D. I. CHESNOKOV

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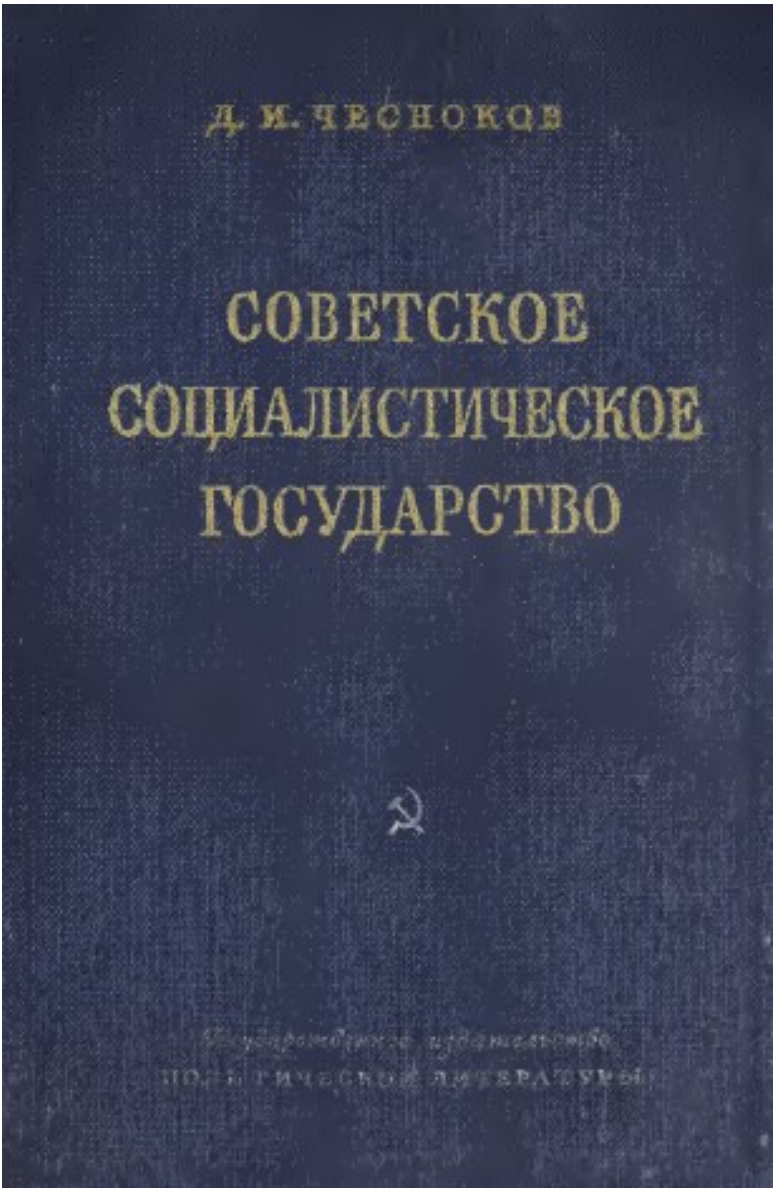
Д. И. ЧЕСНОКОВ
СОВЕТСКОЕ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВО

D. I. CHESNOKOV

SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE

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"Soviet Socialist State" by D.I. Chesnokov

This 1952 ideological text provides a comprehensive theoretical defense of the Soviet Socialist State during the transition from socialism to communism. It primarily explores the dictatorship of the proletariat, arguing that the state must act as a powerful instrument to suppress class enemies while simultaneously organizing a new socialist economic base. The author emphasizes the leading role of the Bolshevik Party in guiding every aspect of society, from industrial mechanisation to the "cultural revolution" and the communist education of the masses. A central theme is the Maxist-Leninist theory of state strengthening, which posits that the state must grow more formidable to survive capitalist encirclement and external imperialist threats. Ultimately, this document serves to educate the working class showing the Soviet power by framing it as a superior form of democracy that protects the working majority and prepares the material conditions for a future classless society.

The book, which became a rarity immediately after publication, came out as an insignificant circulation for the USSR - 20 thousand copies and no longer republished. Exposes the revisionist and bourgeois myths about Soviet socialism of the Stalin era. An elegant theoretical base is given to all the most important provisions on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chesnokov served as chief editor of *Voprosy Filosofii* (Problems of Philosophy Journal) between1949 and 1952. At the 19th Congress of the CPSU in October 1952, Chesnokov was elected to the newly enlarged Presidium of the Central Committee (the successor to the Politburo), as head of the Central Committee's Department of Philosophy and History,

and chief editor of the party's primary theoretical journal, *Kommunist (*formerly *Bolshevik)*.

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....11
Chapter One.....39
Lenin and Stalin's Development of the Theory of the Socialist State.....39
1. Marx and Engels on the dictatorship of the proletariat.....39
2. The development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by V. I. Lenin during the period of creation and strengthening of the Soviet socialist state.....53
3. The development of the theory of the socialist state by I. V. Stalin during the struggle to build a socialist society.....70
4. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the further development of the theory of the socialist state by I.V. Stalin.....85
Chapter Two.....114
Lenin and Stalin on the State Form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.....114
1. Soviet power as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.....114
2. People's democracy as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat.....139
3. The possibility of new state forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat.....157
Chapter Three.....188
The Soviet Multinational State.....188
1. Ways to resolve the national question in the USSR.....188
2. Construction of the Soviet multinational state. 225

3. The struggle of the Bolshevik Party against bourgeois nationalists is the most important condition for strengthening the Soviet multinational state.....254
4. The international significance of the experience of building a multinational state in the USSR....270
Chapter Four.....278
The Socialist State as an Instrument for Protecting Socialist Property.....278
1. The function of suppressing exploiters in the first phase of development of the socialist state. 278
2. The construction of socialism in the USSR and the emergence of a new function of the Soviet state – the function of protecting socialist property.....296
3. The function of protecting socialist property during the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism.....307
Chapter Five.....323
The Soviet State as a Tool for Defending Socialist Society from External Attack.....323
1. Lenin and Stalin on the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland.....323
2. The role of the army, punitive organs and intelligence in the implementation of the external function of the Soviet socialist state.....330
3. The Soviet Army is the most powerful army of our time.....351
4. The Soviet Army is an army of peace and friendship among peoples. The liberating role of the Soviet Army.....361
5. The Soviet state as an instrument for organizing the people to defend the Motherland.....368

Chapter Six.....375
The Soviet State in the Struggle for Peace.....375
1. The struggle for peace among nations is the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.. 375
2. The new balance of power in the international arena after the Second World War and the struggle of the Soviet state for peace.....413
Chapter Seven.....449
Economic and Organizational Activities of the Soviet Socialist State.....449
1. The economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.....456
2. The transition from the first to the second phase of development of the Soviet socialist state and the development of the economic and organizational activities of the state.....487
3. The economic role of the Soviet socialist state under socialism.....509
4. Economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state during the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism.....536
Chapter Eight.....570
Cultural and Educational Activities of the Soviet Socialist State.....570
1. Development of cultural and educational activities of the socialist state.....574
2. The Soviet socialist state as an instrument of cultural revolution.....578
3. The Soviet state as an instrument for building socialist culture.....600
4. The Soviet state as an instrument of communist education of the masses.....630
Chapter Nine.....647

Soviet Democracy – the Highest Type of Democracy. 647
1. Bourgeois democracy and its degeneration. Lenin and Stalin's criticism of bourgeois democracy.....647
2. The opposition between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy.....666
3. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the flourishing of socialist democracy.....680
Chapter Ten.....712
The Bolshevik Party—the Leading Force of the Soviet State.....712
1. The system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Bolshevik Party.....714
2. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the growing leadership role of the Bolshevik Party.. 740
3. The international significance of the Bolshevik Party’s experience in leading a socialist state...756

Introduction

Marxism-Leninism, for the first time in the history of social thought, revealed the true essence, origin and laws of development of the state.

The state constitutes a vital part of the superstructure above the economic base of society at certain stages of its development. The social role of an exploitative state is to serve as a tool for the exploiters to suppress workers.

"The state," I. V. Stalin teaches, "emerged from the split of society into hostile classes, arose to keep the exploited majority in check in the interests of the exploiting minority. The instruments of state power were concentrated primarily in the army, the punitive organs, intelligence, and prisons. Two fundamental functions characterize the state's activity: the internal (primary) function—to keep the exploited majority in check; and the external (secondary) function—to expand the territory of its ruling class at the expense of other states, or to defend its territory from attacks by other states. This was the case under the slave system and feudalism. This is the case under capitalism.

"To overthrow capitalism, it was necessary not only to remove the bourgeoisie from power, not only to expropriate the capitalists, but also to completely smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie, its old army, its bureaucratic officialdom, its police, and to put in its place a new, proletarian state, a new, socialist state. The Bolsheviks, as is well known, did just that"[1] .

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[1] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 604.

The socialist state, by its nature and objectives, is directly opposed to the bourgeois state and exploitative states in general. The socialist state is the instrument of the working class and all working people, created to liberate the working masses from oppression and exploitation. Unlike the bourgeois state, which overwhelms the majority of society in the interests of an exploitative minority, the socialist state suppresses the exploitative minority in the interests of the working majority. Unlike the bourgeois state, whose external function serves the goals of expansion and protects the wealth and privileges of the exploitative minority, the socialist state, through its external function, protects the gains and peaceful creative labor of the majority. The socialist state is the primary instrument for building a classless, communist society. It is called upon to organize the construction of a communist economy and communist culture.

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The question of the state and revolution, like all questions of Marxist theory, has not only enormous theoretical but also immediate practical political significance. Of all the questions of Marxist theory, the question of the state is first and foremost and most directly linked to the pressing needs of the liberation struggle of the working class and all working people. The question of the essence of the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, directly affects the fundamental interests of the landowners and the bourgeoisie, who seek to strengthen their exploitative state and prevent the victory of the socialist revolution.

This is why the question of the state provokes fierce debate and a bitter ideological struggle. Bourgeois philosophers, sociologists, historians, economists, lawyers, and theologians diligently obfuscate the question of the state and its class

essence, falsifying and distorting the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

Since the bourgeoisie came to power, bourgeois ideologists have generally adopted the path of denying class differences in society. They assert that social groups differ only in their occupation, with each working for itself and simultaneously serving society as a whole. Both workers and capitalists are allegedly equally useful to society, and exploitation supposedly does not exist in society. The state, according to bourgeois sociologists, is the embodiment of society as a whole, an expression of the common interests of all individuals and groups.

Most petty-bourgeois ideologists, under the weight of historical facts, were forced to acknowledge that wherever class contradictions exist, the state exists. But they all agreed that the state is an instrument for class reconciliation, that it expresses the interests of all classes. The state, in their view, is an organization beyond and above classes. This view was fully embraced by the Bernsteinians in the West and the Mensheviks in Russia. Opportunists unanimously asserted that the state in capitalist society serves all classes and fiercely opposed the Marxist-Leninist demand to fight for the creation of a dictatorship of the working class, a socialist state.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a Kautskyite brand of opportunism spread, falsifying Marxism even more subtly and sophisticatedly. "Theoretically," the Kautskyites did not deny the irreconcilability of class contradictions, nor did they deny that the state is an organ of class domination. But they downplayed the need for a violent proletarian revolution, the need to smash the exploitative apparatus of state power, and the need to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. The

proletariat could take over the old, exploitative state, Kautsky insisted.

These days, these distinctions between opportunist groups and the distinctions between opportunists (right-wing socialists) and the outright ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie have completely disappeared. Just as the recently deceased "theoreticians" of the right-wing socialists—K. Renner, L. Blum, and G. Laski—so the living Attlee, Morrison, Schumacher, Saragat, and Co. insist that the theory of class struggle is obsolete (Blum), that the state must aim to equally satisfy the desires of all classes (Laski), and that the imperialist state of the United States is genuinely democratic and practically the ideal of a state structure (Morrison, Schumacher, and Co.). At the same time, all these gentlemen have unleashed, and continue to unleash, a torrent of lies and slander on the Soviet state and the states of the people's democracies. In this regard, the lackeys of imperialism display neither originality nor innovation.

Since the earliest days of the Soviet socialist state, the enemies of the working class and all working people—the capitalists, landowners of all countries, and their lackeys, the right-wing socialists—have persistently and tiresomely harped on the supposedly "undemocratic nature" of the Soviet system. This slander is especially perpetuated by right-wing socialists. Praising to the skies a false, curtailed, formal bourgeois democracy, they seek to divert attention from the fascistization of the state apparatus and the political system in capitalist countries with cries about the supposed "undemocratic nature" of the Soviet system. At the same time, defenders of capitalist slavery pretentiously launch into a philosophical justification for their reactionary positions. They scream hysterically about the “free will” and “inalienable rights” of the individual in order to justify and justify private capitalist property and

entrepreneurial initiative, the “right” of the bourgeoisie to exploit workers, the “right” of imperialists to commit military robbery and plunder peoples, the “right” of reactionaries to spread their cannibalistic and misanthropic views, and finally, the “right” of fascist youths and gangsters of various kinds to act with impunity against the working class and all workers, against their progressive organizations.

The imperialists immediately forget about freedom and the inalienable rights of the individual as soon as the discussion turns to the workers' right to struggle against exploitation, the right of the working class to create its own democratic organizations, the right of nations to peace, and the right of workers to take power into their own hands and build their lives the way the people themselves desire. All of this, according to the imperialists, would be a violation of "individual rights," i.e., the privileges of exploiters. Of course, Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with such an understanding of freedom and individual rights.

Bourgeois "freedom" is freedom for the exploiters, while slavery, exploitation, unemployment, and poverty are for the workers. In Soviet socialist society, such "freedom" does not and cannot exist. In Soviet socialist society, there is true freedom—freedom for the workers, for the people, and the protection of the rights and interests of the people. This freedom is legally enshrined in Stalin's Constitution of the USSR.

Marxism proceeds from the premise that freedom cannot exist without some kind of restriction. Freedom to rob, murder, steal, and so on cannot be permitted.

In the Soviet Union, robbery in any form is prohibited, including the "legalized" exploitation of wage laborers or

peasants. In the Soviet Union, the infringement of racial or national rights is prohibited, as this constitutes an integral characteristic of bourgeois society and the bourgeois state. Prostitution, a characteristic feature of capitalist "democracy," has no basis in the Soviet Union. War propaganda and the propaganda of hostility toward other peoples are prohibited in the Soviet Union, although this, however, constitutes the leitmotif of the propaganda activities of the overwhelming majority of the bourgeois press today. Mockery of the individual is unthinkable in the Soviet Union, for the Soviet social system is the practical realization of the highest humanism.

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As a new type of state, fundamentally different from exploitative states, the socialist state is specific in the conditions of its emergence and plays a special role in the creation of a new, socialist basis.

Having established that the level of development of productive forces determines the economic structure (base) of society, and that the latter gives rise to a corresponding superstructure, Marx and Engels discovered the laws of historical development and provided the proletariat with an indispensable ideological weapon with which to defeat all exploiters and build communism. Further developing the materialist explanation of history—historical materialism—and demonstrating the derivative nature of the ideological and political superstructure, Marx and Engels, Lenin, and Stalin simultaneously established the enormous significance of the superstructure in the development of society. Stalin's further development of the Marxist theory of base and superstructure is of enormous significance. Stalin demonstrated that without new, progressive ideas, without corresponding organizations and institutions (in

a class-antagonistic society, without progressive political ideas and revolutionary organizations and institutions), it is impossible to resolve the pressing problems of developing society's material life.

In modern conditions, the importance of the Marxist-Leninist theory of base and superstructure is even greater. The superstructure of socialist society in the USSR is a powerful instrument for building communism. In people's democracies, Marxist-Leninist theory, new revolutionary power, and mass workers' organizations led by communist parties are instruments for transforming the entire structure of social life. In capitalist countries, Marxism-Leninism, communist parties, and the mass workers' organizations they lead are instruments of workers' struggle against exploitation, imperialist reaction, and the policy of preparing for war. Without progressive ideas and the institutions and organizations that correspond to them, it is impossible to ensure peace, democracy, or fight for socialism.

In I. V. Stalin's brilliant work, "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics," drawing on the experience of the global communist movement, and above all the experience of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people's struggle for communism, he further develops and elevates to a new, higher level the historical materialist principles of base and superstructure. This brilliant work by Comrade Stalin emphasizes the significance of revolution for the oppressed and exploited masses and the importance of the socialist state for the victorious construction of socialism and communism.

The principle of interaction between base and superstructure, as established by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, also applies to socialist society. The economic structure of socialist society, its foundation, determines its political and legal views,

aesthetic, ethical, and philosophical outlook. And these views correspond to certain institutions and organizations.

I. V. Stalin shows not only the general patterns of the base and superstructure, but also the uniqueness of the emergence of the socialist base and its superstructure and notes the special role of the socialist state in the construction of socialism and communism.

The special role of the socialist state in creating a socialist foundation, as I. V. Stalin teaches, is determined by two characteristics. First, the transition from capitalism to socialism is not a change in forms of exploitation, but the *elimination of* all forms of exploitation of man by man.

"The history of nations knows many revolutions. They differ from the October Revolution in that they were all one-sided revolutions. One form of exploitation of workers was replaced by another, but exploitation itself remained. One set of exploiters and oppressors was replaced by another, but the exploiters and oppressors themselves remained. Only the October Revolution set itself the goal of abolishing *all* exploitation and liquidating *all* exploiters and oppressors . "[2]

Secondly, as I. V. Stalin demonstrated, a socialist revolution begins in the absence, or near absence, of existing forms of a socialist system. A bourgeois revolution begins when the bourgeois mode of production has already taken shape within feudal society. The primary task of a bourgeois revolution, therefore, is to seize power and bring it into line with the already established bourgeois economy, the bourgeois base, and thereby complete the creation of a capitalist superstructure.

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[2] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 239.

Accordingly, a bourgeois revolution culminates in the seizure of power.

Meanwhile, a socialist foundation cannot mature within the depths of capitalism. It must be created during a socialist revolution, through the working class's use of a new political power—the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist revolution is called upon to create a new, socialist economy and complete the construction of a socialist superstructure over it. Accordingly, the socialist revolution only begins with the seizure of power by the proletariat, with revolutionary power "used as a lever for restructuring the old economy and organizing a new one"[3].

The economic basis of the socialist revolution, the material and spiritual prerequisites for the transition to socialism, are created under capitalism. By expanding production and developing productive forces to colossal proportions, gathering millions of workers in enormous factories and plants, "...capitalism imparts a social character to the production process and thereby undermines its own foundation, since the social character of the production process requires social ownership of the means of production, while ownership of the means of production remains private capitalist, incompatible with the social character of the production process"[4].

The production relations of capitalist society cease to correspond to the state of its productive forces, and the question of their violent abolition arises. Capitalism creates a force designed to carry out the violent abolition of the capitalist basis—the working class, which is the bearer of the socialist

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[3] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 21.

[4] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 557.

mode of production and a conscious fighter for the socialist basis.

On the basis of the conflict between productive forces and production relations, on the basis of the new economic needs of society associated with the need to replace capitalist production relations with socialist ones, on the basis of the experience of the struggle of the advanced class – the proletariat – against capitalist relations, new social ideas were born, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The ideology of scientific communism emerged before the creation of the socialist foundation, but it did not arise by chance. It was the theoretical expression of the conflict between the social nature of production and the private capitalist mode of appropriation, the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The ideology of scientific communism arose because the development of the material life of society presented society with the necessary task of resolving this conflict through a socialist revolution of the proletariat. The ideas of scientific communism arose because their emergence was necessitated by the development of the material life of society. Without their organizing and mobilizing role, *it would be impossible* to resolve the pressing problems of the development of the material life of society, or to organize the masses and unite them into a revolutionary army capable of carrying out a revolutionary upheaval.

Lenin and Stalin substantiated the fundamental Marxist position on the unification of socialism with the workers' movement. By decrying the "Economists" and exposing the theory of worshipping the spontaneity of the workers' movement as the ideological basis of opportunism, Lenin and Stalin demonstrated that the ideas of scientific communism are united with the workers' movement through an

uncompromising struggle against reactionary ideas and theories. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, a Marxist workers' party emerged in Russia at the end of the 19th century, uniting socialism with the workers' movement. Lenin and Stalin created the Bolshevik Party as a political current and a political organization, a party of a new type, based on the granite theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Leading all other working-class organizations, the Bolshevik Party rallied the working class, united broad sections of the toiling peasantry around it, led them in an assault on tsarism and capitalism, and orchestrated the victory of the revolution.

The organizations that emerged during the proletariat's class struggle—trade unions, Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and others—corresponded to the working class's position in society and its ideology. Historically, it sometimes happens that the leadership of certain working-class organizations is seized by agents of the bourgeoisie, as was the case with the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Russia during the period when the bourgeois-democratic revolution was evolving into a socialist revolution (March–August 1917), or as is currently the case with the British Trades Union Congress in England, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in America, the Force Ouvrier in France, and trade union organizations in a number of other capitalist countries.

Mass organizations of the proletariat and other working people are a form that must possess identical revolutionary content in order to serve as a combat weapon in the struggle of the proletariat and all working people against the bourgeoisie. The content of the activities of mass organizations of working people is determined by their leadership. Leninism teaches that the Marxist party, as the highest form of class organization of the proletariat, composed of the best members of the working

class, armed with knowledge of the laws of class struggle and the experience of the revolutionary movement, must lead all other organizations of the working class and ensure the leading role of the working class in relation to all working people.

In capitalist countries, communists must recapture workers' organizations from the bourgeoisie's agents—the right-wing socialists—if they hold the leadership of these organizations. They must win over the masses, that is, convince them and draw them into organizations under the leadership of the Marxist party. Marxists must distinguish between the treacherous leadership of trade unions and other mass organizations captured by right-wing socialists and the working people who make up these organizations. Persistent, painstaking, and patient explanatory and organizational work is necessary among the working masses to draw them into the emerging revolutionary army of the proletariat.

The Communist Party, trade unions, Soviets of Workers' Deputies and other mass organizations of workers are an indispensable weapon of the proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie.

"The proletariat," wrote Lenin, "has no other weapon in the struggle for power than organization. Divided by the dominance of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, crushed by forced labor for capital, gradually thrown "to the bottom" of utter poverty, savagery, and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force only because its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is reinforced by the material unity of an organization that unites millions of workers into an army of the working class. Neither the decrepit power of the Russian

autocracy nor the decrepit power of international capital will be able to withstand this army"[5].

The basis of the organizational unity of the working class must be its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Thus, before the socialist revolution, when a socialist basis was still absent but the need for its emergence arose, necessitated by the development of society's material life, a spontaneous struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie unfolded, and the socialist ideology of the working class—Marxism-Leninism—was born. The revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the corresponding proletarian organizations, primarily the Marxist party, became a necessary condition for organizing the revolutionary army of the proletariat, a condition without which the victory of the proletarian revolution and the creation of a socialist basis were impossible.

The first and most important step of the socialist revolution is the conquest of power by the proletariat: the overthrow of bourgeois rule, the smashing of the old state apparatus, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Accordingly, the working class becomes the ruling class, and its party, the ruling party. This creates the necessary political preconditions for transforming the old economy and creating a new, socialist economy. The socialist state, led by the Bolshevik Party, is the primary instrument for this transformation. It is possible to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and advancing

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[5] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 7, 4th ed., p. 383.

toward the final victory of socialism is impossible without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the instrument of the socialist transformation of society and is called upon to create a socialist basis, constitutes the fundamental content of the proletarian revolution. "The proletarian revolution, its movement, its scope, its achievements are clothed in flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat"[6].

The dictatorship of the proletariat provides the political preconditions for the construction of a socialist basis: it organizes the armed forces of the revolution and suppresses the resistance of the exploiters, develops the ties of the victorious proletariat with the working class of capitalist countries, strengthens the alliance of the proletariat with the rest of the working masses of their country, especially with the peasantry, and exercises state leadership over them, ensures the development of proletarian democracy as a democracy of the highest type and the development of a new, Soviet public, creates all the conditions for the development of the productive, political and cultural initiative of the workers, and involves them in the management of the state.

The dictatorship of the proletariat uses these political preconditions for the liquidation of the exploiting classes, for the socialist transformation of the petty-bourgeois strata, for the involvement of all workers in socialist construction, for the building of socialism.

Immediately after seizing power, the working class invades capitalist ownership of the means of production, nationalizing banks, large-scale industry, transportation, communications,

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[6] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 108

etc., and creating a significant socialist sector of the national economy. However, the economic and organizational activities of the proletarian state, even in the initial period of the revolution, are not limited to the socialist sector. By establishing workers' control over private enterprises, creating state-capitalist enterprises, implementing a special financial and tax policy, developing consumer and production cooperatives, etc., the proletarian state directly influences all sectors of the national economy, ensuring the preferential development of the socialist sector.

The economic and organizational activity of the socialist state develops and strengthens with each step of socialist construction, with the development and strengthening of the socialist sector, and, just like cultural and educational activity, reaches its peak after the foundation of the socialist economy has been built.

The special role of the dictatorship of the working class in creating the socialist foundation and building a socialist society in no way undermines the assumption that the socialist state is a superstructure. A socialist state during the transition from capitalism to socialism cannot function and consolidate itself without a socialist sector. The revolutionary power of the working class, immediately after its establishment, invades capitalist property and creates public, state-owned socialist property.

What does the dictatorship of the proletariat rely on when it carries out such an invasion and socializes the means of production in the hands of capitalists? It relies, as I. V. Stalin teaches, on the *law of correspondence between the relations of production and the nature of the productive forces* . In his work "On Dialectical and Historical Materialism," arguing that the

development of production always begins with a change in the productive forces, I. V. Stalin wrote:

"It must be noted that production relations cannot lag behind the growth of productive forces for too long and be in contradiction with them, since productive forces can develop fully only if production relations correspond to the character and state of the productive forces and provide scope for the development of productive forces. Therefore, no matter how far production relations lag behind the development of productive forces, they must - sooner or later - come into conformity - and indeed do come into conformity - with the level of development of productive forces, with the character of productive forces. Otherwise, we would have a fundamental disruption of the unity of productive forces and production relations in the production system, a rupture in production as a whole, a crisis of production, the destruction of productive forces"[7].

Thus, production relations, sooner or later, inevitably must align with the nature of the productive forces. Based on this economic law, the Soviet state socialized the means of production held by capitalists, thereby bringing the form of ownership into line with the nature of the productive forces. In the USSR, a complete correspondence between production relations and the state of the productive forces was established, because social ownership of the means of production is *fully* consistent with the social nature of production, opening up boundless scope for the development of productive forces.

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[7] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 553. (Italics mine. – D. Ch.)

With the construction of the foundation of the socialist economy, changes occurred in the forms and functions of the Soviet socialist state, revolutionary legality was modified, and thus the process of forming a *political superstructure corresponding to the socialist basis of society* was completed.

As a result of the victory of socialism and the change in the class structure of Soviet society, the Soviet state faced new challenges, and the functions of the socialist state changed accordingly. With the elimination of the exploiting classes, the function of military suppression within the country ceased to exist, and the function of protecting socialist property emerged. The function of military defense of the USSR from external attacks was fully preserved. The economic, organizational, and cultural-educational functions were also preserved and fully developed. The primary task of the socialist state within the country became peaceful economic, organizational, and cultural-educational work. The Soviet Army, Navy, punitive organs, and intelligence now focused their efforts not inward, but outward, against external enemies.

With the victory of socialism, the Soviet state also changed its form. With the adoption of the Stalin Constitution of the USSR in 1936, the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Red Army Deputies were transformed into Soviets of Working People's Deputies. The not entirely equal suffrage and multi-stage elections with open voting were replaced by universal and equal suffrage with direct elections of deputies by secret ballot.

“As you see,” said Comrade Stalin, “we now have a completely new, socialist state, unprecedented in history and significantly different in its form and functions from the socialist state of the first phase”[8].

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[8] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 606.

At the same time, socialist legality also underwent a transformation. Soviet laws, while defining the rights and responsibilities of citizens of a socialist society, ensuring the strengthening of the Soviet family, and protecting citizens' property based on their personal labor, have as their central goal the protection of socialist property and the promotion of a communist attitude toward work among citizens.

“The revolutionary legality of our time,” said I. V. Stalin in 1933, “is directed with its edge not against the extremes of War Communism, which have long since ceased to exist, but against thieves and saboteurs in the public economy, against hooligans and embezzlers of public property. The main concern of revolutionary legality in our time consists, therefore, in the protection of public property, and in nothing else”[9].

As a result of the victory of socialism in the USSR, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry grew into friendship, the moral and political unity of Soviet society was established, the friendship of the peoples of the USSR grew stronger, and Soviet patriotism reached its highest peak.

Thus, with the introduction of the new USSR Constitution, a further comprehensive democratization of the country's political life took place. The Bolshevik Party led the political shift marked by the adoption and implementation of the Stalin Constitution, as well as all work on building communism. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, a restructuring of all mass workers' organizations was carried out: trade unions, Komsomol organizations, sports, scientific, technical, and all other unions and societies operating on the basis of the Soviet Constitution. A consequence of this restructuring was the

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[9] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 210.

further comprehensive development of criticism and self-criticism and the activation of the entire mass of participants in these organizations. The construction of socialism gave rise to a whole series of new organizations and societies, which is evidence of the powerful development of popular activism.

Under socialism, Soviet society emerged and flourished, guided in all its activities by the policies of the Bolshevik Party —the vital foundation of the Soviet system.

The victory of socialism in the USSR was marked by a cultural revolution. Illiteracy was eradicated, universal seven-year education was introduced, and a large cadre of Soviet socialist intelligentsia was created. Soviet science, literature, and art achieved powerful development. National in form and socialist in content, the culture of Soviet society flourished. The Soviet press grew into a powerful force.

Characterizing the essence of the transformations carried out in our country after the Great October Socialist Revolution, I.V. Stalin wrote:

"Over the past 30 years, the old, capitalist basis has been liquidated in Russia and a new, socialist basis has been built. Accordingly, the superstructure over the capitalist basis has been liquidated and a new superstructure corresponding to the socialist basis has been created. Consequently, the old political, legal, and other institutions have been replaced by new, socialist ones"[10].

The experience of creating a socialist foundation in the USSR is a brilliant confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine that without a communist party and a socialist state, it is

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[10] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Questions of Linguistics, Gospolitizdat, 1951, p. 6.

impossible to create a socialist economy and crown it with a new superstructure. This experience is a brilliant confirmation of the historical materialist thesis on the active role of the superstructure in general, and the enormous active role of the socialist superstructure in particular.

Regarding the role of the socialist superstructure and, above all, the role of the socialist state, two incorrect and harmful concepts must be combated: on the one hand, we must decisively reject the idealistic notion that under socialism it is not the base that determines the superstructure, but rather the superstructure, primarily the state, that determines the base. We must also decisively reject the view that the socialist state, given its enormous economic role, should be relegated, in whole or in part, to the economic base. Despite all its characteristics and advantages, the socialist state is an integral part of the superstructure.

On the other hand, it is necessary to combat the mechanistic, tailist conception according to which the superstructure of socialist society, the socialist state, automatically reflects the changes occurring within the socialist base. In contrast to the spontaneous laws of capitalism, the economic laws of socialism operate as a recognized necessity. They are and can be realized through the conscious activity of the working masses, organized by the Communist Party and the socialist state. Accordingly, under socialism, the role of the superstructure, the role of Bolshevik policy, increases enormously.

The construction of a socialist foundation in the people's democracies of Eastern and Central Europe draws on the experience of socialist construction in the USSR and serves as further confirmation of the international significance of the Soviet experience. The regime of people's democracy, which in

its unique form implements the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, ensures the resolution of all the problems that have been and are being resolved by the Soviet socialist state. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organization of socialist production is impossible.

Thus, the experience of the USSR, which confirmed the Marxist position on the decisive role of revolutionary institutions and the revolutionary power of the proletariat in transforming a capitalist economy into a socialist one, finds new confirmation in the creation of a socialist economy in the European countries of people's democracy.

The dictatorship of people's democracy plays a vital role in transforming the economy of the People's Republic of China. The most important task of the new, revolutionary government in China, as Mao Zedong, the leader of the Chinese people, repeatedly stated, is to complete the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people and eliminate feudalism in China. Following the implementation of agrarian anti-feudal reforms in Manchuria and northern China, the government of the People's Republic of China is implementing agrarian anti-feudal reforms in other parts of the country. By the end of 1951, agrarian reforms had been implemented in an area with a population of over 300 million. Implementing agrarian reforms liberates the peasantry from landlord bondage, promotes the development of rural productive forces, and is an important precondition for the transition to socialism.

The working class and peasantry of the People's Republic of China, in their struggle against imperialism and its agents under Chiang Kai-shek, are enlisting the cooperation of the national bourgeoisie and encouraging its activities aimed at developing the country's productive forces. At the same time, the revolutionary government demands that the national

bourgeoisie strictly adhere to the new, revolutionary legality and protects the interests of the workers and peasants.

The state of the people's democracy dictatorship in China conducts its economic policies with the aim of preparing the way for the socialist transformation of the country's economy at a certain stage of development. Moreover, state-owned enterprises already exist in the People's Republic of China, which hold a significant share of power: railway transport, communications, and almost all heavy industry are state-owned.

The Communist Party of China and the dictatorship of the People's Democracy have raised the great Chinese people to solve the world-historic challenges of the country's transition from the Middle Ages to socialist progress. Drawing on the experience of the USSR and on friendship with the USSR and all the People's Democracies, the Chinese people will successfully accomplish this task. The new, revolutionary state power plays a crucial role in achieving this goal.

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In the USSR, the people, led by the Bolshevik Party, having built socialism, are tackling the historic task of building communism. The socialist state and the entire superstructure of socialist society represent a powerful means of building communism.

The fundamental condition for the transition from socialism to communism is the development of socialist productive forces. The economic, organizational, and cultural activities of the Soviet socialist state are aimed at creating the material and technical basis for communism and at creating an abundance of material and spiritual goods in the country, in order to transition from the socialist principle of "From each according

to his ability, to each according to his work" to the communist principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." In industry, agriculture, and transportation, the socialist state organizes the construction of new enterprises and expands the production capacity of existing ones. The Communist Party and the Soviet socialist state devote special attention to the mechanization and automation of production processes and the introduction of new technology into production.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government are leading the implementation of the grandiose plan they have put forward for the transformation of nature: the construction of grandiose hydroelectric power stations, canals and irrigation structures, and the planting of forests in the steppe zone of the Soviet Union.

The socialist state, law, communist morality, and other elements of the socialist superstructure today serve as tools for strengthening and developing the socialist foundation, strengthening and developing public property—the economic foundation of the USSR. Strengthening socialist property in both its forms—state (national) and cooperative-collective farm—will prepare the way for the transition to a single form of public property—public property.

By implementing the planned development of socialist industry, transport, and agriculture and directing this development toward a single goal—communism—the Bolshevik Party and Soviet power are committed to the constant improvement of the material and cultural standards of living of the working people. The growth of the masses' well-being is the law of socialist development.

The socialist superstructure plays a vital role in the communist education of workers. The Soviet state, by carefully cultivating new personnel for various sectors of the national economy and ensuring the growth of the cultural level and technical literacy of all workers in socialist society, thereby prepares the conditions for eliminating the significant differences between mental and physical labor.

The Soviet state, led by the Communist Party, creates all the conditions for the further flourishing of the multinational culture of socialist society, supports creative, progressive trends in science and art, and promotes in every way the struggle of opinion in science and freedom of criticism to overcome backward, conservative views and establish new, progressive principles. It directs the development of science to serve the construction of communism. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government guide the development of Soviet literature and art along the path of socialist realism, persistently fighting for the communist ideology of Soviet art, for its organic connection with the people and with the creative, constructive work of workers in building communism. The policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, the policy of building communism, is the lifeblood and core of the work of all figures in Soviet culture and science.

The construction of communism in the USSR requires the resolution of two fundamental tasks set by the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks): a) to overtake the main capitalist countries in economic terms in order to create an abundance of consumer goods, and b) to overcome the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of people, to complete the process of re-educating Soviet people in the spirit of communism.

The liquidation of the capitalist base in the USSR and its corresponding superstructure does not mean that there are no vestiges of capitalism in the consciousness of the Soviet people. I. V. Stalin repeatedly pointed out that the vestiges of capitalism in the people's consciousness are very tenacious. This is because people's consciousness lags behind their economic situation, while the capitalist environment still exists, trying to revive and maintain the vestiges of the old society in the minds of the Soviet people. A non-socialist attitude toward work and a carefree attitude toward socialist property, indiscipline and petty-bourgeois disorganization, private property and anti-state tendencies, everyday laxness, chauvinistic and religious prejudices, and so on are still found among individual citizens.

The Soviet state and Soviet society are waging a decisive struggle against the vestiges of capitalism in the people's consciousness. The Bolshevik Party utilizes all means of ideological influence, all mass organizations and workers' societies, the entire superstructure of Soviet society, to instill in Soviet people a communist attitude toward work, initiative, perseverance in overcoming the difficulties of building communism, selfless devotion to the socialist Motherland and the Bolshevik Party—life-giving Soviet patriotism, and friendship among nations.

A powerful tool of communist education is revolutionary criticism and self-criticism, particularly in its form of socialist competition among workers. The Party and the Soviet state constantly sharpen the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, fully utilizing them to unleash the creative initiative of the masses and to decisively combat all obsolete ideas that must be eliminated in the process of building communism.

The Soviet state does everything possible to encourage all workers to actively participate in the construction of communism and in the governance of the country. It upholds the principles of comprehensive socialist democracy, provides support, and creates conditions for the development of all public organizations of workers, in contrast to bourgeois states, where progressive organizations are persecuted and banned.

All of the above indicates that the socialist state, led by the Communist Party and occupying a leading place in the entire superstructure of socialist society, is the main instrument for building communism.

The Communist Party is the guiding and directing force, bringing unity and purpose to the activities of the socialist superstructure. The Party directs the socialist state and all mass public organizations, unifies the work of all state, economic, and public organizations without exception, and directs them toward a single goal—communism. The Bolshevik Party directs the development of literature, art, all sciences, and the development of socialist culture to serve communist construction and meet the needs of the working people. The Party is the organizer and inspirer of all communist victories.

Soviet society is evolving toward communism amidst a tense struggle between two camps on the international stage: the democratic, anti-imperialist camp, led by the USSR, and the reactionary, imperialist camp, led by the ruling circles of the United States. Under these circumstances, the external function of the Soviet socialist state, Stalin's foreign policy, and the policy of peace are of paramount importance.

The Soviet socialist state is not only the primary instrument for building communism, an instrument for defending socialist society from the machinations of external enemies, and an

instrument for protecting the national interests of all the peoples of the USSR, but also a powerful bulwark of world peace, the security of all peoples, and the fundamental and guiding force of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp. The camp of peace, democracy, and socialism is confident of its victory over the camp of imperialism and the warmongers because it relies on the mighty and invincible Soviet Union.

The camp of imperialist reaction, led by the ruling circles of the United States, is gripped by pessimism and self-doubt and seeks to improve its situation through a new war. Under these circumstances, it is especially important to strengthen the Soviet socialist state and the people's democracies and to rally the forces of peace throughout the world in order to thwart the plans of the warmongers and ensure peace for the peoples. If the imperialists, contrary to the will of the people, dare to unleash a new war, the powerful socialist state, together with all the forces of democracy and socialism, relying on the will of all peoples for peace, will do everything to hasten the demise of the capitalist system.

The existence of a capitalist encirclement makes it necessary to preserve the socialist state even in the event of the victory of communism in one or more countries. "Soviet Marxists," writes I. V. Stalin, "based on a study of the world situation in our time, have come to the conclusion that in the presence of a capitalist encirclement, when the victory of the socialist revolution takes place only in one country, while capitalism reigns in all other countries, the country of the victorious revolution must not weaken, but in every possible way strengthen its state, state organs, intelligence organs, and army,

if this country does not want to be destroyed by the capitalist encirclement"[11].

A socialist state, while remaining under communism (unless the capitalist encirclement is eliminated), will naturally change its form in accordance with changing domestic and international circumstances. Strengthening the socialist state and law, developing and perfecting the socialist superstructure as a whole, means perfecting the fundamental instrument for building communism. This is what the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist state teaches, and this is what the Bolshevik Party and the great Stalin inspire all Soviet people to do.

[11] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Questions of Linguistics, p. 50.

Chapter One

Lenin and Stalin's Development of the Theory of the Socialist State.

1. Marx and Engels on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat was first developed by Marx and Engels and occupies a central place in Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Engels developed their doctrine of the state in general and their doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular based on an analysis of the laws of development of society at all its stages, and especially on an analysis of the laws of development of capitalism and a generalization of the experience of the international workers' movement in the era of pre-monopoly capitalism.

Having developed a materialistic understanding of history, Marx and Engels established that the development of society is ultimately determined by "the development of the material conditions of the existence of society, changes in the methods of producing material goods necessary for the existence of society, changes in class relations in the area of production of material goods, the struggle of classes for a role and place in the area of production and distribution of material goods"[12].

Marx and Engels were the first in history to demonstrate that social ideas and the institutions that correspond to them (particularly political ideas and the state) are generated by and reflect specific conditions of society's material life. The state, Marx and Engels taught, is a political superstructure built upon an economic base and serves as an instrument of one class's

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[12] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Brief Course", pp. 15–16.

domination over other classes in society. With the division of society into antagonistic classes, the state is born; following the abolition of classes, it will inevitably wither away.

The class called upon to end the division of society into classes and ensure the construction of a classless, communist society is the proletariat. The working class can fulfill its world-historical role as the creator of a classless, communist society only through the violent, revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule, the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is not the state in general that withers away, but the socialist state of the working class—after it has fulfilled its role in abolishing classes and building a classless, communist society. Such, in brief, are Marx and Engels' views on the state.

What are Marx and Engels' views on the socialist state?

In his famous book, The State and Revolution, which enriched the theory of the state with new propositions and conclusions, V. I. Lenin meticulously traces the development of Marx and Engels' views on the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the materials for preparing the book, The State and Revolution, Lenin wrote: "Find out and check whether Marx and Engels spoke of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' before 1871 ? It seems not!"[13]. And below: "In the **Communist Manifesto** (1847), only 'proletarian revolution', 'communist revolution', 'the violent overthrow of the entire contemporary social order' ... 'the elevation of the proletariat to the level of the ruling class, the conquest of democracy' = the first step (end of Chapter II) (= the first formulation!!)"[14]. In other words,

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[13] "Lenin's Collection" XIV, p. 243.

[14] "Lenin's Collection" XIV, p. 243.

Lenin, in his preparatory notes for the book “State and Revolution,” notes that the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat (and not the expression itself), the first formulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was given by Marx and Engels in the “Manifesto of the Communist Party,” in the famous words: “The transformation of the proletariat into the ruling class, the conquest of democracy.”

In his book, The State and Revolution, Lenin, following the words from The Communist Manifesto, quotes the Manifesto's position on the need for the proletariat to use its political dominance to gradually wrest all capital from the bourgeoisie, "to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., the proletariat, organized as the ruling class...", and gives his commentary:

“Here,” writes Lenin, “we see the formulation of one of the most remarkable and most important ideas of Marxism on the question of the state, namely, the idea of the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ (as Marx and Engels began to say after the Paris Commune), and then an extremely interesting definition of the state, which also belongs to the number of ‘forgotten words’ (‘forgotten’ by the opportunists. - D. Ch .) of Marxism. ‘ *The state, that is, the proletariat organized into the ruling class* ’”[15].

This theory of Marx and Engels, Lenin teaches, is inextricably linked with their entire teaching on the world-historical role of the working class, which, using its political dominance, suppresses all resistance to the bourgeoisie and organizes all the working and exploited masses for the construction of socialism.

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[15] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 374.

