins. The political content of the transition period is the dictatorship of the proletariat, while its socio-economic content is the spread in society of socialist forms of economic management and elimination of the material basis for the exploitation of man by man through the socialisation of the means of production. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the power of the working class established for suppressing the resistance of exploiters and for building socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat, as the experience of the liberation movement has shown us, is the historical necessity, the general law governing the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a special form of alliance of the working class with other numerous non-proletarian sections of working people for the purpose of building and consolidating socialism. Such a class alliance is possible and necessary because the vital interests of all working people coincide. Precisely socialism relieves the peasants and the petty-bourgeois urban sections

of the population and intellectuals from exploitation and from subjugation by the monopoly bourgeoisie. The working class needs allies to quash the resistance of hostile classes and build and consolidate socialism. The working class and its allies make up the social basis of revolutionary power. This class alliance can be broad and powerful to a varying degree. Some or other form of the dictatorship of the proletariat depends on this and on the historical conditions which include: the level of a country's economic and political development, the alignment of class forces in it, the balance of the forces of socialism and capitalism in the world, the peaceful or non-peaceful way of developing the socialist revolution, the level of the political awareness of the people, and national traditions.

The socialisation of the means of production in the transition period implies that the basic means of production become the property of the whole of society, which provides opportunities for a steady development of productive forces according to one common plan. The means of production are socialised in two main forms of property: state (belonging to the whole people) and cooperative-owned property. The state form of property is created by nationalising big industrial enterprises, the banks, transport, communications, land, and so on. The cooperative form of socialist property emerges as a result of bringing together

the property of working peasants and also by pooling the property of other categories of small owners earning the means of subsistence by work (handicraftsmen, small traders, etc.).

The character and length of the transition period ultimately depend on the level of a society's development (the economic level above all) at which socialist reforms begin. The transition period is a period of struggle between different economic structures. The purpose of the transition period is to eliminate the multi-structural character of the economy and ensure the predominance of the socialist mode of production. Besides, it is a period of acute struggle between the ruling working classes and the exploiter classes which have been overthrown but not yet liquidated. The goal of the transition period is to eliminate the exploiter classes and class antagonisms and effect profound revolutionary reforms in the entire system of social relations and cultural activity.

In the transition period there are definite phases of development in the process of establishing socialism as a social system: the common ones, which are necessary for all countries, and the specific ones occurring in an individual country or a group of countries. It would be wrong to determine the common phases in building socialism on the basis of the experience of any one country, however rich and diverse this exper-

ience may be. The common phases are associated with the origin and development of the very foundations of the new system, a process during which the entire structure of society is changed cardinally. The phases observed in one country, or a group of countries, during the development of socialism reflect the specific conditions in which the general laws operate.

In the Soviet Union, for instance, a specific phase in building socialism was war communism. That phase was necessary due to the conditions in which the world's first socialist state was being built. The imperialists did all they could to disrupt the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. They staged a military intervention against it, launched an economic blockade, and gave every support to the counter-revolutionaries within the country. All this was compounded by the unprecedented economic dislocation caused by World War I (1914-18) and by the lack of experience in socialist construction. The hostile capitalist encirclement accounted for the peculiarities and the rate of effecting nationalisation in industry, collectivisation in agriculture, and the development of Soviet democracy. The Soviet state was compelled to pursue a special, extraordinary policy known as war communism. Its main elements were state distribution according to class affiliation, provision of foodstuffs, manufactured goods and state services free of charge,

prohibition of private trade, and universal labour conscription.

Within the transition period in the USSR there was a phase in building socialism known as NEP (the New Economic Policy), which admitted capitalism to the economy and offered a certain scope for small-commodity production, with the commanding positions in the economy being in the hands of the proletarian state. The switch-over from war communism to NEP was effected because after the end of the civil war and the intervention by international imperialism (1918-20) war communism no longer corresponded to the tasks of economic development in peacetime.

In the Soviet Union NEP was of great significance for the building of socialism in the transition period. The national economy, ravaged and ruined during the intervention and the civil war, was restored within a brief span of time, industrialisation was carried through, and the peasants went over to collective socialist production. NEP ended with the end of the transition period.

It should be stressed that, as distinct from war communism, a policy like NEP has been pursued in other socialist countries in new historical conditions.

The result of the transition period is that the foundation of the socialist system is laid. As the transition period is over, a country enters the first

phase of the new socio-economic formation, the phase of socialism.

Socialism is the necessary, natural and lengthy, in historical terms, period in the development of the communist formation. As a social system it is an organic system of social relations and develops in keeping with the objective laws of socialism. Class, political, ideological, moral and other relations take shape and develop on the basis of production relations. Taken together, they make up an integral system of new social relations—the socialist system.

So, what are the typical and common features of socialism in the major areas of social activity, that is, in the economic, socio-political and cultural areas?

In the economic area, existing socialism acts as the socialist mode of production. Its main specific is that the means of production belong to the whole of society. The socialist mode of production rests on two main forms of socialist property—state and cooperative property—and on the industrially developed material and technical base, with machine work prevailing over manual work. The socialisation of the means of production eliminates the private ownership of them and puts an end to the exploitation of man by man. Labour power ceases to be a commodity. Each member of society has an equal relation to the means of production. The purpose of production is not the

extraction of profit by private owners but the utmost satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of society members (naturally within the possibilities of the productive forces at the time). Production is conducted under a state plan. Work becomes obligatory for all. The commodity nature of production remains, but this is a new type of commodity production. Commodities are produced by work collectives. Individual workers and collectives are encouraged to take an active part in production by means of material and moral incentives. The products of work are distributed according to the amount of work done on the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work". New stimuli for work appear under socialism: the masses accept the ideas of communism, display greater interest in work itself and in the creative endeavour it evokes in them.

In the socio-political area, existing socialism has no class antagonisms. As these disappear, this spells the end to antagonisms among nations and ethnic groups in the country. The social set-up of existing socialism provides for the presence of classes and social groups which are of a socialist nature. Political power in society is in the hands of the working people with the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party at the head. Vital problems of the society are solved with a broad and democratic participation of the popular masses.

Socialist society is characterised by the social and political unity of its members.

In the area of social consciousness, existing socialism has international features, such as supremacy of scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology and Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the use of the main gains of culture, and establishment of the atmosphere of collectivism and high moral principles.

As socialist relations emerge and develop in society, the individual is changing, too. The all-round development of the individual is the supreme goal and law of the advancement of the communist formation. Socialism, which is its first phase, ensures the satisfaction of the vital interests of the working people and man's new position in society.

When the foundation of socialism has been built, whatever the country, there should start a more or less lengthy period, during which victorious socialism is being consolidated and its construction is completed. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the communist and workers' parties of the fraternal socialist countries, drawing on their countries' experience of socialist development, arrived at the conclusion that when the transition period is over and the foundation of socialism has been built, the society goes through at least two stages within the socialist phase, which are of common significance: the

stage at which developed socialism is being built (building of socialism as a whole) and the stage at which developed socialism is being perfected. Experience has proved that when the transition period is over, a socialist society is built incompletely, that is, only its foundations are built in every sphere of public activity—economic, social, political, and cultural—but this society is not yet developed, mature and does not yet fully reveal its potentialities. A definite period of time is to pass before socialism, which has already won, becomes an integral, steadily functioning organism giving full scope for the operation of all laws and principles of socialism. Most of the countries in the socialist community are now at the stage of building developed socialism.

Transition from capitalism to socialism is an international process. But socialism cannot win in all countries simultaneously. It can win first in one country or in several countries. The victory of socialism in one country generates in the bourgeoisie of capitalist countries a desire to smash the new socialist state. Therefore a most burning problem today is to ensure a possibility for socialism to win in one separate country and prevent a restoration of a bourgeois system by world imperialism, that is, to ensure a final victory of socialism.

Full victory and final victory are interdependent. A full victory of socialism signifies a victory of

socialist social relations in a country, whereas its final victory means that socialism becomes irreversible in view of external conditions, i. e., an alignment of class forces in the world which makes it impossible to restore capitalism in socialist countries from the outside. A cardinal change in the world balance of forces in favour of socialism occurred after World War II (1939-45). This had been facilitated by the growing might of the Soviet Union (its achievements in industry and agriculture, science and technology, and the build-up of its defence potential), the rise of the world socialist system, and the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. The might of the socialist community, combined with the revolutionary struggle of the newly-free countries, has reached a point at which there are no forces in the world which could wipe off socialism or stop the progressive course of history.

Developed socialism, being a stage common for all in the advancement of society towards communism is significant in that at this stage socialism reveals all its advantages and its profoundly humane nature. However, developed socialism should not be viewed as something complete, as an ideal society in the phase of socialism.

The first developed socialist society was built in the Soviet Union in the 1960s and 1970s. The specific feature of this stage reached by the USSR is that socialism has won once and for all, to become

an integral and mature social system opening full scope for the operation of the laws of socialism in every sphere of the life of society.

The inevitable attaining of the stage of developed socialism by a socialist society had been foreseen by Lenin. But in those conditions, when developed socialism was a long way in the future, it was impossible to give it a comprehensive characteristic. This has been done now, through the joint efforts of the CPSU and the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries on the basis of the experience of socialist construction. Thus the developed socialism concept was formulated by applying the approach of the classics of Marxism-Leninism to the study of social phenomena.

A characteristic of developed socialism is given in the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics adopted in 1977:

"In the USSR a developed socialist society has been built. At this stage, when socialism is developing on its own foundations, the creative forces of the new system and the advantages of the socialist way of life are becoming increasingly evident, and the working people are more and more widely enjoying the fruits of their great revolutionary gains.

"It is a society in which powerful productive forces and progressive science and culture have been created, in which the well-being of the peo-

ple is constantly rising, and more and more favourable conditions are being provided for the all-round development of the individual.

"It is a society of mature socialist social relations, in which, on the basis of the drawing together of all classes and social strata and of the juridical and factual equality of all its nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation, a new historical community of people has been formed – the Soviet people.

"It is a society of high organisational capacity, ideological commitment, and consciousness of the working people who are patriots and internationalists.

"It is a society in which the law of life is concern of all for the good of each and concern of each for the good of all.

"It is a society of true democracy, the political system of which ensures effective management of all public affairs, ever more active participation of the working people in running the state, and the combining of citizens' real rights and freedoms with their obligations and responsibility to society.

"Developed socialist society is a natural, logical stage on the road to communism."¹

¹ *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1982, pp. 10-11.

In developed socialist society new processes appear in all public activity, in the economic, socio-political and ideological spheres, and in man's way of life.

In the economic area, the USSR has built, at the stage of developed socialism, a multi-branch economic complex with a powerful production and technological potential and went over to a qualitative transformation of its productive forces. Never before did the country possess such a powerful economic, scientific and technological potential. Never before did it have such a vast number of skilled personnel. The economy of developed socialism has reached a growth level of social production and its material and technical facilities at which it is possible greatly to improve the well-being and raise the cultural level of the popular masses and to set these tasks as a central and long-range economic strategy. At the present stage of the development of Soviet society there has been a sharp increase in the socialisation of material production, which has become more concentrated and centralised, and there has been amalgamation of collective farms. The USSR has reached one of the highest levels of industrial concentration in the world.

In the socio-political area, developed socialist society has reached a new stage on the path towards greater social homogeneity. The social structure of mature socialism develops so that, on

the one hand, the leading role of the working class is increasing and, on the other, the working class and the peasantry and the intelligentsia are drawing closer together and have ever more features in common on the basis of the interests and ideology of the working class. There is ever less difference between town and country and between mental and physical labour, and further drawing together of all classes and social groups, all nations and nationalities in the framework of the multinational socialist state, which has made possible the formation and strengthening of a new historical community—the Soviet people.

In developed socialist society the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes a state of the whole people. In this process, socialist democracy develops further, which is a major condition for a continued improvement of developed socialism.

In ideological and cultural advancement, developed socialism has made great headway. The society has grown more united ideologically, and Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class which at the initial stage became predominant, has become the ideology of the whole people. All the classes and social groups have come closer together in the educational level and cultural requirements.

Developed socialism, it must be stressed, means not only the maturity of the new system in one or

another country. Its advancement depends also on the relations with other socialist countries. Continued improvement of developed socialism in the USSR and the building of developed socialism in other socialist countries would be impossible without socialist economic integration and the promotion of political, ideological and cultural ties with the fraternal socialist countries.

Developed socialism is a stage, common for all countries, of the first phase of the communist socio-economic formation. This conclusion is of basic significance in theoretical and political terms. It allows us to know the extent of the socio-economic maturity of socialist society, to specify the idea of the content and length of the socialist phase, and the conditions required for transition to communism. The stage of mature, developed socialism, whatever the specific conditions in individual countries, should be viewed as an indispensable element of social change.

The chief goal of the CPSU, and its strategic task today is to ensure a steady and all-round improvement of socialism, further to advance Soviet society towards communism on the basis of accelerated socio-economic development of the country. There is no other way to communism. Therefore the CPSU is leading Soviet society forward to realise the supreme and most exacting ideas of socialism. To carry the socialist ideal into life completely is the extremely difficult but most

significant practical task of improving the socialist society built in the USSR.

Practice has shown that to develop and improve socialism is just as important as to lay its foundation, for to comprehend and use the possibilities offered by socialism means to go over to building communism.

Socialism and communism are two phases of one communist formation. Both have a common socio-economic basis—socialised property in the means of production. But they differ in the nature of labour, in the method of distribution, all of which depends, in the long run, on the different development levels of the productive forces.

Under socialism full social equality cannot yet be achieved. There still exists manual and mental, industrial and agricultural, skilled and unskilled work. This accounts for the social heterogeneity: the presence of classes (workers and peasants) and social groups (intellectuals).

It will be possible to overcome social inequality completely only when class and social distinctions disappear. So long as they remain, full equality cannot yet be ensured in the first phase of communism: a difference is still there.

Socialism cannot eliminate immediately the continuing inequality in the distribution of consumer goods (which are distributed in accordance with work done and not according to man's needs). Distribution according to work done

means equal approach to unequal individuals (who differ in their abilities, in the marital state). This means that in this phase of the communist formation full social equality cannot yet be achieved.

Under communism, the economic, social and cultural maturity of new society reaches a higher level. Communism is a classless society with common national property in the means of production, full social equality of its citizens, a society in which the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces on the basis of constantly developing science and technology; all sources of public wealth will be used to the utmost and the great principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be carried into life. Communism is a highly organised society of free and conscientious working people, a society of public self-government, in which work for the benefit of society will become the prime vital need, a recognised necessity; and the abilities of each will be used for the utmost benefit of all.

Full communism will be based on the highest development level of productive forces and material and cultural production (automation, cybernetics). Work will be free creative activity, the prime need of man. Full social equality will be achieved. The state will gradually wither away, to be succeeded by public self-government.

Culture will be highly developed. And the supreme goal of communism—the all-round and harmonious development of the individual—will be attained.

2. Economic System

The economic system of society is determined by the relations of production, that is, relations in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material wealth among people. A definite form of ownership of the means of production, which exactly determines the economic relationships among classes and social groups, is the basis of the economic system. The economic system reflects the level of social development. Together with the political and legal superstructure it determines the socio-economic formation.

Social ownership of the means of production is the economic basis of socialism. Socialism has a material and technical base—a powerful industry with machine work prevailing in every section of the national economy.

Large-scale machine production appears already under capitalism. But private appropriation of its results contradicts the social nature of capitalist production. Private capitalist ownership of the means of production is a brake on the development of productive forces in society. This

conflict can be resolved only when the capitalist mode of production is eliminated.

Already capitalism provides preconditions for the socialist type of socialisation. Capitalism brings production very close to all-round socialisation. But only a socialist revolution, by abolishing private ownership of the means of production, helps create genuinely social production.

Private ownership of the means of production is eliminated through nationalisation, when they become the property of the people. Socialist nationalisation is not encroachment on someone's property. It returns the material wealth to those who has created it by their labour.

The first decrees of Soviet power after the victory of the 1917 October Revolution in Russia were the decrees on peace and on land. All land was taken away from the landowners without compensation, becoming the property of the state and was handed over to the peasants for their free use in perpetuity.

In December 1917, the banks were nationalised. Workers' control was established at all industrial enterprises. This was followed by the nationalisation of the merchant marine, the oil and food industries, and also large enterprises of the mining, metallurgical, metal-working, textile and other major industries. A state foreign trade monopoly was introduced.

In the socialist countries which emerged in

Europe after World War II (1939-45), the building of the economic foundation of socialism proceeded in a different way. In these countries, only the property belonging to persons who had collaborated with fascists was nationalised without compensation. The rest of the property was nationalised with compensation.

