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[From Pravda, June 9, 1950]

Published: Dec. 1950

Printed by Jayant Bhatt at the New Age Printing Press, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, and published by him for People's Publishing House, Ltd., 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.

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PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE, LTD.

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OUTSTANDING MASTERPIECE OF BOLSHEVIK THEORY

[25th Anniversary of J. V. Stalin's "Questions and Answers"]

By M. Kharlamov

WENTY-FIVE years ago, on June 9, 1925, J. V. Stalin delivered his famous speech, Questions and Answers, at the Sverdlov University.

With the prevision of a genius, J. V. Stalin analyzed the extremely important theoretical and practical problems which confronted the Communist Party and the Soviet state. J. V. Stalin's Questions and Answers constitute an ideological weapon in the struggle for Communism.

J. V. Stalin defined the year 1925 as a turning point in the life of the Soviet Union, in the development of the socialist revolution. It was at that time that the working people of the Soviet Union, guided by the Communist Party, were successfully completing the restoration of national economy which was approximating the prewar level. New titanic tasks were on the order of the day—it was a question of carrying into life, for the first time in human history, the age-old dreams of the working people about socialism. It

Was a question of the destinies of socialism in the USSR, and, consequently, of the destinies of the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the working people of the whole world.

The contemptible enemies of socialism, the agents of the international and domestic bourgeoisie, the Trotskyites, Zinovyevites and their ilk, took advantage of Lenin's death for the purpose of attacking Lenin's theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in the USSR; they tried to undermine the unity of the Bolshevik Party, to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat, to disrupt the building of socialism and turn our country back to capitalism. International reaction pinned special hopes on the subversive anti-Soviet activities of the Trotskyite, Zinovyevite and rightist restorers of capitalism.

But the treacherous plans of the enemies of the Party were exposed and foiled by the great continuator of Lenin's cause, by J. V. Stalin. Stalin defended the great Leninist teachings and developed them further on the basis of the generalized experience of Socialist construction in our country. Stalin rallied the Party around the invincible Leninist banner, armed it with a scientific programme of Socialist construction and led the people in the struggle for the implementation of this programme.

In his Questions and Answers, J. V. Stalin pointed out that the development of Soviet economy proceeded in the midst of a bitter struggle between the socialist and capitalist elements. The capitalist elements were conducting a struggle against the Soviet state in the economic as well as in the ideological field, in an effort to infect the least stable sections of the party with lack of faith in the cause of socialist construction.

The Trotskyite and Zinovyevite capitulators tried to poison the minds of the masses with counter-revolutionary liquidationist notions that the victory of socialism is impossible in one country. J. V. Stalin left no stone unturned of the capitulationist, restorationist views of the Trotskyites, Zinovyevites and other foes of Leninism.

Emphasizing that the Party and the working class must have a clear understanding of the perspectives, tasks and aims of our construction, J. V. Stalin pointed out that perspective is of utmost importance for the Party which has become accustomed to have a clear and definite aim before it.

"The great significance of Leninism," said J. V. Stalin, "lies, among other things, in that it does not recognize haphazard, blind construction; it does not conceive of construction without prospects; that it gives a clear and definite answer to the quesion of the prospects

of our work, and states that we have all that is necessary for the building of socialist economy in our country, that we can and must build a complete socialist society". (Collected Work, Russ, ed., Vol. 7, p. 205).

J. V. Stalin's treatment of the questions of domestic and external conditions for the victory of socialism in our country, in the midst of a capitalist encirclement, was of decisive significance for the victory of socialism in the USSR.

As regards internal conditions, J. V. Stalin pointed out that it was a question of the relations beween classes in the country. He showed that the difficulties in the way of the solution of this problem could well be surmounted, for the workers and peasants of the USSR had common fundamental interests which tend to strengthen and not to weaken their alliance. Both the workers and the peasants are interested in the victory of the socialist course of national sconomic development. And this creates a solid base for the economic victory over the bourgeoisie and for the building of socialism.

The external conditions for the building of socialism are connected with the existence of the capitalist encirclement and with the danger of armed intervention by the imperialists against the socialist state. Therefore, so long as the

capitalist encirclement continues to exist, the victory of socialism in one country cannot be considered final.