During V. I. Lenin's lifetime, some earlier works by Marx and Engels, particularly their work "The German Ideology," were not published. Lenin began his analysis of Marx and Engels' views on the dictatorship of the proletariat with the first works of mature Marxism—"The Poverty of Philosophy" and "The Communist Manifesto," in which Lenin found the first brilliant formulations of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A careful examination of Marx and Engels's work, The German Ideology, reveals that this work already contains a theory of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Already in The German Ideology, Marx and Engels essentially indicated that the conflict between the productive forces of capitalist society and the production relations based on private capitalist ownership constitutes the economic basis of the communist revolution, and they pointed out the most important features of this revolution, including such things as the communist re-education of workers and the mass emergence of communist consciousness as a result of the revolution[16].

As for the question of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the German Ideology says on this issue: “Every class striving for domination – even if its domination, as in the case of the proletariat, requires the destruction of the entire old social form and of domination in general, in order to present in its turn (which it is forced to do at the first moment) its interest as universal – must first of all conquer political power for itself”[17].

Consequently, like all preceding classes striving for dominance, the proletariat, in order to use its dominance to

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[16] See K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol. IV, pp. 25–26, 59–60, etc.

[17] See K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. IV, p. 24.

destroy "the old social form and dominance in general," must first conquer political power, i.e., establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. These ideas of Marx and Engels were continued in the precise formulations of the Communist Manifesto.

Thus, in their earliest works, in which Marx and Engels first formulated the principles of their scientific worldview—dialectical and historical materialism—and the starting points of the theory of scientific communism, they formulated the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, in the works of Marx and Engels written before the 1848 Revolution, this idea was presented in its most general form as a theoretical conclusion based on a materialist analysis of the development of society and the state in the past, including bourgeois society and the state.

The experience of the 1848 Revolution, summarized by Marx and Engels, allowed them to enrich their theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Using this revolution as an example, they became convinced that the proletariat could not simply seize the old state machine, seize it, and force it to serve itself, but was forced to smash it, destroy it, and create a new, proletarian state. In his work, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, summing up the 1848 Revolution, Marx wrote: "All revolutions have perfected this machine instead of smashing it"[18].

Lenin gave a remarkable assessment of this conclusion made by Marx in his book “State and Revolution”:

"The Communist Manifesto sums up the general results of history, which compel us to see the state as an organ of class rule and lead to the necessary conclusion that the proletariat

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[18] K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, Gospolitizdat, 1948, vol. I, p. 292.

cannot overthrow the bourgeoisie without first conquering political power, without obtaining political dominance, without transforming the state into a 'proletariat organized as the ruling class,' and that this proletarian state will begin to wither away immediately after its victory, for in a society without class contradictions the state is unnecessary and impossible. The question is not raised here as to what kind of replacement of the bourgeois state by the proletarian state should be—from the point of view of historical development[19].

This is precisely the question that Marx poses and resolves in 1852. True to his philosophy of dialectical materialism, Marx takes as his basis the historical experience of the great years of the revolution – 1848–1851. Marx's teaching here, as always, is a *summary of experience*, illuminated by a profound philosophical worldview and a rich knowledge of history "[20].

Summarizing the experience of the revolution of 1848–1851, Marx gives an extremely concise expression of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the famous letter to J. Weydemeyer of March 5, 1852.

"As for me," writes Marx, "I take no credit for having discovered the existence of classes in modern society, nor for having discovered their struggle among themselves. Bourgeois historians had long before me set forth the historical development of this class struggle, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of classes. What I did that was new was to prove the following: 1) that the *existence of classes* is connected only with *definite historical phases of the*

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[19] Moreover, this question is not raised in The German Ideology, written by Marx and Engels three years before the Communist Manifesto. — D. Ch.

[20] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, ed. 4, pp. 378–379.

development of production , 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat , 3) that this dictatorship itself constitutes only the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society "[21].

"In these words," writes Lenin, "Marx succeeded in expressing with astonishing clarity, firstly, the main and fundamental difference between his teaching and the teaching of the advanced and most profound thinkers of the bourgeoisie, and secondly, the essence of his teaching on the state"[22].

The extent to which Marx adheres to the real ground of reality is demonstrated by the fact that he poses the question of the smashing of the apparatus of the bourgeois state concretely, taking into account the conditions of capitalist development in different countries. Thus, in the mid-19th century, right up until the 1870s, Marx considered it possible to carry out a revolution in England "by peaceful means," without a corresponding smashing of the old state apparatus. In his famous letter to Kugelmann of April 12, 1871, he wrote: "If you look at the last chapter of my '18th Brumaire,' you will see that I declare the next attempt at the French revolution to be: not to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, as has been the case until now, but to *smash* it, and this is precisely the precondition for every genuine people's revolution on the Continent. This is precisely the attempt of our heroic Parisian comrades"[23]. Marx's restriction for England stemmed from the fact that in England, under pre-monopoly capitalism, militarism had not yet developed and bureaucracy had not yet

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[21] K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Letters, Gospolitizdat, 1947, p. 63.

[22] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 383.

[23] K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Letters, p. 263.

fully matured. On the continent, however, all major European countries had a bureaucratic-military machine. Therefore, the destruction of the bureaucratic-militarist apparatus of state power was an essential condition for a people's revolution on the continent.

The first attempt at such a dismantling of the bourgeois state was made by the Paris Commune in 1871. Marx dwells on the experience of the Paris Commune, limited as it was, in detail and returns to this issue repeatedly. Marx particularly noted the significance of such measures of the Paris Commune as the abolition of the old army and its replacement by an armed people, the stripping of the police of their political functions, its democratization, and its transformation into a responsible organ of the Commune, formed on the basis of truly universal suffrage, with a genuine guarantee of the people's democratic rights. Marx further notes the abolition of the apparent independence of the judiciary, the establishment of replaceability and accountability to the people for all officials, measures aimed at undermining the influence of the clergy, and so on. This, in fact, amounted to the dismantling of the old state machine.

The Paris Commune went further: it not only showed, Marx teaches, how to smash the old state machine, but also what to replace it with. "To this question," Lenin notes, "in 1847, in the Communist Manifesto, Marx gave a completely abstract answer, or rather, one that indicated the tasks but not the means for their solution. Replace it with 'organizing the proletariat into the ruling class,' 'winning democracy'—that was the answer in the Communist Manifesto."

Without going into utopias, Marx expected from the experience of the mass movement an answer to the question of what specific forms this organization of the proletariat, as the ruling

class, would take, and in what way this organization would be combined with the most complete and consistent “conquest of democracy”[24].

"Marx concluded from the entire history of socialism and political struggle that the state would have to disappear, and that the transitional form of its disappearance (the transition from state to non-state) would be the 'proletariat organized as the ruling class.' But Marx did not undertake *to discover the political forms* of this future. He limited himself to a precise observation of French history, its analysis, and the conclusion reached by 1851: the *destruction* of the bourgeois state machine was approaching.

And when the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat broke out, Marx, despite the failure of this movement, despite its brevity and glaring weakness, began to study what forms it had discovered .

The Commune is a form “finally discovered” by the proletarian revolution, in which the economic liberation of labor can take place.

The Commune is the first attempt of the proletarian revolution to smash the bourgeois state machine and the “finally discovered” political form that can and must *replace* what was smashed”[25].

In his work "The Civil War in France" and in some other works, Marx demonstrated the superiority of the Paris Commune as a form of state power over the parliamentary-

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[24] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 389.

[25] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 25, 4th ed., pp. 403–404.

republican form, if we approach them from the point of view of the tasks of the socialist revolution of the proletariat.

Marx directly contrasted the Commune with parliamentary institutions. "The Commune," he wrote, "must not be a parliamentary, but a working corporation, simultaneously legislating and executing laws"[26]. Marx notes the Achilles' heel of the bourgeois parliamentary system, which, while not a working corporation, expanded the gap between legislative and executive state functions to monstrous proportions in order to ensure the dominance of the executive power and turn parliament into a "talking shop."

However, the limited historical experience of the Paris Commune did not allow Marx to develop in more detail the question of the characteristics of the new form of government created by the Commune. After Marx's death, Engels expressed the idea that a parliamentary democratic republic would be the most appropriate form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its specific form. In 1891, criticizing the Erfurt Program of the German Social Democratic Party, Engels wrote: "If there is anything beyond doubt, it is that our party and the working class can achieve power only under such a political form as a democratic republic. This latter is even the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Great French Revolution has already shown"[27]. Engels essentially repeated the same idea in a letter of March 6, 1894, about the French Workers' Party. Criticizing the opportunists who claimed that the parliamentary republic in France should be used to implement socialist measures, Engels explained that a republic, like any other form of government, is determined by its class

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[26] K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. I, p. 477.

[27] K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. XVI, part II, p. 109.

content. As long as a republic is a form of bourgeois democracy, it is just as hostile to the proletariat as a monarchy, although the forms of this hostility are, of course, different. In this regard, Engels again reiterated his position that the republic is a " *ready-made* political form"[28], suitable for the future rule of the proletariat. Guided by these indications of Engels, Marxists in all countries at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries continued to consider the parliamentary republic the most appropriate form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx and Engels devoted considerable attention to substantiating the proposition that the socialist state would wither away. Theoretically substantiating the need for a special period of transition from capitalism to socialism, Marx strongly emphasized the importance of the socialist state for resolving the tasks of the transition period, i.e., for the abolition of the exploiting classes and the construction of socialism. In his "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875), Marx wrote:

“Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the first into the second. This period corresponds to a political transition period, and the state of this period cannot be anything other than a *revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat* ”[29].

In his letter to A. Bebel from March 18-28, 1875, F. Engels also emphasizes that the proletariat needs the state in a revolution for the violent suppression of its opponents. But in this regard, Engels notes the special nature of the state in the

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[28] K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol. XXIX, p. 291.

[29] K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol II, State Political Literature Publishing, 1948, p. 23.

transitional period. “All this chatter about the state should be abandoned,” Engels notes, “especially after the Commune, which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word”[30]. In this case, Engels emphasizes the transitional and transitory nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Moreover, Engels apparently also had in mind the fact that the socialist state no longer needs a cumbersome apparatus of coercion, since coercion is carried out by the overwhelming majority of the population against an insignificant minority. This is the meaning that Lenin gives to Engels’s argument that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a state in the proper sense of the word. Based on Engels' statements, Lenin wrote:

"Furthermore, during the *transition* from capitalism to communism, suppression is *still* necessary, but it is now the suppression of a minority of exploiters by the majority of the exploited. A special apparatus, a special machine for suppression, a 'state' is *still* necessary, but this is already a transitional state, no longer a state in the proper sense, for the suppression of a minority of exploiters by the majority *of yesterday's* wage slaves is so comparatively easy, simple, and natural that it will cost far less blood than the suppression of uprisings of slaves, serfs, and wage laborers; it will cost humanity far less. And it is compatible with the spread of democracy to such an overwhelming majority of the population that the need for a special *machine* for suppression begins to disappear. “The exploiters, naturally, are not capable of suppressing the people without a complex machine to carry out such a task, but *the people* can suppress the exploiters with a very simple “machine,” almost without a “machine,” without a special apparatus, a simple *organization of armed masses* (like

[30] K. Marx and F. Engels , Selected Letters, p. 296.

the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—let us note, looking ahead)"[31].

Considering the transitory nature of the socialist state, Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" and Engels in "Anti-Dühring" reveal the conditions under which the socialist state begins to wither away. These conditions include the abolition of the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, and the construction of a socialist society. Engels's final, conclusive formulation of the question of the withering away of the state was given in his book "Anti-Dühring," which was reviewed and approved by Marx in manuscript. Engels wrote:

"When there are no more social classes to be kept in subjection, when there is no longer the domination of one class over another and the struggle for existence rooted in the modern anarchy of production, when the resulting conflicts and violence are eliminated, then there will no longer be anyone to suppress and restrain, then the need for state power, which now performs this function, will disappear. The first act in which the state will act as the real representative of the whole of society—the conversion of the means of production into public property—will be its last independent act as a state. The intervention of state power in social relations will gradually become superfluous and will cease of its own accord. In place of the government of persons comes the management of things and the direction of production processes. The state is not "abolished," it withers away "[32].

This is the general picture of the emergence, development, and demise of the socialist state, developed by Marx and Engels 60

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[31] V. I. Lenin, Vol., Vol. 25, ed. 4, p. 435.

[32] F. Engels , Anti-Dühring, State Political Publishing House, 1951, pp. 264–265.

–70 years ago, under the conditions of pre-monopoly capitalism. Naturally, in the third quarter of the 19th century, Marx and Engels could not provide a more concrete picture of the development of the socialist state, much less foresee all the twists and turns of history in each individual country.

"It is impossible," said Comrade Stalin at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), "to demand of the classics of Marxism, separated from our time by a period of 45–55 years, that they should foresee every possible zigzag of history in each individual country in the distant future. It would be ridiculous to demand that the classics of Marxism should work out for us ready-made solutions to every possible theoretical question that might arise in each individual country in 50–100 years, so that we, the descendants of the classics of Marxism, would have the opportunity to lie quietly on the stove and chew on ready-made solutions"[33].

We must be grateful to the founders of Marxism, Comrade Stalin teaches, for they armed the working class with scientific theory and correctly defined the main line of social development many decades in advance. One can only admire the brilliant foresight with which Marx and Engels foresaw the general course of development in the distant future.

Lenin and Stalin, the brilliant disciples and successors of Marx and Engels, developed the theory of Marx and Engels under new historical conditions and created a complete theory of the socialist state. As representatives of creative Marxism, distinguishing between the spirit and the letter of Marxism, Lenin and Stalin did not hesitate to replace individual propositions and conclusions corresponding to the past historical situation with new propositions and conclusions

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[33] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 11, p. 603.

corresponding to the new historical situation. The Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist state, based on the unshakable foundations of the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat, developing and supplementing the Marxist doctrine with new propositions and conclusions, formed the basis for all practical work of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people in building the Soviet socialist state.

2. The development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by V. I. Lenin during the period of creation and strengthening of the Soviet socialist state.

As is well known, between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and Lenin and Stalin, on the other, there lay the period of dominance of the opportunism of the Second International. I. V. Stalin, characterizing the period of the actual dominance of opportunism in the organized labor movement, which was under the leadership of the Second International, wrote: "This was a period of comparatively peaceful development of capitalism, a period, so to speak, pre-war, when the catastrophic contradictions of imperialism had not yet had time to reveal themselves with complete obviousness, when economic strikes of workers and trade unions developed more or less "normally", when the electoral struggle and parliamentary factions gave "dizzying" successes, when legal forms of struggle were extolled to the skies and they thought that legality would "kill" capitalism - in a word, when the parties of the Second International were growing fat and did not want to think seriously about the revolution, about the dictatorship of the proletariat, about the revolutionary education of the masses"[34].

[34] I. V. Stalin, Vol. V. 6, p. 80.

As Comrade Stalin further pointed out, the opportunists of the Second International replaced Marx's integral, consistently revolutionary theory with contradictory propositions and fragments of theory, divorced from practice and transformed into dogmas. While ostentatiously recalling Marx's name, the opportunists did everything to emasculate the living revolutionary soul of Marxism. In doing so, they were especially zealous in distorting the views of Marx and Engels on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution, the distortion of Marxist theory on the state proceeded primarily along two main lines. On the one hand, bourgeois sociologists and pseudo-socialists like Scheidemann, Vandervelde, MacDonald, L. Blum, and Co. , forced by the weight of facts to recognize that the state exists where class contradictions exist, amended Marx, replacing the Marxist proposition of the bourgeois state as a machine for suppressing the oppressed classes by the exploiting classes with the proposition of the "reconciliation of classes" by the state. During the First World War, and especially after the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, when the question of the relationship of the proletarian revolution to the bourgeois state became acute, Russian Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries clung to the petty-bourgeois theory of the "reconciliation" of classes by the state.

On the other hand, the centrists of the Second International, and above all their leader K. Kautsky, while not denying that the state is an organ of class rule, kept silent and rejected Marx’s conclusion about the necessity of destroying and breaking the apparatus of state power of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin subjected both of these points of view to devastating criticism and crushing defeat in his famous book, The State and

Revolution, written on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Lenin's greatest achievement lay, above all, in restoring Marx's true views on the state, which had been muddled and distorted by the opportunists, and developing them further. Lenin revealed the full depth of Marxist doctrine on the state as an apparatus for the domination of one class over other classes. He restored and further developed Marxist doctrine on the destruction of the old, exploitative state.

In particular, Lenin showed that the exception made by Marx in 1871 for some countries not part of the European continent (England, America), with regard to the need to break the bourgeois state machine, that this exception disappeared in the era of imperialism, when militarism and bureaucracy not only appeared in these countries, but reached, for example, in the USA, a monstrous development.

"Now," wrote Lenin, "in 1917, in the era of the first great imperialist war, this restriction of Marx falls away. Both England and America, the largest and last – in the whole world – representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'freedom' in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have completely sunk into the pan-European dirty, bloody swamp of bureaucratic-military institutions that subordinate everything to themselves, suppress everything. Now, in both England and America, 'the precondition for every truly people's revolution' is the *breakdown , the destruction of* the 'ready-made' (manufactured there in 1914–1917 to 'European', pan-imperialist perfection) 'state machine'"[35].

[35] V. I. Lenin, Works., Vol. 25, ed. 4, p. 387.

Lenin thoroughly explored the means of smashing the bourgeois state machine and demonstrated how this smashing should be accomplished. He pointed out that the smashing of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are accomplished through the liquidation of the caste of bureaucratic bourgeois officials, through the promotion of representatives of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia to government positions; through the abolition of the old police and its replacement with a people's militia; through the liquidation of the old, bourgeois courts and prosecutor's office and their replacement with revolutionary tribunals, people's courts, and a revolutionary prosecutor's office; through the replacement of the old army with a new, workers' and peasants' army, with new command cadres, new principles of its recruitment and political education, and so on and so forth. Lenin demonstrated that the implementation of all these measures is unthinkable without undermining the economic power of the landowners and capitalists and without the creation of a powerful state socialist sector in the national economy.

Armed with the instructions of the great Lenin, the Bolshevik Party led the working class and the poorest peasantry to storm the bourgeois state in October 1917, achieving the destruction of the old state apparatus and its replacement with a new, proletarian Soviet state.

Developing Marxism, Lenin subjected anarchists' views on the state to devastating criticism and exposed the anarchist positions of Marxism's enemy, Bukharin, on the question of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Regarding the relationship of the proletarian revolution to the state, Lenin waged a struggle on two fronts: against opportunists who denied the need to smash the bourgeois state and create a new state—the dictatorship of the proletariat; and against anarchists

who advocated the destruction of any state in order to immediately transition to a stateless system. Anarchists denied the need for a dictatorship of the proletariat. In the draft materials for "State and Revolution," Lenin noted:

"What distinguishes us from the anarchists is (α) the use of the state now and (β) during the *revolution* of the proletariat (the 'dictatorship of the proletariat') - points that are of the utmost importance for practice, immediately.
(Bukharin *forgot* them !)"[36]. Lenin developed these ideas in more detail in the article "The Youth International", where he exposed and condemned Bukharin's idea of blowing up the state, and in the final chapter of the book "State and Revolution", where he showed that on the fundamental question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "extremes" - the opportunists and the anarchists - agree: both are against the dictatorship of the proletariat and are enemies of the socialist state.

Lenin restored Marx's views on the Paris Commune as a new type of state, "forgotten" by the opportunists, and rescued them from distortion. For the first time in the history of Marxism, he appreciated the world-historical significance of Marx's discovery—that a state like the Paris Commune is the political form under which the economic emancipation of labor can occur.

Having summarized the experience of two bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Russia, Lenin took a significant step forward in the development of Marxist theory and practice by putting forward the demand for the establishment of a republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies as the most appropriate form of political organization for society

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[36] "Lenin Collection" XIV, p. 257.

during the transition period from capitalism to socialism. This proposition, put forward by Lenin in his April Theses in 1917, formed the basis of the Bolshevik Party's revolutionary struggle for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Having assessed the historical significance of the Soviets as a form of organization created by the creative initiative of the working class and the masses of Russia, Lenin and Stalin noted that only the undivided leadership of the revolutionary Marxist party in the Soviets could transform them into organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets," the Bolshevik Party rallied the masses to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviets were a direct, profoundly democratic revolutionary organization of the masses, capable of embodying, and indeed embodying, the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat, capable of completing the destruction of the bourgeois state and the transformation of capitalist society into a communist one.

By discovering a new and, moreover, the most expedient form of the dictatorship of the proletariat—Soviet power—Lenin and Stalin "unwrapped" the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Above all, Lenin and Stalin demonstrated why the working class, in its struggle for socialism, cannot do without a dictatorship. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the unlimited power of the working class, directed against the bourgeoisie and other exploiters, forcibly suppressing their resistance and, at the same time, exercising state leadership over all working people and society as a whole for the construction of socialism.

Lenin pointed out the "enormous actual advantages" that exploiters retain long after the revolution. "They," Lenin wrote, "retain money (money cannot be destroyed overnight), some movable property, often significant, connections, organizational and management skills, knowledge of all the

'secrets' (customs, techniques, means, possibilities) of management, a higher education, proximity to technically superior personnel (who live and think in a bourgeois way), immeasurably greater military skill (this is very important), and so on and so forth"[37].

If we add to this the strength and durability of the international ties of the bourgeoisie, the strength and durability of small-scale commodity production, which " gives birth to capitalism... daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale" (Lenin), and the durability of the traditions and habits of the millions of masses of the petty bourgeoisie generated by commodity production, and finally, if we take into account the inevitability of the vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, then it becomes clear that the overthrown bourgeoisie will remain stronger for a long time than the proletariat that overthrew it.

These circumstances fuel the hopes of the overthrown bourgeoisie for the restoration of capitalism—a hope that persists as long as the exploiting classes remain, as long as the era of transition from capitalism to communism has not ended. The overthrown exploiters, with tenfold energy and frenzied passion, throw themselves into the battle for the restoration of the old order[38].

Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without the ruthless suppression of its most powerful enemy—the bourgeoisie—the working class cannot retain power, consolidate it, or build socialism. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, it cannot finally separate the petty bourgeoisie from the capitalists and

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[37] V. I. Lenin, Works., Vol. 28, ed. 4, p. 232.

[38] See. VI Lenin, Collected Works., Vol. 28, ed. 4, p. 233.

rally all workers around it. It cannot accomplish the communist transformation of small-scale commodity production and prepare for the abolition of classes. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to arm the revolution, to create a revolutionary army to fight the external enemy, to combat imperialism, or to defend the gains of the socialist revolution.

That is why, says Lenin, proletarian democracy, which represents the highest type of democracy, cannot but be, like any democracy, a dictatorship.

While fully expounding on the significance of the socialist state for suppressing exploiters within the country, demonstrating the state's importance in organizing the armed forces of the proletariat, strengthening the country's defense, and cementing the ties of victorious socialism with the proletarians of other countries, Lenin repeatedly emphasized that this does not exhaust the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a letter to the Hungarian workers who established Soviet power in Hungary in 1919, Lenin wrote:

"But the essence of the proletarian dictatorship does not lie in violence alone, and not primarily in violence. Its main essence lies in the organization and discipline of the vanguard of the workers, its vanguard, its sole leader, the proletariat. Its goal is to create socialism, to abolish the division of society into classes, to make all members of society workers, to take away the basis for any exploitation of man by man"[39].

Building socialism and abolishing classes means more than just suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and preparing and carrying out its liquidation. To build socialism, the proletariat must separate the broad masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie,

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[39] V. I. Lenin, Works., Vol. 29, ed . 4, p. 358.

the intelligentsia, and, most importantly, the peasantry, from the bourgeoisie, lead them, organize them, involve them in socialist construction, and re-educate them as communists. The working class cannot do this without its own dictatorship, without state leadership.

“We need,” Lenin explained, “the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of one class, the strength of its organization and discipline, its centralized power, based on all the achievements of culture, science, and technology of capitalism, its proletarian closeness to the psychology of every worker, its authority over the scattered, less developed, less politically firm working man from the village or from small-scale production, so that the proletariat can lead the peasantry and all the petty-bourgeois strata in general”[40].

In his works "The Great Beginning," "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and elsewhere, Lenin demonstrated that leading the entire mass of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie onto the path of new economic development and new social relations, convincing smallholders of the advantages of large-scale socialist economy, and ensuring their voluntary entry onto the socialist path of development—this meant solving the most difficult task of the revolution for the working class and its party. Here, violence, sheer administrative overreach, and isolated impulses would accomplish nothing and would only ruin the cause. We need long-term, persistent, painstaking, and systematic organizational and political work among the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie. We need state support for nascent cooperative enterprises, assistance through personnel training, financial assistance, tools, varietal seeds, chemical fertilizers,

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[40] V.I. Leni n, Works., T. 29, ed. 4, p. 359 .

and so on. We need to widely publicize the advantages of cooperative farms over small-scale individual farms, and we need to unite the peasantry in the struggle against the kulaks and the bourgeoisie in general. None of this can be accomplished without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without state leadership from the working class. But precisely for this reason, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot but be a form of class alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," Lenin taught, "is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the workers, and numerous non-proletarian layers of the workers (the petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, peasantry, intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of them, an alliance against capital, an alliance for the purpose of the complete overthrow of capital, the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and attempts at restoration on its part, an alliance for the purpose of the final creation and strengthening of socialism"[41].

At the same time, Lenin and Stalin emphasized that for the victory of socialism, not just any alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry is needed, but only an alliance that a) is directed against the bourgeoisie and capitalism and b) in which the leading role belongs to the working class.

Calling the alliance of the proletariat with the working peasantry the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin and Stalin always viewed this alliance as a condition that ensured the preservation of the leading role of

[41] V. I. Lenin, Vol., Vol. 29, ed. 4, pp. 350–351.

the proletariat and the use of this alliance for the communist transformation of the peasantry[42].

Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach that only the proletariat is capable of fulfilling the world-historical role of organizer and leader of all working and exploited masses in the struggle for their liberation from the oppression of capital, that only the dictatorship of the working class is capable of ensuring the construction of socialism and communism, the abolition of classes and the withering away of the state in the coming communist society.

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The dictatorship of the working class is the primary instrument for transforming the old, bourgeois society into a new, socialist one. The correct policies of the proletarian socialist state are the primary condition for resolving the challenges facing the victorious proletariat.

Lenin repeatedly spoke about the primacy of politics over economics during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

Above all, Lenin drew attention to the fact that in an antagonistic society, economic relations are class relations. Since relations between classes and the developed forms of struggle between them constitute the sphere of politics, "politics is the concentrated expression of economics." From this perspective, analyzing economics and politics in the Soviet Republic, Lenin wrote in 1919:

"In Russia, the dictatorship of the proletariat must inevitably differ in certain ways compared to advanced countries due to

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[42] See V.I. Lenin, With h., T. 32, ed. 4, p. 466; J. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 12, p. 41.

the extreme backwardness and petty-bourgeois nature of our country. But the fundamental forces—and the basic forms of social economy—are the same in Russia as in any capitalist country, so these peculiarities may only concern minor issues."

These are the main forms of social economy: capitalism, small-scale commodity production, and communism. These are the main forces: the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie (especially the peasantry), and the proletariat.

The economy of Russia in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat represents the struggle of the first steps of communistically united labor, on the single scale of a huge state, with small-scale commodity production and with the capitalism that is preserved, as well as with the capitalism that is being revived on its basis"[43].

The working class, having established its dictatorship, must structure its relations with the other classes of society—the bourgeoisie and the peasantry—in such a way as to ensure agreement and a lasting alliance with the working peasantry, an alliance directed against the bourgeoisie and ensuring the construction and victory of socialism. The working class, exercising its dictatorship, must constantly be guided by Lenin's principle that the relationship between the workers and peasants—these fundamental classes of society in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat—decides the fate of the revolution. This is why strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry is the most important task of a workers' state. The highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as already noted, is the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, with the working class playing the leading

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[43] V. I. Lenin, Works., Vol. 30, ed. 4, p. 88.

role in this alliance. This is why politics cannot fail to have primacy over economics.

The policy of the working class, implemented by the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of a Marxist party, is a scientifically grounded policy, constructed in accordance with the objective laws of social development. The policy of the Soviet socialist state and the Bolshevik Party at every stage expresses the real needs of society's material life and stems from the specific historical conditions prevailing at a given moment, given the existing balance of forces between socialism and capitalism within the country and internationally.

In addressing the relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry in 1921, in connection with the introduction of the New Economic Policy, V. I. Lenin drew on a penetrating Marxist analysis of the characteristics of both classes, an analysis of the economic and political situation in the Soviet Republic, and an analysis of the state of the global labor movement and the liberation struggles of workers in colonial and dependent countries. This precise scientific analysis enabled Lenin to substantiate the need to introduce the New Economic Policy, which became a prerequisite for laying the foundations of a socialist economy and eliminating the exploitative classes.

The dictatorship of the working class, in contrast to exploitative states, is the expression of the interests and will of the masses, an instrument of their struggle for a classless communist society. This makes the socialist state and its policies a powerful economic and political force, without which the organization and management of a socialist economy are unthinkable . This is one of the most important factors defining the qualitatively new role of the socialist state and its policies in economic development.

The dictatorship of the working class rests on a powerful economic foundation in the form of public socialist property. The socialist state directs socialist production, organizing economic life according to a unified state plan.

These are the fundamental circumstances that determine the special role of the socialist state and its policies in the life of the country, determining the primacy of politics over economics in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These characteristics, taken together, make the socialist state the primary instrument for transforming the old, capitalist economy into a new, socialist one.

The dictatorship of the proletariat as an instrument of suppression of the exploiting classes, as an instrument of state leadership of the proletariat over the non-proletarian layers of workers, an instrument of communist transformation and communist re-education of workers is the embodiment of a new, higher type of democracy - proletarian democracy.

In his book, State and Revolution, Lenin exposed the contrast between proletarian and bourgeois democracy. Democracy in bourgeois countries, Lenin explained, is always constrained by the narrow confines of capitalist exploitation and always remains a democracy for the minority, a democracy for the rich. "Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely at the mechanism of capitalist democracy, we will see everywhere—in the supposedly minor details of the electoral law (residence requirements, the exclusion of women, etc.), in the technology of representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for the 'beggars'!), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, and so on and so forth—we will see limitations upon limitations of democracy. These restrictions, exemptions,

exceptions, and obstacles for the poor seem petty, especially to the eye of someone who has never seen need and has not been close to the oppressed classes in their mass life (and this is nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine hundredths, of bourgeois publicists and politicians), but taken together, these restrictions exclude and push the poor out of politics, out of active participation in democracy"[44].

The development from capitalism to communism proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, designed to crush the resistance of the exploiters and ensure democratic rights for all workers. In this sense, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only a new kind of dictatorial state—against the exploiters—but also a new kind of democratic state—for the workers, that is, for the vast majority of the population. V. I. Lenin wrote:

"But the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the organization of the vanguard of the oppressed into a ruling class to suppress the oppressors, cannot simply lead to the expansion of democracy. Along with the enormous expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a number of restrictions on freedom in relation to the oppressors, exploiters, and capitalists. We must suppress them to free humanity from wage slavery; their resistance must be broken by force—it is clear that where there is suppression, there is violence; there is no freedom, no democracy..."

"Democracy for the vast majority of the people and suppression by force, i.e. exclusion from democracy of the exploiters and oppressors of the people – this is the

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[44] V. I. Lenin, Works., Vol. 25, ed. 4, pp. 432-433.

modification of democracy during the transition from capitalism to communism"[45].

As long as exploiters remain, democracy cannot be "complete," because in order to suppress the exploiters, certain exceptions to democracy are inevitable, and the more fiercely the exploiters resist, the greater the exceptions.

In his rough notes for the book "State and Revolution," Lenin provides the following diagram, which exhaustively characterizes the dialectic and the course of development of democracy:

"I - in a capitalist society the state in the proper sense	the state is needed by the bourgeoisie
II - transition (dictatorship of the proletariat) state of a transitional type (not a state in the proper sense)	the state is needed by the proletariat
III - communist society: the withering away of the state.	the state is not needed, it is dying out.

Complete consistency and clarity!! Otherwise:

[45] V. I. Lenin, Co h., Vol. 25, ed. 4, p. 433, 434.

I - democracy only as an exception, never complete...	I - democracy is only for the rich and a small stratum of the proletariat. [The poor have no time for it!]
II - almost complete democracy, limited only by the suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie	II - democracy for the poor, for 9/10 of the population, suppression by force of resistance of the rich
III – democracy is truly complete, becoming habitual and therefore dying out... Complete democracy equals no democracy at all. This is not a paradox, but the truth!	III - complete democracy, becoming a habit and therefore dying out, giving way to the principle: “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs”[46].

Lenin’s brilliant propositions about the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest type of democracy, formulated by him in the book “State and Revolution”, were then developed by him in a number of works of the post-October period.

If we briefly summarize in general form what was new that Lenin introduced into the teaching on the dictatorship of the proletariat, then, as Comrade Stalin established, it consists in the fact that Lenin:

[46] “Lenin Collection” XIV, p. 267.

a) discovered Soviet power as the best state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

b) opened the brackets in the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat, defining the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of class alliance of the proletariat with the working peasantry with the leading role of the proletariat in this alliance;

c) developed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest type of democracy in a class society - proletarian democracy, expressing the interests of the majority, as opposed to bourgeois democracy, expressing the interests of the minority (exploiters)[47].

Lenin formulated all these propositions before the Great October Socialist Revolution, but developed them into a coherent theory during the struggle to consolidate and develop Soviet power. Armed with Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Party launched its assault on the bourgeois state with a ready-made plan for new state construction.

3. The development of the theory of the socialist state by I. V. Stalin during the struggle to build a socialist society.

I. V. Stalin was a loyal comrade and successor to the great Lenin. Comrade Stalin was the first to appreciate Lenin's brilliant discovery of the Soviets as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin created the Soviet socialist state, organized the armed forces of the revolution, and led the struggle for the independence of our socialist homeland. Together with Lenin,

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[47] See. I. V. Stalin, Works., Vol. 10, pp. 94-95.

Comrade Stalin led the Communist Party's struggle against all enemies of socialism and ensured the strengthening of the Soviet socialist state.

Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin developed the Bolshevik Party's program on the national question long before the October Socialist Revolution. He outlined and substantiated the paths to resolving the national question under Soviet power, as well as the paths to the socialist industrialization of the national republics and the development of their national statehood and culture. Under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin, as People's Commissar for Nationalities, all the work of the Soviet state to build national statehood and national culture for all the peoples of the USSR took place. The flourishing of the socialist economy and socialist culture of all the peoples of the USSR, as well as the friendship between the peoples of the USSR, is closely associated with Comrade Stalin's name.

Characterizing the merits of I. V. Stalin in the construction of the multinational Soviet state, V. M. Molotov said: "More than anyone else, Comrade Stalin worked on the creation of a Soviet Union, strong in its political unity, from the insufficiently united Soviet republics and on the drafting of its first constitution. This laid the foundation for a powerful Soviet state, based on the great friendship of the Soviet peoples"[48].

Comrade Stalin, before anyone else and most deeply than anyone else, appreciated everything new that Lenin brought to the treasury of Marxism, and, creatively perceiving the Marxist-Leninist teaching, tirelessly enriched it and moved it forward.

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[48] V. M. Molotov, Stalin, as the successor of Lenin, when BSSR State Publishing House, 1940, pp. 11-12.

When Lenin died, the Soviet state faced the difficult tasks of rebuilding industry and agriculture, strengthening the country's defenses, suppressing the overthrown exploiting classes, and preparing the conditions for their elimination. The enemies of the people—Trotskyists, Bukharinists, bourgeois nationalists, and Co. — intensified their struggle against the Communist Party, seeking to divert it from the path of building socialism and create favorable conditions for the restoration of capitalism. During this crucial period, Comrade Stalin raised high the banner of Leninism. In a number of his works—"The Foundations of Leninism," "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," "On Questions of Leninism"—and in speeches and reports at party congresses and plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), among others, Comrade Stalin summarizes and further develops all that was new, both by Lenin and by himself, on all aspects of Marxist theory, and above all on the question of the party and the Soviet socialist state. Comrade Stalin exposes and denounces the enemies of the Soviet people who attempted to distort and falsify Leninism. We will dwell only on the most significant contributions Comrade Stalin made during this period to defend, substantiate, and develop the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin revealed the full grandeur of Lenin's discovery of Soviet power as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat . Drawing on Lenin's brilliant works: "State and Revolution," "Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder," "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," "Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and other works, and summarizing the experience of state building in the USSR, Comrade Stalin provided a classic, comprehensive

characterization of the essence, characteristics, and advantages of Soviet power as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Soviets, Comrade Stalin teaches, are not only all-encompassing mass organizations of the working class, but also the only mass organizations of workers uniting all oppressed and exploited people for the struggle against the exploiters. Soviets are the most powerful organs of the revolutionary struggle of the masses; They are direct, i.e., the most democratic and, therefore, authoritative organizations of the masses themselves, involving the masses in the construction of a socialist state, training the masses in the art of public administration, and unleashing the creative initiative of the masses. The Soviets constitute the political foundation of the USSR.

In noting the characteristic features of Soviet power, Comrade Stalin first of all points out that it is the arena for the bond between workers and peasants, an alliance between them directed against the exploiters. Thus, in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, it represents the rule of the majority over the minority, i.e., it embodies the principles of proletarian democracy. One of the invaluable advantages of Soviet power is that, by its very structure, it facilitates the leadership of the working class.

The Soviet state organization, Comrade Stalin further points out, ensures the final destruction of the old, bourgeois bureaucratic and judicial apparatus, frees the army from subordination to the bourgeois command and transforms it into an instrument for the liberation of the people from the yoke of the bourgeoisie - “their own” and foreign.

Soviet power eliminates the gap between executive and legislative functions characteristic of a parliamentary bourgeois

republic. It unites these functions, directly linking workers with the apparatus of state administration.

Soviet power is a truly internationalist state organization that destroys national oppression and ensures the unification of workers of different nationalities in a single state on the basis of equality and voluntariness.

Comrade Stalin devotes great attention to organizing the work of the state apparatus, combating bureaucracy, and verifying compliance with the laws of the socialist state and the decrees of the Soviet government. Comrade Stalin comprehensively explores the style of government work and the type of employee of the socialist state apparatus, selflessly devoted to the people and possessing the necessary professional qualities. Combining Russian revolutionary sweep with Bolshevik efficiency is the essence of Leninism in party and state work, Comrade Stalin teaches.

I. V. Stalin, who headed the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, created on Lenin's orders, played a crucial role in instilling the Bolshevik style of work in all parts of the Soviet state apparatus, eradicating bureaucracy, training Bolshevik cadres for the Soviet apparatus, utilizing them correctly, monitoring the implementation of decisions made by the Party and government, and involving workers and peasants in the work of Soviet bodies. Lenin directed his friend and comrade to the most critical areas of work, vitally important for the Party and the Soviet state. This was the case with the resolution of the national question, where the development and oversight of the implementation of Party policy on the national question were entrusted to I. V. Stalin from the very beginning. This was also the case during the Civil War, when the Party and Lenin directed Stalin to the most crucial sectors of the struggle (Tsaritsyn, the Eastern Front, Petrograd, and the

Southern Front). The same was true for the organization of the Soviet state apparatus, which was crucial to the entire construction of socialism. Even during Lenin's lifetime, I.V. Stalin directly oversaw all work on building the Soviet state.

In revealing the features and advantages of the Soviet *form* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin tirelessly emphasizes the priority, the primacy of content over form, and in this regard, again and again points to the leading role of the Bolshevik Party as a necessary condition for ensuring the proletarian, socialist content of the activities of the Soviets in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin crushed the Trotskyists, Bukharinists and other enemies of the Communist Party and the people who belittled or reduced to nothing the role of the Soviets or who opposed the Soviets to the Party and who denied the Bolshevik leadership of the Soviets.

Comrade Stalin defended *Lenin's doctrine of the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry as the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat* , of the working class's leading role in this alliance, and mobilized the party to strengthen this alliance. Comrade Stalin exposed and defeated the Trotskyists, who rejected the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, much less the very idea of embodying the alliance of workers and peasants in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin teaches that the working class, which after the socialist revolution does not and cannot share power with other classes, requires an alliance with the working masses to achieve its goals. The power of one class, the working class, "can be consolidated and fully implemented only through a special form of alliance between the proletarian class and the

working masses of the petty-bourgeois classes, primarily the working masses of the peasantry."

What is this special form of union, and what does it consist of? Doesn't this union with the working masses of other, non-proletarian classes contradict the idea of a single-class dictatorship?

This special form of union consists of the fact that the leading force of this union is the proletariat. This special form of union consists of the fact that the leader of the state, the leader in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is one party—the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, which does not and cannot share leadership with other parties.

As you can see, the contradiction here is only visible, apparent"[49].

In exploring the tasks of the working class during the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its policy toward the non-proletarian strata of workers and the bourgeoisie, Comrade Stalin brilliantly characterized the three aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This characterization represents a new step forward in the development of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin teaches, means:

"1) The use of the power of the proletariat to suppress the exploiters, to defend the country, to strengthen ties with the proletarians of other countries, and to develop and win the revolution in all countries.

2) The use of the power of the proletariat for the final separation of the working and exploited masses from the

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[49] I. V. Stalin, Works., Vol. 8, pp. 26-27.

bourgeoisie, for strengthening the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, for involving these masses in the work of socialist construction, for state leadership of these masses by the proletariat.

3) The use of the power of the proletariat to organize socialism, to abolish classes, to move to a classless society, to a socialist society.

"The proletarian dictatorship is the combination of all three of these aspects. Not one of these aspects can be put forward as the sole characteristic feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat; conversely, the absence of even one of these characteristics is sufficient for the dictatorship of the proletariat to cease to be a dictatorship in the conditions of capitalist encirclement. Therefore, not one of these three aspects can be excluded without the risk of distorting the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only all three aspects taken together give us a complete and finished concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat"[50].

At the same time, Comrade Stalin, back in 1926, emphasized that the dictatorship of the working class "has its periods, its special forms, its varied methods of work"[51]. During the civil war, he said, the violent side of the dictatorship is especially prominent, although this does not mean that constructive, creative work does not take place then. On the contrary, during the period of building socialism, the peaceful, organizational, and cultural work of the dictatorship of the proletariat comes to the fore, although the violent side and the organs of suppression are necessary during this period to ensure the

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[50] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 8, pp. 30–31.

[51] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 8, p. 31.

construction work. “We must not forget,” Comrade Stalin warned then, “that the revolution has so far been victorious in only one country. We must not forget that as long as the capitalist encirclement exists, there will be the danger of intervention with all the consequences that follow from this danger”[52].

The Leninist-Stalinist characterization of the dictatorship of the proletariat proceeds from the fact that proletarian leadership of non-proletarian strata of workers and the involvement of the masses in governing the country and in building socialism and communism constitute the main content of the activity of the socialist state.

That is why, at the very beginning of the NEP, Comrade Stalin, characterizing Soviet power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a tool by which the working class exercises its dictatorship, emphasized the importance of the apparatus of state power for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry and the state leadership of the peasantry by the working class.

“The state apparatus,” said Comrade Stalin at the 12th Party Congress, “is the main mass apparatus that unites the working class in power, represented by its party, with the peasantry and gives the working class, represented by its party, the opportunity to lead the peasantry”[53].

Expanding on Lenin's ideas set forth in the articles "Better Fewer, But Better" and "How We Can Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection," Comrade Stalin pointed out that improving the state apparatus and maximizing the Communist

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[52] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 8, p. 31.

[53] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 5, p. 206.

Party's leadership role in the Soviets, as well as decisively combating the apparatus' bloat and bureaucratic distortions in its work, were the primary conditions for strengthening the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry and for improving the working class's leadership of the peasantry. The reorganization of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the creation of the Central Control Commission-Workers' and Peasants' Inspection apparatus were, according to Lenin and Stalin, intended to ensure the solution of these problems.