Due to the historical specifics in the development of these countries, only large landed estates were nationalised. Private ownership of land was preserved among peasants. Landless peasants were given land plots by the state free or at a low price.

Nationalisation is only the beginning of the transformation of society on socialist lines. Each country which sets out to build socialism should build a new industrial base corresponding to its national specifics. The conditions for building it differ from country to country, depending on the level of economic and technical development.

The world's first socialist revolution won in Russia, which at the time was industrially backward, agrarian country with a small-scale peasant economy. The young Soviet country was alone when it held out against the capitalist states which had come out to destroy the new social system by force of arms and by launching a blockade against it. Therefore, socialist industrialisation was crucial for building a material and technical base of socialism in the country.

Socialist industrialisation is the development of a large-scale machine industry capable of building the entire national economy in accordance with the modern development level of technology on the basis of social ownership of the means of production.

Socialist industrialisation differs cardinally from capitalist one.

During the rise of capitalism, industrialisation began with the development of light industry. Small capital investments and rapid capital turnover, a large demand for the output, and high profits attracted businessmen to light industry. Heavy industry was developed later, when capital began to grow and the joint-stock system came into play. This method takes a long time to apply and so it is no good for a revolutionary transformation of society.

Socialist industrialisation begins with the development of heavy industry, and on that basis all other sections of modern production begin to grow. It ensures the development of defence industry, without which it is impossible to protect the revolutionary gains of the people. Socialist industrialisation ensures also a steady progress of technology, a growth in labour productivity and ultimately a victory for the socialist mode of production.

The USSR had to overcome its technical and economic backwardness and carry through

socialist industrialisation in the conditions of international isolation and economic blockade. Therefore it badly needed financial resources for industrialisation, which demanded heavy inputs.

Capitalism accumulates resources for the growth of heavy industry by exploiting working people and appropriating the surplus value created by the working class.

Moreover, capitalists have never confined themselves to internal resources. They have always sought powerful external resources: the plunder of colonial and dependent countries; indemnities in wars of aggression; and fettering foreign loans.

These sources were unacceptable for the Soviet state. The economic blockade left the Soviet Union no chance to receive foreign credits. The governments of capitalist countries, disillusioned by intervention, attempted to crash the young republic by an economic blockade. But the sources required for industrialisation were found within the country. The growth of labour productivity, the strict economy drive, and the labour enthusiasm of the popular masses ensured the accumulation of means for industrialisation. The tractor, auto, machine-tool, aircraft-building, instrument-making and other new industries were created within a historically brief span of time.

Socialist industrialisation was being carried through at a high pace. Prior to World War II,

the USSR was the first in Europe and second in the world as to industrial output. Industrialisation turned the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power.

The countries which set out to build socialism after the Soviet Union are effecting socialist economic reforms in better conditions. They receive every support from the USSR and other industrialised socialist countries. Industrialisation has enabled the socialist countries to have the facilities required for developing the national economy according to present-day standards.

Industrialisation involves the growth of the working class and the training of a large number of skilled workers capable of operating new machinery, applying new technologies and running industrial construction.

The social and technical restructuring of industry speeds up the otherwise slow development of some of its sectors. As socialism is advancing, there is no more division into industrialised and agrarian, or backward, regions, and all kinds of economic inequality established among nations under capitalism are being eliminated.

Socialist industrialisation is followed by the socialist restructuring of farming. The possibility of socialist reforms in agriculture and ways of carrying them through were dwelt upon by Lenin in his cooperative plan.

Socialist reforms in agriculture concern mil-

lions of working people, for this means, in the first place, a transformation of small-scale private farming, based on the individual work of farmers, into large-scale industrialised production.

Lenin's cooperative plan provides for a gradual and voluntary unification of peasants in collective farms which will require a lengthy period. Various forms of cooperation are to be used to that end. The idea of cooperation is readily accepted by peasants, for it combines in the best way the interests of the peasant and those of the state as a whole. The peasants, who for ages had worked separately, gradually learn to work together, joining first consumer cooperatives, then credit and ultimately producers' cooperatives. The advantages of large-scale production in farming soon become obvious. Social transformation and technical re-equipment of agriculture are interrelated. To achieve a complete victory of the socialist system in the countryside, it must be provided with adequate machinery, which would boost the cooperation process.

Socialist industry produces farm machinery and fertilizers. The state trains skilled specialists for agriculture, provides collective farms with seeds, grants them credits, and so on.

The cooperation of farming eliminated contradictions between large-scale socialist industry and small-scale peasant farming. Agriculture has become large-scale and mechanised, and supplies

agricultural produce to the urban population and raw materials to industry. The living standards of peasants have been raised—cooperation has relieved them of poverty and ruin. Gone are the last sources of restoring capitalism in the countryside. The socialist relations of production have won completely. The peasant issue, which had been awaiting solution too long, was finally resolved in Lenin's cooperative plan.

The chief principles underlying Lenin's cooperative plan are applicable for all countries that set out to build socialism. At the same time, the economic, national and other specifics of each country should be taken into account.

In the Soviet Union, which was the first to take the path of socialism, mostly manual and horse-drawn work implements were used in farming. But fast-growing industry provided farming with modern machines within a brief period of time.

In the industrialised countries which set out to build socialism after World War II (the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia), modern machines were used in the cooperation process. However, this process was going on there when most of the land was the private property of the peasants and did not belong to the state. This gave rise to other, intermediate, forms of producers' cooperatives and to new principles of distribution. The profit was distributed not only

according to work done, but also according to the area of the land handed over to the cooperative. At present, the highest form of producers' cooperatives, similar to Soviet agricultural *artels* (cooperative associations of peasants) is becoming increasingly widespread in most of the socialist countries.

In a number of countries of Asia and Africa which have freed themselves from colonialism and are establishing national independence, the state (public) economic sector has a big role to play. Facilitating the fast growth of productive forces, it provides a decisive material precondition for building socialism.

But the creation of a public sector in industry and nationalisation of the property of foreign monopolies do not yet amount to non-capitalist economic development and, of course, are not socialist reforms.

Thus, the conditions of going over to socialism are not the same in different countries. But for all the countries which embark on the path of socialist development the chief task is to build the material and technical base of socialism.

Socialism is, among other things, predominance of public socialist ownership of the means of production. This means that all members of socialist society are equal in relation to the means of production, that they are their equal owners.

Workers in industry, farming, transport and other sections of the national economy, using public means of production, become joint owners of the output as well.

In this way exploitation of some people by others is eliminated and the vital interests of the working people in developing social production coincide. Socialist ownership of the means of production puts an end to antagonistic relations among people, and the means of production cease to be capital and, consequently, are no longer an instrument of exploitation. Under socialism, the relations among people are relations of cooperation, friendship and mutual assistance.

Socialist public property is a sound foundation of socialist transformations. It exists in two forms: state property (belonging to all the people) and collective farm-and-cooperative property. State property is the main form of ownership in all socialist countries.

In the USSR, industrial and construction enterprises are owned by the state. So are the banks, transport, communications, trade enterprises, housing, schools, institutions of higher learning, hospitals, and cultural and art establishments. The land, its minerals, waters, and forests are the property of the state, i. e., the common property of the people.

The collective farm-and-cooperative property

is the property of agricultural producers' associations and craft cooperatives. Agricultural associations (collective farms) own instruments and objects of labour: machines, cattle, buildings, implements used for production, seeds, fodder, and so on.

In a number of socialist countries, except the USSR and Mongolia, part of the land is cooperative property. In Poland and Hungary, private property in land has been preserved.

Public property and cooperative property are of the same social and economic type, though there is a difference between them. At state-run enterprises all means of production are socialised on the national scale, whereas in cooperatives this is limited to the members of the same work collective, i. e., the same cooperative.

State enterprises operate under one state plan. Cooperatives, on the other hand, receive from the state an order for selling to procurement organisations a definite amount of their produce at fixed prices. They solve many problems involved in their economic activity independently.

Payment for work done at state enterprises is guaranteed by the profits gained by the whole of society. The incomes earned by collective farmers are guaranteed, above all, by the profits of their cooperative, though financial support by the state is possible.

Public ownership under socialism does not rule

out personal property. Moreover, the personal property of citizens and the right to inherit it are protected by the state. But personal property is acquired by citizens in a socialist state with the money from their earned incomes.

The personal property of citizens may include: articles of everyday use, articles of personal consumption, a dwelling house, and earned savings. This should not serve as a means of deriving unearned incomes or be used to the detriment of society.

In all socialist countries people working in agriculture have subsidiary small holdings: cattle, poultry, livestock sheds, orchards and kitchen-gardens. But subsidiary household plots, though they are in personal use, are not personal property.

Subsidiary small holdings are closely linked with the social economy, because an agricultural producers' cooperative, or a collective farm, provides the peasants with fodder for their cattle, machines for the cultivation of their kitchen-gardens or orchards, buys the surplus of their produce, etc. Personal property under socialism is used to satisfy man's individual needs and is subsidiary. Most of people's needs are met through the incomes earned in social production. Thus, the source of the well-being of all working people and every citizen in a socialist state is work free from exploitation.

Socialist public property in the means of production accounts for the equality of all members in society with respect to the means of production, and offers all citizens an equal right to work and an equal right to a share in social wealth in proportion to man's individual labour contribution. Public property makes labour obligatory for all.

The position of a man in socialist society depends not on his origin and wealth but on his personal abilities and on his work for the benefit of society. Conscientious work is the obligation of every member of socialist society. But work is the highest gain of socialism. The right to work is the constitutional right of the working people. Article 40 of the Constitution of the USSR says: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to work (that is, to guaranteed employment and pay in accordance with the quantity and quality of their work, and not below the state-established minimum), including the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society."

This right is guaranteed by the socialist economic system, planned labour organisation and the steady growth of productive forces. Insecurity and fear to lose a job no more exist. Every man has an opportunity to find a place in social pro-

duction, in accordance with his abilities and interests.

The right to work under socialism implies fulfilment of duties by each member of society.

Article 60 of the Soviet Constitution says: "It is the duty of, and a matter of honour for, every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to work conscientiously in his chosen, socially useful occupation, and strictly to observe labour discipline. Evasion of socially useful work is incompatible with the principles of socialist society." No one has the right to evade work. Those who disregard their labour duties are subject to social censure. Work done by every member of society in any section of socialist production is the only source of his means of subsistence.

Socialism is the first phase of the communist formation. The socialist state cannot fully meet the needs of its every member, regardless of his labour contribution. Abundance of articles of consumption, just as a high level of working people's consciousness, that is, a development level at which every individual and society as a whole have reasonable needs—not extravagance and excesses, but exactly what is necessary for a balanced development of every individual and the whole of society—are characteristic of the higher, communist phase of social development. Therefore the socialist state exercises control over the measure of work and consumption in keeping

with the principle of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The socialist state helps to make labour the prime vital need of its every citizen. But enthusiasm born of the socialist revolution is not enough to build socialism. Every working man in a socialist society should be personally interested, materially and morally, in the results of production. This interest is created by the application of the socialist principle of distributing material wealth in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done. Those who work better, that is, who give more of their labour to society, get more from society.

Applying the principle of socialism in practice, the state combines material and moral incentives. A man who works well and displays initiative is honoured in society. For outstanding achievements in labour, science, technology and culture, workers and farmers, scientists and engineers, actors, teachers and all other categories of working people are awarded orders and are conferred honorary titles.

Moral incentives are based on the sense of responsibility, a striving for the highest achievements in work, and the like. All this helps to spread socialist consciousness among working people.

As socialist society develops, the material and

cultural needs of its citizens are growing. Their fullest satisfaction is the supreme goal of social production under socialism.

The interrelationship of production and consumption under socialism is of a stable dialectical nature. The development of socialist productive forces presupposes both a considerable increase in the variety of working people's needs and a growth of economic potentialities to meet them. The socialist state ensures a growth of labour productivity, which is most important for social progress at the stage of building socialism.

The development of the productive forces of society and the growth of labour productivity are a universal economic law. In socialist society the rise in labour productivity is a source of well-being for the working people, whereas under capitalism it means intensified exploitation of the working people and greater profits for capitalists. Awareness by every working man in a socialist state that he works for himself and for his state in the interests of the whole of society is a powerful impetus of the growth of labour productivity.

The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has set the goal of achieving a significant increase in labour productivity on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress: it is to be raised by 130–150 per cent in the forthcoming fifteen years.

In socialist society, the relations of mutual

assistance and cooperation rule out competition in the bourgeois sense, i.e. struggle to gain advantage and profit from others. Instead, there emerges socialist emulation.

Socialist emulation reflects new, socialist relations of production. It is a method of socialist construction, based on the conscientious and creative labour endeavour of the popular masses and aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of social production and the application of progressive methods of work. At the same time, socialist emulation is a means of educating the working people in the socialist spirit. It helps them to upgrade their work skills, enhances their social consciousness and teaches them to give priority to the interests of society.

The socialist state raises production efficiency by using the latest achievements of science and technology and by establishing closer ties between science and production. Under capitalism, the achievements of scientific and technical progress are used by the ruling class for extending the possibilities for their social manoeuvring, for militarising the economy and escalating the arms race, that is, for intensifying class antagonisms; whereas the socialist state is combining the achievements of science and technology with the advantages of socialism to meet fuller the needs of the working people.

In socialist society the national economy devel-

ops steadily and according to plan. Economic planning is a major economic function of the socialist state. Planned economic management is based on objective economic laws. The principles of socialist planning have been elaborated in Lenin's works and in the relevant documents of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries.

Socialist planning offers a possibility for combining centralised administration with a wide initiative of the local organs. Centralised planning is designed primarily for determining the main directions in national economic development. Underestimation of the role of centralised management brings about a loss of the socialist planning system advantages. Economic initiative in the provinces extends the rights of enterprises in planning and in the solution of technical and other problems.

The drawing up of long-term plans has become a norm of socialist planning. This is a principled position: the urgent problems of today can be effectively solved, provided there are clear prospects of economic growth. Long-term plans cover periods of five and more years. The general direction of national economic development is determined by plans drawn up for a term of 10 to 15 years. A single state plan ensures a balanced growth of all areas of production, science and culture and a proper use of financial, material and

labour resources in keeping with the tasks the state has set out to accomplish.

Planning is organisation in the whole of society of the production activity of people free from exploitation and using public means of production in their work. This is a method of a scientific management of extended reproduction applicable only under socialism.

Bourgeois economists are trying to prove that planned economic development is possible under capitalism. To this end they produce biased theories of "planned", "organised", "crisis-free", "controlled" and other kinds of capitalism. To prove their point, they refer to the development of state-monopoly capitalism, to economic measures being effected by the bourgeois state to regulate and prognosticate economic development, measures which are alleged to be able to help eliminate crises, unemployment and inflation and to cure other ills of capitalism. These theories are designed to slur over the advantages of socialism and to show that the capitalist system has unlimited possibilities for progress. But history has borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that bourgeois society is incapable of controlling the elemental forces involved in the development of the private capitalist economy.

National economic planning under socialism ensures well-balanced growth. Proceeding from

the needs of society, the socialist state fixes the required proportions for a continued development of industries. But these proportions are not something immutable and they are constantly undergoing perfection in the course of building socialism.

The economy of the socialist state is an integral national economic complex embracing all the links of social production, distribution and exchange on its territory. Its components are the highly developed productive forces, advanced socialist industry, and highly mechanised agriculture based on the collectivist principles. In the socialist state the law permits individual labour activity in farming, handicrafts, the provision of services for the public, and other forms of activity based on the personal work of individual citizens in the interests of society.

On all levels of socialist production, in both collective and individual work of citizens, important measures have been undertaken to protect and make rational use of the land and its mineral and water resources, and flora and fauna, to preserve the purity of air and water, ensure the reproduction of natural wealth, and improve the environment. While building socialism on a scientific basis and showing care for natural wealth, the Communists think about the future as well as the present generation.

In the process of socialist construction, a mater-

ial and technical base is built to suit socialism – the instruments of work, the material elements of the productive forces which allow to accomplish the social and economic tasks of socialism, to apply its ideals and principles in practice and to canalise social development so that it would benefit the working people. Public ownership of the means of production and planned socialist production organised to suit it, which constitute the material basis of socialist society, are invariable throughout the lengthy period of building socialism. However, different tasks are set at each stage of socialist construction.

In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the foundations of the socialist economy are laid: the industrial basis of socialism is created and farming begins to operate on collective principles. Any possibility of exploitation is thus ruled out. All capitalist competition ends, and so do market relations.