Inspired by the Lenin-Stalin theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country, the Soviet people, led by the Bolshevik Party, built the socialist society in the USSR, crushing the furious resistance of the capitalist elements and their agents in the country and successfully repulsing the adventurist encroachments of the foreign imperialists. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the USSR developed into a mighty Socialist Power, whose strength and invincibility were expressed more vividly than ever in the victory over German fascism and Japanese imperialism.

J. V. Stalin teaches that so long as imperialism exists, there is the danger of an imperialist attack on the USSR. This is fully borne out by the criminal plans of the Anglo-American imperialists for the preparation of war against the USSR and the People's Democracies. But today, when the international situation has radically changed in favour of the camp of socialism and democracy, any new war that may be unleashed by the imperialists will turn against the imperialist aggressors and will bring about the downfall of the entire system of world capitalism.

The theory of Lenin and Stalin about the

possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, the theory which links up the national and international tasks of socialist construction, is of enormous international significance. This theory arms the working people in all other countries with the understanding of their international duty towards the USSR as the base and bulwark of the revolutionary movement. The solid unity of all the forces of the labour and democratic movement behind the USSR is the decisive factor for the struggle of the working people for freedom from capitalist slavery, for a happy future for all mankind.

* * *

On the basis of Lenin's precepts about the new economic policy as a policy calculated to bring about the complete victory of socialism and unavoidable for any country in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, J. V. Stalin outlined in his speech Questions and Answers the concrete ways and methods of socialist construction.

J. V. Stalin elaborated the thesis about socialist industrialization which is defined as the main link by gripping which it is possible to solve the entire problem: to prevent the transformation of our country into an agrarian appendage of the imperialist states, to ensure its economic independence, strengthen its defence capacity and reorganize national economy on the basis of socialism.

- J. V. Stalin substantiated the deep fundamental distinction beween socialist and capitalist industrialization. He showed that there are three ways of the formation of industrial capitalist states—the grabbing and pillaging of colonies, military conquests and exaction of indemnities, enslaving concessions and loans. All these ways were unacceptable to our country because of its socialist character.
- J. V. Salin rendered an invaluable service by discovering the as yet unexplored socialist path of industrialization by using the internal forces and resources.

"The point is", teaches J. V. Stalin, "that in this respect the proletarian state enjoys advantages which bourgeois states do not, and I dare say, cannot, enjoy. Nationalised industry, nationalised transport and credit, monopoly of foreign trade, home trade regulated by the state—all these are new sources of 'supplementary capital' which can be utilised for the development of the industries of our country, and which no bourgeois state has ever possessed." (Ibid, pp. 198-199).

This profound scientific analysis of the sources of Soviet industrialization was a further de-

velopment of Lenin's theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, and it was adopted as a basis of the resolutions of the 14th Congress of the CPSU (B) which endorsed the course of socialist industrialization of the country as the general line of the Party.

J. V. Stalin emphasized that the question of building a socialist economy is inseparable from the problem of strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants and covers all national economy in general.

"Socialist society", said J. V. Stalin, "is the association of workers in industry and agriculture for the purpose of production and consumption. If, in this association, industry is not linked with agriculture, which provides raw materials and food and absorbs the products of industry—if, accordingly, industry and agriculture do not form a single national economic whole, then we shall not get socialism.

"That is why the question of the relations between industry and agriculture, the question of the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry, is the basic question in the problem of building up socialist economy." (Ibid, pp. 200-201).

Socialist industrialization furnished the key to the solution of the most difficult problem of

the socialist revolution after the conquest of power by the proletariat—the problem of transferring the peasantry to the socialist course.

J. V. Stalin showed that the fundamental interests of the bulk of the peasantry coincide wholly and entirely with the interests of the proletariat, that the working class must build socialism in alliance with the peasantry while reserving the leading role to itself.

At a time when a bitter struggle was in progress in our national economy between the capitalist and socialist elements, pointed out J. V. Stalin, it was necessary to strengthen by all possible means the alliance of the workers and the village poor with the middle peasants for the purpose of the political isolation and economic restriction of the kulaks and urban bourgeoisie.

J. V. Stalin outlined the concrete ways for the smychka (link-up) between town and country, for strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants, for attracting the peasants to the course of socialist construction with the aid of economic, organizational, cultural and educational measures.