Expanding on Lenin's instructions, Comrade Stalin emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not limited to the apparatus of state power. It represents an entire system of mass organizations, united and led by the Communist Party. Lenin repeatedly emphasized this. Lenin provided a general picture of the mechanism of Soviet state power : the dictatorship is exercised by the proletariat, organized in Soviets, led by the Communist Party[54].

The Communist Party represents the leading and guiding force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But for the Party to fulfill this role, it must enjoy the confidence of the working class and rely on its support. The "drive mechanism" from the Communist Party to the masses of the working class is the trade unions, upon which the Party relies in its work. "The result, in general, is a formally non-communist, flexible and comparatively broad, extremely powerful proletarian apparatus, through which the Party is closely linked with the class and the masses and through which, under the leadership of the Party, the dictatorship of the class is exercised "[55].

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[54] See V.I. Lenin, Vol., Vol. 31, ed. 4, p. 31.

[55] See V. I. Len, In, Vol., Vol. 31, ed. 4, p. 30 .

While maintaining the party's connection with the working class through production, trade unions do not yet ensure the full and comprehensive nature of the party's ties with the working class itself or with the entire mass of the working population in general. Therefore, in his book "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, Lenin, along with trade unions, mentions such "drivers" as non-party workers' and peasants' conferences and, most importantly, the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, which unite the working masses regardless of profession. "Such," Lenin concludes, "is the general mechanism of proletarian state power, viewed 'from above,' from the standpoint of the practical implementation of the dictatorship"[56].

In his speech at the Third Komsomol Congress, Lenin described the Komsomol's importance for educating young people in the spirit of communism, rallying them around the Bolshevik Party, and training young reserves. In his work "Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power" (1918), his article "On Cooperation" (1923), and other works, Lenin wrote about the exceptional importance of cooperation in building socialism: through cooperation, millions of workers are drawn into socialist construction.

Comrade Stalin relied on these guiding instructions from Lenin in his reports to the 12th and 13th Congresses of the RCP(b), in his work "On Questions of Leninism," and in other works in which he provided a complete, classic characterization of the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Stalin wrote:

"... *Trade unions* , as a mass organization of the proletariat, linking the party with the class, primarily along production

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[56] V. I. Lenin, Vol., Vol. 31, ed. 4, p. 31.

lines; Soviets , as a mass organization of workers, linking the party with the latter, primarily along state lines; *cooperatives* , as a mass organization, primarily of the peasantry, linking the party with the peasant masses, primarily along economic lines, along the line of involving the peasantry in socialist construction; *youth unions* , as a mass organization of working and peasant youth, called upon to facilitate the vanguard of the proletariat in the socialist education of the new generation and the development of young reserves; and, finally, the party , as the main guiding force in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, called upon to lead all these mass organizations - such is, in general, the picture of the “mechanism” of the dictatorship, the picture of the “system of the dictatorship of the proletariat”[57].

Showing that the entire mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat was designed to involve workers in socialist construction and to involve them in governing the country, Lenin and Stalin insistently emphasized that *persuasion was the primary method* of work by the Communist Party and the Soviet state with the masses. During the discussion of trade unions, Lenin and Stalin, exposing Trotsky, the arch-enemy of Marxism and a traitor to the working class, subjected the Trotskyist wreckers to devastating criticism of their attempts to replace Bolshevik leadership of the masses with methods of sheer administration and command. Lenin and Stalin demonstrated that the Trotskyists' attempts to falsify Marxism touched upon the essence of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, since they were discussing "methods of *approaching* the masses, gaining control over the masses, and maintaining *contact* with the masses"[58].

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[57] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 8, pp. 35-36.

The Bolshevik method of leading the masses through persuasion, Lenin and Stalin taught, certainly does not eliminate elements of coercion. But these elements are derivative and subordinate in nature. It is necessary, Lenin taught, "to first persuade, and then compel."[59] Developing Lenin's thought, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Leadership is ensured by the method of persuading the masses, as the party's primary method of influencing the masses. But this does not exclude, but rather presupposes, coercion, if this coercion is based on the trust and support of the party on the part of the majority of the working class, if it is applied to a minority after the majority has been convinced"[60]. Any other formulation of the question, leading to the transformation of coercion into the primary method of influencing the masses, is hostile to Bolshevism and disastrous for the party and the socialist state.

Creatively developing the Marxist theory of the socialist state amid the struggle to build socialism, amidst intensified class struggle in the USSR and the growing threat of military attack from outside, I. V. Stalin formulated the law of development of the socialist state in the context of capitalist encirclement at the 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks): the highest development of state power in order to pave the way for the withering away of state power. This formula clarifies Engels's thesis that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a state in the proper sense of the word. Comrade Stalin demonstrated that the tasks of suppressing

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[58] V. I. Lenin, Works., Vol. 32, ed. 4, p. 5.

[59] V. I. Le Nin, Vol., Vol. 32, ed. 4, p. 189 .

[60] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 8, p. 53.

bourgeois resistance within the country and repelling foreign imperialist interventionists and aggressors dictate the need to create a powerful socialist state, equipped with a first-class army with a professional command staff, strong intelligence agencies, punitive organs, and so on.

The complexity of the tasks facing the socialist state demands highly qualified state officials, the full development of criticism and self-criticism, and the involvement of all workers in the governance of the state. But all of this means that the Soviet state is not a "semi-state," but fundamentally new in its character and tasks, and the most powerful of all states that have ever existed. And the withering away of the socialist state will be possible after the liquidation of the capitalist encirclement, as a result of the strengthening and reinforcement of the socialist state. In 1930, when the socialist offensive against capitalist elements was launched along all fronts, Comrade Stalin said: "We favor the withering away of the state. And at the same time, we stand for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the most powerful and most formidable authority of all hitherto existing state authorities. The highest development of state power in order to pave the way for its withering away—that is the Marxist formula. Is this "contradictory"? Yes, "contradictory." But this contradiction is vital, and it entirely reflects Marx's dialectic"[61].

Comrade Stalin routed the enemies of the people who advocated the "abolition" of the Soviets in areas of total collectivization. At the same time, he demonstrated the fallacy of the assertions of Talmudists and dogmatic pedants who dogmatically repeated the thesis of the withering away of the

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[61] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 12, pp. 369-370.

state and viewed the question of the state under socialism without regard to the capitalist environment. In 1933, when the foundations of a socialist economy had already been laid and the last capitalist class—the kulak class—had been crushed, Comrade Stalin said:

"Some comrades have interpreted the thesis about the abolition of classes, the creation of a classless society and the withering away of the state as an excuse for laziness and complacency, a justification for the counter-revolutionary theory of the extinction of the class struggle and the weakening of state power. It goes without saying that such people can have nothing in common with our Party. They are degenerates or double-dealers who must be driven out of the Party. The abolition of classes is achieved not by the extinction of the class struggle, but by its intensification. The withering away of the state will come not through the weakening of state power, but through its maximum strengthening, necessary in order to finish off the remnants of the dying classes and organize a defense against the capitalist encirclement, which is far from being destroyed and will not be destroyed anytime soon"[62].

Guided by Comrade Stalin's instructions, the Bolshevik Party tirelessly strengthened and continues to strengthen the Soviet socialist state. The powerful Soviet state played a decisive role in restructuring the USSR's economy along socialist lines—a restructuring that took place amidst a fierce struggle against capitalist elements and petty-bourgeois elements. The entire historical experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the victorious construction of socialism in the USSR has confirmed the inviolability of the teachings of Marxism-

[62] I. V. Stalin, Works., Vol. 13, pp. 210-211.

Leninism on the decisive historical role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

4. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the further development of the theory of the socialist state by I.V. Stalin.

The victory of socialism in the USSR and the associated change in the class structure of society led to significant changes in the Soviet socialist state, which constituted an integral part of the superstructure of socialist society. Consequently, the Bolshevik Party faced the challenge of generalizing the vast experience of the socialist state in a capitalist environment and further developing the theory of the socialist state. What Lenin, due to his premature death, failed to accomplish was accomplished by his brilliant disciple and successor, I. V. Stalin. Stalin's works, particularly his renowned "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," "Report to the 18th Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," and "Marxism and Questions of Linguistics," synthesized the entire experience of the development of the Soviet socialist state and created a comprehensive and complete theory of the socialist state.

Stalin's "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" is of crucial importance in the development of the theory of the socialist state and in explaining the enormous role it plays in ensuring the successful construction of communism and the country's defense. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of November 14, 1938, stated that the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), in creating the "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," set the goal of

liberating Marxist literature from oversimplification and vulgarization.

“The anti-Marxist vulgarizing confusion also manifested itself in the dissemination of incorrect views on the Soviet state, in the belittling of the role and significance of the socialist state as the main weapon in the hands of the workers and peasants for the victory of socialism and for the defense of the socialist gains of the working people...”[63].

In his "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," Comrade Stalin demonstrated the world-historical significance of the Soviet form of government discovered by Lenin and rebuffed the vulgarization and trivialization of Marxist-Leninist doctrines on the state. In the "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," the importance of the socialist state in guiding economic and cultural development, organizing the forces of socialism, and eliminating the exploiting classes is elevated to an enormously fundamental level.

Stalin's "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" scientifically proves the superiority of Soviet socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy and illustrates with historical facts that the development of Soviet democracy under socialist conditions means an expansion of the social base of the Soviet state, even more closely links the state apparatus with the masses, promotes even greater involvement of workers in state

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63 “On the formulation of party propaganda in connection with the release of the “ Short Course on the History of the CPSU (B.)”” , Decree of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B.), State Policy, 1944, p.

building, raises Soviet patriotism to a new, higher level, and leads to the further strengthening of the socialist state.

Comrade Stalin emphasizes the leading role of the Bolshevik Party in the system of the dictatorship of the working class. "...The Bolshevik Party and the state are inseparable in the Soviet land," he says. Bolshevik leadership of the Soviets is the primary condition for the inviolability of the dictatorship of the working class. Strengthening the Bolshevik Party and cementing its ties with the masses is the primary condition for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The "Short Course on the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" examines in detail the significance of the external function of the socialist state—the function of defense against armed attack by imperialist states. The capitalist encirclement throughout the existence of the Soviet state has been, and remains, a very significant factor, and the Communist Party and Soviet power could not ignore it, for "...already in the first half of 1918, two distinct forces had emerged that were ready to overthrow Soviet power: the foreign imperialists of the Entente and the counterrevolution within Russia"[64].

Having suffered military defeat at the hands of the Soviet state in 1918–1920, the imperialists of the United States, England, France, Japan, and other countries did not rest. They continually sought to exert pressure on the Soviet Union, tested the strength of Soviet power, supported enemies of the people within the country, and sent in saboteurs, spies, and subversives.

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[64] "History of the CPSU (b). Short course", p. 216.

In 1922, at the Genoa Conference, the imperialists exerted "diplomatic pressure" on the Soviet Republic, and in 1923 this pressure was reinforced by an ultimatum from the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Curzon, who threatened a new intervention. In 1927, the imperialists, seeking to slow the growth of socialism in the USSR and support their agents—Trotskyists, Bukharinists, and bourgeois nationalists—levied new, combined pressure on the USSR: the British Conservative government broke off diplomatic and trade relations with the USSR; the assassination of the Soviet ambassador, Voikov, was organized in gentry Poland; British spies and saboteurs threw bombs at the party club in Leningrad; In Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin, police raids on Soviet missions were carried out almost simultaneously, organized by Chinese militarists on behalf of British imperialists. This external pressure coincided with an increase in the subversive activities of Trotskyists and other enemies of the Communist Party and the Soviet people. It was not without reason that Comrade Stalin said at the time that "something like a united front from Chamberlain to Trotsky" was being created against Soviet power[65]. In his "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," I.V. Stalin exposed the machinations of imperialist reactionary forces on the eve of World War II, identified the hotbeds of war, and exposed the criminal policy of "non-intervention" pursued by the Anglo-French and American imperialists.

It is well known that the current policies of the current US and British leaders are aggressive. They express the American monopolists' desire for global domination and are aimed at the economic enslavement of European and non-European countries, at supporting all reactionary forces waging a struggle

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[65] "History of the CPSU (b). Short course ", p. 270.

against the forces of democracy and socialism in the international arena, and at preparing a new war—a war against the USSR and the people's democracies.

The entire history of the Soviet state has been linked to the struggle against the constant hostile activity of the capitalist encirclement. Therefore, the Soviet socialist state closely monitors the foreign policies of imperialist states, particularly their policies toward the USSR.

Given the existence of a hostile capitalist environment and the role of such bourgeois state organs as the army and intelligence, and the role of such instruments as bourgeois diplomacy, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, while waging a consistent struggle for lasting peace and democracy throughout the world, have devoted and continue to devote enormous attention to the foreign policy functions of the socialist state, strengthening the Soviet armed forces, Soviet intelligence, and Leninist-Stalinist diplomacy. The victory of socialism in the USSR created the necessary foundation for transforming the Soviet Army into the most powerful of all modern armies.

Stalin's analysis of the role of the external function of bourgeois states and the development of the question of the external function of the Soviet socialist state represent a most valuable contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state.

The summary of the USSR's vast practical experience in state-building, presented in the "Short Course on the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," was brilliantly completed by Comrade Stalin in his historic report to the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). In this report, Comrade Stalin developed both certain general

tenets of Marxist doctrine on the state and the theory of the socialist state as a whole.

Marx and Engels, combating bourgeois and opportunist theories of the state, emphasized primarily the internal function of state power, particularly its coercive function. Lenin also saw this issue as his primary task when he wrote The State and Revolution, at least the first part he managed to complete. Comrade Stalin, drawing on the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and generalizing the experience of the Soviet socialist state developing in a capitalist environment, took a new step forward by comprehensively analyzing the *relationship between the internal and external functions of the state in general, and the socialist state in particular* .

The precise formulation given by I. V. Stalin in his report to the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1939 expresses in the most concise manner the main point in the relationship between the internal and external functions of the state, which was already developed in more detail by Comrade Stalin in the “Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)”.

In revealing the contrast between the socialist state and the bourgeois state, broken and destroyed during the revolution, Comrade Stalin notes that "it does not at all follow from this that the new, proletarian state cannot retain some of the functions of the old state, modified to suit the needs of the proletarian state. It certainly does not follow from this that the forms of our socialist state must remain unchanged, that all the original functions of our state must be fully preserved in the future. In fact, the forms of our state are changing and will

continue to change depending on the development of our country and changes in the external situation"[66].

Analyzing the development of the Soviet socialist state, Comrade Stalin identifies two main phases in its development.

The *first phase* in the development of the Soviet socialist state spans the period from the October Revolution to the abolition of the exploiting classes. During this period, the Soviet Union featured elements of five socio-economic systems: patriarchal economy, small-scale commodity production, private capitalism, state capitalism, and socialism. From its inception under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist system was dominant, but for a long time, the small-scale commodity system remained predominant. Consequently, in addition to the working class, the country also had a large class of peasants who ran individual farms.

On the other hand, during this period, since small-scale commodity production existed, capitalist elements inevitably persisted in both the city and the countryside, with the kulaks representing a significant force. A fierce class struggle raged in both the city and the countryside.

During this period, Soviet power rested on two distinct foundations: large-scale socialist industry and small, fragmented, individual peasant farms. Naturally, this situation could not last indefinitely. It was necessary to establish a solid economic foundation for Soviet power in the countryside in the form of large-scale socialist collective farms and to integrate socialist production in the city with that in the countryside.

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[66] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 11, p. 604.

The socialist state was the only one in the world. It was surrounded by hostile capitalist states, desperately trying to eliminate the world's first socialist state.

Such was the historical context in which the Soviet socialist state had to operate during the first period of its development. Characterizing the tasks facing the socialist state during this period, Comrade Stalin said:

"The main task of this period was to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organize the country's defense against the attacks of the interventionists, to restore industry and agriculture, and to prepare the conditions for the elimination of capitalist elements"[67].

Three functions characterized the activities of the Soviet socialist state during the period under review. The first function consisted of suppressing overthrown classes within the country. In this, it resembled previous states, which served as instruments for suppressing rebellious elements. However, the fundamental difference between the socialist state and previous types of states is that exploitative states suppress the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority, while the socialist state suppresses the exploiting minority in the interests of all working people, who constitute the vast majority of the population. In the first phase of its development, the Soviet socialist state carried out military suppression of exploiters who organized uprisings and rebellions against Soviet power, sabotage, subversion, and espionage for the intelligence services of foreign bourgeois states. It pursued an economic policy, including financial and tax policies, designed to limit and displace capitalist elements, and implemented restrictive measures in the political sphere, including disenfranchising the

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[67] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 11, p. 605.

bourgeoisie. Without the implementation of such measures, it would have been impossible to carry out the function of suppressing exploiters in the USSR during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

The second function of the Soviet socialist state in its first phase was to defend the country from external attack. This function also somewhat resembled the external function of previous states, which also performed the function of armed defense of their countries. However, unlike previous states, which defended the wealth and privileges of an exploiting minority, the Soviet socialist state defends the gains of the working majority from external attack. The Soviet state created, strengthened, and continues to strengthen the armed forces of the revolutionary people, organized workers for the defense of the country, and persistently pursued and continues to pursue a peaceful foreign policy. This function of the socialist state ensured the preservation and strengthening of the country's dictatorship of the proletariat, which was subject to attacks from bourgeois states. By fulfilling this function, the Soviet socialist state ensured peaceful conditions and security for the peaceful construction work of workers in creating a socialist society.

The third function of the Soviet state—economic, organizational, and cultural-educational—had no equivalent in previous states. Exploitative states did not control their economies; economies, as a rule, were directly in the hands of the exploiters. Being instruments of oppression of the masses, exploitative states could not set themselves the task of raising the cultural level of the masses.

The new economic, organizational, and cultural-educational function of the Soviet state in the first period of its development consisted of organizing and developing the

nascent socialist system, preparing the material conditions for the elimination of capitalist elements, and comprehensively developing communist forms of consciousness among the working people. This new function, which fundamentally distinguished the Soviet socialist state from all previous types of state, did not fully develop during the first period, as small-scale commodity production still predominated in agriculture, as the preconditions for a cultural revolution and a rapid rise in the material well-being and cultural level of the entire Soviet people were only just being created, and as the state's primary attention had to be focused on the first two functions.

The *second phase* in the development of the Soviet socialist state covers the period from the elimination of capitalist elements in the city and village to the present day. Some dogmatically minded comrades are perplexed by the fact that in Comrade Stalin's report to the 18th Party Congress, the period of the second phase in the development of the socialist state was limited to the period "until the complete victory of the socialist economic system and the adoption of a new Constitution," and therefore the primary task of this period was defined as "the organization of a socialist economy throughout the country and the elimination of the last remnants of capitalist elements, the organization of a cultural revolution, and the organization of a fully modern army for the defense of the country"[68].

Dogmatists and Talmudists believe that since the task of organizing a socialist economy throughout the country has been essentially accomplished, the cultural revolution has been accomplished, capitalist elements have been eliminated, a fully modern army has been created, and a new Constitution has

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[68] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 11, p. 605, 606.

been adopted and implemented, the second phase of the development of the socialist state has concluded, and the Soviet socialist state has entered a new, third phase of its development. Nothing could be more erroneous than this interpretation of Stalin's characterization of the phases of development of the socialist state. As is clear from the spirit and letter of Stalin's characterization of the Soviet state, given at the 18th Party Congress, the second phase of the development of the socialist state was by no means complete by the time of the Congress. In his report to the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Comrade Stalin summarized the path taken by the Soviet state: "Our socialist state has gone through two main phases in its development," he said, and stated that now, i.e., in 1939, we have "a completely new, socialist state, unprecedented in history and significantly different in its form and functions from the socialist state of the first phase"[69]. Comrade Stalin raises the question of further changes in the socialist state and its form in connection with the construction of communism and the changes in the internal and external situation that are inevitably associated with it.

From all that has been said, two important conclusions follow.

1. Changing the form and functions of the socialist state requires qualitative changes in the country's economy and its class structure, as well as significant changes in the external environment. The transition from the first phase of the development of the Soviet socialist state to the second was conditioned by fundamental shifts in the USSR economy, associated with the creation of a new, socialist industry, the establishment of a powerful socialist sector in agriculture, the

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[69] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 11, p. 606.

establishment of the foundations of a socialist economy, the elimination of the kulaks as a class, and changes in the class structure of Soviet society. The socialist state of the second phase of its development corresponds to the period in the life of Soviet society when socialist property was established as the sole foundation of Soviet society, when the exploiting classes were liquidated, and the toiling classes (workers and peasants), as well as the intelligentsia, underwent significant changes. The proletariat in the Soviet Union transformed into a working class, liberated from exploitation, having destroyed the capitalist economic system, established the dominance of socialist property, and stood at the head of the state, guiding the development of Soviet society along the path to communism. The Soviet peasantry freed itself from the exploitation of landowners, kulaks, merchants, and usurers, and for the most part began to base its work and well-being on socialist collective farm property, collective labor, and modern technology. The nature and character of the intelligentsia's activities also changed: today's intelligentsia in the USSR is closely connected to the working class and peasantry and selflessly serves the people and communism. As a result of all these changes, the moral and political unity of Soviet society was established and strengthened, friendship among the peoples of the USSR grew stronger and flourished, and Soviet patriotism developed.

The victory of socialism in the USSR led at the same time to a serious change in the balance of power in the international arena in favor of socialism.

These are the main circumstances that determined the transition from the first phase in the development of the Soviet socialist state to the second phase.

For the second phase in the development of the socialist state to give way to a new, third phase, new qualitative shifts in the economy and class structure of society are, of course, necessary. These shifts will occur as Soviet society advances toward communism, as the transition to a unified form of public ownership takes place. The significant differences that still remain between city and village, between mental and physical labor, will disappear, the boundaries between the working class and the peasantry, and between these classes and the intelligentsia, will be erased. In short, the transition to the third phase in the development of the Soviet socialist state will be linked to the fundamental construction of communism in our country or the complete elimination of the capitalist encirclement, and with this, the socialist state will begin to wither away. But, as we know, things have not yet reached this point.

2. Comrade Stalin by no means limited the tasks of the socialist state in the second phase of its development to only the organization of a socialist economy throughout the country, the elimination of the last remnants of capitalist elements, the implementation of a cultural revolution, and the organization of a fully modern army for the defense of the country. As is well known, it was in his report to the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) that Comrade Stalin, in full accordance with his instruction that the main task of the Soviet socialist state within the country now consisted of peaceful economic-organizational and cultural-educational work, set forth gigantic tasks in full scope: to overtake the main capitalist countries in economic terms, i.e., in terms of industrial production per capita, to completely overcome the vestiges of capitalism in the consciousness of Soviet people, to educate the entire nation, etc. But all this means that the socialist state in the second phase of its development is called

upon to resolve the problems that have arisen before it in the conditions of *the gradual transition from socialism to communism* . Moreover, the flourishing of the second phase in the development of the Soviet socialist state only began after the tasks of the initial period of this phase, characterized by Comrade Stalin in his report to the 18th Party Congress, had been resolved.

The socialist state is the primary instrument for transforming the old, capitalist economy into a new, socialist one. It does not passively reflect economic changes, but is a powerful means of implementing them. Therefore, it is natural that the socialist state entered the second phase of its development before the tasks of the transition from capitalism to socialism had been fully resolved.

The basis for the transition of the Soviet socialist state to the second phase was provided by: the victory of the socialist industrialization of the country, which led to the USSR making a leap from backwardness to progress, while the capitalist elements in the field of industry sank to the bottom, and in the field of trade were reduced to a minimum; the reversal of the collectivization of peasant farms, which made it possible to go on the offensive against the capitalist elements along the entire front, to defeat the kulaks and liquidate them as a class, with the working peasantry being liberated "from kulak bondage and exploitation and a solid economic base in the village, the base of a collective farm, was created for Soviet power"[70]; the transformation of the socialist system from the leading one to the predominant one, which was the most important condition for laying the foundation of a socialist economy. It is known that all these changes in the USSR were realized by 1931-1932.

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[70] I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 13, pp. 191.

From this moment, the beginning of the second phase in the development of the Soviet socialist state can be dated, bearing in mind that in the following years (1932–1936), the state had to complete the work of eliminating the old foundations and the last vestiges of capitalist elements, and the work of building socialism. The distinctiveness of this period (from the elimination of the kulaks as a class to the elimination of the last vestiges of capitalist elements and the adoption of a new Constitution of the USSR) is reflected in Stalin's formulation of the tasks of this period. As for the new tasks that arose in the subsequent period of the second phase of development, they, as noted above, were linked by Comrade Stalin with the construction of a communist society in the USSR.

This is how one should understand the question of the conditions of transition from the first phase to the second phase of the development of the Soviet socialist state and the tasks facing the state in the second phase of its development.

As for the change in the form and functions of the Soviet socialist state in the second phase of its development, the following must be noted.

The change in the *form* of the Soviet socialist state reflected changes in the USSR's economy, the class structure of society, and the relations between nations. This change in the form of the Soviet state was primarily expressed in changes to the electoral system, replacing unequal suffrage with equal suffrage, multi-stage elections with direct elections, and open voting with secret ballots—in other words, further democratizing the electoral system. The Constitution of the USSR, in effect until 1936, and the electoral system that corresponded to it were intended to ensure: a) the provision and guarantee of rights for all workers; b) the leading role of the working class in the country's political life and within the state

apparatus; c) the limitation of the political rights and opportunities of exploiters. The first objective was achieved by granting workers the full range of rights and freedoms and providing them with the material conditions to secure these rights. The second objective, given the electoral law then in effect, was achieved through unequal representation rates for urban and rural populations, through city elections based on production units (factories, plants, institutions, etc.), through multi-stage elections, and through holding congresses of Soviets and electing delegates to higher congresses of Soviets. The third objective was achieved by disenfranchising the exploiting classes.

The new USSR Constitution and the new electoral law reflect the historic victory of socialism in the USSR and the transformation of all workers into active and conscious builders of communism. There is no longer any need to disenfranchise exploiters, as the exploiting classes have been eliminated. There is no longer any need for unequal and multi-stage elections or open voting, as workers have rallied closely around the working class, around the Bolshevik Party, whose authority has grown enormously. All workers actively and consciously pursue the policies of the working class, the Communist Party, and the Soviet socialist state. Consequently, the need to organize elections by production units has been eliminated, and since 1936, territorial electoral districts have been the basis for organizing elections.

Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and all local Councils of Workers' Deputies became universal, without any restrictions. According to the Stalin Constitution, Councils of Workers' Deputies were elected from top to bottom not at congresses of Soviets, but directly by the workers themselves in territorial electoral districts on the basis of universal, direct,

and equal suffrage by secret ballot. The functions of the legislative and executive bodies of Soviet power were more clearly delineated, with legislative power in the USSR now exercised by only one body—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In 1933, the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR was established, and by 1936, the centralization of the Prosecutor's Office was completed. The activities of the judiciary were clarified, the powers of the Supreme Court of the USSR were expanded, and the election of people's judges was established.

All these changes, as Comrade Stalin noted, marked a serious turning point in the political life of the country and led to increased political activity of the masses, to increased control over the activities of the Soviet authorities, and to increased responsibility of all state bodies to the people.

Following the victorious conclusion of the Great Patriotic War, the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the second convocation adopted a law transforming the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR into the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The adoption and implementation of the Stalin Constitution signified the establishment of a socialist state in the USSR based on the principles of victorious socialism. The old designations of "People's Commissar" and "People's Commissariat" had, to a certain extent, blurred the boundaries between central and local government bodies and did not fully express the competence and responsibility of central government bodies and the individuals heading individual branches of government. Based on this, and in accordance with the generally accepted designations of the highest executive bodies worldwide, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted a law transforming the People's Commissariats into ministries , and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR into the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

These are the most significant changes in the form of the Soviet socialist state, affecting the state as a whole, rather than its individual organs and aspects of its activities. These changes indicate that the forms of Soviet statehood, created after the radical dismantling of the state machine of the exploiting classes, have changed and evolved.

As for the *functions* of the socialist state in the second phase of its development, as Comrade Stalin showed, their change was expressed in the following:

"The function of military suppression within the country has disappeared—it has died out, for exploitation has been destroyed, there are no more exploiters, and there is no one to suppress. In place of the function of suppression, the state acquired the function of protecting socialist property from thieves and embezzlers of the people's wealth. The function of military defense of the country from attacks from without has been fully preserved, therefore, the Red Army and the Navy have also been preserved, as well as the punitive organs and intelligence services necessary for catching and punishing spies, murderers, and saboteurs sent into our country by foreign intelligence. The function of economic-organizational and cultural-educational work of state organs has been preserved and has received full development. Now the main task of our state within the country consists of peaceful economic-organizational and cultural-educational work. As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence, their spearhead is no longer directed inward, but outward, against external enemies"[71].

In examining the changing functions of the Soviet socialist state, it is appropriate to consider the changes that have occurred in the *three aspects of the dictatorship of the*

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[71] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 11, p. 606.

proletariat , as characterized by Comrade Stalin in his work "On the Questions of Leninism." First of all, the question arises: what is the relationship between the three aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the functions of the socialist state?

The three aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat express the essence of the socialist state, reveal its content, and express its historical role. They show: a) the tasks of the socialist state, which is the instrument of the victorious proletariat of one country—the vanguard of the international working class—in relation to the exploiting classes (including the tasks of defending the country from imperialist invaders); b) the tasks of the socialist state in relation to the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses of its country; c) the tasks of the socialist state, its role in building socialism and abolishing classes.

As Comrade Stalin showed, only all three aspects taken together provide a complete and finished concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The functions of the socialist state express in certain activities the essence of the dictatorship of the working class in relation to the internal and external situation of the country.

As long as the capitalist encirclement persists, all three aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat remain essentially intact. Meanwhile, the functions of the socialist state, as we have seen above, change depending on the socioeconomic development of the socialist country and changes in the external environment.

The fact that all three aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat are preserved in the second phase of the development of the socialist state does not mean that the victory of socialism and the tasks of the gradual transition from

socialism to communism did not lead to some modification of these aspects. Thus, if we consider the first aspect of the dictatorship of the working class in the USSR, it should be noted that although the task of using power to suppress exploiters within the country was solved, and the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man in the USSR were abolished, the significance of the socialist state for the consolidation and development of socialist property, for the defense of the USSR and the protection of its state interests, for strengthening ties with the working class of capitalist countries, and for the development and victory of the revolution in all countries was fully preserved and even further increased.

The emergence of people's democracies presented the Soviet state with a new task —close economic, political, and cultural cooperation with countries that had broken with imperialism and had begun, or were beginning, socialist construction. An anti-imperialist camp emerged, and for the first time in history, an organized peace front was created, led by the Soviet people and relying on the might of the Soviet socialist state. All of this, taken together, testifies to the growing role of the Soviet socialist state in the struggle of all peoples against imperialist oppression and robbery, for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Regarding the other side of the dictatorship of the working class, it must be noted that the task of finally separating the working and exploited masses from the bourgeoisie in the USSR has already been accomplished. The bourgeoisie itself, like other exploiting classes, has been eliminated, and the bulk of the peasantry has decisively and irrevocably embarked on the socialist path of development. But this has made the task of organizing the peasant masses for the construction of communism and their communist education all the more

important, something that is unthinkable without state leadership from the working class and its party.

Finally, the third aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as is well known, is the working class's use of power to organize socialism, to abolish classes, and to transition to a classless society. Socialism was built in the USSR, the exploiting classes were eliminated, and crucial steps were taken to eliminate the differences between workers and peasants. But a gigantic task remains, one that the peoples of the Soviet Union have already begun to tackle: the task of building communism and erasing the boundaries between workers and peasants, as well as between these classes and the intelligentsia. This task, too, cannot be accomplished without a socialist state. It acts as the organizer and leader of all economic and cultural development, all educational and political work aimed at building a communist society.

Thus, the Soviet socialist state of our time is characterized by all three aspects inherent in the dictatorship of the working class in the first stage of its development, although the forms, functions and methods of work of the socialist state have changed significantly.

In the second phase of the development of the Soviet socialist state, the highest principle of the dictatorship of the working class—the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class—was further developed. The implementation of the Bolshevik policy of socialist industrialization not only ensured the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy, the independence of the Soviet economy from capitalist countries, and an increase in the well-being and cultural level of the working class and all working people, but *also consolidated and enhanced the leading role of the working class in the*

Soviet Union . The implementation of the Bolshevik policy of collectivization of peasant farms led to the elimination of the main barriers separating peasants from workers, strengthening their cooperation and friendship, and created the preconditions for the further, and indeed complete, erasure of the boundaries between them during the construction of communism.

Thus, the tasks facing workers in the construction of a communist society dictate the need to maintain and strengthen state leadership by the working class over all layers of workers.

During the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet socialist state played a central and decisive role in the defeat of fascism. What would have become of the Soviet people without a powerful socialist state capable of rapidly converting the entire economy to a war footing, organizing the country into a unified military base, ensuring the deployment of the Soviet Army, and, through its sound foreign policy, ensuring the creation of an anti-Hitler coalition of freedom-loving countries? The Soviet peoples would have found themselves defenseless in the face of a bandit attack and would have been unable to organize a repulse. Only the presence of a powerful Soviet socialist state, led by the party of Lenin and Stalin, ensured the mobilization of all the resources of the national economy and the entire strength of the Soviet people for the needs of the Great Patriotic War against the Nazi invaders. After World War II, the Soviet Union rallied around itself the peoples who, with its help, had broken free from the system of imperialism.

During the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet socialist state continued to fulfill the three primary functions inherent in its second phase of development, as outlined by Comrade Stalin at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A distinctive feature of the Soviet socialist state's activities during this period was that the task of defending the

socialist fatherland became paramount, and other functions of the socialist state were subordinated to this task for the duration of the war. However, this did not mean the cessation of other functions of the socialist state.

During the Great Patriotic War, the importance of protecting and defending socialist property—the foundation of the Soviet system and the country's defensive strength—increased even further. The socialist state's economic, organizational, cultural, and educational functions were fully preserved. During the war, expanded socialist reproduction in the eastern regions of the country proceeded rapidly, and vigorous economic restoration and creative activity immediately began in the liberated areas. Work was intensively carried out to train new personnel to replace those sent to the front, and communist education of the workers was strengthened.

To ensure unity in mobilizing the resources of the national economy for the needs of the Patriotic War and organizing all the people's forces to defeat the enemy, the State Defense Committee of the USSR was created , which vested all state power. The State Defense Committee of the USSR, headed by I.V. Stalin, was of world-historical significance. Its role in ensuring victory in the war, organizing the smooth operation of the Soviet rear, preparing reserves, equipment, weapons, and ammunition for the Soviet Army, and raising Soviet patriotism at the front and in the rear was exceptionally great.

During the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet socialist state was further strengthened. The Soviet people, with boundless trust in the Communist Party and Soviet power, believing in the correctness of their policies, provided their government with every possible support. Never before had the Soviet people been so closely united around the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, and never before had Soviet patriotism

risen to such heights as during the Great Patriotic War. And the strong ties between the Communist Party and Soviet power and the masses is, as is well known, the primary source of the strength and power of the Soviet state.

During the Great Patriotic War, the friendship between the peoples of the USSR, forged by the blood spilled on the front lines, grew even stronger. Respect and trust among the peoples of the USSR for each other, and above all for the great Russian people, grew. The Soviet state system demonstrated its invincibility to the entire world.

During the Great Patriotic War, all organs of the Soviet state were strengthened and tempered, and above all, the Soviet Army, which had accumulated combat experience and become a professional army. A remarkable cadre of Soviet commanders emerged, Stalin's genius created a Bolshevik military science, and Soviet military art, strategy, and tactics rose to new heights. The peoples of Europe, enslaved by Hitlerism, looked to the Soviet Army as their liberator. And the Soviet Army brought liberation from the Nazi yoke to the peoples of Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, Finland, Norway, and other countries. The liberation mission of the Soviet Army was the key to enabling the peoples of several countries in Central and Southeastern Europe to establish people's democracies and subsequently embark on the path to socialism.

As a result of the Second World War, the international authority of the Soviet state, which now leads the anti-imperialist, democratic camp throughout the world, grew immeasurably.

The Soviet socialist state emerged from the crucible of war even stronger. The war demonstrated that the Soviet social and

political system possessed invaluable advantages over the bourgeois social and political system, both in peacetime and in wartime.

The mighty Soviet socialist state is currently leading the enormous effort of building a communist society and educating the masses in communist principles. It is constantly growing stronger and will continue to do so until the capitalist encirclement is eliminated.

At the 18th Party Congress, Comrade Stalin said:

"We are moving further, forward, towards communism. Will we still have a state during the communist era?

Yes, it will remain if the capitalist encirclement is not liquidated, if the danger of military attacks from outside is not eliminated, and it is clear that the forms of our state will again be changed, in accordance with the change in the internal and external situation.

No, it will not survive and will die out if the capitalist environment is liquidated, if it is replaced by a socialist environment"[72].

This conclusion of Comrade Stalin's is of inestimable importance for Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of communist construction in our country. It is inextricably linked with Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, which Comrade Stalin culminated in the doctrine of the possibility of building communism in one country, the Soviet Union. This conclusion crowns the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist state, giving it integrity, coherence, and completeness.

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[72] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 11, p. 606.

Stalin's theory of the socialist state must be understood inextricably linked to the new theory of socialist revolution, created by Lenin and developed by Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin always viewed the question of the socialist state and its fate as an integral part of the general question of socialist revolution. Thus, responding to a letter from A. Kholopov, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Engels, in his Anti-Dühring, said that after the victory of the socialist revolution, the state must wither away. On this basis, after the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, the dogmatists and Talmudists in our party began to demand that the party take measures to speed up the withering away of our state, to dissolve state organs, and to abandon the standing army.

"However, Soviet Marxists, on the basis of a study of the world situation in our time, have come to the conclusion that in the presence of a capitalist encirclement, when the victory of the socialist revolution takes place only in one country, while capitalism reigns in all other countries, the country of the victorious revolution must not weaken, but in every possible way strengthen its state, state organs, intelligence organs, and army, if this country does not want to be routed by the capitalist encirclement. Russian Marxists have come to the conclusion that Engels' formula implies the victory of socialism in all countries or in the majority of countries, that it is inapplicable to the case when socialism triumphs in one, separate country, while capitalism reigns in all other countries"[73].

Marxists cannot help but know, Comrade Stalin writes further, that both of these formulas on the question of the fate of the

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[73] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Problems of Linguistics, p. 50.

socialist state, which exclude each other, “are correct, but not absolutely, each for its own time: the formula of the Soviet Marxists – for the period of the victory of socialism in one or several countries, and the formula of Engels – for the period when the consistent victory of socialism in individual countries will lead to the victory of socialism in the majority of countries and when, thus, the necessary conditions for the application of Engels’ formula will be created”[74].

Comrade Stalin's new formula for strengthening the Soviet socialist state, existing in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, is a consequence and further development of the Leninist-Stalinist theory of socialist revolution, which proceeds from the fact that in the era of imperialism, the simultaneous victory of revolution in all countries is impossible, but the victory of socialism is possible initially in one, separate, country or in several countries.

Comrade Stalin's conclusion about the preservation of the socialist state under communism unless the threat of external attack on the socialist state by capitalist states is eliminated is inextricably linked with Comrade Stalin's development of the Leninist-Stalinist theory of building socialism in one country and the conclusion about the possibility of building communism in one country. The new theory of socialist revolution, the theory of building socialism and communism in one country, and its practical implementation in the USSR dictated the need for a new theory of the socialist state, a new formula for the development paths and fate of the socialist state.

The great Lenin created a new theory of socialist revolution, carried out “not by an isolated proletariat against the

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[74] I. V. Stalin, Marksiz m and Problems of Linguistics, p. 51 .

entire bourgeoisie, but by the proletariat as a hegemon, having allies in the form of the semi-proletarian elements of the population, in the form of millions of 'working and exploited masses'"[75].

As early as 1905, this theory already provided all, or almost all, the basic elements necessary to conclude that the victory of socialism in one country was possible. By 1915, based on a penetrating analysis of the era of imperialism, Lenin reached this conclusion, thereby giving a holistic and complete character to the new theory of socialist revolution—a theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country.

In developing the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin, in full accordance with his new theory of socialist revolution, demonstrated that the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry, with the working class playing the leading role in this alliance. Lenin taught that only a strong state of proletarian dictatorship can ensure the peaceful construction of a socialist society.

The great Stalin defended Lenin's theory of the possibility of building socialism in one country against the attacks of the enemies of the people. Stalin further developed Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, establishing that the victory of socialism in one country has two aspects: an internal aspect , linked to class relations within the country, and an external , international aspect, linked to the Soviet Union's relations with the capitalist encirclement. While answering affirmatively to the question of the ability of the working class, relying on an alliance with the peasantry, to resolve internal contradictions and build socialism by its own efforts, Comrade Stalin

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[75] "History of the CPSU (b). Short Course, p. 72.

answered negatively to the question of the ability of the Soviet people alone to eliminate the danger of intervention while the capitalist encirclement persists. Stalin explained that the construction of socialism in one country does not mean final victory, since the danger of armed foreign imperialist intervention remains.

I. V. Stalin developed the paths and methods of building socialism, developed the Bolshevik method of socialist industrialization and collectivization of peasant farms, defeated the enemies of socialist industrialization and collectivization of peasant farms, and led the Soviet people to the victory of socialism. I. V. Stalin crowned the new theory of socialist revolution with the doctrine of the possibility of the victory of communism in one country.

Developing Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin substantiated the need to strengthen the socialist state existing within a capitalist encirclement, demonstrated the paths for the development of the socialist state, comprehensively explored the nature and content of the activities and functions of the socialist state under socialism, and demonstrated the need to preserve the socialist state under communism until the capitalist encirclement is replaced by a socialist one. I. V. Stalin created a comprehensive and complete theory of the socialist state, consistent with the new theory of socialist revolution developed by Lenin and Stalin.

Chapter Two

Lenin and Stalin on the State Form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

1. Soviet power as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin and Stalin—the founders, organizers, and leaders of the world's first socialist state—developed Marxist ideas about the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in accordance with the new historical situation, brought these ideas to life. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the party of Lenin and Stalin, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union overthrew the rule of the exploiters and ushered in a new era in human history—the era of socialist revolutions, the era of socialism. The experience of the Bolshevik Party and the experience of the workers and peasants of the USSR in building a socialist state is of enduring international significance. Without this experience, success in the struggle for socialism in any country in the world is impossible.

1. Soviet power as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviets of Workers' Deputies, which grew and strengthened as a result of the overthrow of landowner and capitalist rule and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are the political form of the socialist state. They constitute the political foundation of the USSR. All power in the Soviet Union belongs to the workers of the city and village, represented by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

The victorious October Socialist Revolution transferred power into the hands of the workers, represented by the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

Soviets, as a form of organizing the working class and the toiling masses, emerged during the revolutionary struggles of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. In this new era of capitalism, the old forms of proletarian organization, which had grown up under bourgeois parliamentarism, proved insufficient to accomplish the tasks of dismantling the bourgeois state machine and replacing bourgeois democracy with proletarian democracy.

The Soviets first emerged in 1905. Created by the revolutionary initiative of the Russian working class, they became the organ of armed uprising and the beginning of a new revolutionary power.

The great Lenin meticulously studied the experience and nature of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies as mass revolutionary organizations of the people. As early as 1905, during the bourgeois-democratic revolution, Lenin pointed out that the Soviets were not only an instrument of the masses' revolutionary struggle and organs of a popular armed uprising, but also the seeds of a new revolutionary power. Even then, Lenin saw the Soviets as the most powerful organs of the masses' revolutionary struggle, capable of breaking not only the autocracy but also the political dominance of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin viewed the Soviets as those organs of state power which, with the victorious outcome of the first Russian revolution, were to implement the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and accelerate the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist one.

In 1917, as the bourgeois-democratic revolution was evolving into a socialist revolution, and the question of transferring power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat arose, Lenin forcefully emphasized that the Soviets were not only the most powerful organs of mass political action by workers, the revolutionary struggle of the masses, and organs of armed uprising capable of breaking the omnipotence of finance capital and its political organization, but also a new type of state power, adapted to the goals of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The value of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, Lenin wrote, was precisely that they represented a new, more democratic type of state apparatus.