This is followed by the next stage, the one of building a developed socialist society. At this stage new socio-economic forms of socialist economic management are gaining ground. From that period onwards, socialist society develops on its own, socialist basis.

During the lengthy period of improvement, developed socialist society, which continues to grow on its own, socialist foundation, utilises its potentialities to the full extent. Combining the

results of the two revolutions—the social one and the one in science and technology—becomes crucial for a full realisation of the socialist ideal, for the utmost raising of the living standards of the working people.

The socialist economy, the groundwork of socialist society, opens up opportunities for the development of all other areas of activity—political, social and cultural.

The socialist economy knows no stagnation, crises, unemployment, inflation; no recessions and no imbalanced production, and meets the material and cultural needs of the working people ever more fully. The socialist relations of production in the socialist countries ensure, for the first time in the human history, the community of the needs and interests of the whole of society and of each working man. It is on this economic basis that socialism has made a big stride in the history of human civilisation.

3. Political System

The economic and political systems of any society, of a socialist one in particular, are dialectically interrelated. The assumption of power, the first political measure of the working class in the world's first socialist revolution, was followed by another measure ensuring the economic growth of the socialist state by making the means of pro-

duction public property. Economic problems cannot be solved unless full political power has been assumed.

The socialist state of the whole people is the basis of the political system of socialist society. The state expresses the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of the working people of all nationalities and ethnic groups. The socialist state protects the gains of the people and ensures the organisation, administration and development of socialist society.

But a socialist state of the whole people is not created immediately after the accomplishment of a socialist revolution. This is done at the stage of building developed socialism. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, the socialist state is a state of the dictatorship of the working class. At this stage, when socialist statehood is just taking shape, the working class uses its power for putting down the resistance of exploiters, consolidating the victory of the socialist revolution, and defending the country from acts of aggression by international reaction. But the chief function of working-class dictatorship is creation and development. State power is used by the working class for carrying through revolutionary reforms in every area of activity—the economy, culture and everyday life—and drawing all working people in building socialism. The dictatorship of the working class is based on its alliance with the

peasants, the working class playing the leading role.

When the bourgeoisie and capitalist elements cease to exist and the chief tasks of the transition period are accomplished, the dictatorship of the working class becomes unnecessary, as its mission in solving domestic-policy problems is fulfilled. In the process of socialist construction, the socio-political and ideological unity of society is being forged. And the state of the dictatorship of the working class becomes a state of the whole people.

The socialist state of the whole people is the chief instrument of social reforms at the next two phases of socialist construction: the phase of building a developed socialist society and the phase of its improvement. As socialism is being built, ever more working people take part in the exercise of state power, for power in a socialist state is entirely in the hands of the working people.

In the Soviet Union, the people exercise state power through the Soviets of People's Deputies which make up the political basis of its society. The Soviets are widely representative public organisations elected by the people. In the USSR, they are the only bodies of power enjoying full rights. All the other government bodies are controlled by, and are accountable to, the Soviets of People's Deputies. The Soviets—from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the local Soviets—

form state administration bodies—from the USSR Council of Ministers to district executive committees.

The socialist state and its activity are organised according to the principle of democratic centralism, which means the electiveness of all bodies of state authority from the lowest to the highest, their accountability to the people, and the obligation of lower bodies to observe the decisions of higher ones. This principle provides for a well-balanced combination of democracy—initiative, and creative endeavour of the popular masses—with central leadership.

Election campaigns in socialist society are evidence of the effective use of the potentialities of socialist people's power, a direct expression of the will of the people. They are prepared and conducted in a businesslike manner, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of a socialist state, with a broad participation of the people who work in the election commissions.

At election rallies and meetings with deputies the voters discuss in detail the political and administrative abilities of the nominees, give them mandates, and express suggestions as to how the operation of government, economic and public organisations should be further improved. During election campaigns in socialist states, the results of social and economic development within a certain period are reviewed and analysis

is made of achievements in the life of society as a whole.

Deputies to the Soviets are the best representatives of the working people to whom the population entrusts the administration of the state. The deputies represent all nationalities and ethnic groups, Communists or non-Party people; workers, farmers and intellectuals—all men and women not younger than 18 years. At every new election more than half of the deputies are new.

Elections to state power bodies in socialist society are conducted on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. They are always an important event in the life of the socialist state.

In accordance with the democratic centralism principle, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR takes decisions on major issues of state activities. Before a decision is made, a matter in question is placed for nation-wide discussion. But when the discussion is over and the socialist state passes a decision, its fulfilment is obligatory for all, because it has been made by the majority and for the majority. Most important questions are decided by referendum.

In the socialist state, all government bodies and each official are responsible for a proper fulfilment of their mission, which is yet another display of democratic centralism.

The socialist state, all its bodies act in keeping

with the socialist law to ensure the maintenance of law and order, and protect the interests of society and the rights and freedoms of the working people.

In the socialist state, government and non-government organisations and officials shall observe its Constitution and laws. This demand reflects the great humanism of the political system of socialism, for the Constitution and the laws of the socialist state protect the interests of the working people.

The political system of socialist society is a mechanism of the sovereignty of the people comprising a large number of state and public institutions functioning on the basis of legal and social norms. The political system of socialist society includes, apart from the socialist state, mass organisations which, in keeping with their charters and goals, participate in running state and public affairs and in political, economic, social and cultural decision-making. All of them include nearly the entire adult population. Public organisations in a socialist state are a major channel for working people's participation in running the affairs of society. The right of citizens to form all kinds of organisations is registered in the Constitution and guaranteed by the state.

The largest public organisation taking an active part in the life of the socialist state is the trade unions, which are a school of adminis-

tration and economic management. They are the biggest organising force in the development of the productive forces, increasing labour productivity and speeding up the progress of science and technology. The trade unions in the socialist countries enjoy the right of legislative initiative, they are in charge of state social insurance, and together with government bodies they exercise control over the measure of work and consumption and observance of labour legislation.

One of the major tasks of the trade unions is the satisfaction of the legitimate interests of all working people, improving their working and living conditions, control over the observance of labour legislation and regulations and norms of labour protection and safety engineering, and care for working peoples' leisure and recreation. The trade unions take direct part in production management. All problems concerning labour and payment for it are solved by government bodies only jointly with trade union representatives. In the Soviet Union, for instance, managers of enterprises cannot exercise most of their administrative functions without the consent of the trade union committees operating there. No worker can be fired without the permission of the trade unions. No enterprise can be commissioned unless the trade unions are convinced that labour protection and safety engineering rules are observed.

The strengthening of the trade unions and enhancement of their role in the life of socialist society are most important for effective building of socialism.

The voluntary public organisations which are also part of the political system of socialist society are youth organisations, large cooperative associations, scientific, cultural, technical and sports organisations, unions of writers, composers, journalists, artists, and other organisations playing a significant part in the social activities of the socialist state.

The power of a society is in its unity. The firm ideological and political unity of the socialist state is achieved by rallying the working people round the Communist Party, the leading and guiding force of socialist society. The Communist Party has won the leading position in socialist society in a selfless struggle for the ideals of scientific socialism, for the interests of the working people. The increasing role of the Party is also dictated by the more complicated international situation, by the need for fresh steady efforts to curb the aggressive forces and deliver humankind from nuclear threat.

The Communist Party faithfully serves the working people who recognise it as the leading force in their society—the socialist society. The strength of the Party is that, equipped with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, it cor-

rectly understands the objective social processes of development and therefore pursues a realistic policy. The Communist Party exercises its leadership in socialist society by charting key directions of socio-economic policy, supervising its implementation, and selecting and placing cadres. Economic measures and political methods – this is the formula of the Party guidance of economic activity at all stages of building socialism.

The freedom of discussion and criticism is a norm of the Party activities. This approach facilitates a useful discussion of outstanding problems: genuine solution is possible only after a problem has been considered collectively.

In the process of building developed socialist society the composition of the Communist Party is changing and the party of the working class becomes a party of the working people, for the main criterion of its activity is service to all working people. Communist Party members are people of all nationalities. As ever more nationalities are increasing their membership in the Party, it grows ever more united internationally.

The Communist Party is reasonably combining the international doctrine of scientific socialism with the national specifics of practical socialist construction. Clear and realistic political vision enables the communist parties of the socialist countries to draw up a strategy and tactics of further socialist construction for each major per-

iod of time. As socialism develops, the role of the Party is increasing. This happens because the magnitude and complexity of the tasks of transforming society are increasing, the creative endeavour of the masses keeps growing, and the development of socialist democracy continues.

Socialism realises its advantages through democracy, since in the socialist state, whatever serves the interests of the working people is considered democratic. For the first time socialism translates the great idea of equality among people into reality. Herein lies the distinctive feature of socialist democracy.

Just like genuine democracy is inconceivable without socialism, socialism is impossible without a constant development of democracy. The popular masses are the true creators of history – this is a basic principle of the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore the governments of the socialist countries see their chief task in stepping up the social activity of the working people. The main content of socialist democracy is not barring people from state activities, but their active participation in political life, in running the state.

Socialist democracy is a combination of genuine freedom with the civic responsibility of the working people, of the interests of society with those of the collective and of the individual. Socialist democracy gives rights to each man and makes it his duty to act as a master in his own

state.

The basic local element of the political system of socialist society is the work collective. Work collectives take part in the discussion and solution of state and public matters, in planning production and social development, and in the training and placement of personnel. They participate on a large scale in examining and solving problems of management, of improving the living and working conditions and using the funds earmarked for developing production, for social and cultural measures and material incentives. The rights and duties of work collectives are registered in Soviet law.

But one should not forget that socialist democracy is based on voluntarily accepted discipline. Discipline is an important means of meeting in practice the interests of the working people. It is a precondition of exercising democracy. Without such discipline and stable public law and order democracy is just a fine word. Work collectives help strengthen work discipline, spread socialist-morality attitudes among their members, and are enhancing the level of their political awareness, culture and skills.

The main direction in the advancement of the political system of socialism is the further development of socialist democracy. This means an ever broader participation of the working people in running the affairs of the state and society, im-

proving the machinery of the state, and making public organisations increasingly active. The perfection of socialist democracy will be accompanied by stricter control on the part of the working people, the strengthening of the legal aspect of state and public activities, extension of publicity, with public opinion being unfailingly taken into account.

The growing activity of the working people is a major factor of the development of socialism. Under socialism the general sociological law of the increasing role of the popular masses in the historical process is given full scope for operation for the first time. Therefore the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries plan the strategy and tactics of their work so that the democratic system of socialism would express the interests of all classes and social groups, offer still broader opportunities for the activities and initiative of the people, and help attain the noble goal of ensuring the direct participation of each in running the state and social affairs.

Existing socialism had challenged the pluralism of bourgeois democracy by the diversity of the social forces in its political system. For the steady development of socialist democracy is the way to communist social self-government.

4. Social Development of Society

The socio-class and national pattern of socialist society is a reflection of its internal set-up. The emergence in the historical arena of the broad popular masses who for centuries had been oppressed and exploited by the ruling classes, and the growth of their political awareness became possible due to the profound social changes in the world. Precisely in the socialist countries the position and role of the working people, who become masters of their own life, are changed cardinally.

By establishing public ownership of the means of production socialism eliminates conflict in the relations among people. From then on the relations among them are those of cooperation and mutual assistance. This is only natural, for the working people themselves are the masters in socialist society. Yet, classes and social strata remain in this society, which is the logic of history.

The social pattern of society is a logical reflection of the historically necessitated division of labour, which is seen in people's activities in various spheres of production and public life, and in the relations of these groups to each other. At the basis of a social set-up are the relations of production predominant in society. A change in the

mode of production brings about a change in the social structure. The social structure, in turn, influences the productive forces and relations of production, as well as the political organisation and cultural life of society.

The distinctions among large groups of people called classes concern their place in the social production system determined by the course of history; relation to the means of production; their role in the social organisation of labour; and, depending on all this, the ways of obtaining a share (and the size of this share) of public wealth at their disposal.

In socialist society there is no exploitation and it is not divided into groups of people, of which one can appropriate the labour of another. The social basis of the Soviet state is the alliance of the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the intellectuals.

The difference between the working class and the class of peasants is that there are two forms of socialist property, and the difference between the workers and farmers, on the one hand, and the intellectuals, on the other, is caused by the difference between manual and mental work. Most of the workers are employed in industry, the chief sector of the economy, and so they constitute the main force in the social production. Workers deal with machines and raw materials which have been socialised in the whole of the state. Cooper-

ated peasantry use the instruments of work which also are socialised in the framework of their work collective. Their work is associated with cooperative property.

As for the role of the social organisation of labour, under socialism labour organisation and the work process itself are all controlled by the producers, who are also owners, in contrast with capitalism under which some organise labour while others only perform work.

And, finally, there are differences in distribution. The forms of distribution are different for the workers and cooperative farmers. The form of income for the workers is their wages. The cooperative farmers who are paid for work in a collective farm (their earnings depend on the income of their farm) also have subsidiary small holdings and use the produce of these holdings for their families. But the application of the socialist principle of distribution according to the amount and quality of work done and the process of socialising labour along socialist lines make the share of the worker and the cooperative (collective) farmer in the public wealth more and more equalised, and the methods of obtaining an earned share of the public wealth are becoming ever more similar.

The intelligentsia exists as a special social group so long as the difference between work by brain and work by hand remains. The intellectuals are people occupied with highly skilled

mental work requiring special education. In socialist society, the working intelligentsia takes shape. It differs basically from the intelligentsia in bourgeois society. The socialist intellectuals are closely related with the classes existing in society and serve their needs. They and the workers, and all working people for that matter, have common interests in society.

Why is it so that socialism cannot immediately solve the age-old problem of social equality and ensure an equal relation to the means of production for all working people, offer all of them equal conditions of work and distribution and set out to involve all citizens in administering public affairs? This problem can be solved only in a strictly scientific way and not by mechanical equalisation of classes and of individual abilities and gifts. A scientific solution of the problem requires above all the overcoming of the consequence of the division of labour inherited from capitalism – the contrast between mental and manual, creative and mechanical, non-productive, organisational and executive work, between town and country. This problem is to be solved under socialism gradually, in keeping with the social policy correctly pursued by the Communist Party. Because a change of the economic basis is not automatically followed by changes in the everyday life, culture and thinking of a class.

Social policy in socialist society is determined

by the tasks of building socialism dictated by history at a given time.

In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, for instance, the attainment of the chief goal of the social policy—which is the elimination of classes hostile to the working people—involves the solution of the main economic problem of that period: to socialise production means, remould the multi-structural economy and lay the foundations of the socialist economy—socialist industry and farming. At the stage when the foundations of socialism are laid, the most contrasting class differences, which are in the way of attaining the goals of socialist construction, are eliminated. At that time cardinal changes are effected in the social set-up of socialist society, which make a restoration of capitalism impossible: class antagonisms are eliminated (the bourgeoisie ceases to exist as an exploiter class that owns the means of production and is deprived of its economic and political privileges) and the social nature of the overwhelming majority of small producers is being changed (they should gradually dissolve in the mass of the toiling population).

The social force which is at the heart of social change in the transition period is the working class, which occupies the leading position in the political system of socialism. It takes control of socialist industry, the basis of the development of the productive forces, and, therefore, of boosting

the prosperity of society as a whole. The working peasants, led by the working class, undergo a cardinal change from individual work to work in cooperatives, and from petty-bourgeois mentality to collectivist one. The position of the intellectuals becomes totally different. They are no longer servants of the bourgeoisie, but equal members of socialist society and openly defend the interests of the working class and working peasants, the interests which coincide with those of their own, for they now become a working section of the population.

Practice has shown, however, that even after exploiter classes and social groups disappear, certain possibilities remain long open for the penetration of the international bourgeoisie and for its influence on the alignment of class forces in a young socialist state. This is accounted for by the fact that small-proprietor mentality is still rather widespread, mostly among those who come from the propertied sections of the population. But at the same time, objective internal material conditions for the emergence and activity of anti-socialist groups are disappearing. Therefore in the transition period and during the period of improving socialist society it is imperative that the ruling Communist Party should pursue a correct social policy.

At the stage of building developed socialism, society consists of the toiling classes and social

groups that are intrinsically socialist. The growth of agro-industrial integration, which is based on the advantages of socialism and comes as a result of the scientific and technological revolution, causes a faster obliteration of the difference among the toiling classes and a great changeability of social distinctions and a free movement of working people from one social stratum to another.

The working class, new in composition and social base, comes to prevail in the national economy of socialist society. This working class has reached a high level of education and is far better skilled. It also becomes more active socially, because the proportion of skilled and mental work is increasing.