Speaking of the measures necessary for strengthening the alliance of the workers and peasants, J. V. Stalin pointed out:

"The wide masses of the millions of pea-

sants must be drawn into the co-operative movement, first of all, into the agricultural and credit co-operative societies, as a means of including peasant farming in the general system of socialist construction. The village must be supplied with the greatest possible number of tractors as a means of revolutionizing agricultural technique and for creating cultural and technical centres in the village. Lastly, the electrification plan must be carried into effect as a means of bringing town and country closer together and eliminating the anti-thesis between them". (Ibid., p. 157).

Moreover, J. V. Stalin laid special stress on the tremendous significance of the political education of the peasants, of the cultural revolution in the village for ensuring the success of socialist construction.

The policy of the socialist industrialization of the country and of the collectivization of agriculture led to the world historic victories of socialism in the USSR. The experience accumulated in its implementation in the USSR places in the hands of the Communist and Workers' Parties an infallible guide for the building of of socialism in the People's Democracies.

J. V. Stalin's treatment of the questions of

the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the role of the Soviet state and of the leading role of the Bolshevik Party as the organizer and inspirer of Socialist construction, in Questions and Answers and in other works of that period are of inestimable significance.

- J. V. Stalin substantiated the necessity for doing everything to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main weapon in the hands of the Party and the Soviet people for crushing the resistance of and later for the complete elimination of the exploiting classes, for enabling the proletariat to exercise its leading role in relation to the peasantry, for building socialism.
- J. V. Stalin's precepts about the necessity to do everything in order to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat are of exceptional significance for the People's Democracies which are building the socialist society in the midst of a bitter class struggle and increasing imperialist provocations against the People's Democratic regimes.

Defining the significance and substance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, J. V. Stalin revealed the great superiority of Soviet Democracy over bourgeois democracy. Whereas the bourgeois state machine promotes the interests of the exploiters, whereas it stands above the masses, is separated from them by an impenetrable barrier and its whole spirit is alien to the masses, the Soviet state promotes the interests of the working people, the Soviet state apparatus merges with the masses and is linked with them by numberless ties.

"Our comrades", said J. V. Stalin, "sometimes fail to see that around our local Party, soviet, cultural, trade union, educational, Komsomol, army, women's and all other organizations, there are teeming ant-hills, as it were, of organizations that have sprung up of their own accord, commissions and conferences, comprising millions of non-party workers and peasants, ant-hills of persons who, by their daily, inconspicuous, painstaking and silent effort, are building the foundations and creating the very life of the soviets, and who constitute the source of strength of the Soviet state. Without these organizations, whose members run into millions, and which envelop our soviet and party organizations, the existence and the development of soviet Government, the guidance and administration of so vast a country would be absolutely inconceivable." (Ibid., p. 162)

The Party is constantly trying to draw in increasing numbers of working people into the

administration of the state, to promote the continuous development of all forms of Soviet socialist democracy—the highest form of democracy.

Developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, J. V. Stalin emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the midst of a capitalist encirclement would have been impossible without the existence of a strong, united and rock-firm Bolshevik Party. And it was for this very reason that the enemies—foreign and domestic—directed the full fire of their fury against the Party of Lenin and Stalin which is a model of a truly revolutionary, internationalist party of the working class.

The building of socialism at the time of the New Economic Policy demanded greater skill of the Communists, of the Party of the working class in leadership of the masses, in the administration of the state.

"We must, in the first place", pointed out J. V. Stalin, "exercise the utmost flexibility in our leadership. We must, in the second place, be extremely sensitive to the requirements and needs of the workers and peasants. We must, in the third place, be capable of drawing into the Party the best of the workers and peasants who have come to the fore as a

result of the developing political activity of these classes". (Ibid, p. 170).

- J. V. Stalin emphasised the necessity for the Party workers to improve their knowledge and skill in order to be up to the new, more complicated tasks confronting the Party. He furthermore emphasized the importance of training expert cadres.
- J. V. Stalin teaches the Party cadres to have no fear of difficulties, but to overcome them, to rally around the Party a vast active of non-Party people, to do their utmost to strengthen the Party's contact with the masses, to promote criticism and self-criticism.

Defining the Party line in the field of socialist construction, Stalin showed the inseparable connection between the national and international tasks of our party, that it is the paramount duty of a genuine internationalist to regard his country as part of the world revolutionary movement.

"....The first proletarian state can retain its position of standard-bearer of the international revolutionary movement only on the basis of consistent internationalism, only on the basis of the foreign policy of the October Revolution", pointed out J. V. Stalin (Ibid., p. 169).

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