"Let those who say, 'We have no apparatus to replace the old apparatus, which inevitably gravitates toward the defense of the bourgeoisie,' be ashamed." For this apparatus exists . It is the Soviets. Do not fear the initiative and independence of the masses; trust in the revolutionary organizations of the masses..."[76], said Lenin, and he thoroughly explained the characteristics and advantages of the Soviet organization.

The presence of the Soviets was a crucial factor in ensuring the rapid success of the socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917 and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviets made it possible to successfully and quickly complete the dismantling of the old, bourgeois state machine and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Even before the victorious October Socialist Revolution, V. I. Lenin, drawing on Marxist theory and analyzing the experience of two Russian revolutions, concluded that the best political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a parliamentary democratic republic, as Marxists had previously

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[76] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 344.

believed and as Engels confirmed in his 1891 critique of the Erfurt Program, but a Soviet Republic. V. I. Lenin repeatedly spoke of the international significance of Soviet power. Despite the diversity of possible forms of socialist state, Soviets represent the highest form of dictatorship of the working class.

Comrade Stalin, assessing the historical significance of Lenin's discovery of the Soviets as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, wrote:

"What would have happened to the Party, to our revolution, to Marxism, if Lenin had given in to the letter of Marxism and had not dared to replace one of the old tenets of Marxism, formulated by Engels, with a new tenet of a Soviet republic, corresponding to the new historical situation? The Party would have groped in the dark, the Soviets would have been disorganized, we would not have had Soviet power, Marxist theory would have suffered serious damage. The proletariat would have lost, and the enemies of the proletariat would have won . "[77]

Summarizing Lenin's views on Soviets and further developing his doctrine of Soviets, Comrade Stalin, in his famous book "The Foundations of Leninism," exhaustively characterized the characteristics of Soviets as a new organization of the proletariat and revealed the sources of their strength. Comrade Stalin demonstrated that the strength of Soviets, compared to older forms of organization, lies, firstly, in the fact that they are all-encompassing mass organizations of the proletariat, encompassing all workers without exception. This circumstance is of exceptional importance for the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the involvement of all workers in the governance of the country.

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[77] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course", p. 341.

The strength of the Soviets, secondly, lies in the fact that they are the only mass organizations that unite all the oppressed and exploited, all workers, and therefore through the Soviets the political leadership of the working class over the working masses can be carried out in the best, most complete and easiest way.

The strength of the Soviet organization lies, thirdly, in the fact that only it, created by the creativity of the revolutionary people and transformed into the political basis of the revolutionary power of the workers and peasants, was capable of "truly smashing at once and finally destroying the old, i.e., bourgeois, bureaucratic and judicial apparatus"[78], liberating the army from subordination to bourgeois command and transforming it from an instrument of oppression of the people by exploiters into an instrument of liberation of the people from the yoke of all exploiters. It is the Soviets, Comrade Stalin teaches, "that are *the most powerful organs* of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the political action of the masses, the uprising of the masses, organs capable of breaking the omnipotence of finance capital and its political appendages"[79].

Finally, fourthly, the strength of the Soviets, Comrade Stalin points out, lies in the fact that they are direct, i.e., the most democratic, and therefore the most authoritative organizations of the masses, facilitating their participation in the organization of the socialist state and in its management, developing the revolutionary energy of the masses, their initiative and creative abilities in the struggle for socialism.

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[78] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 444.

[79] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 119.

"The Soviets," Lenin teaches, "are the direct organization of the working and exploited masses themselves, *facilitating their ability* to organize the state themselves and manage it in every possible way. It is precisely the vanguard of the working and exploited, the urban proletariat, that gains the advantage of being best united by large enterprises; it is easiest for them to elect and supervise those elected. Automatically, the Soviet organization *facilitates* the unification of all working and exploited people around their vanguard, the proletariat"[80].

This is precisely why the Soviets are the most democratic organizations, attracting the masses of workers to the governance of the state, awakening and unleashing their creative initiative, seizing their spirit, and organizing them in the struggle for the final triumph of communism. The strength of the Soviet state lies in the fact that it relies on the depth of the masses, on their powerful support.

In contrast to the bourgeois state, which *repels the exploited masses* from participating in governance, the Soviet state *attracts* the masses to governance. The structure of Soviet power is adapted to bringing the masses closer to the administrative apparatus.

World history, with its entire course, has confirmed the depth and justice of Lenin's position: "...the era of bourgeois-democratic parliamentarism has ended, a new chapter of world history has begun: the era of proletarian dictatorship"[81], the era of the triumph of socialist democracy.

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that Soviet power is the unification of local Soviets into a single state organization built

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[80] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 227.

[81] See I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 120.

on the principle of democratic centralism. Soviet power combines the overwhelming democracy of the masses, who for the first time have taken their own destiny into their own hands, with consistently implemented centralism. The masses participate in governing the country through the system of Soviets and other mass workers' organizations, oversee the activities of Soviet bodies, and recall and replace deputies who are objectionable to the people and who have failed to justify the people's trust. Exposing the Menshevik Bazarov, who accused the Bolsheviks of hostility toward the centralism of the bourgeois state and of undermining that centralism, Lenin wrote:

"The state, dear people, is a class concept. The state is an organ or machine of violence of one class against another. As long as it remains a machine for the bourgeoisie to use violence against the proletariat, there can only be one proletarian slogan: the *destruction* of this state. And when the state becomes proletarian, when it becomes a machine for the proletariat to use violence against the bourgeoisie, then we are completely and unconditionally in favor of firm power and centralism...

“Not a single center, not a single Bolshevik ever argued against the *centralism* of the Soviets, against their unification”[82].

The establishment of Soviet power meant the unification of local Soviets into a common state organization of the proletariat as the ruling class and vanguard of all working and exploited masses, the creation of the Republic of Soviets.

“The essence of Soviet power lies in the fact that the most massive and most revolutionary organizations of those very

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[82] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, 4th ed., p. 92.

classes that were oppressed by the capitalists and landowners are now ‘ *the permanent and sole basis* of all state power, the entire state apparatus’, that ‘precisely those masses who, even in the most democratic bourgeois republics’, being equal by law, ‘were in fact kept from participating in political life and from enjoying democratic rights and freedoms by thousands of methods and tricks, are now drawn into *permanent* and indispensable, and indeed decisive , participation in the democratic governance of the state’ (see Lenin , Vol. XXIV, p. 13)”[83].

Comrade Stalin, in his work “On the Foundations of Leninism,” summarizing and developing Lenin’s characteristics of Soviet power, notes the following features:

Soviet power is the most massive and most democratic organization of all possible under the conditions of the existence of class state organizations; being the arena of the bond between the working class and the toiling peasantry, directed against the exploiters, and relying on this bond, Soviet power is the power of the majority of the population over the minority, “the state of this majority, the expression of its dictatorship”[84].

Soviet power represents the most internationalist state organization of all existing state organizations in class society, an organization capable of completely eliminating national oppression and organizing close cooperation between workers of different nationalities, nurturing them in a spirit of mutual trust, respect, and friendship, in the spirit of socialist

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[83] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, pp. 119–120.

[84] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 120.

internationalism. Soviet power thus facilitates the unification of these masses in a single state union.

The Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People, written by V. I. Lenin with the participation of I. V. Stalin, signed by Lenin and first published in Pravda on January 17, 1918, stated that the Soviet Republic was established on the basis of a free union of free nations.

In creating the Soviet multinational state, Lenin and Stalin developed and laid the principle of Soviet federation as the foundation of state building. This principle is based on the consistent exercise of the right of nations to self-determination, including secession, the voluntary unification of nations into a single union state, and the recognition of the equality of nationalities. The Soviet Federation ensures a harmonious combination of strict centralization of state power with consistently implemented socialist democracy, consistent protection of the common interests of all peoples comprising the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, while protecting the specific interests of each people.

As a result of the consistent implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, the Soviet Union was transformed into a powerful multinational socialist state, a free union of free nations.

Soviet power, by its very structure, facilitates the task of leading the peasantry and other strata of the working people by the working class - “the most united and most conscious core of the Soviets”[85].

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[85] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 121.

Soviet power overcomes the gap between legislative and executive functions that exists in bourgeois-parliamentary republics, unites these functions in a single state organization, "directly links workers and the working masses in general with the apparatus of state administration, and teaches them how to govern the country"[86]. In the first phase of the development of the socialist state, it replaced territorial electoral districts with production units—factories and plants—in order to establish a direct connection between workers and the working masses in general with the apparatus of state administration and to strengthen the leading role of the working class.

Soviet power freed the army from subordination to bourgeois command, transforming it from an instrument of oppression, as it had been under capitalism, "into an instrument of liberating the people from the yoke of the bourgeoisie, both their own and others"[87]; Soviet power organizes and strengthens the armed forces of the revolution. The Soviet organization of the state finally destroys the old bureaucratic and judicial apparatus, providing everything necessary to overcome red tape and other bureaucratic distortions in government bodies.

The Soviet form of government attracts all mass organizations of workers: trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives, the workers' and peasants' press, workers' societies, and consequently, their members, to constant and unconditional participation in state administration and thereby prepares one of the most important conditions for the coming withering away of the state in the world communist society.

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86 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 121.

87 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 121.

“The Republic of Soviets,” concludes Comrade Stalin, “is thus the sought-after and finally found political form within which the economic liberation of the proletariat and the complete victory of socialism must be accomplished.

The Paris Commune was the embryo of this form. Soviet power is its development and completion”[88].

The dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin and Stalin teach, is the fundamental content of the socialist revolution, the main weapon in the hands of the working class, used to suppress the exploiters, to eliminate classes and build socialism and communism.

Soviet power is the most perfect form of state power, capable not only of carrying out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, but also of representing the statehood of a socialist and even communist society (since the existence of capitalist states makes it necessary to preserve the state under communism).

All this confirms the world-historical significance of Lenin's teaching on the Soviet form of government, on the Soviets as a state form of the socialist state, as well as the world-historical significance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, created under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, which grew under the leadership of the great Stalin into a mighty force.

The working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, needed to destroy the old state in order to build the Soviet state. The fundamentally new apparatus of the socialist state, adapted to serving the masses, suppressing exploiters, and designed to

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88 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 122.

involve all workers in governing the country, was inevitably subject to pressure from capitalist elements in the context of the existence of exploiting classes. This was one of the main causes of bureaucratic distortions in the work of certain elements of the proletarian state apparatus. During the transition from capitalism to socialism, Lenin and Stalin raised the issue of combating bureaucracy with particular urgency.

Why did the Soviets—a new type of state power—turn out to be "infected" with bureaucracy, why did the workers' state in some of its links suffer from bureaucratic distortions? Lenin asked, and in answering this question, he noted the following main reasons:

Firstly, the presence within the new apparatus of state power of old officials who distance themselves from the workers and who were raised and trained to work in an anti-people, bureaucratic state apparatus designed to oppress the workers. The proletarian apparatus of state power cannot always function without the use of certain groups of old officials, especially in the initial period. Naturally, these officials bring old bureaucratic methods of work with them into the new apparatus.

Secondly, the penetration of the Communist Party and the state apparatus by adventurers, swindlers, and careerists who use government positions for selfish purposes to the detriment of the state and the people.

Thirdly, the pressure of the bourgeoisie, in particular the kulaks, on the apparatus of state power, the "envelopment" of individual Soviet workers by capitalist elements, leading to the degeneration of these workers into soulless bureaucrats and functionaries.

Fourthly, “the fragmentation, disunity of the small producer, his poverty, lack of culture, lack of roads, illiteracy, lack of circulation between agriculture and industry, lack of communication and interaction between them”[89] represented the socio-economic basis of bureaucracy.

Fifth, the low cultural level of the population made it difficult to attract the working masses to participate in government. Soviet power, by eliminating the legislative obstacles that prevented the people from participating in government, had to raise the cultural level of the masses. "The fight against bureaucracy to the end, to its complete victory, is possible only when the entire population participates in government"[90].

It should be added that the remnants of capitalism in the consciousness of workers, including in the consciousness of the employees of the Soviet apparatus, facilitated the subordination of individual workers to the influence of bourgeois ideology.

These are the main sources and roots of bureaucracy.

Elements of bureaucracy increased with the introduction of the NEP, with the growth and revival of the activity of capitalist elements, with the transition from civil war to other, more complex and disguised, but no less fierce than civil war, forms of class struggle.

All of Lenin's final works on the functioning of Soviet bodies, from his report to the Eighth Party Congress (1919) to the articles "How We Can Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" and "Better Fewer, But Better" (1923), centered on the problem of combating bureaucracy. Guided by Lenin's

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89 V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 32, 4th ed., p. 330.

90 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, 4th ed., p. 161.

directives, the Communist Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, steadily rooted out bureaucracy and improved the functioning of the Soviet state apparatus.

The construction of socialism, the elimination of the exploiting classes, the improvement of living conditions and the rise of the cultural level of the working people, the flourishing of Soviet democracy, and the increased political activity of the masses undermined the foundations and largely eliminated the roots and source of bureaucracy in the USSR. However, it would be wrong to assume that elements of bureaucracy in all levels of the state apparatus and in public organizations have been eliminated. As long as vestiges of capitalism persist in the consciousness of individual state employees and other workers, as long as the capitalist environment, to some extent nourishing these vestiges and contributing to their persistence, persists, manifestations of bureaucracy are possible, and therefore, a fight against it is necessary. In this sense, the task of combating bureaucracy, posed by Lenin and Stalin, remains relevant.

The fundamental condition for a successful fight against bureaucracy is the continued growth of mass political activity and the comprehensive development of criticism and self-criticism. Revolutionary criticism and self-criticism by the masses, while further improving the functioning of the state apparatus, further ties it to the working people and serves as the best way to involve the masses in governing the country.

Soviet power, as the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is characterized by exceptional flexibility. It changes and develops as the socialist state develops, ensuring the most complete resolution of the tasks facing the state at each stage of this development. Significant changes in the form of the Soviet state occurred during its transition from the first phase of development to the second.

The structure of the Soviet state is legally formalized in the country's Constitution. Amendments to the Constitution are dictated by changes occurring in the organization of Soviet power and the content of its activities in response to socioeconomic changes in the country.

Under the direct leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Constitution of the RSFSR was drafted and adopted by the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in July 1918. This Constitution legally enshrined the gains of the socialist revolution and, in fact, the already established Soviet social and political system of the country. "The Soviet Constitution," said Lenin, "was not written according to any 'plan,' was not drawn up in offices, and was not imposed on the working people by lawyers from the bourgeoisie. No, this Constitution grew out of the course of the development of the *class struggle* , as *class contradictions* matured "[91].

The constitutions of other Soviet republics—the Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Transcaucasian Federation—were developed on the model of this Constitution.

In 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed. On January 31, 1924, the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR approved the Constitution of the USSR. This Constitution of the Soviet Union reflected the changes that had taken place in the country in connection with the transition to the NEP, the overcoming of economic devastation, and the ongoing restoration of the national economy. It legislatively enshrined the social and political structure of the country as it had developed at the beginning of the NEP, when the Soviet government, in the interests of strengthening the alliance of the working class and the toiling peasants, allowed freedom of

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[91] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 277.

trade and, in connection with this, a certain revival of capitalist elements amid the comprehensive development of socialism; when industry was based on outdated technology and had not yet reached the pre-war level of 1913; when small-scale commodity production reigned supreme in agriculture, and kulak production represented a significant force; when private capitalist elements accounted for 40-50% of the country's trade turnover.

At the beginning of the NEP, alongside the main classes—the working class and the individual peasantry—the urban and rural bourgeoisie remained a significant force. In the area of national relations, the vestiges of mistrust between peoples had not yet been fully overcome, and centrifugal forces were still at work.

The first Constitution of the USSR reflected the period in the development of our society when Soviet power fought for the displacement and liquidation of capitalist elements, for a fundamental change in the class structure of society based on the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of peasant farms, for the establishment of a socialist system of national economy, and for the establishment of fraternal cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In connection with the formation of the USSR and the adoption of the first Constitution of the Soviet Union, corresponding amendments were made to the Constitutions of the Union Republics. The first Constitution of the USSR, as is well known, remained in effect throughout the first phase of the development of the socialist state and was replaced by the new Constitution of the USSR after the victory of socialism.

What was the structure of the Soviet government in the first phase of the development of the socialist state?

All power, central and local, belonged to the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Red Army Deputies. The Soviets expressed the will of the workers and were their weapon against the exploiters. The exploiters were disenfranchised because they fiercely fought against Soviet power.

The workers and exploited were not only granted all rights, but also provided with a material guarantee of these rights on the basis of the nationalization of land, large and medium-sized industry, transport, banks, the establishment of a monopoly on foreign trade, the transfer of printing houses, publishing houses, newspapers, paper stocks, radio, the best meeting places, etc., into the hands of the workers.

In order to establish closer ties between the Soviets and the workers, elections in the cities were held according to the production principle - in factories, plants, institutions, cooperative associations, etc. This also ensured greater cohesion and organization of the workers in conditions of intense class struggle, the leading role of workers' collectives in exercising workers' control over the work of the Soviets, and the leading role of the working class in relation to the peasantry.

The same objective of strengthening the leading role of the working class, which had come to power in an agrarian country with an overwhelmingly rural population—the peasantry—as well as the goal of greater centralization and organization in state actions, underpinned such features of the electoral system in effect before 1936 as not entirely equal suffrage, multi-stage elections, beginning with the volost, and open voting. The grassroots organs of Soviet power—village, town, and city Soviets—were elected directly by workers through open voting. In volosts and districts, counties and okrugs, provinces, regions, and republics, the organs of state power were the

respective congresses of Soviets, and in the intervals between them, executive committees elected at the congresses of Soviets. Each lower congress delegated representatives to the congress above it, up to and including the All-Union Congress of Soviets. Workers enjoyed a certain advantage in elections. During elections to the All-Union Congress of Soviets, city councils and councils of urban settlements elected one delegate per 25,000 voters , while provincial congresses of Soviets elected one deputy per 125,000 residents . These features of the electoral system, which consolidated the leading role of the working class, developed during the struggle for power and were only legally enshrined in the Constitution.

The guiding principle of the Soviet government was democratic centralism. This principle ensured the election of all deputies and their accountability to voters, the absolute binding force of decisions by higher authorities on lower authorities, and the subordination of lower authorities to higher ones.

The principle of democratic centralism was organically linked to the federal structure of the Soviet state as a multinational state. This form of government for the Soviet Republic was defined even before the adoption of the first Constitution of the RSFSR by the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," which proclaimed the establishment of the Russian Soviet Republic on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics. This principle was further developed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In bourgeois countries, municipalities and other local government bodies are deprived of political rights. The ruling exploiting classes carefully ensure that local government bodies, where even under bourgeois parliamentarism, workers

can win a majority, are deprived of political functions. Bourgeois states place these bodies under the control of the Ministry of the Interior and its police apparatus, ensuring the subordination of "self-government" bodies to the police bureaucracy.

Within the structure of Soviet power, the question of the relationship between local and central government bodies found its best, consistently democratic resolution. In the Soviet Republic, all local power rests with local councils, which, working under central guidance, ensure the maximum development of workers' creative initiative.

Lenin, speaking on October 31, 1922, at the 4th session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the 9th convocation, noted that the most important successes of the Soviet revolution largely depended on the fact that "we relied entirely on local elements, that we gave them full scope for action, that we expected from the localities that enthusiasm which created the irresistibility and speed of action of our revolution. I know that since then our localities have had to endure many very different, so to speak, perturbations. The relationship of the localities to the center has been a significant task for us, and I do not at all want to say that this task has always been solved by us ideally... But that it has been solved more sincerely, more truthfully, and more firmly than in any other state—this we can say boldly"[92].

The right of local Soviets to decide all local matters without exception is of particular importance for national districts, where the organs of Soviet power, when deciding all issues, are strictly guided by the consideration of the national

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[92] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 33, 4th ed., p. 357.

characteristics of the district and the specific national interests of the population.

The broad rights and initiative of local Soviets, along with autonomy for national districts, regions, and republics, were combined with strict centralization, ensuring the unity and organization of the Soviet state. According to the first Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1924, the highest organs of state power were the All-Union Congress of Soviets and, between congresses of Soviets, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, which consisted of two equal chambers: the Union Council, elected by the All-Union Congress of Soviets, and the Council of Nationalities, composed of representatives of the Union and autonomous republics and autonomous regions. The Central Executive Committee of the USSR was responsible to the All-Union Congress of Soviets and was the supreme organ of power in the USSR between All-Union Congresses of Soviets. The Central Executive Committee of the USSR elected the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, which was responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and served as the highest legislative, executive, and administrative body between sessions of the Central Executive Committee. The government of the USSR was the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, elected by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and serving as the executive and administrative body of the Central Executive Committee and accountable to it. According to the 1924 Constitution of the USSR, all these bodies exercised legislative powers.

The Council of People's Commissars of the USSR—the government of the USSR—included all-Union and joint people's commissariats, which directly supervised individual branches of government administration. The People's

Commissariats of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, Military Affairs, Communications, Posts and Telegraphs were integrated and constituted the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR. The People's Commissariat of Finance, the Supreme Council of the National Economy, the People's Commissariat of Food, the People's Commissariat of Labor, and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection were directive—Union-Republican; this meant that the USSR was responsible for developing guidelines in a given area of government, while direct work was carried out through the corresponding people's commissariats of the union and autonomous republics. The People's Commissariats of Education, Health, Agriculture, Internal Affairs, Justice, and Social Security existed only in the union and autonomous republics and remained autonomous[93].

This structure of the central government bodies of the USSR ensured strict centralization of governance while respecting the principle of autonomy of national republics and the development of independent activity and initiative of local Soviets.

The victory of socialism in the USSR, the destruction of the exploiting classes, the flourishing of socialist democracy, and the Soviet state's entry into the second phase of its development necessitated major changes in the form and organization of Soviet power. These changes were enshrined in the new Stalin Constitution of the USSR, adopted in December 1936 at the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets of the USSR and implemented.

These changes were expressed in: a) the establishment of universal and equal suffrage for all citizens, the abolition of all restrictions on the electoral rights of persons who had exploited

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[93] K. Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol. II, Gospolitizdat, 1948, p. 23.

the labor of others in the past, and the abolition of some existing inequality in the electoral rights of workers and peasants; b) the replacement of indirect elections with direct ones and open voting with secret voting; c) the replacement of the production-territorial principle of elections with a territorial one, with the establishment of electoral districts according to the place of residence of workers; d) the consistent implementation and development of Soviet democracy, caused by the victory of socialism, the destruction of the exploiting classes and the transformation of all workers into active and conscious builders of a socialist society, in connection with which the Councils of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies became Councils of Workers' Deputies; d) a clearer delineation of the competence of the highest and local authorities, in connection with which the People's Commissariats were transformed into ministries, and the Council of People's Commissars into the Council of Ministers; e) in a clearer delineation of legislative and executive functions between the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, as well as in completing the creation of a well-organized system of courts and prosecutors and in restructuring their activities in accordance with the conditions of victorious socialism; g) in the creation of a number of new ministries, state committees and departments and in a significant change in the structure of previously existing ministries[94].

As a result of all these changes, the democracy of the Soviet socialist state rose to an even higher level, and the apparatus of state power became even more closely integrated with the

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[94] During the period of the 1924 Constitution's operation, amendments were made to it: the functions of the People's Commissariat of Labor were transferred to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions; the People's Commissariat of Agriculture was transformed into a Union-Republican one, etc.

masses, the leading role of the working class and the Bolshevik Party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat increased, and the Soviet state became even more robust and powerful.

The current structure of the state authorities of the USSR, based on the Stalin Constitution, in force since 1936, is as follows: the highest body of state authority in the USSR is the Supreme Soviet of the USSR , which exercises all rights granted to the USSR. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is the sole legislative body of the USSR, approving and amending the Constitution of the USSR and adopting other laws, including laws on the judicial system and legal proceedings, the criminal and civil codes, legislation on union citizenship, and legislation on the rights of foreigners. It establishes the foundations of labor legislation, marriage, and family law, issues all-Union amnesty acts, approves the national economic plan and budget of the USSR, etc.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR convenes sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, issues decrees, interprets current laws of the USSR, etc.

The highest organ of state power in each union and autonomous republic and its sole legislative body is the Supreme Council of the union or autonomous republic. It adopts and amends the Constitution of the union republic, establishes the borders of the autonomous republics and regions within it, approves the national economic plan and budget of the republic, establishes the representation of the union republic in international relations, establishes the procedure for the formation of republican military formations,

and exercises the right of amnesty and pardon for citizens convicted by the republic's judicial authorities.

The highest executive and administrative body of state power in the USSR is the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The Council of Ministers of the USSR reports to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Council of Ministers of the USSR, based on and in pursuance of existing laws, issues decrees and orders that are binding throughout the territory of the USSR.

The highest executive and administrative body of state power of the union and autonomous republic is the Council of Ministers, accountable to the Supreme Council of the corresponding republic.

Local Councils of Workers' Deputies (of a territory, region, autonomous region, district, region, city, town, village) manage cultural, political, and economic development on their territory, establish local budgets, manage the activities of governing bodies subordinate to them, ensure the protection of public order, contribute to strengthening the country's defense capability, ensure compliance with laws, and protect the rights of citizens.

Local Councils of Workers' Deputies elect executive committees, which serve as their executive and administrative bodies. Regional, provincial, district, and city Councils establish departments and directorates of executive committees for public education, healthcare, public utilities, cultural and educational work, arts, trade, finance, local industry, and other matters, depending on the nature of the regional, district, and city economy. Local Councils of Workers' Deputies base their work on engaging all voters in the work of the Councils.

Standing committees on public education, healthcare, finance, and other issues, which include a broad range of active members of the Council alongside deputies, play a key role in engaging workers in the work of the Councils.

In the work of all links of the Soviet state apparatus, the principle of democratic centralism is consistently implemented, which received its further development in the conditions of the second phase of the Soviet socialist state.

For the first time in history, the Soviet socialist state implemented genuine democracy, based on the involvement of the broadest masses of the people in governing the state. The system of fully developed Soviet socialist democracy inspires workers of all countries to fight for socialism, against the bourgeois system, against the bourgeois pseudo-democracy that serves as a cover for the rule of exploiters over the working masses.

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The Soviets have had a glorious history in their development. From organs of the revolutionary struggle for power, as they were in 1905 and 1917, after the victorious October Socialist Revolution, they became the political foundation and form of state power in the USSR. For four decades, the Soviets have exercised the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The Soviets played a major role in organizing the victory of socialism in the USSR and continue to play a major role in the construction of communism.

With the victory of socialism in the USSR, the Soviets grew into a mighty, invincible force, founded on a united Soviet people united around the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin. Soviet power embodies the new driving forces of societal development that emerged in our country on the foundation of

socialism—the moral and political unity of society as a whole, the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, and Soviet patriotism. Soviet power, as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is inspired by Bolshevik principles, guided and directed in all its activities by the great party of Lenin and Stalin, serves the working people, and directs the development of Soviet society toward communism.

This is the source of the Soviet state's power, its unquestionable moral and political authority. The Soviet state serves as a beacon of communism for the peoples of the Soviet Union and for the peoples of the entire world.

"The Russian example," wrote Lenin, "shows *all* countries something, and something very significant, about their inevitable and near future"[95], and "...Bolshevism is *suitable* as *a model of tactics for everyone* "[96]. Lenin tirelessly noted the international significance of Soviet power, as well as the foundations of Bolshevik theory and tactics[97].

2. People's democracy as a form of dictatorship of the proletariat.

One of the greatest proofs of the vitality and correctness of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the establishment of the regime of people's democracy in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe: in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Albania, Bulgaria.

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[95] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, ed. 4, pp. 5–6.

[96] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 270.

[97] See V.I. Lenin, Soch., vol. 31, ed. 4, page 6.

All of these countries were occupied by Nazi Germany on the eve of or during the Second World War, and almost all of them (with the exception of Czechoslovakia) had experienced for a long time before the occupation a fascist, and therefore the most brutal, form of bourgeois dictatorship.

During the reign of fascism, the overwhelming majority of the landowners and upper class in these countries, while exercising brutal dictatorships domestically, oriented their foreign policies toward supporting international imperialism. The governments of these countries served not only as organs of oppression for the peoples of their own countries but also as outposts of predatory imperialism in its struggle against the Soviet Union. During World War II, Nazi Germany widely exploited the human and, especially, industrial and raw material resources of these countries against the Soviet Union.

The struggle of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and significant sections of the petty and middle bourgeoisie of these countries against the fascist governments was at the same time a struggle for the national liberation of their countries from the yoke of fascist Germany, a liberation struggle against Hitler's predatory imperialism.

The anti-fascist liberation struggle of the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe was inspired and supported by the Patriotic War of Liberation waged by the Soviet people against Hitler's imperialism. The anti-fascist liberation war of the peoples of these countries against the Hitler regime merged with the struggle for freedom and independence of the socialist homeland waged by the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War meant the defeat of imperialist Germany and the collapse of the Hitler regime. The Soviet Union's victory led to the defeat and

collapse of fascist regimes in countries that were satellites of Hitler's Germany. Certain groups of landowners and bourgeois in these countries, seeking to save their dictatorships, at the last moment reoriented themselves toward Anglo-American imperialism, attempting to turn their countries into instruments of Anglo-American imperialism directed against the USSR. But the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe, who had undergone the harsh schooling of the struggle against fascism under the leadership of their communist parties and were liberated from Hitler's tyranny by the Soviet Army, thwarted the insidious plans of the agents of German and Anglo-American imperialism.

The peoples of these countries waged a national liberation, anti-fascist struggle, which was objectively an anti-imperialist struggle. In this struggle, they relied on the support of the great Soviet Union and the mighty power of the Soviet Army—the army of liberation. The main force behind the liberation movement in these countries was the working class, which led other strata of the working people and all patriotic elements, uniting them into a united national liberation front. The anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of the masses was led by the communist parties, raising the working masses to an understanding of the need for democratic, and then socialist, reforms.

From this great national liberation struggle arose a new, people's power, based on a broad democratic bloc of diverse social forces: workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia. This bloc, based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, is led in every country by the working class and its Marxist party.

The transfer of power from the hands of landowners and capitalists to the hands of the people, the defeat of counter-

revolutionary parties, the implementation of land reform and the nationalization of banks and large-scale industry represented a revolutionary upheaval of enormous historical significance.

In the first stage of revolutionary transformations, when agrarian revolutionary transformations were carried out and the class of landowners was liquidated, the transformations in the countries of people's democracy were of a bourgeois-democratic nature, and the revolutionary power was of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry type.

The existence and assistance of the Soviet Union allowed the European people's democracies to undergo democratic transformations relatively quickly. The nationalization of banks, large-scale industry, and transportation, the establishment of a monopoly on foreign trade, and the move to restrict exploitative elements marked the transition to the second, highest stage of the revolution—the socialist revolution. Accordingly, the people's democratic regime, which had previously exercised the functions of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, began to exercise the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, the people's democratic system, like the Soviets, can be a form of both a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and a form of dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new, people's democratic government is cracking down on all counterrevolutionary conspirators, inspired by the United States and England, who are attempting to restore the rule of the landowners and capitalists and bring about the restoration of the fascist order. The new government could not help but be a dictatorship directed against the enemies of the people, a

dictatorship that suppresses the resistance of the exploiting classes who oppose people's democracy and the organization of socialist construction. At the same time, the revolutionary power of the people has become a genuine democracy for the working class and all working people, who for the first time have received guaranteed political freedoms and a genuine improvement in their living conditions.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that the transition from capitalism to socialism, taken on a global scale, will show "a diversity of *forms* of democracy and *forms* of transition to socialism"[98].

In 1921, Lenin noted that other countries that would follow Soviet Russia toward socialism would bring many unique features to the struggle for socialism, but they would find it significantly easier to build socialism. They would no longer be alone. Comparing the RSFSR with the newly formed Soviet republics of Transcaucasia, Lenin wrote in 1921: "We have made the first breach in world capitalism. The breach has been made. We have defended ourselves in a furious, supernatural, difficult and arduous, excruciatingly tough war against the Whites, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and the Mensheviks, supported by the entire Entente, its blockade, and its military aid.

You, comrade communists of the Caucasus, do not need to force a breach; you need to be able to create something new with greater caution and systematicity, using the international situation of 1921, which is advantageous for you. And Europe and the whole world in 1921 are no longer what they were in 1917 and 1918"[99].

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[98] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 23, 4th ed., p. 58.

Lenin pointed out that the Transcaucasian republics relied on military and political assistance from the RSFSR, while Soviet Russia, in its early years, was unable to obtain such assistance and, therefore, faced great difficulties. Addressing the communists of Transcaucasia, Lenin wrote:

“Do not copy our tactics, but independently think through the reasons for its uniqueness, its conditions and results, apply not the letter, but the spirit, the meaning, the lessons of the experience of 1917-1921”[100].

These instructions from Lenin are of enormous theoretical significance. They serve as a guide for analyzing the essence of the socio-political processes taking place in people's democracies.

It is necessary, of course, to take into account the specific conditions in the people's democracies, which developed in the past in a different environment than the peoples of Russia, as well as the completely different balance of power in the international arena today than in 1917–1921. But in light of these circumstances, the genius of V. I. Lenin's instructions emerges all the more convincingly and vividly. In 1921, he emphasized that, despite the unique circumstances in each country and the diversity of the forms of transition to socialism, it is essential to consider the experience of the Russian communists. These instructions from Lenin take on particular significance in today's circumstances.

People's democracy in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe arose and strengthened through the cooperation of the peoples of these countries with the great

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[99] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 32, 4th ed., p. 296.

[100] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 32, 4th ed., p. 296.

Soviet Union, which built socialism, and with its leadership. Without the Soviet Union, which defeated Hitler's imperialism and its satellites and, by its example, demonstrated to the world the ability of workers and peasants to govern a country without landlords and capitalists, the emergence of people's democracy would not have been possible. The Soviet Union provided moral, political, economic, and military support to the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe who rose up to fight against fascism and seized power. The Soviet Union saved the people's democracies from foreign intervention by imperialists who were counting on a civil war in these countries similar to the "Greek" model of 1944–1949.

Between 1917 and 1920, the peoples of the Soviet Union created the first breach in the global imperialist system and defended their socialist homeland from imperialist attempts to defeat it by military force. Between 1941 and 1945, the Soviet Union crushed the second imperialist military campaign against the land of socialism, broke the forces of fascism in Europe, and thereby made possible the emergence of people's democracy in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe. The presence of the Soviet Army in these countries—a powerful revolutionary force—prevented the bourgeoisie and landowners, acting on instructions from American and British intelligence, from rebuilding the old apparatus of state power shattered by the defeat of fascism and prevented direct military intervention by Anglo-American imperialists in the internal affairs of these countries. The broad masses of the people removed the exploiting classes, who had compromised themselves by collaborating with the Nazi occupiers, from power and seized political power. Thus was born a new, revolutionary government, led by the working class—a people's democracy, which currently functions as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, the peoples of the People's Democracies, with the decisive assistance and leadership of the victorious Soviet Union, created a new breach in the system of world imperialism and created a new powerful support for the anti-imperialist front.

Not only the Soviet Union's victories in World War II, but the very existence of this powerful socialist state, determined the emergence of people's democracies and made possible the construction of socialism in people's democracies. Bierut, leader of the United Workers' Party of Poland, was profoundly right when he said in his report to the Unification Congress of Workers' Parties of Poland:

“Just as the basis of our people’s democracy is the selfless heroic assistance of the Soviet Union, so the basis of the peculiarity of our path in comparison with the Soviet one is the comprehensive assistance of the Soviet Union and the use of the experience and achievements of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, thanks to which we can, within the framework of people’s democracy, carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a different way”[101].

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the violent suppression of exploiters, but the forms of this suppression can and inevitably will vary. In a country that ushered in the era of socialist revolution, the proletariat inevitably had to withstand the furious onslaught of not only its own but also the global bourgeoisie, without relying on the state support of the proletariat of any other country. Under these conditions, the overthrown bourgeoisie boycotted the state organs of the new government and mercilessly fought them. One need only recall

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[101] Pravda, December 17, 1948.

the Russian bourgeoisie's bitterness toward the Soviets and their struggle against them to see this.

"...The struggle—and the most shameless, selfish, dirty struggle—of the bourgeoisie against the Soviets, and finally, the obvious participation of the bourgeoisie (from the Cadets to the Right Socialist Revolutionaries, from Milyukov to Kerensky) in the Kornilov revolt—all this *prepared the way* for the formal exclusion of the bourgeoisie from the Soviets"[102], wrote Lenin.

This acute, open class struggle made the restriction of the bourgeoisie's electoral rights in the USSR inevitable in the early stages of the development of the dictatorship of the working class. Lenin emphasized that the question of restricting electoral rights was a nationally specific, not a general, issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the USSR, these restrictions were born of the specific conditions of the Russian Revolution, the specific path of its development. Restricting the bourgeoisie's electoral rights was not necessary for the implementation of a dictatorship; it was not a necessary feature of the logical concept of dictatorship; it was not a necessary condition of the historical and class concept of dictatorship.

A necessary feature, a mandatory condition of dictatorship is the violent suppression of exploiters as a class and, consequently, the violation of "pure democracy", i.e. equality and freedom, in relation to this class "[103].

The specifics of a country's development, the balance of class forces, and the intensity of class conflicts, on the one hand, and

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[102] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, ed. 4, p. 250.

[103] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 235.

the country's international position, on the other, determine the forms of suppression, the methods, and the scale of violence used by the victorious proletariat against the overthrown exploiters. For the working class, violence is not an end in itself, but a means to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and strengthen the workers' state. The "measure" of violence is determined primarily by the "measure" of the bourgeoisie's resistance and the degree of its "frenzy" in the struggle against the proletariat and the working classes in general.

The regime of people's democracy, as G. Dimitrov stated at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in 1948, must break the resistance of capitalists and large landowners and organize the construction of industry on the principles of public ownership and a planned economy. This requires not only suppressing capitalist elements and eliminating any attempts to restore capitalist and landowner power, but also overcoming the instability of the petty bourgeoisie, particularly the middle peasantry, and rallying the bulk of the working people around the working class for a decisive struggle for the transition to socialism.

The primary task of people's democracy is to build a socialist society, eliminate the exploiting classes, and create conditions for raising the well-being and culture of the masses. However, building socialism is impossible without raising the level of productive forces in both industry and agriculture. Sustainable peasant well-being and the growth and development of agriculture are only possible under collective farming, implemented in the form of production cooperation. Furthermore, the restriction and exclusion of capitalist elements, as demonstrated by the experience of socialist construction in the USSR, constitutes an indispensable condition for the cooperativeization of peasant farms and their complete elimination. The specific forms of this cooperation

will be entirely determined by the conditions prevailing in each country of people's democracy. The process of collectivization of peasant farms will address the problem of socializing not only the tools of labor but also the land, since in these countries land was not nationalized. This undoubtedly significantly distinguishes the conditions under which collectivization of peasant farms took place in people's democracies from those under which it took place in the USSR. The existence of private ownership of land creates a number of additional difficulties for these countries in the collectivization of peasant farms.

There is no doubt that the working class, which is the leading force in the countries of people's democracy, the working class that has overcome the split in its ranks and rallied around united Marxist parties, will find ways and means to overcome these difficulties, to successfully solve the problem of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture along the path of collectivization, without allowing haste and rush in this great task.

In the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, the dictatorship of the working class has been established. The regime of people's democracy is a tool for suppressing exploiters, a tool for the communist re-education of workers, a tool for the elimination of exploitative classes, and the construction of socialism.

As in the USSR, in the countries of people's democracy the highest principle of the proletarian dictatorship is the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, carried out under the leadership of the working class.

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The experience of the struggle for socialism in the countries of people's democracy has once again confirmed the truth of the words of the great Lenin, who wrote on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution:

"The transition from capitalism to communism, of course, cannot but produce an enormous abundance and diversity of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat* "[104].

The dictatorship of the working class in the countries of people's democracy was realized in a special form - in the form of a people's democratic republic.

The Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany and its satellites inevitably led to the destruction and dismantling of the old, fascist apparatus of state power in the countries liberated by the Soviet Army from Hitler's yoke. This victory created the conditions for the transfer of power into the hands of the people.

The anti-fascist struggle in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe, led by the working class, received new impetus as a result of the Soviet Army's tremendous victories. The role of the working class in the political life of these countries increased enormously. In the countries liberated from fascist oppression by the Soviet Army, the working class became the main political force. Under these conditions, the remnants of fascism were eradicated and political life was democratized. Under the leadership of the working class, a new apparatus of state power was created to replace the destroyed one, republican-democratic in form. It was created in each of these countries on truly democratic principles, as an instrument

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[104] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 385.

of the rule of the masses, led by the working class and its Marxist party.

The bourgeoisie of these countries made several attempts to subjugate the new state, turning it into a normal bourgeois-parliamentary state, but despite the support of American and British imperialism, they did not dare to unleash a civil war and attempt to restore their dominance by bloody means. The Soviet Union prevented this.

As a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany, the bourgeoisie of Central and Southeastern Europe was demoralized. A significant portion of it, compromised by its ties to the Nazis, was deservedly punished by the people. The rest of the bourgeoisie and its henchmen, left without the old apparatus of state power, were paralyzed by the presence of the Soviet Army and forced to abandon their attempt at armed action against the people and the outbreak of civil war. The presence of the Soviet Army saved the people's democracies from armed intervention and prevented the aggression of imperialist states.

Forced to abandon civil war, the bourgeoisie in the people's democracies waged a persistent struggle for a return to a bourgeois-parliamentary and even fascist system. It intensified ties with the camp of imperialist reaction, especially with the imperialist circles of the United States and Britain, and waged an unbridled campaign against the bloc of democratic parties, especially against the leading force of this bloc—the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie made desperate efforts to create discord between the Communist Party and other democratic parties and tried to prevent the unification of workers' parties—the Communist Party and the left wing of the Social Democratic Party—into single workers' parties. The bourgeoisie placed its agents within democratic parties, wove intrigues and organized conspiracies against the revolutionary

government, carried out terrorist acts and supported banditry, organized espionage for Anglo-American intelligence services, and so on and so forth.

Only decisive opposition to all these efforts of the bourgeoisie, its isolation from the petty bourgeoisie and, above all, from the peasantry, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, overcoming the split in the working class and increasing its leading role, the implementation of the nationalization of large-scale industry and the restriction of capitalist elements in agriculture and trade ensured the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the working class in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe did not occur overnight, but was a relatively lengthy process, completed at different times in the various people's democracies—a process that unfolded amid intense struggle. During this struggle, the working class won over the peasantry and seized power. By nationalizing industry, the working class eliminated the industrial bourgeoisie. Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat was established in these countries.

The dictatorship of the working class in the countries of Southeastern and Central Europe was realized in the form of people's democratic republics. This form of government proved capable of implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat: a) in the presence of a dictatorship of the working class in the form of Soviet power in the USSR; b) in the context of the collapse of the old, bourgeois state apparatus in these countries and the creation of a new state apparatus; c) with the involvement of mass workers' organizations (domestic or national fronts, trade unions, youth organizations, etc.) in unconditional participation in state governance.

The class essence of the new, revolutionary power is opposite to the essence of the bourgeois-parliamentary state: the bourgeois-parliamentary state implements the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, people's democracy implements the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The state of the people's democracies, as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in contrast to the Soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is people's democratic.

The most important differences between people's democracy as a state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet power are as follows:

1. In the European countries of people's democracy, due to the historical peculiarities of the emergence of the dictatorship of the proletariat (the existence of the socialist Soviet Union) and due to the demoralization of the bourgeoisie as a result of the defeat of fascism with the growth of the organization of democratic forces under the leadership of the working class, there was no need to deprive the exploiting classes (with the exception of war criminals and persons convicted of counter-revolutionary activities) of their voting rights, whereas in the Soviet Union, exploiting elements were deprived of their voting rights.