The class of cooperative farmers, allied with the working class, plays a major part in building socialist society. As it went over to large-scale collective farming, the peasantry changed its nature and became part of socialist society. At this stage of building socialism the nature and organisation of agricultural work undergo progressive changes. It becomes more mechanised and automated. Industrial methods and technologies are widely introduced in agriculture. The composition of the peasantry is changing, too, because the social policy of the Communist Party is to overcome significant differences between town and country.

At this period of socialist construction the peo-

ple's intelligentsia is taking shape: the number of engineers, scientists, physicians, farming experts, and men of arts and culture is growing. In the conditions of socialism and the scientific and technological revolution, the number of employees is increasing. The target of the social policy of the socialist state in this period is to build up the alliance of the working class, the cooperative peasants, and the people's intelligentsia.

The next stage is comprehensive improvement of socialism. During this period the class structure of developed socialist society is improved: the socialist state is making it still more homogeneous in social terms. Class distinctions continue to disappear, and so does the substantial difference between town and country and between the workers by hand and by brain. At this stage the classless structure of society is, on the whole, established, the difference between the worker, the farmer and the intellectual is gradually disappearing, and a united classless working association is taking shape, whose members have common economic, social, political and ideological interests.

Pursuing its social policy the socialist state concentrates on a free, all-round and harmonious development of all nations and ethnic groups and ensures actual equality, political, economic and cultural, for all nations.

In the process of socialist construction the pro-

gramme of solving the nationalities question, drawn up by Lenin and the communist and workers' parties of socialist countries, which asserts socialist brotherhood of all nations and nationalities, is being carried through.

The socialist revolution and the laying of the foundations of socialism aroused formerly backward nations to independent historical development; some of them were saved from extinction. During social construction they acquired genuine statehood, overcame their economic and cultural backwardness and went over to higher, socialist forms of economic and cultural growth.

As developed socialist society is being built, public life in the socialist state is becoming internationalised: joint work collectives of various nations are established, and the nations exchange material and cultural values.

At the stage of perfecting socialism, national relations advance further, and sound opportunities are offered for drawing nations and ethnic groups still closer together.

The principle of social justice is at the basis of the unity and stability of socialist society. The Communist Party, which views the development of socialist society as advancement to an ultimate realisation of the socialist ideal, sees to it that social relations in the socialist state should be exactly in keeping with this socialist principle.

The motto of the social policy pursued by the

socialist state is: everything in the name of man, for the good of man. Well in keeping with the communist ideal: "The free development of each is the condition of the free development of all", the socialist state sets out to extend the real opportunities for the working people to apply their creative endeavour, abilities and gifts. But an improvement of the living conditions of a citizen in socialist society should depend on his growing contribution to the common cause, for socialism is a basically new social and economic system requiring creative work and making work the prime vital need of each member of socialist society.

The socialist state concerns itself with improving working conditions and labour protection, ensuring scientific labour organisation, with reducing and ultimately eliminating altogether hard manual work by introducing all-round mechanisation and automation in every section of the national economy.

The fusion of manual and mental work brings about a situation in which all members of society are equal as workmen, and there appears an opportunity for them to change the kind of activity. The attractiveness of such work will give utmost satisfaction to any harmoniously developed individual.

In the socialist countries, the programme of turning agricultural work into a type of industrial

labour is being steadily carried through. In the countryside, the number of establishments of public education, culture, medical care, trade, and public catering is increasing. Villages are turned into settlements with urban amenities. The growing share of industrial labour in agriculture, on the one hand, obliterates the difference between the toiling classes and, on the other, brings about the intellectualisation of labour, thus bringing the workers and peasants and intellectuals ever closer together, and so the difference between manual and mental work gradually disappears. In the production activity of workers and peasants the share of mental work is increasing.

The growth of labour productivity enables the state steadily to raise wages and salaries and thus to increase the real incomes of the working people.

In the socialist countries, a part of material wealth and cultural values is distributed free of charge. For this purpose public consumption funds are accumulated. The socialist state with a broad participation of public organisations and work collectives ensures the growth and fair distribution of these funds. The needs of the working people are met free of charge primarily in education, medical care, social security. Besides, state systems of trade and public catering, consumer and municipal services are developing in these

countries. The state encourages the setting up of cooperative and other public organisations in every sphere of the services for the population.

The social programme pursued by the communist party in socialist society provides for further housing construction, the improvement of working and living conditions for mothers, the building of creches and kindergartens, environmental protection, and promotion of physical training and sports on a national scale.

In social development, there occur major changes in the socialist countries, involving the introduction of new technologies and further improvement of the public education system, which provides general education and vocational training for the working people.

The socialist state concerns itself with protecting, increasing and using on a large scale cultural values for the moral and aesthetic education of the working people, for raising their cultural level. It gives every encouragement to the development of professional, amateur and folk arts. The culture of the peoples which make up the socialist state, culture which is socialist in content, retains national specifics in form.

The public activity of socialist society determines the development level of its material production and the social and political relations in it.

5. The Individual in Socialist Society

The development of every member of society and of the people as a whole is coming to reflect social progress in the socialist society. The new man has been moulded under socialism, and this confirms the Marxist-Leninist thesis that only under conditions of a socialist revolution and the consequent building of socialism can the problem of the individual be solved, for only a socialist revolution eliminates exploitation of man by man, and only in a socialist society working people obtain true freedom and the necessary conditions for developing their abilities.

In the course of building socialism, the development of the individual goes through a number of stages which correspond to stages in the formation of a new society as a whole.

The moulding of the new man is a result of the socialist revolution and laying the foundations of socialism. The class struggle of the proletariat and the appearance of the revolutionary—an individual who expressed the revolutionary, humanitarian essence of the working class—laid the ground for the emergence of a socialist type of individual. The personality of the revolutionary worker embodies the essential social traits of the new man. These are further realised in the indi-

vidual of a socialist type. Socialist revolution ended exploitation and created the necessary preconditions for the true emancipation of man. The formation of a socialist state gives rise to the purposeful process of creating the economic, political and social conditions necessary for the formation of a socialist type individual.

Socialism engenders qualitatively new social relations, changing the individual's position in the social system, his role in social production, as well as the nature of his social activities and personal relations. Unprecedented relations between the individual and society, which serve as the basis for forming the most important features of the socialist individual, come into existence.

The second stage in forming the socialist individual is connected with the period of building developed socialism. During this period the socio-class structure of socialist society becomes firmly established. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes the state of the whole people, and a single social type of the socialist individual—a working person who embodies qualities inherent in all the classes and social groups of socialist society—emerges. A revolutionary outlook and a sense of discipline, organisation and collectivism are the typical features of the new man.

The third stage in the formation of the new man takes place during the period of perfecting

developed socialism. This is a period during which society develops on its own, collectivist basis. The drawing together of all classes and social groups of such a society and the establishment of a classless structure facilitate the appearance of a socially homogeneous type of the individual, of a free personality. The formation of a harmoniously developed individual is the goal of this stage. In a developed socialist society, the formation of the new type of individual is closely linked with the solution of the basic tasks of socialist construction, and with the concrete opportunities and problems of the first phase of communist society. The development of material production and the increase in labour productivity remain one of the chief criteria of progress under socialism, determining the individual's social status and value.

Socialism establishes a qualitatively new type of relationship between the individual and society. It is based on the elimination of antagonism between the individual's two spheres of social life. Although the individual's personal life does not merge with the life of society, it does acquire social content, reflecting the general features of the life of society.

The transformation of the objective basis of the relationships between society and the individual that takes place in a socialist state definitely influences the individual's development. However,

the individual plays quite an important part in this process. In the capitalist society, the working people are deprived of their individuality. To achieve any degree of individuality, one must rise above the conditions that depersonalise him. Under socialism, both class and national antagonisms are done away with, as is the gap between the interests of the state and those of the individual, since both are united by the common goal of building a new, just society.

Socialism provides the individual with vast opportunities for developing his talents; it places the achievements of science and culture at his disposal and offers a new approach to the question of the link between the individual and society. A person's right to work in accordance with his choice, inclinations and ability is one of socialism's greatest gains.

Socialism grants broad political rights to all members of society on condition that they not only enjoy these rights, but conscientiously fulfil their duties as citizens. Realising that the interests of society, the collective and the individual are inseparable forms the basis of an individual's outlook in socialist society.

The socialist personality is a harmonious personality. The new relations between the individual and society under socialism are indispensable for the harmonious development of each individual. Establishing harmonious relations

between the individual and society implies eradicating the essential distinctions between mental and physical labour and between the town and countryside, as well as the establishment of a classless social structure and complete social equality.

Harmony in social relations means eliminating all socio-economic conditions which result in contradictions between the individual and society. However, harmony between the individual and society does not imply a complete merging of the individual and the collective. Complete harmony will be provided by the priority of social interests (which will form the main content of the individual's interests) and by the concern for the well-being of every member of society.

There are three basic directions along which the individual develops harmoniously at the highest stage of socialist society – the stage of perfecting developed socialism. These are: increasing work skills, mastering related trades and constantly increasing one's knowledge; combining a job with social and political activities; expanding the sphere of amateur art, and scientific and technical creative activities.

In the developed socialist society of the USSR, the formation of an all-round developed individual is the primary goal in perfecting developed socialist society. The maximum fulfilment of the Soviet people's ever-growing material and cul-

tural needs is the main objective of the ruling Communist Party. This goal forms the main content of the economic development of the USSR, which is now in the process of further promoting the Soviet people's well-being on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress and transforming the economy through intensified development, the more rational use of the country's industrial potential and economising on all types of resources and improving the quality of work.

The formation of a socialist individual is closely linked with the process of perfecting the socialist life-style. The socialist life-style is the tie between the individual and society, a way of drawing the individual into social life. It reflects all the essential features of communist socio-economic formation which are realised in the people's lives. The social nature of the socialist way of life includes true collectivism and comradeship, solidarity, friendship among all of the country's nations and nationalities, a healthy moral outlook, patriotism and internationalism.

The consolidation of the material and spiritual foundations of the socialist way of life and the moulding of the new man are closely connected. The education of the new type of individual can only be successful if it rests on the firm basis of socio-economic policy.

A harmoniously developed individual is always

socially active. This is an objective result of the social structure of society. Marxism-Leninism views the individual not as a passive product of the outside world, but as an active subject capable of transforming it entirely. Lenin wrote: "This notion (=man) is the *impulse* to realise itself, to give itself objectivity in the objective world through itself, and to realise (fulfil) itself."¹ Only through the revolutionary activity of the proletariat and in the process of building socialism does the activity of the individual become fully realised, acquiring a qualitatively new content. Along with changing the objective conditions of his existence in the process of revolutionary activity, the individual changes himself.

Work is the cornerstone of the all-round development of the individual. The socialist society is a society of working people. Therefore, conscientious, efficient work for the good of society is acknowledged under socialism as the highest criterion of one's dignity and social status. Work is the main form of a person's social relationships and the basis for the realisation of his social essence.

The sphere of distribution also has a great impact on the development of the individual. Distribution relations bear directly on the interests of each and every member of society. The nature of

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, 1980, p. 212.

distribution is, in fact, one of the most important indicators of the degree of social equality in socialist society. The quantity and quality of work is the chief criterion of distribution under socialism. Changing the nature of labour (introducing a combination of manual, mental, organisational and executive functions in the work of every member of society), perfecting the sphere of distribution, diversifying the development of the public educational and health systems, as well as physical culture, contribute to advancing society towards social homogeneity.

The steady extension of democracy under socialism is an imperative factor in moulding the new man. Socialist democracy provides all the necessary conditions for the all-round development of the individual.

In the USSR, developed socialism has raised socialist democracy to a qualitatively new level, considerably expanding the rights of Soviet citizens. The working people are becoming more and more active in various political and public organisations and in managing the affairs of the state and society. This promotes the active civic position of every individual and is characterised by an intolerance of any and all violations of socialist law.

The participation of the working people in managing production and their active role within the framework of production democracy are of

great importance, for the achievement of production goals is only possible if every employee displays initiative and a conscientious and concerned attitude towards his work.

Culture is another sphere in which the individual has an opportunity to be socially active. Socialist culture is of a popular nature and is accessible to all. In socialist society cultural values are the property of the whole people. This right is ensured by the treasures of national and world culture which are open to the general public; by the development and accessibility of cultural and educational establishments throughout the country; television and radio broadcasting, book printing, the press and the network of free libraries, and by the growing cultural exchange with other countries.

The further development of socialist society and the individual is directly linked with encouraging participation in creative cultural activities—an indispensable condition for the self-realisation of the individual as an integral and active personality.

The Soviet Union and other socialist states possess vast material and cultural opportunities for achieving the ever fuller development of the individual. Most important, however, is the fact that every person makes sensible use of them. This, in turn, depends upon the nature of the citizen's interests and requirements. The requirements of the

individual can be divided into three categories: material, social and spiritual.

The material requirements of the individual cannot be regarded as merely the consumption of material wealth. They include the requirement for specific human forms of existence, primarily the person's material requirement to work. A person's requirement to be engaged in creative and constructive work has always been his chief material requirement, the core of his life.

The social requirements of the individual are the requirements for a certain life-style, social relations, and political rights and freedoms. They have evolved throughout history and are more fully realised as human society develops.

The spiritual requirements of the individual include the requirement for education, upbringing, a moral outlook, and aesthetic and general cultural development.

Reasonable requirements reflect an optimal combination of the individual's material, social and spiritual requirements, the inculcation of creativity in his consciousness and life, and a willingness to attain high social goals.

Much is being done in the socialist countries to ensure that the individual develops reasonable requirements: universal secondary—not utilitarian, but comprehensive—education has been introduced; relations among people and their way of life are formed in accordance with the demands

of social justice; socialist democracy is on the upgrade, and the Soviet people's everyday life, rest and leisure are being constantly improved. The emergence of a harmoniously developed individual is an objective law of building socialism. This law meets the needs of development of both society and the individual.

Chapter Three **EXISTING SOCIALISM
AND PRESENT-DAY
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**1. The World Socialist
System**

The formation of the world socialist system was an important political event of the mid-20th century, one that changed the world correlation of socio-class forces in favour of socialism. The revolutionary struggle of the working people resulted in the elimination of capitalist relations in a number of European, Asian and Latin American countries, and in the establishment in these countries of socialist social order. The victory of socialism in these countries was neither a chance event nor an artificially implanted social phenomenon. It is impossible to "export" revolution, since a revolutionary situation must mature in each given country as a result of the exacerbation of internal class antagonism.

Despite the differences in the

socio-economic and political levels of these countries, they had one thing in common: the struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed had reached a climax. The struggle of the working people of these countries against exploitation merged with the general struggle of the peoples of the world against German fascism and Japanese militarism and was facilitated by the successful military operations of the Soviet Army, which liberated many European nations from Nazi occupation.

The decisive role the Soviet Union played in the defeat of German fascism during World War II revealed the might of the socialist social order. The peoples of the world came to understand that socialism was capable of withstanding the aggressive imperialist war machine. The working peoples' sympathy for socialism and the desire to establish a socialist order boosted revolutionary movements in many countries. The formation of the world socialist system was one of the most important results of the victory of the anti-fascist forces in World War II.

The People's Democracies were a form of transition to socialism in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe and Asia. By the 1950s the countries of People's Democracy had completed the nationalisation of their industry, introduced radical socialist change in all spheres of social life, and eliminated exploitation. The planned eco-

conomic development strengthened both the economy of each given country and economic relations among the socialist countries. The world socialist system emerged during an extremely short historical period.

What are the political and socio-economic characteristics of the world socialist system? All the member states of the world socialist system possess a single economic foundation—socialist ownership of the means of production. Political power belongs to the working people and is exercised by government bodies elected by the people. Class or national enmity has vanished. People enjoy relations of comradeship, friendship and mutual assistance, regardless of nationality.

Relations among the socialist countries are based on principles of proletarian internationalism. By developing its productive forces, each country contributes to the development and strengthening of the world socialist system. Thus, their national interests coincide with their international interests.

The establishment of a classless communist society is the ultimate goal of all socialist countries.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), an inter-state economic organisation of socialist countries, was founded in 1949. At present the CMEA unites ten countries. Through

joint and coordinated efforts, the organisation seeks to promote cooperation and the planned development of the member countries' economies, accelerate scientific and technical progress, raise the level of industrialisation in those member countries whose industries are less developed, draw closer together and balance the economic development of all member countries, and increase the people's standard of living throughout.