2. In the European countries of people's democracy, mass organizations of a new type have emerged—the popular democratic or patriotic front. These organizations unite the majority of workers and, while not being state organizations, facilitate the working class and its party's exercise of state leadership over the working masses.

3. In European countries with people's democracies, a multi-party system exists with a generally recognized leading role for the communist and workers' parties in state affairs and the

political life of the people. In the Soviet Union, as is well known, the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was and remains the only party in the country; the communist-left bloc with the Socialist Revolutionaries in late 1917 and early 1918 was, as is well known, very short-lived. The existence of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) as the only party in the country is enshrined in Stalin's Constitution of the USSR.

4. In the European countries of people's democracy, in the early stages of the existence of the people's democratic state, some elements of the previous parliamentary institutions were and are still partially preserved.

Thus, the regime of people's democracy is characterized by: universal suffrage for persons of all classes of society, with the exception of criminals; the free existence of all political parties, whose activities do not deviate from the framework of the new, revolutionary legality; the complete democratization of the state apparatus, the election and replaceability of all officials and the control of the masses over their activities; the liquidation of the old army and police and their replacement with a new army and militia, the replacement of the old courts with new, democratic courts, etc.

The unique path of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the people's democracies during the existence of the Soviet Union, the unique balance of class forces within these countries, the level of political maturity of the working masses, the new balance of forces between socialism and imperialism in the international arena, the intensified struggle of the working class in all countries for socialism, and finally, the leading role of the great Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of socialism and a consistent champion of democratic freedoms, created the conditions for establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in a form distinct from Soviet

power—in the form of a people's democratic republic. This new form of revolutionary power emerged and proved capable of fulfilling the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and solving the problems of the transition period from capitalism to socialism thanks to the presence and assistance of the Soviet socialist state .

The new form of the socialist state and the specific features of the people's democracies' development toward socialism once again confirm the international significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the world-historical significance of the Soviet Union as the leading force in the struggle for communism. Moreover, it was the existence of the Soviet Union and its assistance that determined the characteristics of the dictatorship of the proletariat that emerged in the people's democracies. The course of history has once again confirmed Lenin's words that the experience of Russian communists has enduring international significance. Soviet power was and remains, as Lenin and Stalin demonstrated, the highest form of the socialist state.

Every step towards socialism in the countries of people's democracy, as was the case in the Soviet Union, is carried out in a stubborn struggle against the forces and traditions of the old world, and takes place in an atmosphere of brutal class struggle.

The experience of socialist construction in the USSR shows that this struggle becomes particularly tenacious when the socialist reconstruction of the countryside begins, when it becomes necessary to overcome the fierce resistance of the most numerous exploiting class—the kulaks. Given the experience of the USSR, it is to be expected that exploitative elements in other countries will also offer fierce resistance to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Struggle, and only struggle, determines both the pace and success of socialist construction in the people's democracies. The workers' parties of the people's democracies ensure the further strengthening of people's power and, in particular, the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and its party within the system of people's democracy. They carefully study and take into account the experience of the Soviet people and the Bolshevik Party accumulated in the struggle for socialism, and they strengthen their countries' ties with other people's democracies and with the great Soviet Union.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, established to implement broad economic cooperation between these countries, is called upon to play a major role in the Soviet Union's assistance to the People's Democracies and in mutual assistance between the People's Democracies and the USSR. Such cooperation, based on the principles of equality and voluntary participation by its participants, will enable the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies to more successfully address the challenges of economic and cultural development and further strengthen the position of socialism and democracy throughout the world.

Guided by the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine of the dictatorship of the working class and the path to building socialism, and aided by the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies achieved significant success in developing their economies toward socialism and strengthening the sovereignty of their states. In Yugoslavia, where the clique of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Ranković, and others betrayed Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and the People's Democracies, defected from the camp of socialism to the camp of imperialist reaction and fascism, and established a Gestapo-fascist regime, as a result of this betrayal and the transformation of Tito's clique into a spy ring, the workers lost

all the gains they had achieved in the heroic struggle against the Nazi invaders.

Tito's fascist clique placed the yoke of Anglo-American imperialism on the freedom-loving Yugoslav people, drawing Yugoslavia into the imperialist, anti-democratic camp. For all these atrocities, the traitors and betrayers of the Yugoslav people will be punished by their own people as they deserve.

The peoples of Yugoslavia have been through a harsh school. They are rising up in a sacred struggle for liberation against the Gestapo-fascist regime established by Tito's clique. Internal revolutionary forces in Yugoslavia are growing and gaining strength. The Yugoslav people, loyal to their friendship with the great Soviet people and the workers of the people's democracies, will achieve victory.

3. The possibility of new state forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have repeatedly pointed out that the unique development of various countries cannot but give rise to diverse forms of transition to socialism.

Lenin's discovery of the *Soviet form* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represented a huge step forward compared to the Paris Commune and a new, higher form of the socialist state, led to the workers' movement in all countries of the world recognizing the Soviet Republic as the most appropriate form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state.

The victory of the USSR in the Second World War and the change in the balance of power in the international arena in favor of socialism created the conditions for the emergence of new forms of government, identical in class content to Soviet

power and fulfilling the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat - *people's democracy states* .

The people's democratic system has undoubtedly proven its worth, demonstrating its full legitimacy under specific historical conditions. This form of government has demonstrated in practice that it is capable of ensuring the achievement of the objectives formulated by Comrade Stalin in his classic thesis on the three aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Undoubtedly, the experience of people's democracies will be utilized by other countries in their transition to socialism, although each time, with its own unique interpretation, depending on the specific circumstances.

Currently, the question of the possibility of establishing popular democracy on the basis of a reformed parliament has arisen for some countries. This applies primarily to Great Britain. The Communist Party of Great Britain's platform states:

"Britain will achieve socialism in its own way. Just as the Russian people achieved political power through the Soviet path, dictated by prevailing historical conditions and the existence of the Tsarist regime, and just as the working people of the People's Democracies and China won political power through their own path and in their own historical circumstances, so too the British Communists declare that the British people can transform capitalist democracy into a genuine people's democracy, transforming Parliament, the product of Britain's historic struggle for democracy, into an instrument of democracy, an instrument of the will of the vast majority of the British people.

The way forward for the British people will be the establishment of a popular government based on a Parliament composed of genuine representatives of the people"[105].

The programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain envisages that the establishment of a popular, socialist government based on parliament can be achieved democratically, through the election of a parliamentary majority representing the interests of all working people.

Doesn't this position of the Communist Party of Great Britain contradict the Marxist position on the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie as a necessary condition for the conquest of power by the proletariat in imperialist countries?

The Communist Party of Great Britain's program is fully consistent with the principles of Marxism-Leninism on all issues. It is based on the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the struggle for socialism in contemporary England.

It is well known that in Russia, whose working class had to make the first breach in the system of world imperialist forces, the conquest of power by the working class was achieved through an armed uprising of the people against the reactionary bourgeois Provisional Government, which had lost all remnants of popular trust and was trying to cling to power by force, relying on the support of the imperialism of England, the USA, France and other bourgeois countries.

The great Chinese people had to use armed force to drive out the corrupt Kuomintang clique, while simultaneously being forced to strike at American-British imperialism, which was

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105 "Britain's Path to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 57.

giving every possible support to the Kuomintang regime led by Chiang Kai-shek.

The socialist revolution in Russia and the people's anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in China brilliantly confirmed the full depth of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution.

But Marxism-Leninism is an enemy of all stereotypes and dogmatism. It does not consider armed uprising and war of liberation the only possible path for the people to seize power under any circumstances, in any country. Marxism allows that in individual countries, during the course of historical development, unique internal and external circumstances may arise that will enable a peaceful transition to socialist revolution.

History knows examples of such exceptions, generated by such a combination of conditions that creates a crushing superiority of forces on the side of the people against the counter-revolution and thus the possibility of winning people's power peacefully.

It is well known that the conditions that existed in Russia from February to July 3–4, 1917, provided the opportunity for the peaceful establishment of Soviet power and then, on this basis, the peaceful transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. History then created a unique situation of dual power, which allowed the Bolshevik Party, based on creative Marxism, to pursue a course toward the peaceful development of the revolution and the seizure of power by the proletariat. After the February Revolution and until the July events of 1917, dual power existed in Russia, with power effectively in the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. After the July events, as a result of the treacherous policies of the Mensheviks and

Socialist Revolutionaries, it effectively became concentrated in the hands of the bourgeois Provisional Government. The post-February situation created the possibility of the proletariat seizing power through the peaceful development of the revolution, while the post-July situation eliminated this possibility. Analyzing the changes in the situation in Russia after the liquidation of dual power, Comrade Stalin declared at the Sixth Party Congress: "The peaceful period of the revolution is over. A period of clashes and explosions has begun"[106].

In 1924, Comrade Stalin, speaking about the violent seizure of power as the law of development of the socialist revolution, pointed out that "in the distant future, if the proletariat wins in the most important countries of capitalism and if the current capitalist environment is replaced by a socialist environment, a "peaceful" path of development is entirely possible for some capitalist countries, whose capitalists, due to the "unfavorable" international situation, will consider it expedient to "voluntarily" make serious concessions to the proletariat"[107].

It's worth remembering that England's unique position among European countries was always taken into account by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It's well known that, based on the unique circumstances of England in the 1870s, Marx and Engels believed that England could transition to socialism without dismantling the old state apparatus, as bureaucracy and militarism were weakly developed in England at the time. Marx and Engels pointed out that the institutions, customs, and traditions of the time in England created the opportunity for the working class to achieve its goals through peaceful means.

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[106] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 3, p. 177.

[107] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 117.

In his work "On 'Leftist' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeoisie," Lenin analyzed these statements of Marx in detail. Lenin paid particular attention to the following circumstances:

1. “The issue was England in the 1870s, the culmination of pre-monopoly capitalism, the country in which there was then the least amount of militarism and bureaucracy, the country in which there were then the most opportunities for a “peaceful” victory of socialism in the sense of the “redemption” of the bourgeoisie by the workers”[108].

2. “The subordination of the capitalists to the workers in England could then be ensured by the following circumstances: (1) the complete predominance of workers, proletarians, in the population due to the absence of a peasantry (in England in the 1870s there were signs that allowed us to hope for extremely rapid successes of socialism among rural workers); (2) the excellent organization of the proletariat in trade unions (England was then the first country in the world in this respect); (3) the comparatively high culture of the proletariat, trained by the centuries-old development of political freedom; (4) the long habit of the superbly organized capitalists of England - at that time they were the best organized capitalists of all countries in the world (now this primacy has passed to Germany) - of resolving political and economic questions by compromise. These are the circumstances by which the idea of the possibility of a peaceful subordination of the capitalists of England to her workers could then arise”[109].

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[108] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., p. 310.

[109] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., pp. 310–311.

Lenin noted: “Marx did not tie his own hands—or those of future leaders of the socialist revolution—with regard to the forms, methods, and ways of the revolution, understanding perfectly well what a mass of new problems would then arise, how the entire situation would change during the revolution, how often and strongly it would change during the revolution”[110].

What new things did the era of imperialism bring to the development of England, to the conditions determining the labor movement of this country?

Compared to the 1870s, the general situation characterizing the conditions of the labor movement in England has changed radically. In England, as in the United States, the monstrous growth of the financial oligarchy, bureaucracy, and militarism led to a serious crisis of bourgeois democracy and the rise of fascism. A bureaucratic-militaristic apparatus of bourgeois state power has emerged and developed into a formidable force. Today, the English imperialist bourgeoisie, while remaining experienced and sophisticated in resolving political and economic issues and capable of compromise, has increasingly less room to maneuver and is increasingly adopting the path of terrorist dictatorship and repression, copying its senior partner in the aggressive bloc—the American imperialist bourgeoisie.

Even before the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin wrote in his work “State and Revolution”:

“Both England and America, the largest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon “freedom” in the whole world in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have

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[110] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., p. 310.

completely sunk into the pan-European dirty, bloody swamp of bureaucratic-military institutions that subordinate everything to themselves, suppress everything"[111].

Despite these fundamental changes, the situation in England still has its own unique characteristics. The proportion of workers in the country's population is very high, and currently workers and their families make up approximately two-thirds of England's population.

One cannot ignore the strong parliamentary traditions of the English people. Comrade Stalin wrote that "a party that has assumed leadership cannot fail to take into account the will, the condition, and the level of consciousness of those it leads; it cannot discount the will, the condition, and the level of consciousness of its class"[112].

These conditions, combined with a new, historically unprecedented international situation—the existence and steady growth of the power of the USSR, the strengthening of the people's democracies, the victory of the Great Chinese Revolution, the national liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples flaring up in revolutionary form, the growth of the strength and organization of the labor movement in capitalist countries, the steady expansion and activation of the front of supporters of peace and democracy in all countries—these internal and international conditions of the development of Great Britain do not exclude the possibility of the emergence here of such a superiority of the forces of progress, democracy, and peace over the forces of reaction and war, which will mean the defeat of the forces of reaction and the possibility of a

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[111] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 387.

[112] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 39–40.

parliamentary transition to people's democracy and the construction of socialism.

Speaking about the internal conditions of England's development in the present period, it is especially necessary to note the loss by England of its former monopoly position in the world market, as a result of which the economic basis of opportunism in the English labor movement and the possibility of bribery of the upper classes of the working class by the ruling classes have been significantly undermined.

Over the past 50 years, England has systematically lagged behind other major capitalist countries, particularly the United States and Germany, in industrial production. This has led to the loss of its dominant position in the world market, weakening its financial position and the ability to extract superprofits from the colonies. “Two world wars, poverty, malnutrition, crises and mass unemployment were the lot of ordinary people, while British millionaires, large industrialists and large monopolists made their fortunes at the expense of the people, and throughout this time Britain, once the world’s leading industrial producer, lagged behind other major capitalist countries”[113].

The arms race policy pursued by the Attlee Labour government and now pursued by the Churchill Conservative government, which is following in the wake of the American reactionary policy, is imposing unprecedented hardships on the working masses of England.

All this gives rise to disappointment among the bulk of the working class and other strata of workers in the existing socio-economic system, and causes them to turn towards socialism.

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[113] “British Road to Socialism”, Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 49.

The leaders of the Labour Party, who held power in England from 1946 to 1951, promised the people to lead the country along the path of socialism, along the path of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Therefore, the English people supported the Labour Party in the parliamentary elections of 1945. But the leaders of the Labour Party spoke of peace and socialism for fraudulent purposes, for the purpose of deception. "The leading leaders of the Labour Party—Attlee, Bevin, and Morrison—like MacDonald, Snowden, and Thomas before them, have nothing in common with socialism or the interests of working people. Their worldview and practical activities reflect not the interests of working people, but the views and practices of the Conservatives and the wealthy ruling classes whose interests they serve. In reality, they, like the former Liberal Party, are merely the left wing of the Conservatives"[114].

A remarkable characterization of the bourgeois essence of the Labour government and its policies is given in the "Reply of Pravda to Mr. Morrison" of August 1, 1951. The Labour government differs little from any bourgeois government that strives to preserve the capitalist system and ensure the highest profits for the capitalists. "Indeed," says the "Reply of Pravda," "in England the profits of the capitalists are growing from year to year, while the wages of the workers remain frozen, and the Labour government defends this anti-worker, exploitative regime by all means, including the persecution and arrest of workers"[115]. A government that pursues such a policy is anti-worker, anti-socialist.

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[114] "British Road to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 50.

[115] Pravda, August 1, 1951.

The Labour government entered into an alliance with big business against the people. It sold England out to American capital and betrayed the country's national interests. The Labour government implemented a massive armaments program at the expense of meeting the people's social needs, ensuring enormous profits for the capitalists. Together with the Conservatives, bankers, and businessmen, the Labour Party is preparing a war against the USSR and the people's democracies. "The policy of the Labour right," states the program of the Communist Party of Great Britain, "has strengthened the Conservatives at home and the most reactionary governments abroad. It has brought confusion, disorganized, and split the working class movement under the attack of the Conservatives and entrepreneurs"[116].

This disgraceful policy led to the defection of large sections of the English people from Labour and paved the way for the Conservatives to take power.

It is clear that it is impossible to move towards a people's government without exposing the treacherous policy of the right-wing Labourites, without defeating them in all mass organizations, and above all in the Labour Party and trade unions. A vital condition for the British people is therefore "the creation of a broad popular coalition or alliance of all strata of the working people: the organized working class, all manual and intellectual workers, the liberal professions and technical intelligentsia, all the lower and middle strata of the population in the cities and farmers in the countryside"[117] to fight against the current policy of subordinating Britain to the interests of American monopolies, against military preparations and wars,

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[116] "British Road to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 50.

[117] "British Road to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 58.

against the rearmament of Germany and Japan, against the entire reactionary policy of the Labour leaders. “It is through this struggle that the unity of all manual and intellectual workers, professional people and farmers, can grow into a movement strong enough to defeat the rich and their cronies in the Labour Party and secure peace and a future for all working people”[118].

An alliance of all sections of the British people to defend peace, democracy, and the interests of workers can be created only on the basis of working-class unity and under its leadership. Only a struggle for the class interests of the proletariat and all working people—and above all, a struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, and raising the standard of living of the masses, and an exposure of the current policies of the Labour leadership—can lead to the separation of trade unions, cooperatives, and other workers' organizations from collaboration with the bourgeoisie and their subordination to bourgeois policies. Only the consolidation of the forces of the working class and the unification of other working people around it will lead to the isolation of the exploiters and enable the election of a parliamentary majority representing the interests of all working people.

In a country where the working class constitutes the majority of the population, where it has powerful organizations and institutions and vast experience of struggle under a parliamentary system, such a conquest of a parliamentary majority and the defeat of the exploiters is entirely possible, especially in the context of the enormous strengthening of the positions of democracy and socialism throughout the world.

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[118] “British Road to Socialism”, Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 58.

However, the program of the British Communist Party does not tie the hands of the working class in the question of the forms and methods of transition to the socialist revolution and its implementation, because no program can accurately foresee all the complexity and diversity of the specific paths of development of the country.

The programme of the British Communist Party takes into account the role of parliament and the institutions of the parliamentary system, but it puts the power of organised labour, the power of organised workers in general, in the foreground.

The development of the English people's revolutionary struggle against reaction will, one must assume, provoke fierce resistance from the bourgeoisie, which will stop at nothing to prevent the people's victory. The people, enriched by their own revolutionary political experience and the experience of the working class in other countries, will violently suppress the bourgeoisie's violent resistance, using both parliament and other institutions, as well as organized popular force acting from below. Naturally, the bourgeoisie will attempt to prevent the people's victory by abolishing the democratic rights they have won. The program of the English Communist Party correctly states that "democracy under existing conditions (in England— D.C .) for the majority of the people is limited by the privileges and power of a wealthy minority and their lackeys and is curtailed by attacks on the rights of free speech and organization, as well as the right to strike. " “The democratic rights won by the working class as a result of many years of struggle must be defended with all our might against

the attacks of the capitalists, the warmongers and their agents"[119].

The extra-parliamentary struggle of the working class and all working people for the preservation and expansion of democratic rights is an essential condition for creating the possibility of winning a majority in parliament.

It's possible, and indeed highly likely, that the bourgeoisie and its lackeys will resort to organizing a civil war in the country to prevent a people's victory. And since the bourgeoisie is unable to overcome the people on its own, it will call upon the armed forces of another imperialist state to occupy the country and completely eliminate the democratic rights won by the people.

The Conservatives, like the right-wing Labour Party before them, are already taking steps in this direction. American bases and troops are being stationed in England not only to prepare for a new war, but also as a force that can be used, and is already being used, against the English people. Such a turn of events will, of course, create a new situation and place the question of the people's armed struggle for their independence, democratic freedoms, and socialism on the agenda.

In May 1951, Eisenhower, in full agreement with the British Labour rulers, announced that the American air division based in England would be expanded into an air force, and that American armed forces in England would be increased. The Conservatives, having come to power in 1951, declared that they would continue this policy. The "European Army" of the aggressive North Atlantic bloc, under the command of an American general, was also intended to carry out "police" operations against nations that might seize power, including the

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[119] "British Road to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 57.

people of England. The naval forces of the aggressive North Atlantic alliance, whose core is the Anglo-American fleet, were also intended not only for a predatory war against the USSR and the people's democracies, but also against the liberation movements of European peoples, and consequently, against the people of England.

Of course, the British people can stop such actions by the bourgeoisie and create their own truly democratic, popular government based on a parliamentary majority. To do this, they must isolate not only the Conservatives but also the right-wing Labour Party and wage a vigorous struggle for socialism. The path to this struggle has been shown by the British Communist Party.

The creation of a truly popular government will mark the beginning of great social transformations in England. The programme of the British Communist Party demands the destruction of capitalist power "through the implementation of democratic electoral reform, the introduction of democratic ownership of the press, popular control over the British Broadcasting Corporation, through the democratic transformation of the civil service, the Foreign Office, the armed forces and police, the judiciary and legal bodies"[120].

These transformations, taken together, will signify the reorganization and complete democratization of the state apparatus. Such a renewal will be tantamount to fulfilling the fundamental Marxist demand for the dismantling of the old, reactionary, bureaucratic state apparatus. A united people, led by the working class and its Communist Party, will energetically support all measures of the people's government through persistent and purposeful action from below, through

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[120] "British Road to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 58.

its system of organizations. The socioeconomic reforms implemented by the people's government will be based not only on a parliamentary majority but also—and even more importantly—on the support and participation of the masses.

In the economic sphere, the people's government will carry out socialist nationalization in order to break the power of the monopolists once and for all and transfer the country's basic productive assets, the decisive means of production, into the hands of the people. "All large-scale industry, transport, banks, monopolistic wholesale and retail trade concerns, as well as large landed property, will be transferred to the public ownership of the people's state. The national debt and compensation funds for previously nationalized industries will be annulled. In the event of nationalization of enterprises or the cancellation of shares, partial compensation will be established for those who remain loyal to the people's government, and no compensation will be established for those who resist the people's government"[121], states the program of the British Communist Party.

Ownership by the people of the most important means of production, provided that political power belongs to the people, will ensure the planned nature of production, people's control over the production and distribution of products, an increase in the material and cultural level of the masses, and the direct participation of the people in governing the country.

In the national sphere, the people's government will put an end to the imperialist policy of dismembering other countries (Ireland) and oppressing colonial and dependent countries, and will proclaim a new policy based on the recognition of the sovereign rights of peoples and their right to full national

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[121] "British Road to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 60.

independence. Such a policy will ensure a fraternal alliance between the English people and the peoples of the Empire based on equality, mutual assistance, and friendship.

In the international sphere, the people's government of Great Britain will restore the country's sovereignty and will pursue a peaceful policy.

In order for parliamentary institutions to be capable of carrying out state activities of the new type, they must also be reformed. Every bourgeois parliamentary machine is designed to exclude the masses from participation in the governance of the country. In order to transform parliament into a mechanism working in the interests of the people, the program of the British Communist Party provides for: a) democratization of the electoral system; b) liquidation of the House of Lords and the monarchy; c) replacement of supporters of the old, bourgeois government with convinced and loyal supporters of people's power in all responsible positions in the civil service, armed forces, judicial and diplomatic bodies, etc.; d) organization of the work of all state institutions in such a way that they are under the control of the workers and involve them in the governance of the country. “All legislative and executive bodies of the country,” the program states, “will be placed in such conditions that they will invariably respond to the democratic demands of the people, and the entire people will be attracted to active participation in control and management in all areas of national life”[122]. Trade unions and cooperative organizations will play a special role in this; d) all the most important means of ideological influence, especially the press and radio, will pass into the hands of the people.

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[122] “British Road to Socialism”, Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 59.

The peculiarity of the socialist revolution in England will be that it will not lead to the liquidation of Parliament, but to its transformation and its conversion into an organ that truly expresses the will and interests of the people.

Reforms that improve state institutions and adapt them to meet the demands of the working masses naturally do not preclude the possibility of creating new institutions. The transformation of the parliamentary form will be accompanied by a fundamental change in its content, which will become socialist. People's democracy, emerging from the reformed parliament, will exercise the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat using unique methods.

First of all, the new government and the people it leads will have to repel the enemies of the new order. The British Communist Party's program rightly states:

"It would be wrong to think that the capitalists will voluntarily give up their large holdings and their large profits for the benefit of the British people. It would be more correct to assume that they will actively resist the decisions of the people's government and will fight to preserve their privileges by all means, including the use of force, therefore the British people and the people's government must be prepared to give a decisive rebuff to such attempts"[123].

By suppressing the resistance of the enemies of the people's system and socialism, people's power will lead society along the path of destroying capitalism and the exploiting classes.

A broad coalition of various strata of the people, united around the working class, will ensure the implementation of the

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[123] "British Road to Socialism", Bolshevik magazine, No. 3, 1951, p. 60.

socialist program that will be adopted by parliament, will thwart attempts by the enemies of the new government to disrupt the implementation of this program, and will ensure that the enemies of the people are brought to justice.

People's power will unite all workers around the working class and ensure the state leadership of the working class over all of society. The new government will involve all workers in the construction of a socialist society and lead the work of their communist education.

The people's power will exercise leadership in the development of socialist industry and the socialist transformation of agriculture and will lead the whole of society along the path of building socialism and abolishing classes.

The history of Marxism-Leninism is the history of the struggle against opportunism and revisionism, particularly the British version of revisionism, which advocates a reformist path to socialism. Does the above-mentioned program of the British Communist Party constitute a concession to the revisionists? Absolutely not. The fundamental question of Marxism-Leninism is the question of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Recognition of these principles is obligatory for a Marxist. Does the program of the British Communist Party derive from these principles? Absolutely.

The transfer of power into the hands of the people, led by the working class; the destruction of the old, oppressive state apparatus and the creation of a new, socialist one; the nationalization of the basic means of production and the undermining of the economic power of the bourgeoisie—all these and similar transformations can be achieved peacefully, but in their essence and results they will be equivalent to a socialist revolution. Consequently, *the program of the British*

Communist Party proceeds from the necessity of a socialist revolution for the transition from capitalism to socialism . It recognizes the inevitability of resistance from the bourgeoisie, which will not hesitate to use force to maintain or restore its power and privileges. The program presupposes a fundamental reorganization of the organs of the old state machine, tantamount to the smashing of the old state machine. Taking into account the role of parliament and the institutions of the parliamentary system, it focuses on the strength of organized workers and other working people, on the combination of parliament with extra-parliamentary methods of struggle, which play a fundamental role.

As for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the British Communist Party's program is based on the necessity of establishing it, as it demands the transfer of power to the people, led by the working class, the creation of a new apparatus of state power to replace the destroyed bourgeois state apparatus, the suppression of the resistance of the exploiting classes, and the use of this new power for the socialist transformation of society and the abolition of classes. However, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat may be unique, based on a radical transformation of the existing parliament and the entire parliamentary system.

One of the features of the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in England, as follows from the program of the English Communist Party, may be that the state leadership of the working class will be carried out in the presence of a broad democratic bloc headed by the working class.

All that has been said indicates that, given the general pattern of historical development, which presupposes the necessity of a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat,

specific development features are possible and inevitable for different countries.

The program of the English Communist Party is a clear example of the fact that English communists have mastered Marxism-Leninism, understood the historical meaning of the Leninist-Stalinist instructions on the diversity of forms of transition from capitalism to socialism, understood the historical meaning of Comrade Stalin's repeated instructions on the peculiarities of the historical development of England and the English labor movement and, in connection with this, on the peculiarities of the path of the English people to socialism on the basis of the general laws of social development of all peoples.

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The victory of the October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of Soviet power ushered in an era of communist transformations throughout the world. Today, when the forces of socialism surpass those of capitalism and the irresistible advance toward communism is unfolding in all directions, the paths and approaches to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist transformations are particularly diverse, depending on the specific conditions in different countries.

The paths and means by which power passes into the hands of the people, led by the working class, vary. In the European countries of people's democracy, this transition occurred as a result of the defeat of Nazi Germany and its allies by the Soviet Army, through the combination of the Soviet Army's victorious march with the liberation, anti-fascist struggle of the masses of these countries, led by the working class.

In England, a transition to a people's government is possible on the basis of the defeat that will be inflicted by the working

class on the bourgeoisie and its agents - the right-wing socialists, on the basis of breaking away from them the mass organizations of workers - trade unions, cooperative organizations, etc., on the basis of the winning of a majority in parliament by the genuine representatives of the working masses.

In China, as a result of the people's revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of people's democracy, power is exercised by a broad democratic bloc, based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, and leadership belongs undividedly to the working class and its Communist Party.

Reminiscent of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, as envisioned by Lenin during the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, people's power in China possesses the characteristics of being anti-imperialist, firstly, and transitional to a socialist path of development, secondly. The course of the Chinese revolution fully justified the prediction made by Comrade Stalin in 1926:

“I think,” Comrade Stalin said then, “that the future revolutionary power in China will, in general, resemble in its character the kind of power we spoke about in 1905, that is, something like a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, with the difference, however, that it will be an anti-imperialist power par excellence.

This will be a transitional government to non-capitalist or, more precisely, socialist development in China.

This is the direction in which the revolution in China must go”[124].

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[124] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 365–366.

The further development of the revolution in China will inevitably lead to a transition from its first stage, the democratic stage, to the second stage, the socialist revolution. This transition will be carried out under the leadership of people's power, led by the Communist Party of China, as the objective preconditions for this transition are created.

By completing the tasks of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, people's power in China, relying on all patriotic elements in the country, including the national bourgeoisie, will ensure the development of the country's productive forces, the rise in the well-being of the masses, the increase in the relative importance of industry, especially large-scale state-owned industry, and the further expansion of the role of the working class in all spheres of public life. These and similar measures will create the preconditions for the democratic revolution to evolve into a socialist revolution, and for the transition from the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A similar process will occur in the People's Republic of Korea after the Korean people expel the invaders. The same process will also occur in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Moreover, it appears that in the People's Republic of Korea, due to its higher level of economic development, this process will proceed more rapidly than in Vietnam.

The breakdown of the old state machine during the transition from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the dictatorship of the people, led by the working class, and to the dictatorship of the proletariat also proceeds differently.

In some cases, this break occurs mainly during the period of the revolutionary struggle for power, during an armed uprising,

and is completed after the conquest of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class.

In other cases, this disruption begins after the people seize power, taking over parliamentary institutions previously in the hands of the bourgeoisie, reforming them, replacing the old workers and leaders with new people who represent the interests of the people, and fundamentally changing the nature of their work. The people's government does this by relying on a majority in parliament and on a revolutionary people organized outside parliament. In these cases, the dismantling of the old apparatus is accomplished through reform from above, supported by workers from below. In this regard, it is important to consider the fundamental principles of Lenin and Stalin regarding the importance of reform during a revolution, when power belongs to the workers.

Marxism recognizes the necessity of socialist revolution and is an implacable enemy of reformism. "For a reformist, reform is everything, while revolutionary work is just so-so, just talk, just a distraction. Therefore, under reformist tactics, under conditions of bourgeois power, reform inevitably turns into a weapon for strengthening that power, a weapon for the disintegration of the revolution"[125]. Marxists are obliged to organize forces for the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for the overthrow of imperialism. Marxists always proceed from the premise that only the conquest of power by the proletariat, the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class, ensures the conditions for building a socialist society.

In exposing the reformists, these hidden apologists of imperialism, Marxists decisively distance themselves from left-

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[125] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 166.

sectarian and anarchist positions, which express themselves in a complete denial of the role of reform. Marxists, for whom the primary focus is the revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism, view reform as a byproduct of revolution. Under revolutionary tactics oriented toward the preparation and victory of the revolution, reform becomes a weapon for the disintegration of the ruling power, a stronghold for the development of the revolutionary movement, and a tool for strengthening the revolution.

Under certain circumstances, proletarian revolutionaries combine legal activity with activity in illegal organizations, utilize bourgeois parliaments and develop extra-parliamentary forms of struggle, and extract certain concessions from bourgeois authorities in the interests of the working class. However, they do so with the goal of strengthening the working class's position, gathering revolutionary forces, and preparing for a revolutionary upheaval. This is the essence of revolutionary tactics, as opposed to reformist tactics, which embrace reforms in order to abandon illegal struggle, undermine the masses' preparation for the conquest of power, and distract them from preparing for the revolution.

Comrade Stalin, creatively developing materialistic dialectics, shows that with the transfer of power into the hands of the working class, the nature of social development changes significantly, and along with this, the role of reforms also changes.

"Under certain conditions, in certain circumstances," says Comrade Stalin, "the proletarian government may be forced to abandon temporarily the path of revolutionary reconstruction of the existing order and instead seek a gradual transformation, 'the reformist path,' as Lenin says in his famous article, 'The Significance of Gold,' a path of indirect movements, a path of

reforms and concessions to the non-proletarian classes, in order to disintegrate these classes, give the revolution a breathing space, gather its forces, and prepare the conditions for a new offensive. It cannot be denied that this path is, in a certain sense, a 'reformist' path. We must only remember that we have one fundamental feature here, namely, that the reform in this case emanates from the proletarian government, that it strengthens the proletarian government, that it gives it the necessary breathing space, that it is called upon to disintegrate not the revolution, but the non-proletarian classes.

Under such conditions, reform thus turns into its opposite.

The implementation of such a policy on the part of the proletarian government becomes possible because, and only because, the scope of the revolution in the previous period was sufficiently large, and thus provided a sufficiently wide scope for retreating, replacing the tactics of the offensive with the tactics of a temporary retreat, the tactics of flanking movements.

Thus, if earlier, under bourgeois power, reforms were a by-product of the revolution, now, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the source of reforms are the revolutionary gains of the proletariat, the accumulated reserve in the hands of the proletariat, consisting of these gains"[126].

An example of such a transformation is the use of the New Economic Policy (NEP) at the beginning of the transition period from capitalism to socialism. The New Economic Policy ensured the steady growth of socialist elements, the displacement of capitalist elements, and thereby, over time, brought about fundamental changes in the economy and class

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[126] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, pp. 167–168.

structure of Soviet society. It paved the way for a shift in party and Soviet state policy from the displacement of capitalist elements to the elimination of the kulaks as a class through the complete collectivization of peasant farms.

Comrade Stalin's point that a reform that has as its source the conquest of the revolution and, above all, a new, revolutionary power, is transformed into its opposite, i.e., has the significance of a revolution, is of enormous fundamental importance. This point allows us to understand the revolutionary nature of the transformations being carried out in the European countries of people's democracy through such reforms as the agrarian reform, which liquidated the landowner class, the purge of reactionaries and enemies of the people from the apparatus of state power, the army, the courts, etc., and the nationalization of large-scale and medium-sized industry, transport, banks, etc. Socialist transformations in the economy and class structure of society in the countries of people's democracy are taking place and will continue to take place without explosions, i.e., without the overthrow of the existing power, without replacing it with a new one, but, on the contrary, on the initiative of the existing people's democratic state power, by strengthening this power, through reforms designed to steadily grow a new quality—socialism—and supplant the old quality—capitalism. These transformations are being carried out on the initiative of the existing authorities from above, with the support of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia from below.

This applies equally to people's democracy in the People's Republic of China, where the new people's government does not yet constitute a dictatorship of the proletariat, but will gradually evolve into one. The process of transforming the dictatorship of people's democracy into a dictatorship of the proletariat in China will occur without an explosion, without the overthrow of the existing people's government, but through

its further strengthening, through the implementation of a series of reforms designed to completely eliminate feudalism, restore and develop the country's economy, and through the rapid growth of the share of state-owned industry as a result of the country's industrialization. The reforms carried out and being carried out by the Central People's Government in China, and above all the agrarian reforms currently underway, are of enormous revolutionary significance.

The close cooperation of all people's democracies with the socialist Soviet Union and with each other, and the invaluable assistance they receive from the Soviet Union, are a powerful factor in implementing these reforms, in carrying out great revolutionary transformations. But it must be emphasized with all due respect that reforms fulfill this revolutionary role only when their source is the gains of the revolution, and when their initiator and implementer is the revolutionary government.

The transfer of power into the hands of the people and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are carried out in different countries in ways and forms that best suit the specific conditions prevailing in each country. But no matter how diverse the approaches of different countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the diverse forms of proletarian dictatorship themselves, one thing is certain: the dictatorship of the proletariat is a prerequisite for the transition from capitalism to socialism. Implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the three aspects of proletarian dictatorship, and its highest principle—the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, with the working class playing a leading role in this alliance—are essential for the transition from capitalism to socialism in any country. The question of the leading role of the working class and its party is of particular importance here. It is precisely over this question that a fierce struggle is underway in people's

democracies between genuine proletarian revolutionaries and traitors to the working class, traitors to socialism—the nationalists.

The acute struggle on this issue shows that the question of the leading role of the working class, and on a global scale, the question of the leading role of the great Soviet Union, the country of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, is the fundamental question of socialist construction, the fundamental question of the struggle for the final triumph of communism.

As a result of the Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany, the general crisis of capitalism deepened further. Imperialism lost control over the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe. The national liberation movement in the colonies is growing stronger; the oppressed peoples of the colonies no longer want to bear the yoke of imperialism. The victories of Chinese democracy and the struggle of the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia for their independence confirm the brilliant foresight of Comrade Stalin, who wrote that "the era of serene exploitation and oppression of colonies and dependent countries has passed "[127].

Recognition of the leading role of the proletariat in modern revolutionary struggle, the ability to distinguish the working class from all strata of the working people and to evaluate the course of historical development from its perspective constitute the first condition that forms the impassable boundary between Marxism and Katheder-Socialism and opportunism. Forgetting this principle inevitably leads to bourgeois objectivism. Therefore, in their political and theoretical work, communists

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[127] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 245.

must constantly remember this guiding principle of the great leaders of the proletariat, Lenin and Stalin.

We live in a great world-historical era, when all roads lead to communism. The role of the USSR, the country of victorious socialism, has grown enormously. The construction of socialism in the European countries of people's democracy, carried out with the assistance of the USSR, has begun and is successfully underway. The labor movement in capitalist countries is growing, and the authority of communist parties is rising. These forces of communism, acting at the vanguard of the struggle for the general democratic demands of the masses, are consistently and purposefully strengthening the position of socialism, demonstrating to the masses the advantages of socialism over capitalism. The revolutionary labor movement and the victorious dictatorship of the working class represent an irresistible force of our time. All progressive people of the modern era have pinned their hopes and aspirations on this force. The future of all humanity is bound to this force.

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the world-historical role of the working class and of the proletarian state leadership of the whole of society obliges workers on the ideological front to defend the purity of the Marxist-Leninist worldview, to implement the principle of communist party spirit in politics and ideology, to always be the spokesman for the interests of the working class and its party, to advance the cause of communist construction, and to hold high the banner of Leninism.

For people's democracies and for the peoples of the world, the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine of Soviets as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is of paramount importance. Soviets are not simply one form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the highest form of proletarian dictatorship, best

ensuring the fulfillment of its tasks at all stages of the development of the socialist state. This in no way contradicts the fact that in a number of countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat is being implemented and will be implemented in other forms. It is important to emphasize once again that the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in other forms became possible thanks to the existence of the powerful Soviet socialist state.

The colossal experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)—the leading and guiding force of the Soviet people and the Soviet socialist state—accumulated in the struggle for communism, has enduring, world-historical significance.

Of exceptional importance for people's democracies is the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine of the revolutionary party of the working class, the working class's leading role over all working people, and its organization and iron discipline as the most important conditions for uniting all workers and involving them in socialist construction. The experience accumulated by the Soviet people and the Bolshevik Party in the struggle for communism has served and will continue to serve as an instructive example of guiding importance for communist parties and working people in people's democracies and throughout the world.

Chapter Three

The Soviet Multinational State.

1. Ways to resolve the national question in the USSR.

The national-colonial question occupies a prominent place in Leninism. Its significance lies in the fact that its effective resolution ensures the transformation of dependent and colonial countries from a reserve of the imperialist bourgeoisie into a reserve and ally of the revolutionary proletariat. The significance of the national question lies further in the fact that its correct resolution ensures the involvement of all working people of various nationalities in communist construction after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and is one of the essential conditions for the stability and invincibility of the socialist state.

"Leninism has proven, and the imperialist war and revolution in Russia have confirmed, that the national question can be resolved only in connection with and on the basis of a proletarian revolution, that the path to the victory of the revolution in the West passes through a revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism. The national question is part of the general question of the proletarian revolution, part of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat"[128].

Leninism revealed the inseparable connection between the resolution of the national question and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and all working people against imperialism and substantiated a new, only possible method for

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[128] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 141.

the real resolution of the national question, the method of socialist internationalism.

“Previously,” says Comrade Stalin, “it was ‘accepted’ to think that the only method of liberating oppressed peoples was the method of *bourgeois nationalism* , the method of nations falling away from each other, the method of their disunity, the method of intensifying national enmity between the working masses of different nations.

"This legend must now be considered refuted. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it dealt this legend a mortal blow, demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency *of the proletarian* , *international* method of liberating oppressed peoples as the only correct method, demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal alliance* of workers and peasants of the most diverse peoples on the principles of *voluntariness and internationalism* . The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future unification of workers of all countries in a single world economy, cannot but serve as direct proof of this"[129].

Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat are a necessary condition for the resolution of the national question.

Attempts to resolve the national question through bourgeois nationalism, which leads to the intensification of national hatred, have never been and cannot be a genuine solution. Ultimately, they further confuse the national question. This is natural. The trend toward political liberation from imperialist shackles and the formation of an independent state is

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[129] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 244.

inseparable from the trend toward economic rapprochement between nations, a trend that imperialism achieves through colonial conquests and annexations. Thus, capitalism inevitably forms the basis of national oppression and national discord.

“The existence of capitalism without national oppression is just as unthinkable as the existence of socialism without the liberation of oppressed nations, without national freedom. Chauvinism and national struggle are inevitable, inescapable, as long as the peasantry (and the petty bourgeoisie in general), full of nationalist prejudices, follows the bourgeoisie, and, conversely, national peace and national freedom can be considered guaranteed if the peasantry follows the proletariat, i.e., if the dictatorship of the proletariat is guaranteed. Therefore, the victory of the Soviets and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the fundamental conditions for the abolition of national oppression, the establishment of national equality, and the guarantee of the rights of national minorities”[130].

In defining the path to resolving the national question during the socialist revolution, Lenin and Stalin emphasized the need for a concrete historical and class analysis of national problems. Even in his earliest work on the national question, "How Social Democrats Understand the National Question," Comrade Stalin demonstrated that national movements differ in their class character, and different classes evaluate and resolve the national question differently, making a concrete historical approach to the national problem always necessary.

In his work “Marxism and the National Question,” Comrade Stalin shows the different conditions of existence of nations in Austria-Hungary and in Russia and again with all his might

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[130] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 19.

puts forward the thesis about the importance of studying the concrete historical conditions that constitute the starting point of Marxist analysis, about the dialectical-materialistic formulation as the only correct formulation of the question, which constitutes the key to the solution of the national question.

In his work "On the Foundations of Leninism" and his other works, Comrade Stalin again and again draws attention to the fact that the national movement of oppressed peoples should be assessed not from the point of view of abstract rights and formal democracy, "but from the point of view of the actual results in the overall balance of the struggle against imperialism"[131], from the point of view of the interests of the revolutionary workers' movement, the interests of the socialist revolution.

In examining the national question in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I. V. Stalin particularly emphasized the importance of a concrete historical formulation of the issue and a proletarian class approach to its resolution. When the enemy of the people, Bukharin, attempted to replace the question of the dictatorship of the working class with a national question at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Stalin decisively rebuffed the machinations of the enemies of the Party and the people. I. V. Stalin demonstrated that the primary issue for the working class is the achievement and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the national question is a secondary issue.

"For us, as communists, it is clear," said Comrade Stalin, "that the basis of all our work is the work of strengthening the power of the workers, and only after this does another question arise

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[131] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 144.

before us, a very important question, but subordinate to the first – the national question...

"It must be remembered that, in addition to the right of peoples to self-determination, there is also the right of the working class to strengthen its power, and the right to self-determination is subordinate to this latter right. There are cases when the right to self-determination comes into conflict with another, higher right—the right of the working class, having come to power, to strengthen its power. In such cases—this must be said frankly —the right to self-determination cannot and should not serve as an obstacle to the realization of the right of the working class to its dictatorship. The former must yield to the latter. This was the case, for example, in 1920, when we were forced, in the interests of defending the power of the working class, to march on Warsaw"[132].

This was the situation in 1939, when the then rulers of Finland – Tanner, Mannerheim and Co., fulfilling the task of international imperialist reaction, turned their country into a springboard for an attack on the Soviet Union and provoked an attack by Finland on the USSR, which forced the Soviet government, in the interests of defending the country of the proletarian dictatorship, to teach a lesson to the presumptuous reactionaries, to move the border of Finland from Leningrad beyond the Karelian Isthmus and thereby strengthen the security of the northwestern border of the Soviet Union and the glorious city of Lenin.

As for the class essence of the national question under Soviet conditions in the early stages of the Soviet system, it consisted of determining the correct relationship between the working class of the former dominant nation—in this case, the Russian

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[132] I. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 5, pp. 264, 265.

working class—and the peasantry of the formerly oppressed nationalities, which at that time had little or no national proletariat. From the perspective of class relations in the sphere of the national question, at the beginning of the NEP, the focus was "on establishing correct relationships between the proletariat of the former dominant nation, representing the most cultured stratum of the proletariat throughout our federation, and the peasantry, primarily the peasantry of the formerly oppressed nationalities. This is the class essence of the national question." If the proletariat succeeds in establishing relations with the peasantry of other nationalities that can undermine all the vestiges of mistrust of everything Russian, which was cultivated and instilled for decades by the policies of tsarism, if the Russian proletariat succeeds, moreover, in achieving complete mutual understanding and trust, in establishing a real alliance not only between the proletariat and the Russian peasantry, but also between the proletariat and the peasantry of previously oppressed nationalities, then the task will be solved”[133].

Only the vanguard role of the working class, led by the Bolshevik Party, relying on the socialist state and consistently implementing the Leninist-Stalinist policy on the national question, ensured the resolution of the national question in the spirit of consistent internationalism, in the spirit of brotherhood, friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state on the national question, developed and directed by Lenin and Stalin, was implemented consistently and purposefully. The political and legal equality of all nationalities and nations of the former

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[133] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 240.

Russian Empire was proclaimed immediately after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. All peoples of Russia received the right to independently decide the question of their nationality and their state structure, which became the first and most effective condition for the genuine equality of peoples and the abolition of national oppression. Lenin and Stalin pointed out that friendship and mutual trust among peoples can be realized only on the basis of granting nations the right to self-determination, including the right to secession. "We want free unification," said Lenin on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution, "and therefore we are obliged to recognize freedom of secession."[134]

The Bolshevik Party, Lenin, and Stalin proceeded from the premise that the complete elimination of national oppression and the granting of peoples the right to self-determination under the conditions of socialist revolution would inspire among peoples liberated from imperialist oppression a desire to unite on the basis of equality and voluntariness. The Bolshevik Party persistently explained to the masses that the unification of the efforts of workers of various nationalities to strengthen the Soviet system was the most important condition for the success of building socialism and communism. In 1920, Comrade Stalin stated:

“Of course, the outskirts of Russia, the nations and tribes inhabiting these outskirts, like any other nation, have an inalienable right to secede from Russia, and if any of these nations decided in its majority to secede from Russia, as happened with Finland in 1917, then Russia would probably have to acknowledge the fact and sanction the secession. But the issue here is not the rights of nations, which are

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[134] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, 4th ed., p. 149.

indisputable, but the interests of the masses of the people, both in the center and in the outskirts; the issue is the nature of the agitation, which is determined by these interests and which our party is obliged to conduct if it (the party) does not want to renounce itself, if it wants to influence the will of the working masses of nationalities in a certain direction. Well, and the interests of the masses of the people say that the demand for the secession of the outskirts at the present stage of the revolution is deeply counter-revolutionary"[135].

The entire course of the socialist revolution and communist construction in the USSR confirms the depth and validity of the indisputable principles of Lenin and Stalin that the granting of the right to secession, being an indispensable condition for the elimination of all national oppression, under socialism serves the cause of uniting nations on the principles of voluntariness, equality and mutual assistance.

"Thus, *from* the collapse of the old imperialist unity *through* the independent Soviet republics, the peoples of Russia come to a new voluntary fraternal unity"[136], Comrade Stalin pointed out, characterizing the process of unification of the Soviet republics.

The right of nations to self-determination, including state secession, proclaimed by the October Socialist Revolution and enshrined in all Soviet constitutions, is the first of the inalienable rights of the peoples of the USSR. Comrade Stalin, back in 1913, in his work "Marxism and the National Question," explained that "only the nation itself has the right to determine its own destiny; no one has the right

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[135] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, pp. 353–354.

[136] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 229.

to *forcibly* interfere in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to break its morals and customs, to *restrict* its language, or to curtail its *rights*"[137].

After the October Socialist Revolution, specifying the position on the inalienable rights of every nation and every nationality cooperating with other peoples within the framework of a single socialist state, Comrade Stalin exhaustively characterized the tasks facing the Communist Party and the Soviet state in protecting the rights of workers of different nationalities, in introducing them to communist construction, in the most rapid development of their culture, national in form, socialist in content. "Now," said Comrade Stalin, "when the landowners and the bourgeoisie have been overthrown, and Soviet power has been proclaimed by the masses of the people in these countries (he was talking about the national outskirts of the former Russian Empire - Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, etc. - D. Ch .), the task of the Party is to help the working masses of the non-Great Russian peoples to catch up with the advanced central Russia and to help them:

a) to develop and strengthen Soviet statehood in forms corresponding to the national character of these peoples;

b) establish a court, administration, economic bodies, and government bodies operating in the native language, composed of local people who know the life and psychology of the local population;

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[137] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 2, p. 310.

c) develop a press, school, theatre, club business and, in general, cultural and educational institutions in the native language"[138].

The principle of national equality has been consistently implemented by Soviet power since its earliest days. The historic address of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets to the workers, soldiers, and peasants, which proclaimed the formation of Soviet power, stated that Soviet power would guarantee the right of all nations to self-determination. The "Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People," drafted by Lenin with the participation of Comrade Stalin and adopted by the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January 1918, stated that "the Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics." The Declaration on the Formation of the USSR, written by Comrade Stalin and adopted by the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR in December 1922, stated that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a voluntary association of equal peoples, and that "the new union state will be a worthy crowning of the foundations of peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation of peoples laid back in October 1917."

The foundation of the Soviet multinational state can only be the voluntary participation and equality of the members of the state union, Comrade Stalin teaches. "Voluntary participation and equality—because the starting point of our national program is the right of nations to independent state existence"[139].

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[138] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 24.

[139] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 242.

This fundamental tenet of the Leninist-Stalinist nationalities policy and this fundamental principle, which formed the basis of the Soviet multinational state, is also enshrined in the current Stalin Constitution of the USSR. At the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets, Comrade Stalin resolutely opposed the amendment to exclude Article 17, which stipulated the right of Union republics to freely secede from the USSR. “I think,” Comrade Stalin said, “that this proposal is incorrect and therefore should not be adopted by the Congress. The USSR is a voluntary union of equal Union republics. To exclude from the Constitution the article on the right of free secede from the USSR would mean violating the voluntary nature of this union. Can we take this step? I think that we cannot and should not take this step. They say that there is not a single republic in the USSR that would want to secede from the USSR, and that, therefore, Article 17 has no practical significance. "It is certainly true that there is not a single republic in our country that would wish to secede from the USSR. But this does not mean that we should not enshrine in the Constitution the right of Union Republics to freely secede from the USSR. There is also no Union Republic in the USSR that would wish to suppress another Union Republic. But this does not mean that the article dealing with the equality of rights of Union Republics should be excluded from the Constitution of the USSR"[140].

Thus, legal equality of nationalities was achieved from the first days of the October Socialist Revolution and since then has been the unshakable foundation of the Soviet socialist state.

However, legal equality of nationalities does not necessarily mean their actual equality. The latter must be achieved through

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[140] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 527.

socialist construction, on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the basis of the legal equality of nationalities.

Considering the fact that the landowners and capitalists of Tsarist Russia had for centuries sought to destroy the rudiments of any statehood among non-Russian nationalities, mutilate their culture, restrict their language, keep them in ignorance, and Russify them whenever possible, it was necessary not only to establish legal equality among nationalities but also to persistently fight for the workers of all nations to exercise their rights. Comrade Stalin noted that Soviet power inherited the de facto inequality of nationalities, economic and cultural inequality. Legal national equality, won by the October Socialist Revolution, is a great achievement, but it does not in itself resolve the national question in the Soviet Union. The essence of the national question in the Soviet country, Comrade Stalin said, is to eliminate the political, economic, and cultural backwardness of the nationalities oppressed by Tsarism and to help them catch up with Central Russia in political, economic, and cultural terms. Without solving this problem, Comrade Stalin points out, peoples who are economically and culturally backward cannot fully utilize the rights and opportunities provided to them by national equality.

In his famous article "On the Formulation of the National Question" (1921), Comrade Stalin formulated a comprehensive program for combating the de facto inequality of nationalities. He stated that without the sustained assistance of the working class and the toiling masses of the advanced nations, the toiling masses of the backward nations "will be unable to establish that peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation of the toilers of various nations and nationalities within a single world economy that is so essential for the ultimate triumph of socialism."

But it follows from this that one cannot limit oneself to just "national equality," that it is necessary to move from "national equality" to measures of actual equalization of nations, to the development and implementation of practical measures for:

1) study of the economic situation, life, and culture of backward nations and peoples;

2) the development of their culture;

3) their political education;

4) their gradual and painless introduction to higher forms of economy;

5) establishing economic cooperation between workers of backward and advanced nations"[141].

These guidelines of Comrade Stalin were further developed by him in his report at the XII Party Congress and approved in the decisions of the XII Congress.

The elimination of actual inequality meant, first of all, the creation and strengthening of *Soviet statehood in the native language* for previously oppressed and therefore lagging behind in their development nationalities.

The elimination of actual inequality meant, further, overcoming the economic backwardness of the national republics, especially those that, before the October Socialist Revolution, had not managed to undergo capitalist development and had retained a patriarchal-clan or semi-patriarchal social system (Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, most of Azerbaijan, Bashkiria, some peoples of the North Caucasus, etc.).

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[141] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 59.

The assistance of the Russian proletariat and the entire Russian people helped the workers of the national republics overcome their economic backwardness. This assistance was organized by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. The establishment and development of socialist industry in the union and autonomous republics played a crucial role. As soon as the civil war ended and the Soviet Union began to rebuild its devastated economy, the Russian Federation, which had provided primarily military aid to workers in the national outlying areas during the struggle against the White Guards and foreign imperialist interventionists, began providing invaluable assistance in developing the economies of the national republics. As early as 1920–1921, many industrial enterprises from Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities of the RSFSR were relocated to Central Asia and the Transcaucasian republics. Industrial centers were established in all Soviet republics, and a national working class was intensively trained, which played a crucial role in strengthening the alliance between the working class of the Russian Federation and the peasantry of the national republics. With the transition from the recovery to the reconstruction period, and especially during Stalin's five-year plans, this assistance from the Russian people to the peoples of other Soviet republics increased even further. Relying on the assistance of the Russian people, the workers of all union and autonomous national republics and regions of the USSR achieved colossal successes in building a socialist economy.

Here are some figures characterizing industrial growth in individual Soviet republics and testifying to the enormous assistance of the Russian people to other peoples of the Soviet Union. In 1940, the gross industrial output of the RSFSR was 12 times greater than the 1913 figure. In 1950, compared to 1940, the RSFSR's industry grew by 37%. The industry of the

autonomous republics within the RSFSR grew even more rapidly. Republics such as Tatarstan and Bashkortostan had no large-scale industry before the revolution. By 1940, they had developed a powerful heavy industry. In 1950, Tatarstan's heavy industry was two and a half times higher than its pre-war 1940 level. Tatarstan's gross industrial output in 1949 was 35 times higher than its 1913 gross output. In 1950, the Dagestan ASSR produced 65 times more industrial output than before the revolution. The output of Cheboksary alone, the capital of the Chuvash ASSR, was more than 10 times higher than the entire pre-revolutionary Chuvashia.

Even more striking was the growth of industrial production in the outlying republics of the Soviet Union. In the Byelorussian SSR, the gross output of large-scale industry increased 23-fold compared to 1913. The Nazi invaders destroyed Belarusian industry, but during the first post-war five-year plan (1946–1950), it was completely restored on an even more sophisticated technical basis. After the war, new industries were created in Belarus: automobiles, tractors, locomotive engines, and bicycles.

The volume of industrial production in Georgia by 1949 was 39 times higher than the 1913 level. In the Kazakh SSR, gross industrial output in 1940 increased by 22.2 times compared to 1913, and in 1950 it doubled compared to the 1940 level.

In the Armenian SSR, the gross output of heavy industry increased 50-fold in 1949 compared to 1913, and the output of light industry increased 90-fold. In the Uzbek SSR, by 1950, the output of heavy industry had increased 215-fold compared to 1913, and in 1950, Uzbek industry produced almost twice as much as in 1940.

As a result of the enormous growth of socialist industry, previously lagging republics have become developed industrial countries. In the Kazakh SSR, industrial output now accounts for 60% of the national economy, and in Kyrgyzstan, 70%. A similar picture is observed in other union and autonomous republics.

No less obvious are the changes that took place in the young Soviet republics that joined the USSR in 1940. In Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, industry, under the rule of the bourgeoisie, was dependent on foreign capitalists and was declining, while under Soviet conditions it steadily grew. If we take the gross industrial output in 1945 as 100%, then the growth of industrial production in the Latvian SSR will be expressed in the following figures: in 1946 - 180%, in 1947 - 270, in 1948 - 384, in 1949 - 507%; in 1949, the increase in industrial production in Latvia compared to 1940 was 160%. In the Lithuanian SSR in 1949, gross industrial output exceeded the pre-war level by 67%, and in 1950 it was 23% higher than the 1949 level. During the first post-war five-year plan, the share of industry in the national economy of the Lithuanian SSR increased from 35 to 50%. In the Estonian SSR, industrial output in 1950 was three times higher than the pre-war level.

Workers of previously oppressed nationalities have achieved tremendous success in developing agriculture. Before the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the early years of Soviet power, the technical foundations of agriculture in the national outlying areas were even more primitive than those of the small-scale peasant farms in the country's central regions. During the years of Soviet power, the situation changed dramatically. The collective farm system prevailed everywhere. Thousands of machine and tractor stations service collective farm fields. Plowing, sowing, and harvesting not only grain but also industrial crops are largely mechanized. The production of

industrial crops has increased significantly. In Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, collective farmers achieved the highest cotton yields in the world.

All these changes in the economy of the union and autonomous Soviet republics were accompanied by fundamental social changes, expressed in the creation of cadres of the socialist working class and intelligentsia from all nationalities, in the socialist transformation of the peasantry on the basis of the collective farm system and in the destruction of the exploiting classes.

Eliminating actual inequality between nationalities also means overcoming the cultural lag of individual nationalities. I. V. Stalin teaches that eliminating actual inequality between nationalities cannot be accomplished solely through the development and socialist transformation of the economies of the Soviet republics. Eliminating the economic lag of individual national republics must be complemented by eliminating their cultural lag. This is all the more important to emphasize, as economic development and the involvement of all working people of previously lagging nationalities in the work of communist construction cannot be achieved without developing the national socialist culture of all Soviet peoples.

It is possible to involve the masses in socialist construction only if the national characteristics of each people are taken into account, if opportunities are created for the masses to receive education in their native language, to have courts, administrative institutions and public organizations in their native language, and if a cultural revolution is carried out for all peoples.

“Only under the condition of the development of national cultures will it be possible to involve truly backward

nationalities in the work of socialist construction”[142], teaches Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin brilliantly demonstrated that socialist culture can develop only in a national form, that humanity will arrive at a worldwide communist culture, uniform in form and content, with a single, common language for all, only through the flourishing of cultures that are national in form and socialist in content.

Under capitalism, where the bourgeoisie dominates material and spiritual production, national culture is bourgeois in content, designed to poison the masses with the poison of nationalism and strengthen the rule of the bourgeoisie. Lenin and Stalin demonstrated that under capitalism, the slogan of national culture is bourgeois and reactionary. With this characterization, Lenin and Stalin exposed the bourgeois *content* of national culture, contrasting it with elements of democratic and socialist culture, which are present in every national culture under capitalism.

In the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat, when the working class holds power, national culture becomes socialist in its content and educates the masses in the spirit of socialism and internationalism.

"It may seem strange," said Comrade Stalin, "that we, who advocate the future *fusion* of national cultures into a single, common (both in form and content) culture with a single, common language, are at the same time advocates for the *flourishing* of national cultures at the present moment, during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But there is nothing strange about this. National cultures must be allowed

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[142] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 368–369.

to develop and unfold, revealing their full potential, in order to create the conditions for their fusion into a single, common culture with a single, common language during the period of the victory of socialism throughout the world. The flourishing of cultures, national in form and socialist in content, under the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, *for* the purpose of merging them into a single, common, socialist (both in form and content) culture with a single, common language, when the proletariat is victorious throughout the world and socialism becomes commonplace—this is precisely the dialectical nature of Lenin's formulation of the question of national culture.

...the flourishing of national cultures (and languages) during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country in order to prepare the conditions for their withering away and merging into one common socialist culture (and one common language) during the period of the victory of socialism throughout the world.

“Whoever does not understand this uniqueness and “contradiction” of our transitional time, whoever does not understand this dialectic of historical processes, is lost to Marxism”[143].

This is completely natural, since “nations under the Soviet system are not ordinary “modern” nations,
but socialist nations , just as their national cultures are not ordinary, bourgeois cultures in content, but socialist cultures ”[144].

Comrade Stalin teaches that the victory of socialism in one country cannot lead to the extinction of national differences

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[143] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 369, 370.

[144] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 369, 368.

and the merging of the world's nations and national languages into a single common whole, if only because the victory of socialism in one country, while seriously weakening world imperialism, does not yet eliminate it. And the existence of imperialism and its desire to subjugate other nations stimulates and sustains national mistrust, national isolation, national enmity, and national conflicts.

“The period of the victory of socialism on a world scale differs above all from the period of the victory of socialism in one country in that it liquidates imperialism *in all countries* , destroys both the desire to conquer other nations and the fear of the threat of national enslavement, undermines national mistrust and national enmity at their roots, unites nations in a single system of world socialist economy and thus creates the real conditions necessary for the gradual merging of all nations into a single whole”[145].

Thus, the merging of nations and languages, Comrade Stalin teaches, can only occur after the victory of socialism on a global scale, "when world imperialism no longer exists, the exploiting classes are overthrown, national and colonial oppression is eliminated, national isolation and mutual mistrust are replaced by mutual trust and rapprochement among nations, national equality is realized, the policy of suppression and assimilation of languages is eliminated, cooperation between nations is established, and national languages are free to enrich each other through cooperation. Clearly, under these conditions, there can be no talk of the suppression and defeat of some languages and the victory of others. Here we will not be dealing with two languages, one of which suffers defeat and the other emerges victorious from the struggle, but with

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[145] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 343.

hundreds of national languages, from which, as a result of long-term economic, political and cultural cooperation of nations, the most enriched single zonal languages will emerge first, and then the zonal languages will merge into one common international language, which, of course, will not be German, nor Russian, nor English, but a new language that will incorporate the best elements of national and zonal languages"[146].

The abolition of world imperialism, Comrade Stalin teaches, does not mean the immediate extinction of nations and national languages. On the contrary, the first stage of the global dictatorship of the proletariat will see the flourishing of previously oppressed nations and national languages, the comprehensive realization of national equality, the complete elimination of any vestiges of national mistrust, and the establishment and strengthening of international ties between nations.

"Only in the second stage of the period of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, as a single world socialist economy takes shape—in place of the world capitalist economy—only at this stage will something like a common language begin to emerge, for only at this stage will nations sense the need to have, alongside their national languages, a single, common, international language—for the convenience of communication and the facilitation of economic, cultural, and political cooperation. Consequently, at this stage, national languages and a common international language will exist side by side. It is possible that initially, not one world economic center common to all nations with one common language will be created, but several zonal economic centers for individual

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[146] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Questions of Linguistics, pp. 53–54.

groups of nations, with a separate common language for each group of nations. Only subsequently will these centers unite into one common world center of socialist economy with one language common to all nations.

In the next stage of the period of the global dictatorship of the proletariat, when the world socialist economic system has become sufficiently strong and socialism has entered into the everyday life of peoples, when nations have become convinced in practice of the advantages of a common language over national languages, national differences and languages will begin to die out, giving way to a common world language for all.

This, in my opinion, is an approximate picture of the future of nations, a picture of the development of nations on the path to their merging in the future"[147].

The Bolshevik Party and Soviet power in all their activities are guided by the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the national question, the fundamental directive of Comrade Stalin on the development of socialist nations and the flourishing of cultures that are national in form and socialist in content as a condition for the merging of nations and languages in the future, with the victory of communism throughout the world, with its full maturity.

On the basis of the consistent implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist policy on the national question, on the basis of the course of the Communist Party on the comprehensive development of national cultures in the Soviet Union, historic successes have been achieved in the development of cultures that are national in form and socialist in content.

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[147] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, pp. 348–349.

In 1950, Ukraine had 158 higher education institutions, up from 19 before the revolution, and 92 permanent theaters. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, established under Soviet rule, unites 38 research institutes. There are over 120 specialized research institutes operating in Ukraine.

In 1950, Georgia had 20 higher education institutions, 27 theaters, and 492 film projection units. The Georgian Academy of Sciences, founded in 1941, unites 45 research institutions.

The Azerbaijan SSR has 20 universities and over 60 research institutions, headed by the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences. The republic also has 5,066 cultural and educational institutions.

In the Kazakh SSR there are 26 universities, 108 technical schools, and the Academy of Sciences, which has 47 scientific institutions.

In the Tajik SSR there are 9 universities, an Academy of Sciences, 85 cinemas, and more than a thousand libraries.

In the Uzbek SSR there are 35 universities, the Academy of Sciences, which has 24 scientific institutions, and 26 theaters.

In the Kirghiz SSR there are 8 universities, 34 technical schools, 7 theaters, 24 cinemas, and 790 clubs.

A similar picture is observed in all the other Soviet republics. In 1950, there were 364 higher education institutions in all the Soviet republics, excluding the RSFSR. These figures attest to the enormous cultural growth of all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Thus, socialist construction and the victory of socialism in the USSR led to the elimination of de facto national inequality across all dimensions—state, economic, and cultural. This

represents the greatest victory of Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

Resolving the national question in the USSR required overcoming the mistrust between nationalities inherited from Tsarism. In the first years after the revolution, great-power tendencies were still evident among certain representatives of the former dominant nation—Russians. Great-power chauvinism posed a serious danger. Vestiges of mistrust of Great Russians also lingered among the formerly oppressed peoples of our country, resulting in centrifugal forces still operating. Local nationalism also persisted among the formerly oppressed peoples. Local nationalism, as Comrade Stalin explained, is ultimately a reaction to great-power nationalism, but it is not limited to defense; in a number of republics, local nationalism transformed from defensive to offensive, directed against the national minorities inhabiting these republics (Armenians, Adjarians, and Ossetians in Georgia; Armenians in Azerbaijan, etc.). "It can be said boldly," said Comrade Stalin in 1923, "that the relationship between the proletariat of the former dominant nation and the workers of all other nationalities represents three-quarters of the entire national question. But one-quarter of this question must be left to the mutual relations between the formerly oppressed nationalities themselves"[148].

The NEP and the private capital associated with it fostered great-power chauvinism and local nationalism, which could not help but complicate the task of organizing cooperation among the peoples of the USSR.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state, organizing economic, political, cultural, and military cooperation and

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[148] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 251.

mutual assistance among the peoples of the Soviet Union, persistently educated and continue to educate the workers of all nations in a spirit of trust and respect for one another, in the spirit of internationalism. The Party of Lenin and Stalin and the Soviet state waged and continue to wage a resolute struggle against all forms and manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism.

The enormous work accomplished by the Communist Party and the Soviet state yielded results. Nationalist tendencies were exposed and defeated, and mutual national distrust between the peoples of the USSR was overcome. The elimination of the exploiting classes and the transformation of all workers in the USSR into builders of communism destroyed the social foundation that fueled nationalist prejudices and mistrust between nationalities. Comrade Stalin's report to the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets exhaustively described the foundation upon which this historic victory was achieved—the elimination of mistrust between peoples and the creation of a multinational state based on socialism.

How, Comrade Stalin asked, can the victory of Lenin's national policy be explained? And he answered:

"The absence of exploiting classes, which are the main organizers of the interethnic strife; the absence of exploitation, which cultivates mutual distrust and inflames national passions; the presence in power of the working class, which is the enemy of all enslavement and the faithful bearer of the ideas of internationalism; the actual implementation of mutual assistance of peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; finally, the flourishing of the national culture of the peoples of the USSR, national in form, socialist in content - all these and similar factors led to a radical change in the appearance of the

peoples of the USSR, the disappearance of the feeling of mutual distrust among them, the development of a feeling of mutual friendship among them, and thus the establishment of genuine fraternal cooperation of peoples within the system of a single union state.

As a result, we now have a fully formed multinational socialist state that has withstood all tests, the strength of which any national state in any part of the world could envy"[149].

When considering the resolution of the national question in the USSR, it should be borne in mind that under socialism, the issue is not the relationship between bourgeois nations, but the relationship between new, Soviet socialist nations. Stalin's formulation and elaboration of the question of socialist nations is a most valuable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet socialist nations, Comrade Stalin teaches, arose after the liquidation of the bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties. They emerged and developed from the foundations of the old bourgeois nations, which, as a result of the liquidation of capitalism, underwent a radical transformation in the spirit of socialism.

To what extent did bourgeois nations serve as the basis for the emergence of socialist nations, and what was their fundamental transformation?

A nation, Comrade Stalin teaches, "is a historically formed stable community of people that arose on the basis of a community of four basic characteristics, namely: on the basis of a common language, a common territory, a common

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[149] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 513–514.

economic life, and a common mental makeup, manifested in the common specific features of national culture"[150].

Can we say that the elimination of bourgeois nations and their replacement with socialist nations signifies a fundamental change in all four of these characteristics? Of course not. Let's begin with the *commonality of language* . Of course, the language of each of the peoples of the Soviet Union underwent, and could not help but undergo, certain changes as a result of the October Socialist Revolution and the construction of socialism, but it remained essentially the same for each people as it was before the revolution. Comrade Stalin brilliantly demonstrated this with the example of the Russian language.

What has changed in the Russian language over the last thirty years, asks Comrade Stalin and answers: "The vocabulary of the Russian language has changed to a certain extent, it has changed in the sense that it has been replenished with a significant number of new words and expressions that arose in connection with the emergence of the new socialist production, the emergence of a new state, a new socialist culture, a new society, morality, and finally, in connection with the growth of technology and science; the meaning of a number of words and expressions has changed, acquiring a new semantic meaning; a certain number of obsolete words have fallen out of the vocabulary. As for the basic vocabulary and grammatical structure of the Russian language, which form the basis of the language, after the liquidation of the capitalist basis they were not only not liquidated and replaced by a new basic vocabulary and a new grammatical structure of the language, but, on the contrary, they were preserved intact and remained without any

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[150] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 333.

serious changes - they were preserved precisely as the basis of the modern Russian language"[151].

Nor did fundamental changes occur in the second characteristic feature of a nation—a common *territory* . This feature remained as one of the necessary conditions for constructing a new, socialist nation. The only changes that occurred were related to the elimination of the artificial division of the territories of certain oppressed nationalities into arbitrarily established administrative units. The old administrative divisions served the policy of forced assimilation of oppressed nations (regions in Central Asia under tsarism, etc.). The process of creating socialist nations occurred on the basis of the elimination of such artificial administrative barriers. But this did not undermine the very condition—a common territory—as an integral feature of every nation, both bourgeois and socialist.

The situation is different with the commonality of economic life as a characteristic feature of a nation. Of course, the very fact of common *economic life* remains in force even after the liquidation of bourgeois nations and constitutes an integral characteristic of socialist nations. Moreover, this commonality, as a result of the liquidation of exploiting classes and class antagonisms, the victory of the socialist economic system, and the establishment of relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance among people, becomes a factor far more powerful than under capitalism. However, the main factor is the fundamental change in the nature of economic conditions, the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. This has brought about a fundamental upheaval in all aspects of

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[151] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Questions of Linguistics, p. 6.

social life and has led to a change in the nature of nations themselves, their social content.

The liquidation of the bourgeois economy and the creation of a socialist economy led to a change in the *mental makeup* of people, the commonality of which constitutes the fourth characteristic of a nation. Here, two aspects of the question must be considered: first, the commonality of people's mental makeup, to the extent that it is manifested in the commonality of specific cultural characteristics, or, in other words, in its national form; second, the mental makeup of people, as it is formed on a specific foundation, reflects it, and constitutes the moral and political makeup of people.

Regarding the first point, related to the national form of culture, although it undergoes changes, it cannot but be preserved during the transition from capitalism to socialism. A common national character, embodied in the characteristics of national culture, develops under capitalism, despite existing antagonisms between classes. This commonality is determined by the peculiarities of the people's historical development, the commonality of the nation's language, close communication between people of not only the same class but also between people of different classes, without which there is no unified society, and so on.

Class disunity does not negate the certain commonality of the psychological makeup of people under capitalism, because the classes of a bourgeois nation, no matter how fierce the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are economically linked to one another as parts of a single whole—the capitalist economy. “The cessation of all economic ties between them,” says Comrade Stalin, “means the cessation of all production,

and the cessation of all production leads to the destruction of society, to the destruction of the classes themselves"[152].

A nation, as a stable community of people, is formed on the basis of strong economic ties that eliminate economic disunity among the people, on the basis of long-term communication between people living in the same territory and speaking the same language, in the presence of economic and cultural centers of the country, and therefore cannot but be characterized by a certain *commonality of mental makeup among all the people of a given nation* . The main point is that the fundamental traits of national character are formed among the working classes through their struggle with nature and exploiters. Thus, the Russian peasantry, and later, under capitalism, the Russian proletariat, developed remarkable traits that formed the foundation of the Russian national character, as noted by I.V. Stalin in his speech on May 24, 1945, at a reception for the commanders of the Red Army: a clear mind, a steadfast character, and patience.

This is why culture, for example bourgeois culture, while possessing a common content for all nations, differs in its national form. In the literature of all peoples, under similar historical conditions—the transition from feudalism to capitalism—the image of a young man dissatisfied with the existing order was created, but this image always had unique national characteristics. Onegin or Pechorin in Russian literature differ from Childe Harold in England. National Russian classical opera, even with similar social motifs or a similar plot, differs significantly from the national operas and music of other peoples. And so on.

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[152] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Questions of Linguistics, p. 19.

This happens because a nation presupposes as an indispensable condition a common national character, manifested in the commonality of the *specific features* of a national culture .

There is no doubt that this characteristic of a nation, since it is linked to the *form* of national culture, is preserved to a certain extent during the transition from bourgeois to socialist nations. Moreover, the specific characteristics of national culture further develop based on the development of the best national traditions, and national culture flourishes under socialism. The national form of culture that emerged under capitalism (and not only language, but also the commonality of people's mental makeup, manifested in the commonality of *specific* characteristics of national culture) serves as the basis for the national form of socialist culture and reaches its full flowering under socialism.

But it is also undeniable that national character is not something immutable. Under the Soviet system, the Russian national character differs significantly from the Russian character under capitalism. In a report on the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad, A. A. Zhdanov said: "We are no longer the same Russians we were before 1917"[153]. The moral and political image and character of the Russian people under socialism have acquired qualitatively new features. The commonality of psychological makeup is essentially preserved, since it is embodied in the specific features of the national form. But it undergoes a significant, fundamental change, since we are talking about the content of the psychological makeup of people, which is becoming socialist.

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[153] A. A. Zhdanov, Report on the magazines “Zvezda” and “Leningrad”, Gospolitizdat, 1946, p. 36.

From all that has been said about the characteristics of a nation, it follows that in the transition from bourgeois nations to socialist nations, the elements that, in their totality, constitute the form of national culture (language and other specific features of the nation and national culture) are basically preserved, and the spiritual and socio-political content of nations and national cultures changes radically .

Comrade Stalin provided a comprehensive characterization of the contrast between socialist nations and bourgeois nations in his famous work, "The National Question and Leninism." Summarizing everything he had previously said about the origins and characteristics of bourgeois nations, Comrade Stalin provided a complete characterization of bourgeois nations.

Bourgeois nations , writes Comrade Stalin, arose during the abolition of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, when the bourgeoisie was the main player in the awakening of national movements. As the ruling class of capitalist society, the bourgeoisie acts as the primary guiding force in bourgeois nations, determining the content of national culture. The bourgeoisie promotes peace between classes in the name of "national unity" and instills nationalism and chauvinism to divide workers into national groups and distract them from the class struggle. The bourgeoisie seizes foreign national territories to expand its own nation's territory and enslave other peoples. By pursuing a policy of oppression and repression against national minorities, the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation sows mistrust and hatred among peoples. This mistrust and hatred are equally fostered by the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationality. The development of "modern" nations, led by the bourgeoisie, inevitably leads them to establish a

united front with imperialism. Comrade Stalin, characterizing the process of the emergence of "modern" nations, says:

"The bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties were and remain the main guiding force of such nations during this period. Class peace within the nation for the sake of 'national unity'; expansion of one's own nation's territory by seizing foreign national territories; mistrust and hatred of other nations; suppression of national minorities; a united front with imperialism—such is the ideological and socio-political baggage of these nations.

Such nations should be classified as bourgeois nations. Such nations include, for example, the French, English, Italian, North American, and other similar ones. The Russian, Ukrainian, Tatar, Armenian, Georgian, and other nations in Russia were also bourgeois nations before the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system in our country.

It is clear that the fate of such nations is linked to the fate of capitalism, that with the fall of capitalism such nations must leave the scene"[154].

The liquidation of capitalism in the USSR led to a radical transformation of the bourgeois nations of Tsarist Russia in the spirit of socialism.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system in our country made the working class the leading force of the new nations. For the first time in history, national leadership passed to a consistently internationalist force—the working class and its Bolshevik Party. The working

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[154] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 338.

class unites and rallies around itself all working people, i.e., the overwhelming majority of the nation, engaging them in the construction of socialism and ensuring the elimination of capitalist elements—the bearers of nationalism and chauvinism. With the victory of socialism, the indestructible moral and political unity of the nation is established, creating a social community that underlies national unity.

Socialist nations, Comrade Stalin teaches, are "much more united than any bourgeois nation, for they are free from the irreconcilable class contradictions that corrode bourgeois nations, and are much more universal than any bourgeois nation"[155].

The leadership of the working class and its internationalist party ensures the abolition of the remnants of national oppression, the destruction of the remnants of nationalism, and the establishment of friendship among peoples. The social unity achieved through the victory of socialism constitutes the inviolable foundation of cooperation and friendship among nationalities and of socialist internationalism. The internationalism of socialist nations engenders their willingness to live in peace and friendship with neighboring states and with all the peoples of the world. This serves as the foundation for the growing and strengthening ties between the Soviet socialist state and other freedom-loving peoples. At the same time, socialist nations are irreconcilable with imperialism and wage a determined struggle in a united front with all oppressed peoples, in a bloc with all supporters of peace, democracy, and socialism, against the policies of conquest and imperialist wars of conquest. Comrade Stalin characterizes the Soviet socialist nations as follows:

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[155] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 341.

"The working class and its internationalist party are the force that binds these new nations together and leads them. The alliance of the working class and the toiling peasantry within the nation for the liquidation of the remnants of capitalism in the name of the victorious construction of socialism; the abolition of the remnants of national oppression in the name of equality and the free development of nations and national minorities; the abolition of the remnants of nationalism in the name of establishing friendship among peoples and the affirmation of internationalism; a united front with all oppressed and disadvantaged nations in the struggle against the policy of conquest and wars of conquest, in the struggle against imperialism—such is the spiritual and socio-political image of these nations.

Such nations should be classified as socialist nations"[156].

Socialist nations are the opposite of bourgeois nations in their spiritual and socio-political makeup. Unlike bourgeois nations, the socialist nations that emerged in the USSR recognize no division between exploiters and exploited. They are nations composed exclusively of workers, whose lives and labors are inextricably linked to public, socialist property. Accordingly, in their spiritual makeup, socio-political interests, and aspirations, they are socialist nations. They are selflessly devoted to socialism and actively and consciously fight for the victory of communism under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

Thus, on the basis of the old, bourgeois nations, as a result of the liquidation of capitalism, through the radical transformation of bourgeois nations, new, socialist nations arose and developed in the USSR. Socialist nations "differ fundamentally from the corresponding old, bourgeois nations in old Russia

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[156] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 339.

both in their class composition and spiritual makeup, as well as in their socio-political interests and aspirations"[157].

The formation of socialist nations in the USSR proceeded as follows. On the one hand, there was the process of disintegration and liquidation of old, bourgeois nations and the creation of new, socialist nations on their ruins. This applies to the Russian, Ukrainian, Tatar, Armenian, Georgian, and other nations of Russia, transformed as a result of the victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On the other hand, in the Soviet East and the North Caucasus, and in the Far North, where before the revolution some ethnic groups had not advanced beyond a patriarchal-tribal way of life in their economic development and had not yet formed nations, the process of transforming ethnic groups into nations was underway. In these cases, these ethnic groups emerged as socialist nations with the guidance and assistance of the working class of the Russian socialist nation and the working class of other socialist nations in the Soviet Union. The process of these ethnic groups becoming socialist nations, as demonstrated above, was accompanied by the creation of a national working class cadre.

Peoples who had not yet undergone the capitalist stage of development did not develop into bourgeois nations (they possessed only a few elements of a nation—language, territory, and cultural commonality), and for them, the transformation of the old nations was out of the question. These peoples were in the process of forming nations based on the elements of a nation they possessed, and this was the formation of entirely new, socialist nations. The emergence of socialist nations in

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[157] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, pp. 339–340.

this case was made possible by the dictatorship of the working class and the assistance of the working class and workers of more developed nations.

The emergence of socialist nations, internationalist by nature, was a crucial factor determining the friendship and cooperation of nations within the framework of the multinational, unified Soviet socialist state. The Russian working class and the Russian nation, the Russian people, led by it played a prominent role in uniting the Soviet nations. The Russian working class, supported by the peasant masses, was the first to rise up in the struggle against imperialism and overthrow the rule of the landowners and capitalists. The Russian people helped other peoples of the Soviet Union liberate themselves from the yoke of imperialism. The Russian people helped all fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union repel foreign interventionists who attempted to return the peoples of the USSR to the yoke of imperialism. The Russian people selflessly assisted other peoples of the Soviet Union in developing their economies and cultures. The Russian people played a leading role in overcoming the remnants of national mistrust among peoples and uniting them into an "Indestructible Union of Free Republics," as sung in the Soviet National Anthem. The Russian people played a leading role in uniting the forces of all the peoples of the USSR to fight the Nazi invaders.

On May 24, 1945, the great leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union, Stalin, spoke movingly of the Russian people, calling them "the most outstanding nation of all the nations that make up the Soviet Union." The Russian people, Comrade Stalin continued, "have earned general recognition in this war as the leading force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country."

At present, the Russian people, first among the equal peoples of the Soviet Union, together with all the peoples of the USSR, are successfully building communism.

Thus, the victory of the socialist revolution and the construction of communism in the USSR, the consistent implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy ensured the resolution of the national question in the USSR and led to the formation of socialist nations, to the unification of the peoples of the Soviet Union into one fraternal family, to the creation of friendship among peoples, to the flourishing of cultures that were national in form and socialist in content.

2. Construction of the Soviet multinational state.

The Soviet socialist state was the primary instrument through which the Bolshevik Party and the working class resolved the national question in the USSR. The Soviet state proclaimed and consistently implemented the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, including secession, and the principle of legal equality of all nationalities. Guided by the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, the Soviet socialist state prepared and implemented the elimination of de facto national inequality, organized their cooperation based on a common struggle for communism, and nurtured and continues to nurture the peoples of the USSR in a spirit of mutual respect and friendship.

In order to implement the Leninist-Stalinist nationalities policy and achieve these goals, the state had to become an enemy of all forms of oppression—that is, a socialist state. To achieve this, it had to assume a political form that fully corresponded to the internationalist nature of the socialist state and best resolved the problem of eliminating national oppression and organizing cooperation among nations on the basis of equality and voluntariness within a single, centralized, democratic state.

The Soviet socialist state was precisely such a state.

The most important feature of the Soviet socialist state is its multinational nature. The Soviet state is not the only multinational state. History has seen many multinational states. Before 1918, there was the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which disintegrated into its component parts as a result of the First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution. Ottoman Turkey was also multinational. Currently, there are multinational bourgeois states, ranging from the colonial empires of the United States, England, France, Belgium, Holland, and others to Tito's fascist-Gestapo state in Yugoslavia. All bourgeois multinational states suffer from internal instability due to the inevitable contradictions and hostility between the dominant and oppressed nations.

The Bolsheviks faced the task of creating a strong multinational state that would not be riven by internal conflicts between nations, but would be based on trust and friendship among peoples. This was a new, uncharted path, unprecedented in the past. This path was opened by Lenin and Stalin.

The difficulties associated with creating a stable multinational state were not only the necessity of forging new, uncharted paths. Another difficulty was the fact that Soviet power inherited a difficult legacy in the area of interethnic relations. The policies of the tsarist government had led to de facto inequality and mutual distrust between the peoples of old Russia. The Bolshevik Party had to build a unified multinational state while overcoming this difficult legacy.

"The Soviet government could not help but see the difficulties of this undertaking. It had before it the unsuccessful experiences of multinational states in bourgeois countries. It had before it the failed experience of the old Austria-Hungary.

And yet, it decided to try the experiment of creating a multinational state, for it knew that a multinational state, arising on the basis of socialism, must withstand any and all tests"[158].

The Bolshevik Party, armed with the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the national question, discovered and successfully implemented, within the framework of Soviet power, the most appropriate forms of government that would resolve the national question and create a stable multinational state. The principle of federation and autonomy formed the foundation of the government of the Soviet republics.

Before the October Socialist Revolution, the Bolsheviks were known to have had a negative attitude toward federation. Lenin spoke out particularly harshly against federation in a letter to Shaumyan in 1913. “We,” Lenin wrote, “are for democratic centralism, absolutely... We are against federation in principle —it weakens economic ties; it is an unsuitable type for a single state. You want to secede? Go to hell if you can sever economic ties, or rather, if the oppression and friction of ‘cohabitation’ are such that they spoil and ruin the cause of economic ties. You don’t want to secede? Then forgive me, don’t decide *for* me, don’t think you have the ‘ *right* ’ to federation”[159].

The Bolsheviks' negative attitude toward federation was dictated by several circumstances: firstly, by the fear that it might conflict with the principle of centralism of the socialist state and thereby complicate the economic rapprochement of workers of different nationalities; secondly, by the fact that the

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158 I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 513.

159 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 19, 4th ed., p. 453.

demand for a federal structure, combined with the slogan of cultural-national autonomy, was used by all sorts of bourgeois nationalists to combat the Bolshevik demands for the right of nations to self-determination, including state secession and regional autonomy; finally, thirdly, the Bolsheviks could not ignore the historically established forms of federation, which, under the conditions of a capitalist system, from the point of view of the implementation of bourgeois freedoms, turned out to be less democratic than centralist ones. Federal republics proved powerless to alleviate national oppression, as far as possible under capitalism, because they in no way affected the economic and legal privileges of the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation, and because nowhere and never in their state structure did they reflect the actually existing national divisions. Comrade Stalin, speaking of the Swiss cantons and American states, noted that they were built "not on national grounds, nor even on economic grounds, but entirely by chance —due to the accidental seizure of certain territories by emigrants—colonists or rural communities"[160].