The Council's activities are regulated by its Charter. They are based on multilateral and bilateral agreements on joint planning and construction of projects, on specialisation and cooperation in industry, and on scientific and technical cooperation. Basically, the Council seeks to fulfil the Comprehensive Programme for Further Deepening and Improving Cooperation and Developing Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA Countries adopted in July 1971. The CMEA's highest body is its Session; the Executive Committee is its highest executive body; and the Secretariat, located in Moscow, USSR, is its administrative and executive body. A number of socialist and developing countries take part in the CMEA bodies as observers, and the CMEA collaborates with a number of capitalist states.

Relations among the socialist countries are based on principles of equality, respect, independence, sovereignty, cooperation and mutual

benefit. Such relations are in conformity with the vital interests of the working people.

Economic cooperation in capitalist society takes the form of oppression of the weaker countries by the stronger ones, and turns the less developed countries into agrarian and raw material appendages of capitalism. Such a policy impedes the development of the newly-free countries and is directed towards preserving their economic, technical and political backwardness. At the same time, the rivalry among the imperialist powers for markets, raw material sources and spheres of capital investment is becoming more intense. This means that capitalism is unable to establish just economic relations among the states.

Only socialist production relations provide for the creation of a new type of national economy. The development of national economies is accompanied by the economic drawing together of nations.

The formation and development of the socialist system takes place within the national state framework. However, even though it is a sovereign state, no socialist state limits itself to its own national interests. The demands for the development of productive forces and the common vital interests of the peoples of the socialist countries are instrumental in bringing their economic activities closer together. This, in turn, calls for

planning and coordinating the development of their national economies in the interests of the entire system.

During the first stage of the interaction of the socialist countries, such forms of economic ties as short-term and, later, long-term trade agreements, and credits and aid for building large industrial enterprises were used by the more developed countries. Presently, the socialist countries' plans for economic development are directly coordinated on the basis of the international socialist division of labour.

The division of labour in the world socialist community differs drastically from that in the capitalist countries, since it is based on the voluntary cooperation of the socialist countries. The international socialist division of labour is of a planned nature and implies the comprehensive development of each given socialist country's economy which is a component part of the world socialist economy. Cooperation enables each country to develop those branches for which it possesses the most favourable conditions. The output of these branches is sold throughout the socialist community. During the first stage of the establishment of socialism as a world system, a number of socialist countries lacked – entirely or partially – their own industries. Today all the socialist countries have acquired developed, modern industries. Due to scientific and technological

achievements, multibranch development is carried out by increasing industrial specialisation and cooperation. This is especially important to small countries with small domestic markets. The national economies of the given countries supplement each other, thus realising the advantages of socialism. This is expressed in the increase in the material and cultural levels of the working people, and in the greater industrial, scientific and technical potential of the socialist countries.

The high level of the socialist countries' economic development is determined by the level of the power supply system and of the technical equipment of their industries. For instance, power availability per worker in the industry of the People's Republic of Bulgaria increased by 60 per cent in the past decade, the corresponding figure for the German Democratic Republic is 21 per cent, for the Mongolian People's Republic 77 per cent and for the USSR 34 per cent. Tens of thousands of new types of equipment, tools and means of automation are now being manufactured.

The international socialist division of labour provides for a distribution of productive forces within the framework of socialist integration which ensures the most effective use of the countries' natural resources. Specialisation in agriculture is of paramount importance and takes into account the natural and economic conditions of each country.

Therefore, the international socialist division of labour does not result in a one-sided development of the socialist countries' economies, but, on the contrary, it facilitates their comprehensive development, bringing the national economies into conformity with the interests of the world socialist system as a whole.

The scientific and technological revolution has had a strong influence on the world socialist system, promoting and expanding scientific and technical cooperation. Socialist countries exchange progressive methods, advanced technology; they help each other in training qualified personnel; exchange specialists and cooperate in scientific research. The latter includes close cooperation in the field of nuclear physics, the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and space exploration. The Vega space programme coordinated the efforts of scientists and engineers from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, and the USSR.

Promoting unity and cooperation among the socialist states is of vital importance for the further development of the world socialist economy. That is why the enemies of socialism attempt to undermine the ideological and political unity of the countries of the socialist community, often resorting to ideological sabotage.

Today, when the sphere of capitalist supremacy is steadily narrowing, imperialist forces

are doing their utmost to prevent social change in the world. The ideological struggle is becoming increasingly acute. The opponents of socialism now use more flexible and refined methods as they seek new ways to spread their ideas. Bourgeois ideologues try to discredit and compromise socialism and slur over its social advantages; to destroy the political unity and friendship of the socialist nations; and to justify the unbridled arms race and aggressive policy of imperialism.

The imperialists resort to direct intervention in their struggle against the socialist countries. Vietnam was forced to resist US aggression for several years as it defended its right to independent socialist development. The victory of the Vietnamese people in the war against US imperialism proved that it was impossible to annihilate a progressive order. The countries of the socialist community, as well as the progressive forces of the world, supported the Vietnamese people, who were conducting a just struggle for independence.

The role of the world socialist system is steadily growing. It exerts a favourable influence on the revolutionary struggle of the masses in the capitalist countries, on the national liberation movement in the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and on the development of the world revolutionary process.

2. Socialism and the World of Capitalism

The fact that two opposite socio-economic systems—capitalist and socialist—coexist in the world is a specific feature of the present historical epoch. Each of the two systems develops in accordance with its own laws and their goals are quite different. At the same time, it does not follow that due to the distinctions between these two world systems they must be isolated from each other.

Peaceful coexistence is imperative, because, on the one hand, capitalism is developing unevenly, and, on the other, conditions necessary for the victory of socialism do not mature simultaneously in all countries. Therefore, a protracted period of coexistence of states with different social systems is inevitable. The concept of peaceful coexistence devised by Lenin and further elaborated by the other Marxist-Leninist parties is based on a profound understanding of the processes of socio-economic development taking place in the present-day world.

Present-day capitalism differs in many respects from capitalism in the early and even in the mid-twentieth century. The sphere of its domination is inevitably narrowing down.

After entering the stage of general crisis, capitalism is incapable of overcoming it. Socialist revolutions in a number of countries have given

rise to the world socialist economic system. As a result of the national liberation movement, the colonial system of imperialism collapsed. Neither a bourgeois state nor state-monopoly regulation can withstand these processes. The mainstream of mankind's development is now determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, and by revolutionary and progressive forces.

Peaceful coexistence between the two economic systems is a complex socio-economic and political process. The principle of peaceful coexistence implies rejecting war as a means of deciding disputes between states and seeking solutions through negotiations; equality, mutual understanding, and taking each other's interests into consideration; according each nation the right to independently decide questions of national significance; respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders; the development of economic and cultural cooperation based on equality and mutual benefit.

The tireless activity of the socialist countries aimed at disarmament is an integral part of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Disarmament is a true guarantee of peace and security for all nations; it means freeing vast resources for the socio-economic development of all countries, including the capitalist countries. Bourgeois ideologists claim that the arms race provides "economic

prosperity", while disarmament will be a blow to their economies. Reality has refuted this: the rise of military expenditures is but a temporary means of increasing industrial production. In the long run, militarisation of the economy drains funds from would-be investments in peaceful branches of the economy; it limits the purchasing power of the population, and leads to a deepening of the economic crisis under capitalism. Guaranteeing peace and security is an important condition for international economic relations, the stability of markets, and a reliable means of meeting the requirements of all countries for raw materials and fuel. The countries of the socialist community are striving for the peaceful development of economic cooperation and trade with all nations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

There are two trends in the capitalist countries: for and against economic cooperation with socialism. The internal processes of development of capitalist society, the state of its economy, and the political situation in various regions of the world all influence the foreign economic policy of the capitalist states. As imperialism's sphere of domination is narrowing down, the imperialist countries are under more pressure in the context of coexistence and the competition of the two world systems. Thus, it is forced to adapt itself to the new international situation.

The aggravation of the economic and socio-

political crises in the capitalist countries prods the ruling circles of the capitalist nations to cooperate with the socialist countries and, at the same time, makes it possible for reactionary forces to take advantage of the crises to curtail their relations with the socialist camp.

The USA occupies a special place among the capitalist partners of the socialist countries in the field of commercial and economic cooperation. The economic relations of the socialist countries with this major power are more frequently subject to the influence of political and ideological factors than with the other countries. By attempting to weaken the positions of world socialism, the ruling circles of the USA resort to economic pressure. After World War II, in 1949, a large number of so-called strategic goods were prohibited for export to the socialist countries and a long list was drawn for goods subject to strict control. The USA threatened to stop all military and economic aid if their NATO allies exported strategic goods to the socialist countries. American imports from the socialist countries were curtailed. At the same time, a law prohibiting the most favoured nation clause in trade with the socialist countries was also adopted.

The trade blockade of the socialist countries was aimed at depriving them of the opportunity to buy goods that were necessary for the postwar reconstruction of their economies in the capitalist

market and, thus, holding back their economic growth.

This policy forced the socialist countries to retrench and rely on their own resources for economic development. The US policy of economic embargo was a fiasco. Moreover, it met with resistance on the part of the West European countries, to which the development of trade ties with the socialist camp was of far greater economic importance than to the USA.

The period of detente in Soviet-American relations in the 1970s greatly promoted trade between the USA and the socialist countries. Major American firms opened offices in the CMEA countries and became active participants in trade and industrial exhibitions and fairs held in the socialist countries. Beginning in the late 1970s, a number of discriminatory clauses were adopted once again in relation to trade with the socialist countries. Experience has shown that the USA's policy of reducing economic cooperation is unprofitable. Restrictions on exporting industrial equipment to the USSR cost American firms a total of 280 million dollars in lost contracts. Moreover, the USA lost close to 1 billion dollars in potential contracts. The Soviet Union placed the orders which the American firms were not able to fulfil with West European firms.

Trade relations between the CMEA countries and the Common Market countries have in-

creased markedly. During the period from 1970 to 1980 the volume of commodity circulation increased more than fourfold. At the same time, new forms of economic cooperation evolved: industrial cooperation, scientific and technological ties, and compensation agreements, which conform to the present level of development of productive forces in this era of the scientific and technological revolution and reflect the interests of the partners.

France is the foremost partner of the CMEA member countries in trade with the West. It takes an active part in developing industrial cooperation with the socialist countries, viewing this as a means for expanding its export of manufactured goods and import of fuel and raw materials.

Bilateral economic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the socialist countries are based on long-run agreements concerning economic, scientific and technological cooperation. In exchange for gas imported from the USSR, the FRG supplies large-diameter pipes. Cooperation in the field of metallurgy is also expanding. The major West German firms are participating in the construction of an electro-metallurgical plant and of an aluminium-producing complex in the USSR.

The economy of Italy, as that of many West European countries, is closely tied to the world market and is entirely dependent upon it. This, in

particular, compels the business circles there to seek economic ties with the socialist countries.

Italy, as other West European countries, participates in projects for building gas pipelines in the USSR in exchange for deliveries of Soviet natural gas. Italian firms helped to build the Baikal-Amur Railroad and the automobile plant in Togliatti; they are presently participating on a compensatory basis in the chemical industry and ferrous metallurgy. Italy has an agreement with Hungary for the joint production of turbogenerators, and with the GDR, for the production of textile machinery.

Britain was the last to establish normal bilateral economic relations with the socialist countries. Some of the agreements signed by British firms and the socialist countries are: a contract for delivering 21 gas pipeline turbines to the USSR; an agreement for the joint British-Hungarian production of computers; and the production of jet liners in Romania. However, on the whole, Britain's economic cooperation with the socialist countries is of a limited nature.

The friendship and cooperation between the USSR and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and Finland on the other, are steadily developing. Finland was the first capitalist country to sign an agreement on cooperation with CMEA. The Finnish Commission on Cooperation with the CMEA has five working groups:

on machine-building, chemical industry, transportation, foreign trade and scientific and technical cooperation. In all, 22 agreements have been signed. Finland receives approximately 70 per cent of its fuel from the USSR as natural gas, oil and enriched uranium.

The USSR helped Finland to build its first atomic power station and the largest North European metallurgical plant. Finnish firms use the technology developed by Soviet researchers to purify water. It has signed a number of agreements with Bulgaria, the GDR, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Finland plays an important part in normalising the political situation in Europe and in the movement for peace.

In recent years Japanese-CMEA trade and economic relations have been developing rapidly. The development of fuel and raw material resources in the Eastern regions of the USSR, located in proximity to Japan, was an important factor here. The new industrial centres in the East of the USSR can also become a reliable market for Japanese goods. All this determined Japan's foreign economic policy towards the countries of the world socialist system.

This rapid development of economic cooperation between Japan and the socialist countries resulted in abolishing the control over the export of a large number of Japanese goods. The terms on which export credits are offered to the socialist

countries for the purchase of equipment in Japan have been reviewed. In the past decade, trade between the socialist countries and Japan has increased more than fivefold. Japanese business circles are eager to expand mutually beneficial co-operation with the Soviet Union, Japan's closest neighbour. Japan's trade ties with the European countries of the CMEA are made difficult by the great distances involved and the high cost of transportation. In this respect, new forms of co-operation are being developed throughout: industrial cooperation, joint enterprises, and scientific and technical exchange.

The present level of economic cooperation among the socialist and capitalist countries serves as a basis for the further development of mutually beneficial ties.

The peaceful coexistence of the socialist and capitalist countries does not nullify the contradictions between the two world systems. The coexistence of nations with different social systems is a specific form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism in political, economic and ideological fields. As regards foreign-policy relations, forms of mutual cooperation can be found. Here, as in the economic field, peaceful coexistence is possible. As for the ideological field, peaceful coexistence in this sphere of social life is impossible, for any compromise leads to concessions and the threat of retreating from principled

class positions.

Peaceful coexistence is the basis of peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism. The main arena for this competition between the two systems is peaceful economic competition. The majority of countries in which socialism has triumphed were in the past economically behind the developed capitalist countries. Therefore, the socialist system was faced with the task of catching up with and then overtaking the developed capitalist countries in the volume of production of material goods, level of economic development and standard of living.

The rate of economic development is an important indicator in the economic competition of the two systems. Social ownership of the means of production, a centralised system of planning and managing the economy make it possible for the socialist countries to develop their economies at a faster rate than that of the capitalist countries. In the long run, this will make it possible for the socialist countries to overtake the developed capitalist countries in all basic economic indices. The average annual growth rate of industrial production in the socialist countries for 1971-1983 was 2.7 times higher than that of the developed capitalist nations, comprising 6.5 per cent and 2.4 per cent respectively. During the same period, the volume of industrial production in the CMEA member countries increased more than 90 per

cent, with an average annual growth rate of 9 per cent, while in the developed capitalist countries it comprised 4.8 per cent. The CMEA countries account for close to 50 per cent of the world industrial growth.

The socialist countries have an advantage not only in the economic growth rate, but in the extent of using their production potential. The socialist countries never suffer from undercapacity production, unemployment and crises of overproduction so common to the capitalist system. The high rate of economic development achieved by the socialist system, the growth of its scientific and technical potential, its vast natural and labour resources and its capacious national market are all indicative of the inevitable triumph of socialism in its economic competition with capitalism.

Socialism's achievements in its peaceful competition with capitalism are becoming a true reference-point for the national liberation struggle of the peoples in the developing countries. Lenin, the founder of the world's first socialist state, foresaw that victorious socialism would exert its greatest influence on world events through the successful development of socialist society and, first and foremost, its economy. This prophecy is now being borne out.

3. Cooperation with the Developing Countries

The peoples' struggle for national and social liberation and independence is an objective ongoing process in the modern world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia ushered in an era of liberation revolutions. In 1918 Lenin, speaking on the foreign policy tasks of the newly-formed Soviet State, wrote: "Support of the revolutionary movement of the socialist proletariat in the advanced countries in the first instance....

"Support of the democratic and revolutionary movement in all countries in general, and especially in the colonies and dependent countries."¹

Socialism, as a new system of social relations, served as an example for solving national problems. Socialist Russia established equal relations with the peoples of other countries, thus supporting the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples. The experience gained by the Soviet Union clearly demonstrates that social and national liberation are indivisible.

The crisis of the imperialist colonial system, which began with the onset of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia, was exacerbated as a result of the Soviet Union's victory

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, pp. 157-58.

over fascism in World War II and was completed by the fall of colonialism and the establishment of over 100 new national states in Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, gaining political independence is only the first, though most necessary, step towards achieving true liberation. The newly free nations are still closely bound economically to the capitalist system. Their agrarian and raw-material specialisation in the international capitalist division of labour, their dependence and backwardness do not disappear automatically after the attainment of political sovereignty. The consolidation of the newly free countries' independence does not suit the imperialists. In numerous ways they are trying to bind these countries to their own countries in order to continue to have a free hand in dealing with these countries' natural resources and in using their territories in their own strategic interests.