That is why the federal principle, formally laid down as the basis for the unification of states in North America, in no way contributes to the protection of the rights of national minorities, in particular blacks and Indians.

In general, as Comrade Stalin demonstrated, federation in bourgeois countries, where it actually existed, over time gives way to a unitary (fused) state, in which the federal principle becomes an empty phrase. Development in the United States of America, as in Canada and Switzerland, "proceeded *from* independent regions *through* their federation

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[160] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 67.

to a unitary state...," Comrade Stalin pointed out. "Federation is a transitional form."[161]

In bourgeois countries, the federation was built not on national but on geographical grounds, and therefore did not resolve or even raise the national question.

This is why Lenin fully agreed with Engels that, under capitalism, a centralized democratic republic represents a higher type of state structure and offers more bourgeois democratic freedoms than a federation. Lenin wrote:

“It is extremely important to note that Engels, with facts in hand and a very precise example, refutes the extremely widespread prejudice—especially among petty-bourgeois democrats—that a federal republic necessarily means more freedom than a centralized one. This is untrue. The facts cited by Engels regarding the centralized French Republic of 1792–1798 and the federalist Swiss Republic refute this. A truly democratic centralized republic provided *more* freedom than a federalist one. Or, in other words: the greatest local, regional, and other freedoms known in history were provided by a *centralized* , not a federal, republic”[162].

The Bolshevik Party reconsidered its approach to federalism in light of the experience of the socialist revolution in Russia. With brilliant foresight, Lenin outlined a new approach to federation on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution. In his famous book, "State and Revolution," Lenin, for the first time in the history of Marxism, noted that federation could serve not as an obstacle to development, but as a step forward,

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[161] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 3, p. 25.

[162] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, ed. 4, pp. 420–421.

when special conditions exist—the conditions of a multinational country.

In his book, Lenin primarily examines the federal principle as it developed in bourgeois countries, and notes its progressiveness in those cases where a federal republic turns out to be a step forward "from a monarchy to a centralized republic"[163].

At the same time, Lenin also examines a more general question: the attitude towards the federalist structure of the state in general, especially from the point of view of the tasks facing the working class in the area of state building during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

"In Lenin's book, 'The State and Revolution' (August 1917), the party, in the person of Lenin," writes Comrade Stalin, "takes the first serious step toward recognizing the admissibility of a federation as a transitional form 'to a centralized republic', accompanying, however, this recognition with a number of serious reservations."

But "only after the October Revolution," notes Comrade Stalin, "did the party firmly and definitely take the point of view of a state federation, putting it forward as its own plan for the state structure of the Soviet republics during the transition period"[164].

One of Comrade Stalin's greatest achievements is that, based on Lenin's fundamental instructions, he comprehensively developed the question of a Soviet federation and, together with Lenin, created the world's first Soviet Socialist Republic.

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163 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 418.

164 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 3, pp. 29–30.

Explaining why the Bolsheviks moved from a negative attitude towards federation to recognizing this principle as the guiding principle in the construction of the Soviet multinational state, Comrade Stalin attributes this to three reasons:

“Firstly, by the time of the October Revolution, a number of nationalities in Russia found themselves in a state of complete separation and complete isolation from each other, as a result of which the federation turned out to be a step forward from the disunity of the working masses of these nationalities to their rapprochement, to their unification.

Secondly, the very forms of federation that emerged during the Soviet construction turned out to be far from being as contrary to the goals of economic rapprochement between the working masses of the nationalities of Russia as it might have seemed before, or even not at all contrary to these goals, as practice later showed.

Thirdly, the fact that the specific weight of the national movement turned out to be much more serious, and the path to the unification of nations was much more complex than it might have seemed earlier, in the period before the war, or in the period before the October Revolution”[165].

The principle of the Soviet federation as the guiding principle of the state structure of the Soviet Republic was first expressed in the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," written by Lenin with the participation of Comrade Stalin.

What are the main features of a Soviet federation as opposed to the bourgeois federalism of capitalist states?

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[165] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 3, pp. 30–31.

Firstly, Soviet federalism as a principle of state structure proceeds from the premise that the division of regions joining a federal union is based not on geography but on nationality. The Soviet Federation is established to resolve the nationality question, whereas in bourgeois countries, federations do not pursue such a goal.

Secondly, the Soviet Federation, as the experience of building a socialist state in the USSR demonstrated, was a flexible form of government capable of embodying the Bolshevik Party's programmatic demands on the national question—primarily the right of nations to self-determination, including state secession, and the principle of equal rights for nationalities in all spheres of political, economic, and cultural life. Comrade Stalin teaches:

“The federation of Soviet republics, based on the commonality of military and economic affairs, is that general form of state union which makes it possible:

a) ensure the integrity and economic development of both individual republics and the federation as a whole;

b) to encompass the entire diversity of life, culture and economic status of various nations and peoples at different stages of development, and to apply one or another type of federation accordingly;

c) to establish peaceful coexistence and fraternal cooperation between nations and peoples who have linked their fate in one way or another with the fate of the federation.

“Russia’s experience with the use of various types of federation, with the transition from a federation based on Soviet autonomy (Kyrgyzstan, Bashkiria, Tatarstan, the Highlanders, Dagestan) to a federation based on contractual

relations with independent Soviet republics (Ukraine, Azerbaijan), and with the admission of intermediate levels between them (Turkestan, Belarus), has fully confirmed the expediency and flexibility of a federation as a general form of state union of Soviet republics"[166].

The Soviet Federation went through several stages of development. Currently, the Soviet Federation is embodied in the Union of sixteen Soviet republics, each of which has the right to unilaterally secede from the Union.

Third, the Soviet Federation ensures all the conditions for the economic and cultural development of each people within the family of Soviet peoples, taking into account their living conditions and level of economic and cultural development. It ensures the comprehensive development of new, socialist nations and the flourishing of cultures that are national in form and socialist in content.

Fourth, the Soviet Federation, a voluntary union of equal *socialist* nations nurtured by the Bolshevik Party in the spirit of internationalism, ensures close cooperation among peoples in economic and cultural development, national defense, and the strengthening of the socialist state. Thus, a federation under Soviet conditions does not conflict with the unity of economic ties, without which socialism is unthinkable.

The established form of the Soviet federation not only does not contradict the goals of economic rapprochement between workers of various nationalities, as demonstrated by the practice of the Soviet state, but also serves as a form which, in the conditions of a multinational state, is a transitional form to the highest unity of workers – to the fusion of nations on the

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[166] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 22.

basis of a single world economy, which humanity will achieve with the victory of communism throughout the world.

Fifthly, and finally, as the experience of the Soviet socialist state has demonstrated, the Soviet federation does not contradict the strictest centralism, without which a socialist state is unthinkable. The centralism of the Soviet state is expressed in the fact that the Constitution of the USSR is uniform for all Union republics, and its provisions cannot be repealed or violated by the constitutions of the Union republics; the organs of the USSR stand above the organs of power of the Union republics. At the same time, in full accordance with the principles of socialist democracy, the Soviet federation guarantees the full rights of the Union and autonomous republics, autonomous national regions and okrugs in resolving all issues related to the national characteristics of these republics, regions, and okrugs. Thus, the Soviet federation consistently implements the principle of *democratic* centralism.

These are the most important features and advantages of Soviet socialist federalism.

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Stalin's principle of federalism is inextricably linked to the principle of regional or territorial *autonomy* . Comrade Stalin's famous work "Marxism and the National Question" (1913) demonstrated that regional autonomy, rather than cultural-national autonomy, provides the correct solution for nations wishing to remain within a single state.

"The advantage of regional autonomy," said Comrade Stalin, "is, first of all, that it involves dealing not with a fiction without territory, but with a defined population living within a defined territory. Furthermore, it does not divide people by

nation, it does not strengthen national barriers—on the contrary, it breaks down these barriers and unites the population in order to pave the way for a different kind of demarcation, a demarcation by class. Finally, it makes it possible to make the best use of the region's natural resources and develop productive forces without waiting for decisions from a common center—functions not inherent in cultural-national autonomy."

"So, *regional autonomy is a necessary point* in solving the national question"[167].

In Comrade Stalin's report to the April Conference of the Bolshevik Party in 1917, and especially in his writings after October, the question of regional autonomy was further developed. In "The Policy of Soviet Power on the National Question in Russia" (1920), Comrade Stalin thoroughly explains that only regional autonomy for the outlying regions, distinguished by their distinct way of life and ethnic composition, is the only viable form of union between the center and the outlying regions. Autonomy, Comrade Stalin teaches, must bind the republics and regions together through federal ties.

"Soviet autonomy," wrote Comrade Stalin, "is not something frozen and given once and for all; it allows for the most diverse forms and degrees of its development"[168].

In the first years of Soviet power, autonomy took the form of narrow administrative autonomy (Chuvash, Karelians), broad political autonomy (Bashkirs, Volga Tatars, Kyrgyz), even more extensive political autonomy (Ukraine), and finally, in

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[167] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 2, pp. 361–362.

[168] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 355.

the form of treaty relations (Azerbaijan). “This elasticity of Soviet autonomy,” declared Comrade Stalin, “constitutes one of its primary advantages, for it (elasticity) makes it possible to encompass the entire diversity of the outskirts of Russia, which stand at the most varied stages of cultural and economic development”[169].

The development of the economy and culture of the peoples of the USSR on the basis of socialism, and the formation and development of socialist nations, led to further modifications of the form of Soviet autonomy. Firstly, contractual relations between independent republics became a thing of the past, giving way to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, created on the basis of their unification according to the federal principle. Secondly, all Soviet peoples, in the process of their economic and cultural development, began to more fully utilize the rights granted to them and received a further expansion of these rights (the transformation of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and some other autonomous republics into union republics, granting them the right to state secession; the transformation of Chuvashia, the Mari Autonomous Region, and others into autonomous republics; the expansion of the rights of the union republics in connection with the transformation of some union people's commissariats into union-republican ones, etc.).

Currently, Soviet autonomy exists in three forms, corresponding to the three types of Soviet national state formations: a union republic, an autonomous republic, and, finally, an autonomous national region and district.

The most extensive autonomy in all spheres of social life is enjoyed by the union Soviet republics, which not only have the

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[169] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 355.

right to secede, not only enjoy full rights in the area of development of statehood, economy and culture in relation to the everyday and national characteristics of the republic, but also, together with the all-union bodies, decide all issues under the jurisdiction of the union-republic ministries.

Autonomous republics do not have the right to state secession. Their autonomy ensures the development of their statehood, economy, and culture in accordance with the nationality and customs of their peoples.

In his report on the draft Constitution of the USSR, Comrade Stalin thoroughly examined the criteria necessary at the current historical moment for the elevation of autonomous republics to union republics. There are, as is well known, three such criteria:

"Firstly, it's essential that the republic be a peripheral one, not surrounded on all sides by USSR territory. Why? Because if a Union Republic retains the right to secede from the USSR, then it's essential that this republic, having become a Union Republic, be able to logically and practically raise the question of its secession from the USSR..."

Of course, we don't have any republics that would actually raise the question of secession from the USSR. But since a Union Republic retains the right to secede from the USSR, it must be handled in such a way that this right doesn't become an empty and meaningless piece of paper...

Secondly, it is necessary that the nationality that gave the Soviet republic its name represents a more or less compact majority in the republic...

Thirdly, it is necessary that the republic should not be very small in terms of the size of its population, so that it has a population, say, not less, but more than at least a million"[170].

In addition to the union and autonomous republics, the USSR has autonomous regions and districts that enjoy broad administrative autonomy in resolving all issues related to the particularities of life and culture of the population of these areas.

These are the specific forms of Soviet autonomy that have been established at the present time.

Soviet autonomy played a crucial role in resolving the national question in the USSR. By granting broad rights to the national outlying regions, it served as a means of connecting these outlying regions with the center and constituted an integral part of the principle of Soviet federation.

"Soviet autonomy," Comrade Stalin teaches, "is the most realistic, the most concrete form of unification of the outlying regions with central Russia. No one will deny that Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Kirghizia, Bashkiria, Tatarstan, and other outlying regions, since they strive for the cultural and material prosperity of the masses, cannot do without native schools, courts, administrations, and government bodies composed primarily of local people. Moreover, the true Sovietization of these regions, their transformation into Soviet countries closely linked with central Russia into a single state entity, is unthinkable without the widespread organization of local schools, without the creation of courts, administrations, government bodies, and so on, composed of people familiar with the way of life and language of the population. But to

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[170] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 528, 529.

establish a school, a court, an administration, and government bodies in the native language—this means to actually implement Soviet autonomy, for Soviet autonomy is nothing other than the sum of all these institutions, clothed in Ukrainian, Turkestan, Kyrgyz, etc. forms"[171].

The implementation of autonomy by the Soviet state in various forms contributed to the introduction of the masses of all nations to socialist material and spiritual culture in forms corresponding to the way of life and national appearance of the masses, and strengthened the alliance and friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

In examining the question of Soviet autonomy, particular attention should be paid to the creation of Soviet statehood in the union and autonomous republics in a form corresponding to the national character of these peoples. Comrade Stalin, back in 1920, set the task "that all Soviet organs in the outlying regions, the courts, the administration, the economic organs, the organs of direct power (as well as the organs of the party) should be composed, as far as possible, of local people who know the way of life, morals, customs, and language of the local population; that all the best people from the local masses of the people should be attracted to these institutions; that the local working masses should be drawn into all areas of governing the country, including the area of military formations; that the masses should see that Soviet power and its organs are the work of their own efforts, the embodiment of their aspirations. Only in this way can an unbreakable spiritual connection be established between the masses and the power;

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[171] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 359.

only in this way can Soviet power be made understandable and close to the working masses of the outlying regions"[172].

In order to bring Soviet state bodies closer to the masses, to make them national and to establish a national-Soviet statehood that is close and understandable to the working masses, it was necessary to implement the following measures.

First, it was necessary to implement territorial demarcation based on nationality. The tsarist government deliberately carried out administrative divisions in order to artificially dismember nationalities among several administrative units, tearing apart a single national territory for the purpose of oppressing and exploiting national minorities.

The national demarcation carried out by Soviet power in Central Asia and other national borderlands ensured the *reunification* of the disunited parts of the country into a single state. Describing the demarcation carried out in Central Asia, Comrade Stalin said: "The demarcation of Turkestan is, first and foremost, the reunification of the disunited parts of these countries into independent states. If these states subsequently wished to join the Soviet Union as equal members, this only indicates that the Bolsheviks had found the key to unlocking the deepest aspirations of the masses of the East."[173]

A similar demarcation, which meant the reunification of peoples in united republics, was carried out in Kazakhstan, Ukraine and other national regions.

The growing strength and power of the Soviet socialist state allowed the Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Moldovan peoples to

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[172] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 358.

[173] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 137.

later reunite into a single state with the Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Moldovans, who had long been part of other states. Territorial delimitation and reunification of nationalities are essential conditions for the creation of statehood in national republics.

The second condition for bringing the Soviets and the entire state apparatus closer to the masses is systematic and consistent work to train and promote cadres of each nationality and the mandatory study of local languages by all party and state apparatus workers. At the Fourth Conference of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) with responsible officials of the national republics and regions, convened in June 1923, Comrade Stalin particularly emphasized that the most important task of work in the national republics was to gradually nationalize government and state institutions in all national republics and regions, meaning introducing local languages into official work and requiring responsible officials to study local languages. At the same time, Comrade Stalin clarified that the nationalization of the party and state apparatus should not be confused with the nationalization of the working class. When Shumsky and other Ukrainian nationalists, under the guise of Ukrainizing the state apparatus, began to Ukrainize the working class from above in many cities with predominantly Russian populations, Comrade Stalin, in his famous letter to Comrade Kaganovich and other members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, denounced such attitudes as bourgeois nationalist. Comrade Stalin wrote that the Ukrainization of the party and Soviet apparatus should not be confused with the Ukrainization of the proletariat.

"It is possible and necessary," he said, "to Ukrainize, while maintaining a certain tempo, our party, state, and other apparatuses serving the population. But it is impossible to

Ukrainize the proletariat from above. It is impossible to force the Russian working masses to renounce the Russian language and Russian culture and to recognize Ukrainian as their culture and language. This contradicts the principle of the free development of nationalities. This would not be national freedom, but a peculiar form of national oppression . "[174]

In the early years of Soviet power, the issue of training national cadres became particularly pressing, as many republics had virtually no such cadres. Initially, it was necessary to make extensive use of that portion of the local, typically bourgeois, intelligentsia that was more or less loyal to Soviet power, collaborated with it, and agreed to serve honestly in its organs. However, the most important thing was to develop and train national cadres from proletarian and semi-proletarian elements, selflessly devoted to the cause of communism. This was a complex and difficult task. It took years to accomplish. But this task, too, was fully accomplished. Today, all union and autonomous Soviet republics have their own national worker-peasant socialist intelligentsia. For example, in the Central Asian republics, at the beginning of the revolution, there were almost no intelligentsia from the indigenous nationalities, but now they number in the hundreds of thousands.

The greatest success of Lenin-Stalin's national policy must be recognized as the training and education of numerous party and government officials from among the working people themselves in all the union and autonomous republics. This made it possible to truly nationalize the party and government apparatus and bring it closer to the masses.

The third condition, without which it would be impossible to truly bring the apparatus of state power closer to the masses, is

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[174] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 151.

the raising of the cultural level of workers of various nationalities, the development of a culture that is national in form and socialist in content.

Nowadays, when socialism has been built in the USSR and in all the republics not only illiteracy has been eliminated but universal seven-year education has been achieved, it is difficult to say which of the national republics is the most advanced in terms of the nationalization of the party and state apparatus, in terms of its closeness to the masses.

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When characterizing the principles of Soviet federation and autonomy and their embodiment in the state system of the USSR, one cannot overlook such a structural feature of the Soviet state as the bicameral system . It is well known that in bourgeois countries, the second chamber is usually formed in a less democratic or completely undemocratic manner (even from the perspective of formal bourgeois democracy), serving the purpose of further infringing the rights of the population.

The second chamber—the Council of Nationalities—plays a fundamentally different role in the USSR. Comrade Stalin initiated the creation of this second chamber when the first Constitution of the USSR was being drafted. In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Stalin demonstrated that having two chambers in the Union Central Executive Committee, one elected at the Union Congress, regardless of nationality, and the other elected by the republics and regions and approved by the same Congress, would allow the country's highest institutions to reflect not only the class interests of all workers but also specifically national interests.

The experience of the Union State from 1924 to 1936 fully justified the existence of a second chamber, reflecting the

specific interests of various nationalities. The new, currently in effect, Stalinist Constitution fully embraced this experience. J. V. Stalin, objecting to those who proposed leaving a single chamber—the Soviet of the Union—in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, said:

"I think this amendment is also incorrect. A unicameral system would be better than a bicameral one if the USSR represented a single national state. But the USSR is not a single national state. The USSR is, as is well known, a multinational state. We have a supreme body where the *common* interests of all workers of the USSR, regardless of their nationality, are represented. This is the Council of the Union. But the nationalities of the USSR, in addition to their common interests, also have their own special , *specific* interests, connected with their national characteristics. Can these specific interests be neglected? No, they cannot. Is a special supreme body necessary that would reflect these specific interests? Of course, it is. There can be no doubt that without such a body it would be impossible to govern a multinational state like the USSR. Such a body is the second chamber, the Council of Nationalities of the USSR"[175].

The Stalin Constitution of the USSR consistently implemented the principles of equality of both chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which guarantees the reflection in the supreme body of the country of both the general and specific national interests of the peoples of the USSR.

The structure of the organs of state power in the USSR—the bicameral system of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR with equal rights for both chambers, the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, the presence, alongside the

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[175] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 529–530.

Union ministries, of Union-Republican and Republican ministries reflecting the specific interests of nationalities, and finally, the nationalization of all organs of Soviet power from the bottom up in all republics—ensures the true equality of rights for nationalities in all spheres of state and public life and the maximum proximity of the state apparatus to the masses.

Naturally, the structure of government bodies in the USSR and the system of administration are quite complex for the reasons stated above. Nationalists of various stripes have repeatedly proposed "simplifying" it. The Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin resolutely denounced such proposals as bourgeois-nationalist. The "simplest" system of administration, Comrade Stalin explained, was established by the bourgeoisie in the colonies, as well as in the metropolises in relation to national minorities. The colonies are headed by a governor. The nationalities inhabiting a given colony are effectively granted no rights, and as a result, "friction arises, friction develops into conflicts, conflicts into uprisings. Then the uprisings are suppressed. Such a system of administration is not our system, and, moreover, it is too expensive, although simple"[176].

The Soviet system is, of course, more complex than the "governor system." But, says Comrade Stalin, the Soviet system facilitates the work of governing in the interests of the masses and makes it possible to fully express their interests. This system of governance "is called Soviet power, people's power, because, relying on the very bottom, it detects any change before anyone else, takes appropriate measures, and corrects the line promptly if it has become distorted—it criticizes itself and corrects the line"[177].

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[176] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 259.

[177] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 260.

The state structure of the USSR and the Soviet system of governance fully reflect the multinational nature of our country and the specific interests of each people within the USSR. This ensures the unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the invincible strength of the multinational Soviet socialist state.

The history of the development of the Soviet multinational state is the history of its strengthening and empowerment. Ties between the peoples of the USSR grew and strengthened, and friendship among the peoples of the USSR deepened. The outskirts of former Tsarist Russia, having received the right to secede from the Soviet government, voluntarily agreed to form a single, centralized union state after the establishment of Soviet power.

The right to secession, the abolition of national oppression, and the complete equality of nationalities could not help but generate a desire for unification on the basis of equality and voluntariness. I. V. Stalin said:

"Lenin sometimes presented the thesis on national self-determination as a simple formula: 'disunity for the sake of unification.' Just think about it—disunity for the sake of unification. It even smacks of paradox. And yet, this 'contradictory' formula reflects the vital truth of Marxist dialectics, which gives the Bolsheviks the ability to take the most impregnable fortresses in the realm of the national question"[178].

This *vital truth of Marxist dialectic* in the policy of the Bolshevik Party was brilliantly confirmed by the experience of the USSR—a voluntary union of equal peoples. The interests of all Soviet republics required the closest possible cooperation

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[178] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 370.

in military, economic, and political matters, which was not fully ensured by the contractual relations that existed between them before December 1922.

Three main factors, as Comrade Stalin showed, contributed to the unification of peoples into one state.

Firstly, the economic rapprochement of peoples, established before the revolution and strengthened by Soviet power; a certain division of labor among peoples, which arose before the revolution and was strengthened by Soviet power; a unified system of means of communication linking the center with the outskirts, etc.

Secondly, the socialist nature of Soviet power. Soviet power, international in its essence, ensures the equality of nationalities and educates the masses in a spirit of mutual respect, fraternal cooperation, and friendship among workers of all nations.

Thirdly, the external position of the Soviet republics, which emerged as a result of the breakthrough of the imperialist chain in Russia and were surrounded on all sides by hostile capitalist countries, required a unification of forces. Capitalist countries organized an economic and diplomatic blockade of the Soviet republics, waiting for an opportune moment to attack them. To successfully resist the hostile capitalist encirclement, it was necessary to have a united economic, military, and diplomatic front of the Soviet republics, organized by a unified Soviet state.

These are the factors that contributed to the unification of the Soviet republics into a single union state.

Along with the factors that facilitated the unification of the Soviet republics, there were also factors that hindered this unification. As Comrade Stalin pointed out, there were three of

these: Great Russian chauvinism, the de facto inequality of peoples, and local nationalism.

The Bolshevik Party led nations toward unification, overcoming obstacles. It achieved the unification of the Soviet republics into a single state union with the goal of uniting the forces of workers of all nations to build socialism, strengthen the country's defense, and promote the comprehensive development of all nationalities in our homeland.

The foundation for the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was legal equality and the voluntary nature of unification into a state union. In creating the USSR, the Bolshevik Party was guided by Comrade Stalin's directive that no unification of peoples into a single state can be lasting unless it is based on complete voluntariness, unless the peoples themselves desire unification. The Bolshevik Party was also guided by Stalin's directive regarding the legal equality of peoples as a prerequisite for the unification of nations and led the peoples toward the subsequent elimination of de facto inequality among them.

All republics that comprise the USSR equally enjoy the benefits of the Union and equally renounce some of their rights in favor of the Union. In connection with the latter circumstance, when the USSR was created, "some ask a purely scholastic question: so what, after unification, do the republics remain independent? This is a scholastic question. Their independence is limited, for every unification is a certain limitation of the previously existing rights of those that have united. But the fundamental elements of independence undoubtedly remain with each republic, if only because each republic has the right to unilaterally secede from the Union"[179].

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[179] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 243.

Here are the elements of independence, here is the maximum independence in potential, which each of the republics that comprise the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics retains and which it can always realize.

The rapprochement of the Soviet republics and their unification into a single union state contributed to the further strengthening of each of them. In this regard, the development and strengthening of the Soviet multinational state represented a dual process, fully consistent with the principles of materialist, Marxist dialectics: on the one hand, there was the economic and cultural development of the Soviet republics and the expansion of their rights; on the other, there was the strengthening and growth of the power of the union state. Moreover, the strengthening of the power of the union state was a prerequisite for the development of the Soviet republics. In turn, the development of the Soviet republics signified the strengthening of the all-Union state. This "contradiction" in the development of the multinational Soviet socialist state constitutes a characteristic feature, a law of its development. A striking example of this is the transformation of the People's Commissariats of Defense and Foreign Affairs from all-Union to Union-Republican.

During the unification of the Soviet republics, Comrade Stalin waged a decisive struggle against the nationalists—Rakovsky, Skrynnik, and others—who objected to the merger of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade into all-Union People's Commissariats and advocated the transfer of these People's Commissariats to the rank of directive ones. Comrade Stalin then characterized these and other proposals by Ukrainian nationalists as evidence of a shift from a position of federation to a position of confederation, i.e., to a position of the de facto dismemberment of a single state. He noted that some Ukrainian

delegates were guided by the desire "to achieve, in terms of defining the nature of the Union, something in between a confederation and a federation, with an advantage in favor of the confederation. Meanwhile, it is clear that we are creating not a confederation, but a federation of republics, a single union state uniting military, foreign, foreign trade, and other affairs, a state whose existence does not diminish the sovereignty of individual republics"[180].

The merger of the People's Commissariats of Military and Foreign Affairs into all-Union offices played a colossal positive role in strengthening the defense of our homeland and enhancing the international role and authority of the socialist state. But even then, at the founding of the USSR, Comrade Stalin warned that the question of merging various People's Commissariats was a specific matter that must be decided specifically, taking into account the domestic and international situation, and that it could be reconsidered as this situation changed. At the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Stalin stated:

"We will raise the national question more than once, because national and international conditions are changing and may change further. I do not renounce the fact that, perhaps, we will have to separate some of the commissariats that we are merging into the Union of Republics later"[181].

The victory of socialism in the USSR and the further strengthening of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, the elimination of the remnants of mistrust between the peoples of the USSR and the strengthening of friendship between peoples, the further growth of the international authority and the growth

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[180] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 336.

[181] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, pp. 260–261.

of the Soviet Union, and the change in the balance of power in the international arena in favor of socialism created the conditions for the division of some all-Union People's Commissariats and their transformation into Union-Republican ones.

On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the 10th session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the first convocation in February 1944 adopted a law on the transformation of the All-Union People's Commissariats of Defense and Foreign Affairs into Union-Republican ones, on the creation of People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs in the Union Republics and the establishment of national military formations.

"This transformation signifies a major expansion of the activities of the Union republics, which became possible as a result of their political, economic, and cultural growth, in other words, as a result of their national development," said V. M. Molotov at the 10th session of the Supreme Soviet. "One cannot help but see in this a new, important step in the practical resolution of the national question in the multinational Soviet state; one cannot help but see a new victory for our Leninist-Stalinist national policy. However, this transformation became possible not simply as a result of the strengthening of our republics. It became possible as a result of the achieved strengthening of our all-Union state as a whole."[182]

The transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from all-Union to Union-Republican bodies, representing a new step forward in resolving the nationality question in the USSR,

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[182] V. M. Molotov, On the transformation of the People's Commissariat of Defense and the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs from all-Union to union-republican people's commissariats, Gospolitizdat, 1944, p. 6.

played a significant role in further strengthening the Union state. By granting the Union republics the right to directly conclude treaties and agreements with other countries, the Soviet Constitution ensures more complete satisfaction of the specific economic, political, and cultural needs of the Union republics, diversifies the Soviet state's ties with other countries, and further enhances the international authority of the Soviet Union as the homeland of equal peoples.

“The creation of new military formations in the union republics, prepared by the military cooperation of the peoples of the USSR in the Patriotic War and the entire history of our state, will further strengthen the Red Army and infuse its ranks with new fighting forces”[183], said Comrade Stalin.

The expansion of the rights of the Union republics further strengthens the trust and friendship that unite all the peoples of the Soviet Union, increases Soviet patriotism, the ardent commitment and love of the peoples for their united multinational socialist Motherland - the Soviet Union, which serves the cause of further strengthening the power of the all-Union state.

All this demonstrates that the development of the Soviet republics and the expansion of their rights under socialism constitute the conditions for the growth of the power of the union state, the prerequisite for the success of communist construction, and the growth of the power of the union state serves the cause of the flourishing of the union republics. This is precisely why the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the prototype of the future world socialist republic.

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[183] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1951, p. 138.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union further united the peoples of the Soviet Union and strengthened their friendship. Even at the height of the Patriotic War, on November 6, 1943, Comrade Stalin said:

"All the peoples of the Soviet Union rose unanimously to defend their homeland, rightly considering the current Patriotic War a common cause for all working people, regardless of nationality or religion. Now, Hitler's politicians themselves see how hopelessly foolish their calculations on division and clashes between the peoples of the Soviet Union were. *The friendship between the peoples of our country* withstood all the hardships and trials of war and was further forged in the common struggle of all Soviet people against the fascist invaders."

This is the source of the strength of the Soviet Union"[184].

The USSR's victory in the Great Patriotic War was, as Comrade Stalin teaches, a victory for the Soviet social and political system, a victory for the communist ideology of friendship and cooperation among peoples over the bourgeois ideology of hatred and enmity among peoples, races, and nationalities. This victory also demonstrated that the Soviet political system was not only the best for organizing cooperation among peoples for the purpose of building communism and developing socialist nations, but also the best form for organizing cooperation among peoples for the purpose of waging a just war of liberation.

The Soviet socialist state emerged from the Great Patriotic War even more powerful, and the Soviet state system even more robust than before. After the war, communist construction

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[184] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, pp. 118–119.

unfolded on an even greater scale. Great communist construction projects of national significance were undertaken: the grandiose Kuibyshev and Stalingrad hydroelectric power stations on the Volga and the Volga-Don and North Crimean Canals in the RSFSR, the Kakhovka Hydroelectric Power Station on the Dnieper and the South Ukrainian Canal in the Ukrainian SSR, the Main Turkmen Canal in the Turkmen SSR, and so on. All of these projects were carried out by the entire multinational Soviet people in the interests of the entire Soviet Motherland.

The unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the USSR is a powerful driving force behind the development of Soviet society. This driving force continues to develop. The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, inextricably linked with Soviet patriotism, forms the monolithic foundation of the might of the Soviet socialist state. It serves as the guarantee of the success of communist construction in our country, the guarantee of the victory of communism on a global scale.

3. The struggle of the Bolshevik Party against bourgeois nationalists is the most important condition for strengthening the Soviet multinational state.

The resolution of the national question in the USSR in the spirit of socialist internationalism and the creation of a powerful multinational state based on the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the USSR became possible thanks to the leadership of the Bolshevik, consistently internationalist party. "The consistent and thoroughly revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks is a model of proletarian internationalism for the workers of all countries,"[185] teaches Comrade Stalin.

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[185] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 93.

Lenin and Stalin built the Bolshevik Party as a party of a new type, guided by the principle of international solidarity of workers, decisively fighting against the nationalist attitudes of the Bundists and other "federalists" who demanded the demarcation of members of the proletarian party along national lines, the demarcation of trade unions and other class organizations along national lines.

Exposing the "federalism" and nationalism of the "Austro-Marxists," Bundists, and other opportunists, Comrade Stalin wrote in his work "Marxism and the National Question":

"We know what the division of workers by nationality leads to. The disintegration of a unified workers' party, the fragmentation of unions by nationality, the exacerbation of national tensions, national strikebreaking, and complete demoralization within the ranks of Social Democracy—these are the results of organizational federalism. The history of Social Democracy in Austria and the activities of the Bund in Russia eloquently testify to this.

The only remedy against this is organization on an international basis.

"The unification of workers of all nationalities in Russia into *single and integral collectives*, the unification of such collectives into a *single* party—that is the task"[186].

The opportunist theory of cultural-national autonomy and the organizational federalism in party building that was inextricably linked to it were crushed by Lenin and Stalin. Lenin and Stalin built the Bolshevik Party guided by the principles of internationalism. Lenin and Stalin tirelessly

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[186] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 2, p. 364.

educated the Party, the working class, and all working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism, which enabled the Bolshevik Party to successfully resolve the national question in the USSR.

Lenin and Stalin armed the Bolshevik Party with a scientific theory on the national question and developed and substantiated the Bolshevik program on the national question. V. I. Lenin's works "On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination," "Critical Notes on the National Question," and others, as well as I. V. Stalin's works "Marxism and the National Question," "The National Question and Leninism," and others, are of enduring significance for workers in all countries. Guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, the Bolshevik Party achieved the victory of the working class and, having become the ruling party, proved capable of creating a multinational Soviet socialist state and leading new, internationalist, socialist nations.

It was not easy for the Communist Party and the working class of our country to overcome the difficult legacy they received from the bourgeois-landlord system in the area of national relations. The policy of national oppression, pursued for centuries by the tsarist government, led to the strengthening of de facto inequality among nationalities, their economic and cultural inequality. By cultivating patriarchal-feudal and kulak-capitalist oppression in the outlying regions of the country, implementing a colonialist policy and pushing the local population into poorer areas, reducing or completely abolishing local schools, theaters, libraries, and other educational institutions in order to keep the masses in the dark, suppressing and suppressing any initiative of the best people of the local nationalities, and stifling any activity among the masses of the outlying regions, tsarism engendered mistrust among the oppressed nationalities, sometimes escalating into hostility

toward all things Russian. “In order to strengthen the alliance between central Russia and the outskirts,” it was necessary, said Comrade Stalin, “to eliminate this mistrust,” “to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and fraternal trust”[187].

It was also necessary to overcome and completely eliminate the nationalist and chauvinistic sentiments cultivated by landowners and capitalists in the past and persisting after the revolution. It was necessary to expose and defeat nationalist currents, which had become particularly active during the NEP years due to the increased activity of capitalist elements. Nationalism expressed the aspirations and interests of the new bourgeoisie, influenced certain sections of the working class, and infiltrated the party and state apparatus.

"The deviation towards nationalism," Comrade Stalin teaches, "is an adaptation of the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie. The deviation towards nationalism reflects the attempts of 'our own', 'national' bourgeoisie to undermine the Soviet system and restore capitalism"[188].

Nationalists, like all right-wing and left-wing opportunists, were restorers of capitalism. The communist parties' struggle against various anti-party currents and groups was inextricably linked with the fight against bourgeois nationalism. This is why Comrade Stalin stated at the 16th Party Congress that any picture of the party's struggle on two fronts would be incomplete without an analysis of its struggle against the various varieties of nationalism. In his "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks),"

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187 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, pp. 356–357.

188 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 361.

Comrade Stalin brilliantly demonstrated that without an irreconcilable struggle against opportunists within its own ranks, without the defeat of the capitulators, the party cannot maintain the unity and discipline of its ranks, cannot fulfill its role as organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, and cannot fulfill its role as builder of a new, socialist society.

"The history of the development of the internal life of our party," says Comrade Stalin, "is the history of the struggle and defeat of opportunist groups within the party – the Economists, the Mensheviks, the Trotskyists, the Bukharinites, the national deviationists...

Without defeating the Economists and the Mensheviks, we would not have been able to build a party and lead the working class to a proletarian revolution.

Without defeating the Trotskyists and Bukharinists, we would not have been able to prepare the conditions necessary for building socialism.

Without defeating the national deviators of all stripes, we would not have been able to educate the people in the spirit of internationalism, we would not have been able to defend the banner of the great friendship of the peoples of the USSR, we would not have been able to build the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics"[189].

During the transition from capitalism to socialism, nationalism manifested itself in the USSR in two main forms: Great Russian chauvinism and local nationalism. Great Russian chauvinists refused to consider national differences in language, culture, and everyday life. They sought to undermine

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[189] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short Course", pp. 343, 344.

the principle of the equality of peoples, opposing the Communist Party's policy of fostering the flourishing of socialist nations and cultures national in form and socialist in content. They sought to debunk the Party's policy of nationalizing the press, schools, and the apparatus of state and public organizations. Great-power chauvinists sought the de facto abolition of national republics.

Great-power chauvinism expressed the desire of the exploiting classes of the formerly dominant nation to regain their lost privileges. The danger of Great-Russian chauvinism was that it was designed to undermine the trust of the peoples of the USSR in the Russian people, to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, to weaken the Soviet Union, to pave the way for the dismemberment of the Soviet Union in the event of military intervention, to enslave the peoples of the USSR by imperialists, and to restore the capitalist order in the USSR.

Local nationalists (Ukrainian, Georgian, and others) downplayed class contradictions within their own nation, seeking to isolate their people from other peoples of the USSR and isolate themselves within their own national shell. They vigorously exaggerated everything that distinguished the nationalities of the USSR from one another and refused to see or notice what united and brought together the workers of all the nations of the Soviet Union. Under the pretext of combating Great Russian chauvinism, they sought to impose on the peoples of the Soviet Union a policy of abandoning socialist construction. Local nationalism reflected the desire of the exploiting classes of previously oppressed nations to establish their own national state, to use imperialist intervention to establish their own class state, and to restore exploitation.

From the above it follows that, despite differences in specific demands and some differences in methods, great-power chauvinists and local nationalists expressed the interests of one and the same class – the bourgeoisie, were servants of one master – international imperialism, and had essentially one program – the program of restoration of capitalism.

Great-power chauvinism and local nationalism were also reflected in the Bolshevik Party in the form of deviations toward Great-Russian chauvinism and local nationalism. The danger of these deviations, as Comrade Stalin points out, was that they cultivated bourgeois nationalism, weakened the unity of the peoples of the USSR, and played into the hands of imperialist interventionists.

For several years after the October Revolution, great-power chauvinism, due to a number of circumstances (historical tradition, its aggressive nature, the lack of local national cadres, and the use of people unfamiliar with national characteristics in the apparatus, etc.), represented the main danger. Comrade Stalin noted at the 12th Party Congress in 1923 that Great-Russian chauvinism, compared with local chauvinism, constituted three-quarters of the overall national question. However, Comrade Stalin always emphasized the need for a decisive struggle against both deviations from the Bolshevik Party's policy on the national question—the deviation toward great-power chauvinism and the deviation toward local nationalism. The fight against national deviationists was an indispensable condition for the implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy and the education of peoples in the spirit of mutual trust, friendship, and cooperation, in the spirit of internationalism.

By the end of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, when a full-frontal offensive against capitalist

elements had been launched in the USSR and the basis for the restoration of capitalism within the country had been undermined and then liquidated, all the enemies of the party, from the Trotskyists and Bukharinites to the bourgeois nationalists, united on a common anti-people, treacherous platform of dismembering the country and enslaving the peoples of the Soviet Union by American-British and German-Japanese imperialists, on a platform of restoring capitalism with the help of foreign armed intervention.

Under these conditions, the question of the main danger in the fight against national deviationists arose in a new light. In 1934, at the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Comrade Stalin said:

"They argue about which deviation represents the main danger: the deviation toward Great Russian nationalism or the deviation toward local nationalism? Under current conditions, this is a formal and therefore empty debate. It would be foolish to offer a ready-made prescription for the main and secondary dangers, applicable to all times and conditions. Such prescriptions do not exist at all. The main danger is the deviation that has ceased to be fought and has thus been allowed to grow into a national danger.

In Ukraine, until quite recently, the deviation toward Ukrainian nationalism did not represent the main danger, but when they stopped fighting it and allowed it to grow to the point where it joined forces with the interventionists, this deviation became the main danger. The question of the main danger in the area of the national question is not resolved by empty formal disputes, but by a Marxist analysis of the current state of affairs and a study of the mistakes that have been made in this area"[190].

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[190] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 362.

The Bolshevik Party completely crushed all nationalist deviationist groups, which ultimately slid into fascism and turned into gangs of spies, wreckers, saboteurs, murderers, and agents of bourgeois intelligence services.

But the defeat of nationalist groups and the elimination of nationalist mistrust between peoples does not mean that all remnants of nationalist prejudices have been completely overcome in the USSR. Such prejudices, unfortunately, still persist among some citizens.

How can we explain that, having eliminated the root causes of nationalist prejudices, having abolished the exploiting classes, having abolished not only legal but also actual inequality of nations, having created new, socialist nations, the Soviet people have not yet completely eliminated the remnants of nationalist prejudices among individual members of society? This can be explained by the persistence of the vestiges of capitalism in the minds of the people. As Comrade Stalin teaches, the development of people's consciousness lags behind their economic situation; furthermore, these moribund forms of consciousness, the vestiges of capitalism in the minds of the people, are nourished and supported by the capitalist environment.

Of all the vestiges of capitalism in the human mind, nationalistic prejudices are particularly tenacious. "It should be noted," said Comrade Stalin at the 17th Party Congress, "that the vestiges of capitalism in the human mind are far more tenacious in the area of the national question than in any other area. They are more tenacious because they can be effectively camouflaged in national costume . "[191]

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[191] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 361.

The vestiges of nationalism proved particularly tenacious among the intelligentsia, which, along with the best traditions of the old intelligentsia, adopted some of its prejudices. To this day, manifestations of nationalist views can be found in historical scholarship, literature, art, and philosophy—sometimes in the idealization of feudal khans, sometimes in the idealization and glorification of the movement inspired by the British and Turks (Shamil's movement), and sometimes in other forms.

Combating the resurgence of nationalist views remains a crucial task in the fight against the vestiges of capitalism in people's minds. It must not be overlooked, however, that the peoples of some republics (particularly Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) joined the USSR later than others, and that prior to the Soviet regime, they experienced a long period of fascist dictatorship, during which the bourgeoisie did everything in its power to foment nationalism among the population. It must also be taken into account that in Soviet regions temporarily occupied by Nazi Germany, the Nazi imperialists sought to instill a zoological chauvinism and nationalism.

All this speaks to the need for vigilance and intransigence of Soviet people to the slightest deviations from the ideology of friendship and brotherhood of peoples, from socialist internationalism.

As the history of the Bolshevik Party, and especially the history of the party in the post-October period, shows, the break with internationalism also manifests itself in the form of bourgeois cosmopolitanism.

Manifestations of cosmopolitanism in the USSR are among the most ugly vestiges of capitalism. The basis of this vestige is a lordly, disdainful attitude toward the people, borrowed by

certain backward members of the Soviet intelligentsia from the bourgeois-noble intelligentsia and the exploiting classes of Tsarist Russia. Russian landowners and capitalists, hostile to the people, had no faith in their creative powers and refused to allow Russia to overcome the backwardness to which Tsarism had condemned it. The exploiters' rift with the people and the accompanying subservience to the culture of more developed capitalist countries reached the point where the ruling classes refused to speak their native language and were ashamed of it. This disdainful attitude toward the people, toward Russian national culture, and servility to Western bourgeois culture was also transmitted to a section of the pre-revolutionary intelligentsia, in whom the nobility and bourgeoisie instilled a sense of national inferiority, the conviction that Russians should always play the role of students to Western European "teachers." The ruling classes paid even less attention to the science and culture of other nationalities in Tsarist Russia.