Not only does imperialism use economic pressure to exploit other nations; it also resorts to force against peoples struggling for independence and democratic development. The socialist countries stand up to the aggressive schemes of the imperialist forces. The strengthening of the world socialist system and its economic might are changing the balance of forces in the world and serve as a barrier to the expansionist plans of imperialism. The socialist countries are taking an active part in forming new economic ties with the

developing countries and are establishing just and fair international economic relations.

The need for the newly free nations to overcome their economic backwardness is one of the most difficult and pressing problems today. All of the developing countries are faced with the following problems: the need to increase their rate of economic growth; strengthen their national economies; industrialise; mechanise agriculture; and overcome cultural backwardness. Various forms of cooperation with the socialist countries are playing an ever-increasing role in their economies. These relations are based on equal, mutually beneficial cooperation that serves to solidify the independence of the developing countries and to strengthen their national economies.

The material resources and technical aid rendered by the socialist countries are in complete conformity with the economic needs of the developing nations. Since this aid is focused on strengthening the weakest branches in their economies, it serves to lessen their economic dependence on former colonial powers. The basic branches of their economies, i. e., energy, metallurgy, machine-building, transportation and communications, are the ones now being most intensively developed. As a result, the crippling specialisation of the economies of the former colonies is undergoing a fundamental change, and effective

barriers are being erected to block the neocolonial policies of the imperialist powers.

The ties between the socialist camp and the developing countries are diverse: foreign trade; the system of loans and credits; training national cadres; exchanging scientific and technical information; building industrial plants and cultural establishments. All foreign trade between the socialist and the developing countries is carried out on the basis of adhering to the interests of national sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit.

The constant growth of economic ties with the Soviet Union is in the interests of the developing countries. Foreign trade makes it possible for them to import the means of production: machines and machinery, complete equipment for new industrial and agricultural projects, etc. The developing countries pay for these deliveries in exports: coffee, cocoa, nuts, spices, and fruits. Moreover, the Soviet Union buys from them fabrics and handicraft articles. The Soviet Union's deliveries have served to help change the branch structures of the economies of the developing countries so that now a number of them are increasing their exports of manufactured goods. In 1966, custom duties on manufactured goods exported from the developing countries to the USSR were abolished. This measure was of major importance to the developing countries suffering

from harsh competition on the capitalist market.

Fluctuating world prices on raw materials are very detrimental to the economies of the developing countries, as up to 80 per cent of their exports to the capitalist countries is comprised of raw materials. However, the prices for the latter are set by the international monopolies. Trade with the socialist countries is conducted at stable, set prices which are not subject to market fluctuations. This makes it possible for the developing countries to work out a programme of foreign trade exchange on a firm basis and in the interests of their national economic development.

Expanding economic ties with the USSR and other socialist countries promotes the scientific and technical progress of the developing countries. The USSR actually takes part in the industrialisation of the economies of these countries on the basis of inter-governmental agreements and helps to create national multibranch economic complexes which guarantee their economic independence. In all, close to 700 projects have been built in a number of developing countries with Soviet aid and 500 are still under construction. These are: electric power stations, dams, metallurgical plants, gas and oil pipelines, etc. The majority of these building sites are key projects for the national economy. This means that the most pressing problems of the national economies are

being solved on modern scientific and technical level. Thus, in India, a metallurgical plant is now under construction in Vizagapatam. Its total output will be 3 million tons of steel annually. The existing metallurgical plants in Bhilai and Bokaro are being expanded. They will become the leading plants in the field of ferrous metallurgy with an annual output of 5 and 5.5 million tons of steel, respectively. The largest metallurgical plant is now under construction in Nigeria. Its annual output is planned at 1.3 million tons of steel. The metallurgical plant in Pakistan, now under construction close to Karachi with Soviet aid, will produce up to 1 million tons of steel annually.

The Soviet Union is assisting a number of countries in the construction of large fuel and energy complexes. At a time when an energy crisis has gripped the capitalist world, the significance of these projects cannot be underestimated, for in developing their own energy basis, the newly free nations will be able to compete in the international market. The Soviet Union helps them to reconstruct and enlarge their various enterprises, adopt new technology, prospect for and extract minerals.

Irrigation projects like the Aswan Dam in Egypt and the Euphrates hydrosystem in Syria are now under construction. Increasing the area of irrigated land raises the yield of grain and technical crops and brings agriculture as a whole to a

higher level of development.

The CMEA countries are making a significant contribution to agricultural development in the newly free nations, helping them to increase production by means of building machine and tractor stations, granaries, fish canneries, etc. The major state-owned mechanised agricultural holdings and farms in Syria, India, Guinea and some other countries have already become reliable sources for disseminating progressive methods of agriculture and cattle-breeding.

Cooperation with the USSR has made it possible for many developing countries to achieve marked progress in their industrialisation. For example, the enterprises built in India with Soviet assistance laid the foundation for that country's heavy machine-building and turbine-building industries, the production of high-power generators, machines and mining equipment. All this has changed not only the structure of India's exports, but the nature of its foreign trade ties in general, both with the industrially developed and developing countries.

All the enterprises built with the assistance of the USSR and other socialist states in the developing countries become state property. Strengthening the state sector in the economies of these countries is in their national interests, because the basic branches of the economy thus replace the backward economic structure. The state sector

creates a genuine opportunity for state control of the production processes and limits spontaneous market fluctuations. The state sector in the developing countries serves as a basis for all social and democratic change.

The relations between the USSR and other socialist countries with the developing nations are a new type of relationship, one that is truly based on equal and democratic principles. The growing strength of the union of world socialism and the national liberation movement promotes social progress in general. The entire socialist world is most interested in doing away with exploitation and the oppression of man by man, no matter where it may occur, and in the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and all manifestations of neocolonialism and racism.

In conformity with the socialist principles and their own historical experience, the CMEA members support the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries for political and economic independence. They stand for equal, mutually beneficial cooperation with the latter and for abolishing any and all discrimination in economic relations, discrimination resulting from the policy of the imperialist countries. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries unanimously supported a number of documents adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1974-1975. These were the Declaration on the Establishment of the New

International Economic Order, Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, and others. These documents chart the road towards a rational restructuring of world economic ties.

The cooperation between the USSR and the developing countries exerts an influence on the latter's status in the world capitalist economy. First, the industrial development of the newly free nations helps them to liquidate their unequal position in the system of the international division of labour. Second, more favourable conditions are established for sustaining economic ties. The imperialist powers are thus forced to apply easier terms with respect to the developing countries in view of the terms afforded them by the Soviet Union.

Existing credit policies influence in many ways the course of gaining economic independence by the developing countries. Loans and credits provided by the socialist countries differ drastically from those provided by the imperialist powers. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries selflessly assist the developing countries in their struggle to obtain economic independence and to independently choose the road of their further socio-economic progress.

The industrial capitalist countries seek to turn the "aid" they offer to the developing nations into a source of stable profits for themselves. The imperialist powers and international organisations

such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development provide loans at high interest rates – up to 6 per cent annually. The interest rates on credits granted by the Soviet Union are 2.5 per cent annually and for over a 10-12-year period. This policy forced the capitalist countries to lower their interest rates and change the terms of payment.

Over 75 per cent of all credits provided by the socialist countries are earmarked for developing the basic branches of the economy. This makes it possible to more quickly eliminate the dire consequences of colonialism. Naturally, credits increase the developing countries' foreign debt, but their debts to the socialist countries are entirely different from their indebtedness to the capitalist states. The socialist countries attach no political strings to the loans and credits they provide, thus the developing countries are able to independently determine their own domestic and foreign policies. The Soviet Union does not foist its ideology on any other country, as it respects the sovereign right of all peoples.

The increasing economic and technical potential of the newly free countries calls for large numbers of skilled national cadres. Since the foreign monopolies continue to play an important part in their economies, they prefer to employ foreign specialists. Only the state enterprises employ local personnel. However, here, too, there is a

need for foreign personnel, as there is a shortage of national cadres. The training of skilled national cadres lags behind the rapid growth of economic and cultural projects in the developing countries.

National systems for training specialists in many fields are being set up in the newly free nations and close to 9.3 million young people in the developing countries are now studying at colleges and universities. In India there are 3.5 million students and in Brazil 1.5 million. Traditionally national cadres were always trained in the developed capitalist countries, but the imperialist policy is to turn these young people into advocates of imperialist economic and social policies.

The socialist countries are providing effective aid to the developing countries of different social orientation in training their national cadres: for example, close to 80,000 engineers, doctors, teachers, agronomists, technicians and skilled workers are trained annually in the socialist countries. The Soviet Union has adopted methods for training teams and individuals and offers special on-the-job training for workers at building and operating various enterprises. Over half of all skilled workers have been trained by this method. Additionally, over 15,000 students from the developing countries are enrolled in Soviet institutions of higher learning. Patrice Lumumba University

in Moscow has an enrolment of students from 89 developing countries. The number of students from Africa, Asia and Latin America studying in Soviet institutions of higher learning continues to grow. The socialist countries are instrumental in creating national educational systems and training specialists in the developing countries. Thus, 143 institutions of higher learning and vocational schools are now open in 26 countries and another 88 are under construction. The Soviet Union has helped to build institutions of higher learning and vocational schools in India, Burma, Afghanistan and several other Asian countries. The Polytechnic Institute in Conakry, Guinea, the National Technical Institute in Tunisia, National Oil, Gas and Chemical Institute, Algeria, the Higher School of Management in Mali were all built with Soviet aid. To date, the institutions of higher learning and vocational schools which have been built in these countries have trained close to 20,000 engineers and technicians. Over 1,700 Soviet teachers and specialists are on the teaching staffs of these and other educational establishments in the developing countries. In this way, the experience gained by the Soviet system of higher education becomes accessible to the newly free states and forms the basis for creating their own systems for training national cadres on a modern level.

The Soviet Union helps the developing coun-

tries to balance their need for skilled cadres with training programmes. As a result, this goal-oriented training of specialists counters uncontrolled fluctuations in the labour force market and helps to strengthen the economic independence of these countries.

New forms of economic ties between the USSR and the newly free countries are being developed. These ties are based on qualitative changes in the structure of the productive forces in this era of technological progress. It is now possible to establish industrial cooperation in various branches, and there has been a shift from an exchange of goods to the joint production of goods. This type of cooperation is already in force between the Soviet Union and India, which fulfil large orders for producing heavy metallurgical equipment for a number of other countries.

This expanding cooperation makes it desirable to form in the developing countries joint commercial, joint-stock and other companies in which Soviet foreign trade organisations are partners. At present there are but two Soviet-Singapore companies, but this prospective form of cooperation can be duplicated with other countries as well.

The socialist countries' cooperation with the developing countries is conducted on other levels besides inter-governmental. The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, as well

as their trade unions and youth organisations, all have active ties with political parties and democratic organisations in the developing countries. The peoples of the socialist countries, guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism, render extensive assistance to the revolutionary and democratic forces of the former colonies.

4. Socialism and Global Issues

Over the past few decades a number of issues of vital importance to mankind have come to the fore. These are a complex knot of political, economic and ecological problems and include: war and peace, overcoming the backwardness of the developing countries, and food, energy, raw material and ecological problems. They are of the utmost importance to all countries, all strata of society and, as they extend to all regions of the world, they are of worldwide significance. Therefore, the joint efforts of all countries and people are needed to solve them.

In a society with highly developed productive forces, there arise numerous conflicts and contradictions between man and the technology he has invented, on the one hand, and the environment, on the other. The outlook at present is grim. These contradictions have brought about the

global environmental problems.

Another source of these problems is the system of social relations.

The capitalist relations of production, based as they are on private ownership of the means of production, create a system of exploitation of man by man and give rise to contradictions which are no less acute. These contradictions cause global problems of the following order: overcoming the economic backwardness of the developing countries, combatting hunger and the threat of a world nuclear war.

However, all of mankind's contemporary problems are influenced by the existing social relations, since the solution of all global problems depends on the nature of the existing social systems.

There are three basic types of global problems.

1. "Intersocial", which arise within the system of social relations. These refer to the cooperation or struggle between various socio-economic modes of production. They are problems concerning war and peace, the establishment of social and economic equality for the peoples of the newly free nations.

2. "Man-society" problems, which include problems concerning scientific and technical progress, education, demography problems, public health, etc., and which are closely linked to social relations. At the same time, they concern

man himself and his development as the basic productive force.

3. "Man-nature" problems related to the preservation of the environment and energy, raw materials and food problems. The social factor only influences the nature and ways and means of solving these problems.

All three groups of global problems are inherent in a capitalist society. Moreover, capitalism produces problems of the first and second group constantly and on a vast scale as a result of the capitalists' striving to gain maximum profits. Capitalist rule aggravates the third-group problems, imbuing them with an antagonistic nature. Having reached a high level of scientific and technological development and delved into nature's innermost secrets, capitalism is not concerned about preserving it, or about its further balanced development.

Thus, the global problems reflect antagonistic contradictions between the rapid advance of science and technology, on the one hand, and the social conditions of capitalist society, on the other. Even if the scientific and technological level of present-day capitalism could make it possible to solve some of these global problems, existing social relations render it impossible.

The issue of war and peace is the most pressing problem today. The socialist countries are doing all in their power to safeguard peace and prevent

a world nuclear holocaust.

Socialism, as a social system, consistently carries through its peaceful foreign policy. The first document adopted by the Soviet state after the victory of the Socialist Revolution in 1917 was the Decree on Peace. The government of the newly founded Soviet Republic called on the governments of all the other countries of the world to establish a lasting and just peace among the peoples, and it proclaimed its own policy of peaceful coexistence of nations with different social systems, expressing its support of all peoples striving for freedom and independence. In all the years that have elapsed since then, the Soviet Union has been true to these foreign policy principles.

At present, the issue of war and peace has become especially acute. Imperialism is again spiralling an arms race, attempting to establish its rule through force. It has activated all the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution in its preparations for a new war. According to UN data, the world nuclear arsenal exceeds 50 billion tons of TNT. This is sufficient to extinguish all life on Earth 15 times over. The problem has become a truly global one. World public opinion is deeply concerned by the accumulation of arms and armaments that are capable of triggering a nuclear war.

The policy of the imperialist NATO member states is oriented towards military force in settling

international issues. In order to retain the upper hand, the ruling circles of the capitalist world make use of political blackmail, ideological sabotage and direct threats of using nuclear weapons. Bourgeois ideologues try to justify this aggressive policy by spreading rumours of a "Soviet military threat", and "Soviet military supremacy". Using this as a pretext, the military-industrial circles lobby for greater military budgets and create new arms systems.

In their struggle against aggressive forces, the peoples of the world find support in the consistent peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union. The international prestige of the socialist community grows ever stronger as the achievements in their socio-economic development increase. It has always been the policy of the USSR and other socialist countries to put an end to the arms race and support international detente. The Soviet Union has proposed an extensive Peace Programme which is upheld by all peace-loving forces of the world. The Peace Programme for the 1980s has been further extended in a number of documents adopted by the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, as well as in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member Countries (1985).

In their support of peaceful coexistence the

socialist countries proceed from their main principle, that of equality and equal security. The proposals of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty member countries are aimed at decreasing the level of military confrontation and, therefore, of lessening the danger of nuclear warfare. The proposal for putting an end to the arms race and adopting a policy of complete and universal disarmament is the focal point of the Peace Programme.

Socialism's struggle for peace on Earth is supported by the non-aligned movement and the powerful anti-war movement of all peaceful forces of the world, which include millions of people of differing political views, religious beliefs, as well as hundreds of non-government organisations. All the peoples of the world have always viewed war as a terrible calamity which brings nothing but grief, suffering, destruction and death. Therefore, they ardently support the peaceful initiatives of the socialist countries.

It is especially important to those countries which have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence and are striving to attain economic independence in order to create favourable conditions for the development of their economies, agriculture and culture. The imperialist powers do their best to retain the newly free countries within their sphere of influence, and exploit their raw materials and labour resources obtaining

thereupon tremendous profits. They foist their ideology on the developing countries together with economic, technical, and military "aid".

The socialist countries help the newly free peoples in every way to overcome their socio-economic backwardness. These peoples have the socialist countries as examples. Socialism, which first triumphed in the Soviet Union, overcame the socio-economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples living in remote regions of the country in the shortest possible time. The socialist system helped to solve the difficult social problems inherited from its capitalist past. The once backward, oppressed peoples are now equal members of the multinational family of the Soviet state. Each with its own high level of economic, cultural and scientific development.

The relations established between the socialist community and the newly free countries are based on true equality and mutual respect. This helps them to acquire economic independence in order to determine the road of their further socio-political development. Socialism, a society devoid of exploitation and oppression, enjoys the support of the peoples of many developing countries who have chosen the road of socialist orientation.

Socialism's advantages lie in the fact that socialist social ownership and the planned nature of its development make it possible to preclude spontaneous, uncontrolled economic and scienti-

fic and technical development. Socialism has as its aim the free and all-round development of the individual. In order to guarantee this, it is necessary to solve the dangerous global problems that are threatening the very existence of mankind.

Providing sufficient food for humanity is one such problem, for today one quarter of the Earth's population is starving. The great majority of these people live in Asia and Africa. Each year from 30 million to 40 million people die of hunger. The gap between the consumption levels in the developed capitalist and the developing countries is widening. Thus, the food problem is one of the most urgent ones today.

The food problem is connected with existing natural conditions and with the social relations arising among people in the process of the production and distribution of food products.

Natural conditions are determined by the size of the arable land available; by the intensity of agricultural production, the use of farm machinery, fertilizers, chemical weed and pest killers, etc.; by the availability of water resources; environmental conditions (especially climatic conditions); and the use of power resources. However, all these conditions present a social aspect as well.

In the capitalist countries the land is privately owned. The amount of arable land in the world is limited, and is constantly decreasing. Any in-

crease in arable land that would aid in solving the food problem is determined solely by the interests of the landowners. The intensification of agricultural production is achieved through the increased exploitation of hired labour, while any expansion of the power supply system brings about a corresponding rise in the price of agricultural produce. The investments made by the class of landowners are compensated by the high prices they set and, therefore, are paid by the consumers. None of these further the solution of the food problem in the world.

The imperialist countries make wide use of the food problem as a means of achieving their economic and political goals. Thus, they supply grain as food "aid" only to those countries which are of strategic interest to them. Withal, the problem of liquidating hunger is not solved, but only put off temporarily in order to explode full-force at a later date. The cost of this "aid" is high: the countries receiving it must retain their economic and, often, political dependence upon imperialism.

The experience gained by the socialist countries proves that the only radical solution of the food problem can be brought about if socialist social relations triumph. The world socialist system is successfully solving the food problem in each of its countries and within the framework of the socialist community as a whole. In 1978 the

CMEA member countries adopted a long-term special programme of agricultural cooperation which calls for its development along modern, industrial lines. To date, the division of labour in the production of farm machinery and equipment for the food industry has been carried out. There is a constant exchange of progressive technology in farming and cattle-breeding. The countries are cooperating in the field of raising and introducing highly-yielding varieties of agricultural crops. Socialist economic integration has as its aim increasing the well-being of the peoples of all the socialist countries.

The Food Programme being carried out in the USSR is an integral part of the Party's economic strategy in the near future. It has been worked out for the period until 1990 and calls for the further growth of the production capacity of agriculture and the development of the agricultural and industrial complex. The basic production assets in agriculture are to increase 50 per cent, the power supply in agriculture is to increase 60 per cent, and the deliveries of fertilizers are to increase 70 per cent. The Food Programme is being realised by the balanced development of the agricultural and industrial complex, intensification of agricultural production, effective use of land, large-scale introduction of scientific achievements, experience of leading farms, a campaign for economising and decreasing agricultural pro-

duction losses, and improvement of social and living conditions in rural areas.

In carrying out the Food Programme, the Soviet Government constantly bears in mind the protection of the environment. The Programme calls for the introduction of energy and land conservation technologies in order to improve, not worsen, natural conditions.

Such a programme is only possible in a society based on social ownership of the means of production, in a society where it is not a scramble for profits, that is most important, but the planned development of the economy, a society where there is no exploitation of hired labour, and where socialist relations of cooperation and comradesly mutual assistance reign.

The energy problem is perhaps the most complex of the global problems today. It depends on a large number of factors: natural, technical, economic, social, cultural, etc. The energy problem is closely connected with the raw materials problem.

In the capitalist countries these two problems are of paramount importance, although in a number of cases they are specially aggravated in the interests of monopoly capital. The energy crisis which exploded in the capitalist world ten years ago brought about an unprecedented rise in oil prices in the world market. This oil boom played into the hands of the big monopolies

(chiefly US monopolies) which gleaned great profits from the situation.

According to data provided by bourgeois experts, there is no need to be concerned about natural resources being exhausted. However, the rate of consumption is rising, so that ever new capital investments are needed to obtain the necessary raw materials for energy needs. The monopolies only invest capital when they are guaranteed super-profits.

Oil leads the roster in the energy balance, claiming 47 per cent as its share in power production. However, in the future, the use of nuclear power and gas will increase rapidly and artificial types of fuel will be created. Only developed capitalist countries possessing a mighty technical and scientific base are capable of solving this energy problem. The developing countries, which have but recently been liberated from colonial oppression, do not possess sufficient national capital (except for the oil-producing countries). They have neither the technical capacity nor the necessary trained personnel, although their energy needs are growing constantly. In many of the developing countries wood is still used as a source of fuel. The rising consumption of energy brings about a corresponding rise in prices on all types of energy resources.

Thus, the solution to the energy and raw materials problem depends upon the solution to

the social problem. Only a society which has undergone a socialist transformation is capable of solving the energy and raw materials problem on a global scale.

The socialist countries are steady on their feet in the world economy, both for the resources and the volume of production of energy and raw materials. In 1980 their share in world production of electric power was 21.3 per cent, coal 26.2 per cent, oil 20.7 per cent, and gas 31.2 per cent. On the whole, the socialist countries fulfill their requirements for fuel and raw materials through mutual deliveries, primarily from the USSR. The giant Orenburg-Western Border of the USSR gas pipeline was put into operation in the 1970s. The Vinnitsa-Hungarian People's Republic high power line is a part of the CMEA countries Integrated Power Grid.

The Soviet Union is the only country in the world that provides its own energy resources. Although the extraction of oil, gas and coal, as well as the production of electric energy, is growing steadily, certain structural changes have taken place in the country's fuel-and-energy balance. At present less oil is used as fuel and the extraction of gas and open-cut mining of coal are increasing, and more atomic power stations are being built.

The socialist countries are solving the energy and raw materials problems by working out a

common programme for developing relevant branches. Energy resources are used sparingly and rationally: new technologies using less energy are being introduced; the share of atomic power is increasing in various industrial branches; various types of solid fuel are used on a greater scale; and research on the use of sun, wind, chemical and geothermal energy is being conducted. All these measures are part of the long-term goal-oriented programme mapped out by the CMEA countries.

All the socialist countries have designed programmes for preventing fuel and energy losses during storage and transportation. Special attention has been paid to each given country's maximum utilisation of resources and to the introduction of new methods of converting coal into gaseous and liquid fuels. Thanks to a coordinated energy policy, the socialist countries are making effective use of their resources in the interest of the entire community.

The history of mankind is the history of relations among people within society, i. e., social relations, and relations between man and the environment.

The global problem of the relationship between man and nature is a key issue today.

Man is surrounded by nature and lives in a state of constant interaction with it. As society progresses, the link between man and nature un-

dergoes considerable change. Once a helpless creature completely dependent on nature's bounty, man is now capable of conquering nature. Relations that exist between man and the environment in a society with highly developed productive forces threaten to bring on disaster.

Industrial and technological development results in the pollution of the environment. The tremendous amount of fuel used up by industry and transport consumes the atmospheric oxygen. "Acid rain", so detrimental to our health, is caused by the penetration of nitrogen and sulphur oxides into the atmosphere. Another serious problem is the preservation of the ozone layer which protects our planet from ultraviolet radiation.

Seas and oceans are threatened with pollution. Oil tankers are the chief source of this type of pollution.

Agricultural development implies the use of chemical growth stimulants, herbicides and pesticides. The use of fertilizers and other chemicals results in dangerous pollution of the environment, especially rivers and lakes. Forests are being wiped out, and the problem of adequate fresh water supplies is increasingly being felt.

Withal, the planet's natural resources are being used insufficiently and irrationally.

This calls for strict measures aimed at eliminating and preventing the consequences of the

modern approach to nature. Both national and international efforts are needed to solve the ecological problem.

However, the international regulation of environmental pollution is fraught with contradictions.

The supremacy of the monopolies is the chief reason for these contradictions. The uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources is a source of superprofits. Therefore, the monopolies are not interested in carrying out measures aimed at preventing the pollution of the environment, especially since these measures require funds, often huge ones.

Monopoly capital deals with ecological problems in its own way, in keeping with its exploiter nature. All expenditures intended for ecological needs are shifted onto the shoulders of the working people, since these expenditures are included in the prices of the various goods. Price growth lowers the working people's standard of living. Means for financing governmental ecological programmes are also derived from the working people in the form of taxes.

Despite the fact that natural resources in the capitalist countries are being exhausted, it does not occur to the monopolists that it is high time to introduce measures aimed at preserving the environment. They continue exploiting the natural resources of other countries, primarily,

the newly free states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. When an ecological crisis occurs, the monopolies often transfer their "dirty" industries to other, chiefly developing, countries. On the surface this seems like "aid" to the developing countries, but it is, actually, a variety of neocolonialism.

In the USA, Japan and the FRG, ecological problems have become most acute. Thus, in order to avoid environmental protection expenditures, Japanese businessmen transferred the Kawasaki Steel agglomerative enterprise to the Philippines, while a US firm producing arsenic moved its plants to Mexico. American corporations build their oil-processing plants in the Caribbean states. These plants are not run on local low-grade oil, which is transported to the USA for processing but on oil imported from Venezuela and the Arab countries. The thirst for higher profits overshadows the need to solve ecological problems.

Thus, state-monopoly capitalism is incapable of establishing harmony between man and nature. Only in a society in which the means of production are social property, can the ecological problem be solved.

From the time the first Soviet Government was formed up to the present, the environmental protection in the USSR has always been a matter of major concern. In the socialist society the land, its

forests, minerals and waters are the property of the people. The decrees and decisions adopted by the Soviet Government in this field were all directed towards improving methods applied in various branches for utilising the country's natural resources. Measures for preserving these resources were in keeping with the socio-economic and scientific and technical development of the national economy.

However, as a result of human activity, ecological systems are now undergoing change much more rapidly than before. Biological, geological and chemical cycles are transformed and the water and energy balance is disrupted. The scientific and technical revolution has sharply increased the scale on which natural resources are utilised in production. If existing rates of exploitation of raw material resources are continued, their deposits will soon be exhausted. Intensive production pollutes the environment, which is unable to overcome the harmful effects of modern production. That is why the labour expended for preserving the environment is increasing rapidly.

Socialist society approaches ecological problems on many levels. Long-term programmes for accelerating scientific and technical progress and developing conservation methods in the use of natural resources are now being drawn up. The Soviet five-year plans for the development of the national economy include measures for preserv-

ing the environment. The planned system of socialist economy makes it possible not only to provide for measures directed at eliminating the negative consequences of man's exploitation of nature, but, more important, it outlines measures for nature conservation.

With this aim in mind, the structure of the national economy branches is perfected, and closed production cycles which make it possible for natural resources to be conserved are being introduced. The socialist state plans for both the extraction and use of raw materials, and for the utilisation of waste materials. Mining enterprises extract deposits on a planned basis. It is also their duty to use these deposits rationally.

The fact that social ownership of the means of production brings the interests of society and of each given member of society into conformity is one of the advantages of socialism. Socialist society is interested in maintaining normal conditions for the existence and development of civilisation. This is substantiated by the socialist countries' peace policy and their striving to preserve the environment and shield humanity from the threat of hunger. However, despite successful conservation methods put into effect by the socialist countries, there are problems which can only be solved by the joint efforts of all the peoples of the Earth.

Marx once said that only communism could

reconcile all contradictions between man and man, and between man and nature. This idea has been borne out by the experience of existing socialism. Thus, the aggravation of the global problems of today and the need to solve them can be regarded as convincing arguments in favour of socialism and communism.

Chapter Four **THE IDEAS OF PEACE
AND SOCIALISM TRIUMPH**

In the complex world of today it is especially important to chart the prospects of mankind's further progress. The Marxist-Leninist teaching of scientific socialism, as well as its practical realisation—existing socialism—play an important part in dealing with this problem. As life in this present epoch becomes more complicated, the theoretical basis of scientific socialism is further replenished. The practice of existing socialism has accumulated the experience of 70 years, which is equal to a human lifetime.

The successes scored by the socialist countries are due to the fact that socialist social ownership of the means of production is the economic foundation of socialist society.

The question of the ownership of

the means of production is the most urgent one in the working people's struggle for the socialist transformation of society. The social ownership of the means of production in the socialist countries provides for the successful development of the economy, the rapid and steady growth of industrial production, and a constant increase in the people's standard of living and cultural level.

In view of the above, bourgeois theoreticians set about to falsify the ideas of socialism, attempting, first of all, to distort the essence of the ownership of the means of production.

Bourgeois economists deny the progressive significance of the abolition of private ownership of the means of production and of its transfer to the hands of the working people. In their opinion, social or state ownership of the means of production does not result in any fundamental change in a country's economy. They regard social property as the property of any state, regardless of its socio-political system. They hold that such a type of social property automatically leads to socialism; therefore, under conditions of state-monopoly capitalism property acquires socialist features.

The reformists claim that property relations under socialism are of a purely political nature. They oppose the state, as the proprietor, to society. They contend that such a high level of centralisation that excludes any economic independence on the part of enterprises is the chief

feature in managing socialist property. A "command economy" is their definition of the Soviet economic system. Thus, they intentionally misrepresent the essence of state administration under socialism and suggest that self-administration—the liquidation of state ownership of the means of production and the transfer of the means of production to the direct producers—can solve the problem.

The existence of such pseudo-scientific theories can be explained by complete ignorance of the economic content of property. Marxist-Leninist theory proceeds from the fact that property always exists in a historically determined form and represents a dialectical unity between material and social aspects. However, bourgeois theoreticians are only aware of one aspect—the material content of property—and do not consider the social essence of property. Thus, they arrive at erroneous conclusions.

The experience gained by the socialist countries has convincingly shown that the antagonistic contradiction between the social nature of production and the private form of appropriation is abolished in the course of socialist socialisation, which provides for the equality of all members of society in relation to the means of production. A socialist state, while carrying out centralised, planned management of the national economy, does not exclude the economic independence of

socialist enterprises. However, the self-governed model of socialism based on group ownership jeopardises the economic foundations of socialism. It is only due to centralised planning and management of the economy, that the socialist countries can boast such highly developed productive forces, advanced science and technology, and improved well-being and cultural level of their people. The reformists' falsifications are caused by their fear of the successes of socialism and of the critical state of capitalism. This explains their attempts to impute the evils of capitalism to the socialist system.

The planned management of the economy is a specific feature of socialism and one of its greatest advantages over capitalism. Hence, the planned system of socialist management is under constant criticism on the part of bourgeois ideologues. However, the reformists, who criticise the role played by planning in the economy in different ways, all disengage the planned development of social production from the socialisation of the means of production, consciously overlooking the fact that planning can only be carried out if the means of production are the property of the whole people.

The socialist community is playing an ever-increasing role in the present-day world. It is establishing itself as an international community of a new type. The development of socialist

ownership of the means of production and perfection of production relations open wide opportunities for the development of the productive forces. The political power of the working people, headed by the working class, promotes the economic and social transformation of society. The socialist countries are united by a common ideology and common tasks, by comradely cooperation, respect for national traditions, and socialist internationalism.

It is only natural that the consolidation of the world socialist system is odious to the bourgeois ideologues. The imperialist propaganda machine does not limit its activities to the ideological struggle, but resorts to political sabotage and subversive acts as well.

At present the anti-communists are trying to prove that real socialism is undergoing a "crisis" caused by the very existence of socialism as a social system and, first and foremost, by the "Soviet model", which has been forced upon the other countries. The ruling communist and workers' parties decisively reject the very notion of socialist "models" as being anti-scientific. The existence of common laws governing the transition to socialism has been proved by the practice of building socialism both in the USSR and in other countries.

The enemies of Marxism-Leninism attack the basic principles of socialism from the position of

the "national models of socialism". This theory is aimed at splitting the working-class movement and at drawing the attention of the working people to the limited national aspects of the given country.

There are people who, either consciously or as a result of theoretical or political uncertainty, confuse the objective possibilities of various roads to socialism in certain countries or a group of countries with the objective impossibility of building in any given country a type of socialism that would in essence and laws differ from existing socialism. The fact that there exist various roads to socialism is no discovery of modern "critics" of the October Revolution and existing socialism. This was Lenin's discovery; it is a fundamental conclusion of his theory and the basic principle of his dialectics of socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

The international solidarity of the working people is of paramount importance to the ideological struggle. Proletarian internationalism ensures the consolidation of the working people of all countries in the struggle against imperialism and for building a new society and new social relations. The socialist countries' international assistance and support to the world revolutionary movements attests to their fidelity to Marxist-Leninist theory.

Despite the intrigues of the anti-communists,

the world socialist system is scoring new successes. The economic achievements of socialism provide vast opportunities for meeting the people's material and cultural requirements. Wages are increasing, working and living conditions, and recreation facilities are being improved, and the systems of public health, education and culture are being further developed.

The socialist community has extended international experience in building socialism proving the validity and the internationalist nature of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the general laws governing the building of socialism.

The Soviet Constitution of 1977 – the constitution of a developed socialist society – has evoked furious attacks from the anti-communists. They are doing their utmost to misinterpret its clauses and belittle its international significance. They present bourgeois state as a state in which law is above politics and try to prove that in socialist society law is subject to politics and, therefore, the Constitution is subservient to politics.

Marxism-Leninism has scientifically proven the existence of a link between law and politics in social development. This link is revealed by the fact that law acquires a political nature, thus determining the political foundations of a country. The efficiency of the legal rules depends on the nature of the social system.

In capitalist society law is completely subject to

the capitalists' interests, whereas socialism grants all working people equal rights and guarantees their implementation.

Under socialism the political superstructure has a greater opportunity to influence the development of social relations. This is due to the existence of social ownership and the essence of political power. To this end, the role of the Constitution, which establishes as law existing social relations, increases. The Constitution lays the legal foundation for improving socialism.

In the USSR, all power belongs to the people and is exercised through the Soviets of People's Deputies. Non-government organisations and work collectives also take part in running state and public affairs. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the leading and guiding force of Soviet society—is the nucleus of its political system.

The position of the CPSU in the political system of Soviet society is determined by its role in the struggle for socialism. The ruling party introduces its decisions through Soviet bodies and within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. The CPSU places the interests of the people, and of society as a whole, above all else.

The democratic nature of a social order is determined by the degree to which it meets the interests of the working people. The exploiter nature of a bourgeois state obviously prevents it

from granting equal rights to all members of society. Nevertheless, bourgeois ideologues, while hushing up the curtailed rights of the working people under capitalism, lead world public opinion astray by stating that in the USSR, individual rights and freedoms are not guaranteed, and that the Soviet Constitution limits the citizens' basic rights.

The Fundamental Law (Constitution) of the socialist state provides for the all-round development of the individual.

In the Soviet Union, the working people are granted the right to work, the right to education, the right to social security, free medical care, housing, and rest and leisure. Men and women receive equal remuneration for their work. All working people take an active part in state and public affairs. Under socialism all forms of national oppression have been eliminated and truly fraternal relations among various nations have been established.

The realisation of these rights indicates the state's concern for the well-being of the Soviet people and the fulfillment of their material and cultural needs. The Constitution of the USSR guarantees extensive rights and freedoms to Soviet citizens and, at the same time, prohibits any activity that could be harmful to socialist society. In the USSR, the law prohibits the propaganda of war and incitement of national

enmity. No one has a right to be engaged in activities directed against socialism.

The imperialist propaganda machine brainwashes the people in the West, trying to make them believe that the Soviet Union aims to establish communist rule throughout the world. Fabrications on the alleged aggressive nature of the USSR are widespread in the capitalist countries, while the truth about the socialist world is carefully concealed. Along with brainwashing the people, the ruling circles in the imperialist nations are consciously militarising their countries' economies.

However, a war in which modern arms would be used would be fatal to civilisation. The imperialists understand this and try to reduce the vigilance of the nations, by shifting the responsibility for preserving peace to the socialist countries, which are compelled, in turn, to build up their defence potential in order to guarantee the security of the socialist camp.

The opponents of socialism refuse to accept the achievements of the Soviet people which are evidence of the fact that Marxist-Leninist ideas really work.

On its road to socialism the Soviet Union overcame numerous difficulties, many of which were caused by the hostile activities of international imperialism. One need but recall the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against Nazi

Germany (1941-1945), which killed countless victims and brought tremendous destruction. Nevertheless, in the course of a short historical period, the Soviet Union was able to become a major world power. This has demonstrated both socialism's validity and its unquestionable advantages over capitalism. The difficult tasks of social, economic and cultural buildup have been successfully solved in the USSR. Contrary to the slanderous assertions of bourgeois ideologues (that in the socialist countries the requirements of the people are neglected), promoting the well-being and all-round development of all members of socialist society is the law of the socialist state.

The socialist states do not believe that their class enemies will eventually come to accept Marxism-Leninism. However, this does not mean that ideological differences should be resolved by an armed struggle.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are interested in peace. They support peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states, regardless of their social order. The USSR is opposed to the militarisation of outer space and condemns nuclear war as the most monstrous crime against humanity. In this nuclear era, the world should not be regarded from a narrow, egoistic point of view. All states must take the vital interests of mankind into consideration.

The Marxist-Leninist theory unmasks the

bourgeois ideologues. It demonstrates that the victory of socialism and communism over capitalism is a logical result of society's historical development. The increasing consciousness of the masses and their struggle for freedom and justice create the necessary conditions for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Existing socialism is a newly-established sociopolitical system which is constantly developing and perfecting itself. The strength and attraction of socialist ideas lie in the fact that they express the vital interests of the broad working masses throughout the world.

CONCLUSION

The transition from capitalism to socialism characterises the present-day epoch, an epoch of struggle between the two opposing social systems. Socialism and capitalism exist side by side. However, they are engaged in an intense economic, political and ideological struggle – a class struggle. Capitalism expresses the interests of the class of private owners, while socialism expresses the interests of the working people. The victory of socialism is objectively conditioned by its socio-economic advantages.

The present epoch is a revolutionary epoch. Socialist and national liberation revolutions have dealt a devastating blow to the exploiter society. The proletariat, guided by the communist parties, has overthrown the power of

the capitalists and is beginning to build a new society. In the countries which have freed themselves from colonial dependence, social changes were preceded by the struggle for national liberation. National liberation revolutions undermine imperialism and pave the way for the progressive development of the newly free nations.

The present-day epoch is an epoch of the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system. Imperialism's influence in the world is diminishing with each passing day. The colonial system, which for centuries was a source of capitalist enrichment, has collapsed. As a result, the internal contradictions of capitalism have become more acute.

The present-day epoch is an epoch of the triumph of socialism on a worldwide scale. Socialism in its essence is an international phenomenon. It is in keeping with the requirements of world development, the progress of mankind and the interests of the working masses of the world. That is why the peoples of the world are attracted to socialism. Thus, an ever-increasing number of countries which have freed themselves from the capitalist yoke are choosing the road of socialist development.

The present-day epoch is a historic process of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. This process can be divided into three stages.

The first stage began with the victory of the

Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917. It marked the beginning of mankind's liberation from capitalist exploitation. New social relations of comradely cooperation based on the social ownership of the means of production were established on one-sixth of the Earth's territory. The victory of the October Revolution had a great impact on the worldwide working-class movement.

The second stage is connected with the establishment of the world socialist system after a number of European and Asian countries embarked on the road of building socialism as a result of social revolutions.

The third stage, which is characterised by the downfall of the imperialist colonial system, proves that socialism has become a decisive factor in world history. More and more nations are choosing a non-capitalist path of development.

The changed correlation between the forces of capitalism and the forces of socialism in favour of socialism promotes social progress. World socialism, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement are the basic revolutionary forces today. The consolidation of all revolutionary, socialist and democratic forces is a characteristic feature of the present-day world revolutionary process, one which combines the theory of scientific socialism with the working people's struggle for liberation.

GLOSSARY

Aggression – illegal use of force by one state against another.

Agrarian reforms – a profound restructuring of small peasant holdings on the basis of cooperative work, the socialization of the means of production, and the introduction of large-scale agricultural production.

Anti-communism – imperialism's chief ideological and political weapon. Its main content is slander of the socialist system and falsification of the communist parties' policy and aims, and of the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

Capitalism – a socio-economic formation based on private ownership of the means of production and the exploitation of hired labour by capitalists. It precedes socialism – the first stage of communism.

Civilisation – the level of society's material and cultural development. The victory of socialism gives rise to a new, socialist civilisation in which the

working people who create the values of civilisation are the ones who use and enjoy these values.

Class struggle – struggle between classes whose interests are incompatible and irreconcilable. The entire history of mankind, beginning with the appearance of private ownership of the means of production and the emergence of classes, is a history of class struggle between the exploited and the exploiter classes. The political struggle, aimed at overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and establishing the rule of the working class, is the highest form of class struggle,

Competition – an intense struggle, conditioned by private ownership of the means of production, both among capitalists and capitalist countries for raw material resources, markets, capital investment spheres and maximum profits. Competition is inherent in capitalism during all stages of its development.

Concentration of production – enlargement of production and concentration of the production of goods at given specialised enterprises. In the capitalist society the concentration of production is conditioned by the concentration of capital and its accumulation on the basis of the exploitation of hired labour. Under socialism, the concentration of production takes place on a planned basis and is aimed at steadily increasing the effectiveness of social production.

Constitution—a state's fundamental law which determines the foundations of the social and state orders, the system of government bodies, establishment and functioning of the bodies of state authority, and the rights and duties of citizens.

Cooperation—the voluntary association of peasants or artisans for joint economic activity on the basis of social ownership of the means of production.

Cooperative plan, Lenin's—a plan for the socialist reorganisation of small peasant holdings through their voluntary association into large-scale collective farms.

Declaration—a bilateral or multilateral act in which states, and intergovernmental or international non-governmental organisations formulate their principles in the spheres of politics, international relations or international law, or proclaim their position with respect to certain issues.

Decree—an edict, decision or law issued by the highest body of state power or state authority.

Dictatorship of the proletariat—the power of the working class established in the course of a socialist revolution. The elimination of capitalism and national oppression, and the building of socialism are the proletariat's world historic mission.

Distribution according to labour—an economic law of socialism according to which each member of

society receives an amount of material values which corresponds to the amount of his labour for the good of society.

Distribution according to needs – the communist principle of distribution. When labour becomes a prime vital need, society produces an abundance of goods, and each person receives as much as he needs.

Effectiveness of social production – the result of economic development, expressing the achievement of maximum result with minimum effort. Each mode of production possesses a specific criterion of the effectiveness of social production, a criterion which is predetermined by the nature of production relations. In the socialist society the type of development of social production which provides for the greatest rise in the working people's standard of living is the most effective one.

Exploitation – the appropriation of the results of the unpaid labour of the direct producers by the class of private owners of the means of production.

Formation, socio-economic – a stage in social development characterised by a historically determined economic system and the corresponding political and legal superstructure, and forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material values and the system of production relations inherent in the given formation form its basis. The

following are socio-economic formations: primitive-communal, slave-holding, feudal, capitalist and communist. The transition from one socio-economic formation to another is in the nature of revolutionary, progressive movement.

General crisis of capitalism – the crisis of the capitalist system as a whole. It embraces the economic and state order, politics, ideology and culture.

Ideology – a system of a given class's views, convictions and ideals. Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the proletariat.

Imperialism – monopoly capitalism, the highest and last stage of capitalism.

Industrialisation, socialist – the elimination of a country's economic backwardness resulting in its becoming an industrially developed state, achieved through the planned creation of large-scale socialist industry, primarily, heavy industry, which provides for the supremacy of socialist production relations.

Inflation – depreciation of paper money and a drop in its purchasing power.

Integration, socialist economic – the socialist countries' association and planned coordination of efforts directed towards solving such key socio-economic tasks, as the further development of productive forces, increased scientific and technical achievements and the improvement of the people's standard of living.

Intensification of production under socialism—an increase in the production of high-quality goods in the shortest possible time with minimum expenditures through the following means: 1) introducing the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in production; 2) developing the managerial system; 3) increasing the working people's skills.

Labour productivity—the efficiency of labour in the process of production. It is measured by time spent for producing a unit of goods, or by the quantity of goods produced over a unit of time. The following factors ensure the growth of labour productivity: 1) scientific and technical progress; 2) the increase of the working people's skills; 3) specialisation and cooperation; 4) the rational use of a country's natural resources.

Marxism-Leninism—the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin; an integral scientific system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views, constituting the world outlook of the working class; a doctrine on the cognition and the revolutionary transformation of the world, on the laws governing the development of society, nature and thought. It sprang up on the basis of the scientific and philosophical achievements of the mid-19th century and as a result of the analysis of the proletariat's class struggle. It consists of three components: philosophy—dialec-

tical and historical materialism; political economy; and scientific communism. Marxism-Leninism is being further developed by the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries in the course of socialist construction and on the basis of implementing the latest scientific discoveries and the experience gained by the world revolutionary working-class and liberation movements. Marxism-Leninism is an international teaching.

Non-capitalist road of development—the gradual transition of the economically backward countries from a pre-capitalist system to socialism, by-passing capitalism.

Peaceful coexistence—the fundamental principle of relations among countries with different social systems proclaimed by the socialist countries. It implies a rejection of war as a means of foreign policy; the equality of states; the recognition of the right of all nations to decide their own fate; a strict observance of other countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity; and the promotion of economic and political cooperation among them.

Planning the national economy—the basic method of the socialist countries' economic activity. Planning is carried out in keeping with the objective law of the planned, proportionate development of an economy based on the social ownership of the means of production. Planning implies the elaboration of plans, their implementation (organisa-

tion) and control over their fulfillment. A planned economy is an important advantage of socialism, guaranteeing the development of a crisis-free economy, and a steady increase in the people's standard of living.

Production relations—social relations among people which objectively take shape in the process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of material values. In conjunction with the productive forces, production relations form the historically determined mode of production. In a socialist society the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations are devoid of an antagonistic nature and are solved in the process of planned production activity directed towards a fuller satisfaction of the working people's requirements.

Productive forces—the means of production and people possessing the necessary knowledge, experience and skills who use these means. The productive forces always develop in a given socio-economic form under conditions of one or another type of production relations.

Proletarian internationalism—one of the basic principles of the Communists which stands out in the theory and practice of scientific socialism. It implies international solidarity, mutual assistance, joint actions of the working class and respect for the national independence.

Reformism—a political trend within the working-class movement whose advocates deny the need for class struggle, socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and support cooperation between the antagonistic classes, trying to transform capitalism into a “welfare society” by means of reforms carried out within the framework of bourgeois law.

Revisionism—an ideological and political trend in the workers’ and communist movement whose supporters, under the guise of “renewing”, “reconsidering” and “revising” are distorting the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Revisionism is hostile to all Marxist-Leninist parties.

Revolution, social—a radical change in the social and political (state) system, resulting in the downfall of the old and the establishment of a new, progressive social system. A socialist revolution, achieved by the working class in alliance with the other working strata under the leadership of a communist party, abolishes the power of the bourgeoisie and establishes the power of the working class, i. e., the dictatorship of the proletariat in one or another form; it proceeds to build a socialist society, one devoid of social oppression, exploitation of man by man, and based on socialist democracy.

Scientific and technical progress—the onward movement of science and technology, brought about

by the needs of material production, as well as by growing and more complex social requirements. It makes it possible to transform production into a technological process using the achievements of the natural and other sciences. Scientific and technical progress has two interrelated forms: 1) the evolutionary, i. e., relatively slow and partial elaboration of the traditional scientific and technical foundations of production; 2) the revolutionary, reflected by the scientific and technical revolution. Depending on the existing social system, scientific and technical progress leads to different socio-economic consequences.

Selfless assistance – assistance rendered by the socialist countries to other nations without any remuneration.

Social progress – the forward advance of society, its rise to a higher level.

Socialism – a social system which replaces capitalism. Socialism is the first phase of communism.

Socialist emulation – a socialist method of increasing labour productivity and the effectiveness of social production on the basis of an upsurge in the working people's creative activity.

State capitalist property – the property of a bourgeois state, consisting of enterprises built on funds from the state budget or funds nationalised by the state. State capitalist property serves the interests of the ruling classes.

State socialist property—the property of the whole people, consisting of the means of production, land, mineral resources, forests and waters, cultural values, etc.

Transition period from capitalism to socialism—a period of revolutionary transformation from a capitalist society to a socialist society. It begins with the working class's attainment of power and ends when the foundations of socialism are laid.

Unemployment—a social phenomenon of capitalist society, when a portion of the working people are deprived of work and, subsequently, of the means of subsistence, forming a reserve labour force. The capitalists use unemployment to increase the exploitation of the employed workers.

Working class—the most advanced and progressive class in present-day society; the main driving force of the historic process of the transition from capitalism to socialism and communism.

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