Of course, even under Tsarism, the finest representatives of the Russian intelligentsia, who loved their people and served them with all their activities, and who expressed the aspirations of the masses with all their creativity, defended the honor of the Russian people, developed Russian national culture, and persistently fought against servility and servility to foreign influences. From Lomonosov and Lobachevsky to Pavlov and Michurin, from Fonvizin, Krylov, and Griboyedov to Maxim Gorky—all the finest minds of pre-revolutionary Russia fought against servility and servility to foreign influences. However, within broad circles of the old, bourgeois intelligentsia, a servile attitude toward foreign influences was cultivated for generations. This attitude, a disgusting relic of the past, still pollutes the minds of certain intellectuals today, disconnected from the people and bereft of love for their people and their homeland. The agents of Anglo-American imperialism are

trying to use this bourgeois relic to corrupt the least stable Soviet citizens, in order to push them onto the path of betrayal of their people.

The bourgeoisie of capitalist countries and its loyal lackeys, the right-wing socialists, in a panicky fear of their own people, place their hopes on the unification of all reactionary forces under the aegis of American imperialism. Cosmopolitanism, which is in reality the flip side of bourgeois nationalism, and above all the nationalism and racism of the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie, has become the banner of the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, led by reactionary circles in the United States and England, and the ideological justification for an aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

Cosmopolitanism is the militant ideology of American imperialism. By blathering on about the "archaism" of national borders and state sovereignty, US imperialists seek to undermine the will of peoples to resist the expansion of American imperialism, which lays claim to global domination and brazenly tramples on the national independence and state sovereignty of peoples. The ideology of cosmopolitanism serves as a means of ideological disarmament for peoples defending their independence from the encroachments of American imperialism, a poisoned weapon aimed against the USSR and the people's democracies, against the independence of all peoples.

With chatter about the “universal” nature of culture, rootless cosmopolitans in the USSR tried to blur the opposition between the two systems—socialist and capitalist—to undermine confidence in the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist one, to undermine faith in the inevitable triumph of communism, and to morally and politically disarm the Soviet people.

That is why Soviet people treat cosmopolitans and all manifestations of cosmopolitanism with such indignation and contempt.

Rootless cosmopolitans, anti-patriots who have broken with the people—these are pathetic outcasts, a small, despised group. These people pose a danger not because of their numbers, but because of the reactionary nature of their views, because they objectively help the imperialists smuggle a reactionary, bourgeois ideology into the land of socialism, relying on the persistence of capitalist remnants in the minds of the people.

The task of ideological front workers is not limited to identifying those who hold cosmopolitan views. This is, of course, a necessary part of the task, but the main task is to comprehensively criticize and expose cosmopolitan views, reveal their anti-scientific and anti-popular nature, and arm the intelligentsia with knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.

The task also consists of combining the fight against manifestations of cosmopolitanism in the USSR with the fight against all other vestiges of reactionary, bourgeois ideology in the public consciousness and with a full-scale offensive against the positions of imperialist ideology in the international arena, while relentlessly highlighting the advantages of the Soviet socialist economic system and Soviet socialist culture over the capitalist system and corrupt bourgeois culture. Only such an approach will ensure the success of the fight against cosmopolitanism and the education of the people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism.

The victory of socialism in the USSR led to socialism becoming firmly ingrained in the everyday life of the Soviet people. Consequently, new moral traits emerged among the Soviet people. Soviet patriotism became a factor determining

the conscious participation of Soviet citizens in large and small undertakings of socialist construction, a daily stimulus for their labor efforts, and a driving force rousing millions of Soviet people to fight for communism. Soviet patriotism is an inexhaustible source of heroism for the working people of our country, transforming heroism into an everyday, mass, nationwide phenomenon and contributing to the outstanding successes of socialist construction.

The Bolshevik Party is leading the enormous effort to instill Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism, and communist education in the workers of Soviet society. This fostering of communist consciousness is accomplished through the struggle against the vestiges of capitalism in people's minds.

The Bolshevik Party teaches workers to boldly expose the vestiges of the past, teaches them to submit people's actions caused by these vestiges to the judgment of Soviet public opinion, teaches workers to fully utilize the sharp weapon of criticism and self-criticism to overcome these vestiges. A striking example of how the party leads the fight against the remnants of capitalism in the minds of people, against manifestations of servility to bourgeois culture, apoliticality and bourgeois objectivism, are the decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on ideological issues: on the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad, on the repertoire of drama theaters, on the film The Big Life, on Muradeli's opera The Great Friendship, as well as discussions held on the initiative of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), on G.F. Alexandrov's book The History of Western European Philosophy and A.A. Zhdanov's speech at this discussion, the August session of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences in 1948 and the report at this session by Academician T.D. Lysenko , approved by the Central Committee of the All-Union

Communist Party (Bolsheviks), an editorial in the newspaper Pravda in January 1949 on the anti-patriotic group of theater critics, discussions on issues of linguistics and physiology and Comrade Stalin's speech on linguistic issues.

The Lenin-Stalin party demonstrates that Russian art and literature, developing the democratic traditions of Russian national culture, have acquired global significance.
A. A. Zhdanov, speaking about the development of music, emphasized:

"Internationalism in art is not born from the belittlement and impoverishment of national art. On the contrary, internationalism is born where national art flourishes. To forget this truth means to lose one's guiding line, to lose one's identity, to become rootless cosmopolitans... One cannot be an internationalist in music, as in everything else, without being a true patriot of one's homeland"[192].

The Bolshevik Party demonstrates that cosmopolitanism is a disgusting relic of the lordly disdain for the people that characterized the exploiting classes of Tsarist Russia, who feared their own people, despised them, and groveled before foreigners. This relic in the minds of certain individuals is especially sought by agents of imperialism, who seek to weaken Soviet patriotism.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin roused the Soviet people and the Soviet intelligentsia to wage a merciless struggle against manifestations of bourgeois cosmopolitanism among individual Soviet citizens. The Party instills in workers a noble sense of Soviet national pride. It teaches that being a Soviet patriot

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[192] "Meeting of Soviet Music Figures at the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)", Pravda, 1498, pp. 139–140.

means being a true internationalist, and uncompromisingly combating all manifestations of nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

Thus, the Bolshevik Party directs the activities of the Soviet state towards the implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy, and daily and tirelessly educates all the peoples of the USSR in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

The enormous work accomplished by the Communist Party in defeating bourgeois-nationalist tendencies, rooting out nationalist prejudices, and educating the masses in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism has resulted in the strengthening of friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union and, consequently, the consolidation of the Soviet multinational state. All Soviet national republics have developed their own statehood, their own intelligentsia, and their own cadres, who know the language and national characteristics of their republics and are therefore capable of ensuring maximum proximity between the Soviet state apparatus and the masses and their involvement in governing the state.

The victory of socialism and the flourishing of socialist democracy led to an unprecedented growth in the political activity of the masses and their rallying around the Party and the Soviet state. They led to the development of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry into a moral and political unity across Soviet society, and strengthened the friendship between the socialist nations of the Soviet Union. On this foundation, the Soviet socialist state is continually strengthening, its power growing. The experience of peaceful communist construction, like the experience of war, has

demonstrated that the Soviet socialist multinational state is invincible.

4. The international significance of the experience of building a multinational state in the USSR.

The Bolshevik Party, implementing the Leninist-Stalinist policy on the national question, proceeds from the enormous domestic and international significance of the national question. As for the domestic significance of the national question for the Soviet Union, this has been discussed above. As is well known, the fate of the alliance between the working class of central Russia and the peasantry of the national outlying regions depended on the correct resolution of the national question. The success of the Bolshevik national policy ensured the inclusion of workers of all nationalities in socialist construction, the flourishing of the Soviet national republics, and the strengthening of the defense capability of the socialist Motherland.

But the national question has not only enormous domestic but also international significance. The international significance of the Bolshevik Party's policy on the national question is determined by the fact that the peoples of the East and West, oppressed by imperialism, see the Soviet Union as a model for resolving the national question. The national policy of the Soviet government wins the sympathy of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries, which constitute enormous reserves for the socialist revolution, to the side of socialism.

"The fact is that the entire East views our Union of Republics as a testing ground," Comrade Stalin said in 1923. "Either we, within the framework of this Union, correctly resolve the national question in its practical application, or we, here, within

this Union, establish truly fraternal relations between peoples, genuine cooperation—and then the entire East will see that in our federation it has the banner of liberation, a vanguard in whose footsteps it must follow, and this will be the beginning of the collapse of world imperialism. Either we make a mistake here, undermine the trust of previously oppressed peoples in the proletariat of Russia, deprive the Union of Republics of the attractive force it has in the eyes of the East—and then imperialism will win, and we will lose.

This is the international significance of the national question"[193].

The victory of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy was a powerful historical factor, revolutionizing all the peoples of colonial and dependent countries. These peoples are now rising up everywhere to fight imperialism, and in some countries, like the People's Republic of China, they have already achieved victory; in others—Korea and Vietnam—they are not only defeating the imperialists but have created their own democratic republics; in still others—Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines, and elsewhere—they are unleashing the struggle against imperialism.

The historic victory of the Leninist-Stalinist nationalities policy in the USSR and the great liberating role the Soviet Union played in World War II elevated the Soviet Union's international prestige to unparalleled heights and awakened a profound sense of gratitude and love for the USSR among all peoples of the globe, both in the East and the West. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, workers of all countries see a model of international cooperation based on the principles of equality, voluntariness, mutual respect, and

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[193] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 238.

friendship. In the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy, people around the world see the respect of the Soviet people and the Soviet state for the rights and independence of the peoples of foreign countries and the willingness of the peoples of the Soviet Union to live in peace and friendship with all nations.

The successes of the Soviet people in implementing Stalin's nationalities policy stand in stark contrast to the plight of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, plundered by the imperialists of the United States, Britain, and other capitalist countries. The workers of colonial countries are dying of hunger and poverty, living in conditions of complete lawlessness and lack of culture. All the peoples of colonial and dependent countries face a dilemma: starve and degenerate for the enrichment of the imperialists, or rise up in a decisive struggle against imperialism, overthrow it, and win for themselves a humane existence. The great example of the Soviet people, who have established fraternal relations among nations, cooperation and mutual assistance, and live joyful and happy lives, inspires the oppressed peoples of the world to wage a liberation struggle against imperialism.

Such is the international significance of the successes of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy in the USSR.

Now that people's democracies have emerged in Europe, successfully building socialism, and that in Asia the peoples of China, Korea, and Vietnam have broken free from the imperialist shackles and embarked on the path of people's democratic development, the experience of resolving the national question in the USSR is of the greatest theoretical and practical significance for the state building of all these countries.

For many decades before World War II, the Balkans served as Europe's powder keg. Imperialist England, France, Italy, Imperial Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Tsarist Russia stoked national conflicts and disputes both among the Balkan countries and within them, between the peoples inhabiting individual countries.

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire following World War I and the formation of new states did not bring national peace to the peoples of Southeastern and Central Europe. In Yugoslavia, a fierce struggle raged between bourgeois nationalist parties. In Czechoslovakia, Slovak nationalists sowed mistrust among Slovaks toward the Czech people. The ruling circles of Horthyite Hungary and Royal Romania squabbled over Transylvania, and so on. In all capitalist countries, policies of oppression against small nations were pursued.

Today, the opposite picture is observed in the people's democracies. The Czechs and Slovaks are working together to strengthen the people's democratic system and are jointly building socialism in their own countries. The Hungarians and Romanians of Transylvania are working closely together, strengthening the people's democratic state of Romania and jointly fighting to build socialism. All the people's democracies are working closely with each other and with the great Soviet Union, both in implementing plans for economic and cultural development and in the struggle for peace.

Why did these changes occur? They occurred primarily because power in these countries passed from the hands of landowners and capitalists and their nationalist parties to the hands of workers and peasants, led by communist and workers' parties. The establishment of a people's democracy, exercising the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the

leading role of internationalist communist and workers' parties within the system of the people's democracy were the first conditions for the elimination of national strife and national oppression in the people's democracies.

The second condition that ensured the elimination of national discord in the people's democracies was the implementation of the Bolshevik nationalities policy and the use of Soviet experience in resolving the nationality question. The principles of the Bolshevik program on the nationality question—the right of nations to self-determination, including secession; territorial autonomy for nationalities living in compact communities; complete equality of nationalities in all spheres of state, economic, and other public life; assistance from more developed nations to those lagging behind in their economic and cultural development; and a decisive fight against nationalism of all shades—are consistently implemented in the people's democracies.

Czechoslovakia serves as an example of how people's democracies are practically resolving the national question using Bolshevik methods. When the people of Transcarpathian Ukraine expressed their desire to reunite with the entire Ukrainian people within a single Soviet Ukrainian state, the peoples of the Czech Republic and Slovakia respected the wishes of the workers of Transcarpathian Ukraine and granted them the right to realize their aspirations. Transcarpathian Ukraine became part of the Ukrainian SSR. Slovakia received broad political autonomy within the unified Czechoslovak state. Currently, the entire Czechoslovak nation is carrying out enormous work to industrialize Slovakia. With each passing year, the friendship between the two fraternal nations—the Czechs and Slovaks—is growing stronger. A similar picture is observed in other people's democracies.

Tito's Yugoslavia, where the Tito clique, which had come to power through deception, established a fascist-Gestapo regime, remains a hotbed of national strife and unbridled nationalist propaganda in the Balkans. During the war of liberation against the Nazi invaders, the peoples of Yugoslavia united into a close-knit family. But the fascist-nationalist Tito-Rankovic gang, which seized power, is sowing chauvinism, nationalist prejudices, and hostility toward other peoples in Yugoslavia. Tito's agents of American and British imperialism are particularly zealous in sowing mistrust and hostility toward the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in the minds of the Yugoslav peoples. However, their efforts are in vain. The fraternal people of Yugoslavia know well what they owe to the Russian people. They are imbued with friendly feelings toward the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of the People's Democracies. He will make Tito's fascist gang pay for all its crimes against the Yugoslav people.

The Leninist-Stalinist resolution of the national question is of enormous significance for the Chinese people. For many years, the national question for China was primarily, if not exclusively, about uniting the Chinese people in a struggle for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism. To a certain extent, this task still faces the People's Republic of China today: the Chinese people's liberation war is not yet over, as Taiwan and several other Chinese islands are occupied by the Americans.

But alongside this task, after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Communist Party and the people of China faced a new task: state building in a country with many nationalities, and the task of involving workers of all nationalities in the economic and cultural development of a new, democratic China. The importance of this second task is determined, on the one hand, by the significant presence of

foreign nationalities in China, numbering tens of millions, and, on the other, by the fact that a correct resolution of the national question in the People's Republic of China is of international significance. China, like the Soviet Union, is a testing ground where, along with other national questions, the national question is being resolved in practice. Situated directly on the very depths of imperialism's colonial hinterland in Asia—India, Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines—the People's Republic of China, as an arena for the correct resolution of the national question, is of particular importance to all these countries. Herein lies the enormous international significance of resolving the national question in the People's Republic of China.

Led by their Communist Party, the Chinese people, including the masses of Taiwan, are waging a sacred war of liberation against the Kuomintang remnants and their American patrons. Guided by the ideas of Lenin and Stalin and drawing on the experience of resolving the national question in the USSR, the Communist Party of China, led by Mao Zedong, is pursuing a wise policy on the national question, granting broad autonomy to all nationalities in the People's Republic of China, consistently implementing the principles of equality for all peoples of the Republic, and educating the masses in a spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance. At the same time, the people's democratic government of the People's Republic of China is waging a struggle against the remnants of the counterrevolutionary Kuomintang clique and aggressive American imperialism, exposing all their attempts to cloak their banditry in the national flag.

The Communist Party of China educates workers in the spirit of internationalism. It is guided by the Leninist-Stalinist principle of the right of nations to self-determination, including the right to independence. This is reflected in the recognition by the Central People's Government of China of the right of the

Mongolian People's Republic to independent national existence.

The Communist Party and people of China rightly believe that their most important duty is to liberate the entire territory of the Republic of China from the oppression of the imperialist occupiers and their Kuomintang agents, and that the liberated people themselves must determine their own destiny. The working people of Taiwan unanimously support the nationwide struggle against Kuomintang reaction and American imperialism. They know that in a people's democratic China, their democratic and national rights will be fully guaranteed. The enthusiastic welcome given by the Tibetan population to the People's Liberation Army of China is the best testimony to the unwavering friendship of the Tibetans, like all the ethnic groups of the People's Republic of China, for the great Chinese people and the people's democratic system.

In resolving the national question, the European people's democracies and the People's Republic of China are following the path blazed by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people. This testifies to the world-historical significance of the victory of the Leninist-Stalinist nationalities policy in the USSR.

Chapter Four

The Socialist State as an Instrument for Protecting Socialist Property.

1. The function of suppressing exploiters in the first phase of development of the socialist state.

We have examined the political form and state structure of the Soviet socialist state. Now we must analyze the content of the Soviet state's activities and its functions.

Under the conditions of victorious socialism, i.e., in the second phase of its development, the Soviet state, as Comrade Stalin demonstrated, possesses three fundamental functions: first, the function of protecting socialist property; second, the function of defending socialist society from attacks from outside; third, the function of economic-organizational and cultural-educational work.

Unlike the functions of national defense, economic organization, and cultural education, which have been inherent to the socialist state since its inception, the function of protecting socialist property emerged as an independent function with the establishment of the foundations of the socialist economy. To better understand the new function of the socialist state—the function of protecting public property, its nature, and the specifics of its origins—let us examine the function of suppressing exploiters as it operated in the first phase of the development of the Soviet socialist state.

1. The function of suppressing exploiters in the first phase of development of the socialist state.

In the first phase of its development, the Soviet socialist state addressed the challenges of suppressing the resistance of the

overthrown classes within the country, restoring industry and agriculture, and preparing the conditions for the elimination of capitalist elements. The Soviet state, Lenin and Stalin taught, could solve economic problems and serve as a lever for transforming the old economy and creating a new, socialist economy only by suppressing the long, stubborn, and desperate resistance of the exploiters, who for years had maintained a de facto advantage over the exploited.

The strength of the overthrown bourgeoisie lies in: a) the strength of international capital, in the international connections of the bourgeoisie. The experience of the socialist revolution in Russia, the experience of socialist transformations in the people's democracies of Europe testify to the fact that international imperialist reaction always comes to the aid of the bourgeoisie that has suffered defeat at the hands of the working class of its own country; b) the strength of small-scale commodity production, which gives rise to capitalism, as Lenin says, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale; c) the material values and instruments of labor that partially remain in the hands of the overthrown bourgeoisie for a comparatively long period after the transfer of power into the hands of the proletariat (especially money, commodity stocks, the tools of labor of the kulaks and small industrialists, etc.); d) the higher literacy of the bourgeoisie than that of the proletariat—general and technical literacy, knowledge of the methods of management and organization of production, trade, etc. d) in its proximity to the highest technical personnel and its connections with the old intelligentsia, primarily the technical ones. Using these connections, the bourgeoisie pushes a significant portion of the old intelligentsia onto the path of sabotage, wrecking, and the like.

"The transition from capitalism to communism," says Lenin, "is an entire historical epoch. Until it ends, the exploiters

inevitably retain hope for restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration. And after the first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters, who did not expect their overthrow, did not believe in it, did not even consider it, with tenfold energy, with frenzied passion, with a hatred increased a hundredfold, rush into battle to reclaim the 'paradise' they have taken away, to defend their families, who lived so sweetly and whom the 'common scum' now condemn to ruin and poverty (or to 'simple' labor...)." And behind the exploiters—the capitalists—there follows the broad mass of the petty bourgeoisie, of which decades of historical experience in all countries testify that it wavers and hesitates, today following the proletariat, tomorrow being frightened by the difficulties of the revolution, falling into panic from the first defeat or semi-defeat of the workers, getting nervous, rushing about, whining, running from camp to camp..."[194].

Due to these circumstances, the class struggle in the transition period from capitalism to socialism intensifies and takes on new forms. The counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie organizes sabotage, conspiracies, and rebellions against the socialist state, civil war when it has the strength to do so, sabotage, subversion, and espionage, and so on. The struggle against the overthrown exploiting classes unfolds on all fronts.

The difficulties of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters are compounded by the fact that the large stratum of the petty bourgeoisie (the peasantry) vacillates between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. A struggle for influence over the petty bourgeois working masses rages between the working class and the bourgeoisie on the eve of and during the socialist revolution and the transition period from capitalism to socialism. It is

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[194] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 233.

impossible to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie without completely severing the non-proletarian strata of the working people from it and winning them over to the influence of the working class.

In the summary of the brochure “On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,” Lenin spoke of five main tasks and, accordingly, five forms of class struggle in the transition period from capitalism to socialism:

Firstly, the suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and, above all, the elimination of counter-revolutionary conspiracies and rebellions and the suppression of sabotage.

Secondly, the civil war, which, due to the international connections of the bourgeoisie, inevitably becomes intertwined with the struggle against foreign imperialist intervention.

Third, "the neutralization of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry." By neutralization, Lenin meant preventing the peasantry from swinging toward the bourgeoisie. This meant preventing the bourgeoisie from exploiting the middle peasants' hesitations against the working class. Having consolidated Soviet power, the working class adopted a policy of close alliance with the toiling peasantry, with the following goal in mind: the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry must be directed against the bourgeoisie, and the leading role in it must belong to the working class, in the interests of complete victory over the exploiters and the construction of socialism.

Fourthly, the “use” of the bourgeoisie, the forcing of bourgeois specialists to serve the proletarian, socialist state.

Fifthly, “the cultivation of a new discipline”, the development of a communist attitude towards work.

At different stages of the revolution, during the transition from capitalism to socialism, one or another of these forms came to the fore. Thus, in 1917–1918, overcoming sabotage and eliminating counterrevolutionary conspiracies and rebellions were of particular importance; in 1918–1920, civil war and armed struggle against the White Guards and interventionists came to the fore.

Each of these forms of class struggle also evolved. From counterrevolutionary sabotage and rebellions that occurred in the early days of the revolution, the bourgeoisie during the NEP years, and especially during the years of industrialization and collectivization of peasant farms, shifted to sabotage, subversion, and so on. After the kulaks were defeated in open struggle, they turned to subversive activities "on the sly." This required a change in the methods of combating them. The "neutralization" of the middle peasantry, which had been carried out until the spring of 1919, gave way, beginning with the Eighth Congress of the RCP(B), to a policy of a strong alliance with the middle peasantry. The task of utilizing old specialists was supplemented by the task of creating a new cadre of intellectuals from among the workers and peasants.

Two fundamental features characterized the class struggle in the USSR during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

Firstly, the inextricable link between the fight against opportunism within the Communist Party and the processes of class struggle taking place in the country. The resolution of the 10th Congress of the RCP(b), written by Lenin, spoke of the unique tactical methods of the enemies of Soviet power after the defeat of the White Guards and interventionists. "These enemies, convinced of the hopelessness of counterrevolution under an openly White Guard flag, are now straining every

effort to exploit disagreements within the RCP to advance the counterrevolution in one way or another by transferring power to political groups that outwardly come closest to recognizing Soviet power"[195]. But this meant that the struggle against anti-party groups, on which capitalist elements within the country and the forces of the imperialist bourgeoisie abroad placed their main stake, was an integral part of the class struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie. At the head of all the anti-Leninist groups within the party stood disguised enemies of the people, and the defeat of these groups was a necessary condition for the suppression of capitalist elements and their liquidation.

Secondly, the class struggle in the USSR during the transition from capitalism to socialism was inextricably linked with the class struggle in capitalist countries. The foreign imperialist bourgeoisie supported the exploiting classes of our country through armed intervention, economic blockade, diplomatic pressure, sabotage, and other means. It saw the existence and consolidation of the socialist Soviet Union as the greatest threat to its existence and therefore sought, and continues to seek, to undermine the power of the USSR and weaken its influence on world events. This meant that the course of the class struggle in the USSR was constantly influenced by the fact of capitalist encirclement, and the blows dealt to capitalist elements within the USSR were simultaneously blows to the international bourgeoisie. Thus, the Soviet Union has constantly had to deal with an external front in the class struggle. On the other hand, the working class of capitalist countries, supporting the working class in the USSR and the world's first socialist state,

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[195] "The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in resolutions and decisions of congresses, conferences and plenary sessions of the Central Committee", part I, p. 365.

drew confidence from the USSR's successes in its ability to successfully fight imperialism. This meant that the class struggle in the USSR was being continued in the class struggle abroad, and vice versa.

This was the situation with the forms and most important features of the class struggle in the USSR during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

As for the directions, or, better to say, fronts, of the class struggle in the transition period (meaning the relationship between the main classes of the USSR - the proletariat and the peasantry, and more broadly - the city and the village), then, as I. V. Stalin pointed out, before the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the remaking of the peasantry, there were three of them:

"a) the front of the struggle between the proletariat as a whole (represented by the state) and the peasantry along the lines of establishing maximum prices for manufactured goods and agricultural products, along the lines of normalizing taxation, etc.;

b) the front of the struggle between the proletariat as a whole (represented by the state) and the kulaks along the lines of eliminating speculative prices on agricultural products, along the lines of shifting the main burden of the tax onto the kulaks, etc.;

c) the front of the struggle between the rural poor, primarily farm laborers, and the kulaks"[196].

Comrade Stalin provided a comprehensive analysis of all three fronts of the class struggle in the USSR. Speaking of the first

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[196] I . V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, pp. 173–174.

front, he demonstrated that workers and toiling peasants are united by common interests on fundamental issues that express their shared vital interest in the abolition of exploitative classes and exploitation, and the triumph of the socialist path of economic development.

During the transition from capitalism to socialism, contradictions existed between workers and peasants over *non-fundamental* , current issues. These contradictions fueled the struggle within the *alliance* between the working class and the peasantry. This struggle, in its specific gravity, was even then overshadowed by the common interests of both classes. Soviet power possesses all the necessary means and methods to resolve these contradictions within the alliance between workers and peasants in the interests of both allies. The Communist Party and Soviet power fully utilized these means and methods to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to achieve the victory of socialism.

As for the second and third fronts of the class struggle, in the village, as Comrade Stalin showed, the issue was about suppressing the resistance of the kulaks with all the means at the disposal of the Soviet state, about organizing the poor and farm laborers to fight the kulaks.

From everything that has been said about the new alignment of class forces in the transition period, about the intensification of the class struggle and its new forms, the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a weapon for suppressing the resistance of the exploiters becomes completely obvious.

“The dictatorship of the proletariat,” said Lenin, “is the most selfless and most merciless war of the new class against a *more*

powerful enemy, against the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow..."[197].

The armed forces of the revolution, the punitive organs of the socialist state and its intelligence are used primarily to suppress the resistance of the exploiters.

The Soviet Army served as a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class for defeating the White Guards, eliminating counter-revolutionary uprisings and preventing them.

As soon as the Russian bourgeoisie began organizing counterrevolutionary conspiracies and sabotage on the very day after the victory of the socialist revolution, the Soviet government created the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage (VChK). The VChK's primary task at the time of its creation was to suppress and eliminate all counterrevolutionary and sabotage activities throughout Russia, regardless of their origin. The VChK (reorganized into the OGPU in 1922) played a crucial role in catching spies and saboteurs sent into our country by bourgeois intelligence services. Comrade Stalin defined the role of the VChK-GPU as follows:

"The GPU, or Cheka, is the punitive organ of Soviet power. This organ is more or less analogous to the Committee of Public Safety, created during the Great French Revolution. It punishes primarily spies, conspirators, terrorists, bandits, speculators, and counterfeiters. It represents a kind of military-political tribunal, created to protect the interests of the revolution from attacks by counterrevolutionary bourgeois and their agents"[198].

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[197] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, ed. 4, p. 7.

[198] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, pp. 234–235.

Revolutionary tribunals, as well as Soviet people's courts, closely connected with the workers and guided by the new, revolutionary legality that was taking shape during the revolution, along with the Soviet intelligence agencies and the army, were a powerful tool in the hands of the working class for suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie, landowners, and kulaks.

Naturally, all the aforementioned instruments of power, through which the function of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters was carried out, were simultaneously directed *externally* , to serve the function of defending the socialist state from attack by external enemies. The class struggle within the country necessarily merged with the class struggle unfolding in capitalist countries, and the instruments of state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, were directed against both "our own" and "foreign" bourgeoisie.

The suppression of resistance by the bourgeoisie and exploiters in general is one of the conditions for organizing socialist governance of the country, for involving all workers in state governance, for normalizing economic life, and for building a socialist economy. The exploiting classes are making desperate efforts to hinder the creation of a new administrative apparatus and the normalization of economic life. Their direct allies in this are anarchy and disorganization, theft, speculation, and looting. With this aspect of the matter in mind, Lenin repeatedly said that the capitalist and the swindler are two sides of the same coin.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin argued, is necessary during the transition from capitalism to socialism primarily for two main reasons. First, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without suppressing the resistance of the exploiters. Second, "all the elements of decay in the old society, inevitably

numerous and associated primarily with the petty bourgeoisie (for every war and crisis ruins and destroys it first), cannot fail to 'reveal themselves' during such a profound upheaval. And these elements of decay cannot 'reveal themselves' except through an increase in crime, hooliganism, bribery, speculation, and outrages of every kind. To deal with this, time is needed and an iron hand is required."

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively feel this and did not show saving firmness by shooting thieves at the scene of the crime"[199].

The bourgeoisie exploits the petty-bourgeois element and fights against Soviet power in two ways, Lenin explained. On the one hand, it acts from without—through conspiracies and uprisings organized both by the overthrown bourgeoisie and its foreign patrons—and wages an "ideological" counterrevolutionary campaign against Soviet power—a torrent of lies and slander. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie exploits the petty-bourgeois element to undermine Soviet power from within, exploiting every element of decay, dissoluteness, indiscipline, and human weakness to intensify disorganization and chaos.

"The closer we approach the complete military suppression of the bourgeoisie, the more dangerous the element of petty-bourgeois anarchy becomes for us," Lenin pointed out in his work "Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power." "And the struggle against this element cannot be waged solely by propaganda and agitation, solely by organizing competition, solely by selecting organizers—the struggle must also be waged by coercion."

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[199] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., pp. 234–235.

As the main task of the authorities becomes not military suppression, but control, the typical manifestation of suppression and coercion will become not execution on the spot, but trial"[200].

Lenin saw the great merit of the October Socialist Revolution in the fact that, along with the entire old apparatus of state power, it swept the old courts away. In place of the bourgeois-landlord courts, the socialist revolution created a new, people's Soviet court, built on the principle of the participation of the working classes in governing the state. Defining the tasks of the Soviet courts for the entire transition period from capitalism to socialism, Lenin said that the new courts were needed "to combat exploiters who are attempting to restore their dominance or defend their privileges, or to surreptitiously smuggle in, or by fraudulent means, some fragment of these privileges." Furthermore, the courts were charged with another, even more important task. This was the task of ensuring the strictest discipline and self-discipline of the workers. "We would be ridiculous utopians if we imagined that such a task could be accomplished the day after the fall of bourgeois power, i.e., in the first stage of the transition from capitalism to socialism, or without coercion. Without coercion, such a task is completely impossible. We need a state, we need coercion. The organ of the proletarian state that exercises such coercion must be the Soviet courts"[201].

The Soviet court and prosecutor's office operate on the basis of revolutionary legality in legal norms that have formalized and consolidated the principles and tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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[200] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., p. 236.

[201] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., p. 191.

Following the victorious end of the civil war and the defeat of foreign intervention, the Soviet people embarked on peaceful socialist construction. The workers are building socialism under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet power, based on the New Economic Policy. As is well known, the New Economic Policy was designed to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, restore industry and agriculture, and achieve the victory of socialism in the USSR. The replacement of the food tax with a tax in kind (1921) allowed peasants to accumulate significant surpluses of grain and other products, which remained in their possession beyond the tax they paid. These surpluses were placed at the sole disposal of the peasants, who were given the opportunity to sell them on the market, thereby introducing free trade. Lenin explained when introducing the NEP that free trade would lead to a slight revival of capitalism in the country. He argued that private trade would have to be allowed to operate and industrialists to open small businesses. It will be necessary to allow the leasing of land and the hiring of labor by the kulaks. Lenin pointed out that none of this should be feared, since the commanding heights of the country's economy and the full extent of political power remain in the hands of the Soviet state, which ensures the possibility of limiting capitalist elements and ousting them during the struggle between socialist and capitalist elements. "Lenin believed," writes Comrade Stalin, "that a certain freedom of trade would create economic incentives for the peasant, increase his labor productivity, and lead to a rapid rise in agriculture; that on this basis, state industry would be restored and private capital would be ousted; that, having accumulated forces and resources, it would be possible to create a powerful industry—the economic foundation of socialism—and then go on a

decisive offensive to destroy the remnants of capitalism in the country"[202].

But this means that the NEP entailed not only allowing the existence of capitalist elements, but also restricting and ousting them during the course of socialist construction. This policy entailed a struggle between socialist and capitalist elements—a struggle designed to ensure the victory of socialist elements over capitalist ones.

Revolutionary legality during the New Economic Policy was intended to ensure that this policy was used in the interests of the working class and in the interests of building socialism. This meant that revolutionary legality, firstly, was directed against the remnants of War Communism and attempts to revive the War Communism policy pursued during the Civil War. The revival of War Communism posed a grave threat to the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and consequently to the cause of building socialism in the USSR. It is well known that Trotskyists and other enemies of the Communist Party and the people, who viewed the NEP as a retreat, and nothing more, stubbornly pushed the Party during the introduction of this policy to preserve and strengthen the regime of War Communism. Only the exposure of these gentlemen and strict adherence to revolutionary legality under the new conditions ensured the use of the NEP for the construction of socialism.

Secondly, revolutionary legality during the NEP years was intended to ensure strict compliance by capitalist elements with the laws of the socialist state, limiting the exploitative aspirations of the capitalist elements of the city and village.

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[202] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course", p. 245.

The Soviet state controlled the amount of unearned income and severely punished those who concealed the sources and amounts of their income. It ensured that NEPmen and kulaks paid their taxes accurately and on time and strictly complied with all Soviet laws. The socialist state, with the help of the Soviet public, primarily trade unions, ensured that Soviet labor laws, which protected workers' rights, were strictly observed in private capitalist enterprises.

The fundamental tasks of revolutionary legality in the initial period of the NEP were clearly expressed by Comrade Stalin in his report on the results of the first five-year plan. "The revolutionary legality of the first period of the NEP," said Comrade Stalin, "was directed primarily against the excesses of War Communism, against 'illegal' confiscations and extortions. It guaranteed the private owner, the individual farmer, and the capitalist the safety of their property, provided they strictly observed Soviet laws"[203].

The strength of Soviet revolutionary legality lies in the fact that it is created through the creative initiative of the masses and is consciously supported and implemented by them. Working people exercise control over the implementation of Soviet laws and the observance of revolutionary legality not only through the Soviet state and mass public organizations, but also directly, from below. In his work "Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power," Lenin points out that the revolutionary masses themselves embarked on the right path on November 7, 1917, by beginning to establish their own workers' and peasants' courts even before any decrees dissolving the bourgeois-bureaucratic judicial apparatus, guided by revolutionary self-awareness and the profound conviction that the highest

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[203] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 210.

expression of law and the will of the people is the people's revolution. The revolutionary masses actively participated in the creation of all organs of revolutionary power and stood guard over revolutionary laws. The courts, intelligence, and other organs of Soviet power charged with suppressing exploiters consistently relied on the support of workers and peasants. The Soviet state organized the struggle of the working class and the toiling peasantry against capitalist elements and the kulaks, which meant that measures taken against the exploiters were carried out by the entire state-organized working class of the Soviet Union, leading the peasantry.

This can be demonstrated by the example of overcoming the difficulties of the grain procurement campaign of 1927 and 1928. The class nature of these difficulties lay in the fact that the kulak and wealthy elements of the villages accumulated grain surpluses and did not sell them to the Soviet state, but held them in anticipation of high prices for the purpose of enriching themselves, for the purpose of their economic and political strengthening. Comrade Stalin spoke on this matter in 1928: "The procurement crisis represents the first serious action, under the conditions of the NEP, by capitalist elements in the village against Soviet power on one of the most important issues of our development—the question of grain procurements."

This, comrades, is the class background of the grain procurement crisis"[204].

To eliminate the procurement crisis and curb the kulaks' speculative appetites, the Bolshevik Party and Soviet power, under the direction and leadership of Comrade Stalin, carried

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[204] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 45.

out a number of important practical measures, including some extraordinary ones. Among these latter measures was the implementation of Article 107 of the anti-speculation law adopted by the USSR Central Executive Committee in 1926.

The Communist Party and Soviet power organized the poor and middle peasant strata of the village against the kulaks, and in the course of the struggle against the kulaks, they educated them politically, which was one of the most important conditions that prepared the turn of the bulk of the middle peasantry toward collective farms and socialism—a turn that occurred in the autumn of 1929. The support of the poor and middle peasants for the measures of the Soviet power directed against the kulaks made it possible to confiscate grain surpluses from the kulaks and prevented the latter from using these surpluses for their own economic and political strengthening.

The measures taken by the Soviet government against the kulaks in 1927–1928, including emergency measures, were within the framework of the revolutionary legality of the first period of the NEP. The right-wing restorers of capitalism, Bukharin, Rykov, and Co., were then screaming about the "cancellation" of the NEP, speculating on isolated instances of excesses in the implementation of Soviet policy and violations of revolutionary legality. The Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, immediately exposed the kulak agents. It would be foolish to speak (based on the application of Article 107 – D. Ch .) of the "cancellation" of the NEP, of a "return" to the food tax system, etc., Comrade Stalin declared in his report on the work of the April Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1928. "Only enemies of Soviet power can now think about the abolition of the NEP." "No one benefits from the New Economic Policy as much as

the Soviet government. But there are people who think that the NEP does not mean intensifying the struggle against capitalist elements, including the kulaks, with the aim of overcoming them, but rather ending the struggle against the kulaks and other capitalist elements. It goes without saying that such people have nothing in common with Leninism, for there is no place for such people, and there cannot be one, in our party"[205].

In his speech at the April 1929 plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Comrade Stalin demonstrated in detail that the right-wing opportunist restorers of capitalism, as well as the Trotskyists, viewed the NEP as "complete freedom" for private trade, as a free play of prices in the market. In reality, Comrade Stalin pointed out, the NEP is "freedom of private trade within certain limits, within certain frameworks, *while ensuring the regulatory role of the state in the market* "[206].

Comrade Stalin branded the right-wing opportunists (who, in principle, opposed any use of emergency measures against the kulaks) as bourgeois liberals, as agents of the kulaks, and as restorers of capitalism. As for their political speculation on individual distortions of party policy at the local level, Comrade Stalin thoroughly exposed the capitulatory nature of the right-wing opportunists' positions, which, due to excesses in the implementation of a correct political line, demanded that this line itself be abolished[207].

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[205] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, pp. 46–47.

[206] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 43.

[207] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 91.

The working class's struggle for socialism against capitalist elements during the transition from capitalism to socialism, following the military defeat of the White Guards and interventionists, unfolded across all fronts: economics, politics, and ideology. By organizing the socialist offensive against capitalist positions, the Soviet state created all the conditions for the advantages of socialist economic forms to manifest themselves to the fullest.

Revolutionary legality during the NEP years was intended to facilitate the steady strengthening of the socialist sector's position in its struggle against the capitalist sector. The Soviet state, through relevant laws, enshrined privileges for socialist sector enterprises—state-owned and cooperative-collective farm enterprises—and undertook extensive work to streamline labor discipline, increase productivity, conserve materials and energy, and ensure the safety of socialist enterprise equipment.

Thus, the function of suppressing the exploiting classes was intertwined with a new function – the economic-organizational and cultural-educational activities of the organs of the Soviet state, the purpose of which was to develop the shoots of a socialist economy and re-educate people in the spirit of socialism.

2. The construction of socialism in the USSR and the emergence of a new function of the Soviet state – the function of protecting socialist property.

As a result of the successful implementation of the Bolshevik policy of socialist industrialization, by 1930 the Soviet state had achieved the creation of a powerful industry capable of re-equipping the entire national economy and equipping it with the latest technology. By this time, capitalist elements in large-scale industry had completely collapsed. The Soviet Union was

on the eve of its transformation from an agrarian to an industrial country. In 1929–1930, the share of the private sector in industry was 0.7%[208]. The question of "who will prevail" in industry, Comrade Stalin declared at the 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), had been finally and irrevocably resolved in favor of socialism.

Beginning in the summer of 1929, a powerful movement of peasants to join collective farms unfolded in the countryside, intensifying significantly by the fall. A fundamental shift in the consciousness of the peasant masses took place. The middle peasants joined the collective farms. Areas of total collectivization began to emerge. This shift, Comrade Stalin said at the 16th Party Congress, had been prepared gradually. "It was prepared by the entire course of our development, the entire course of our industry, and above all by the development of industry supplying machinery and tractors for agriculture. It was prepared by the policy of decisive struggle against the kulaks and by the progress of our grain procurements in their new forms in 1928 and 1929, placing kulak farming under the control of the poor and middle peasant masses. It was prepared by the development of agricultural cooperatives, accustoming the individual peasant to collective management. It was prepared by the network of collective farms, where the peasant tested the advantages of collective forms of farming over individual farming. It was finally prepared by a network of state farms scattered throughout the USSR and equipped with new technology, where the peasant had the opportunity to be convinced of the power and advantages of the new technology"[209].

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208 See I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 269.

209 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 280–281.

By this time, the material basis necessary for replacing kulak agricultural production with collective and state farm production had matured. In 1929, collective and state farms provided the country with more marketable grain than the kulaks had in 1927. This created the opportunity for the Communist Party and the Soviet state to transition from a policy of limiting the kulaks to a policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class through complete collectivization. Beginning in late 1929, Soviet power made a sharp turn from a policy of limiting the kulaks to a policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class. The implementation of the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class meant a decisive offensive against the capitalist elements of the countryside, aimed at their elimination. The transition to complete collectivization took place through a mass struggle against the kulaks, through the dispossession of kulaks in areas of complete collectivization, i.e., the transfer of the land and tools they owned to the collective farms.

Before the Soviet government adopted a policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class, a serious offensive against capitalist elements was launched primarily in the city, through industry. With the transition to a policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class, a decisive offensive was also launched against capitalist elements in the countryside, resulting in a generalized offensive across the entire front.

By May 1930, collectivization had already affected 40 to 50% of peasant farms in the country's main grain-producing regions. Collective and state farms began to determine the fate of agriculture. By 1931, two-thirds of the entire sown area was sown by collective and state farms. The resistance and open uprisings of the kulaks against collectivization were crushed. The kulaks as a class were routed.

The question of dating the transition of the Soviet state from its first to its second phase has been raised repeatedly in our literature. An article by V. V. Nikolaev (in the journal "Problems of Philosophy," No. 3, 1950) correctly criticized the position of some authors, in particular A. I. Denisov, who dates the beginning of the second phase of the Soviet state's development to 1934.

Bearing in mind Lenin's repeated observations that all boundaries in nature and society are conditional and fluid, it is hardly appropriate to draw a sharp dividing line between these phases. One cannot but agree with V.V. Nikolaev that during the transition from the first to the second phase, the military suppression of exploiters or their remnants continued to operate for some time, while a new function—the protection of socialist property—was already in effect. However, we must determine the approximate boundary between the two phases in the development of the Soviet state. This boundary lies in 1931 –1932, when the task of defeating and eliminating the kulaks as a class was essentially accomplished and the foundations of a socialist economy were laid. As a result of the victory of comprehensive collectivization, the kulaks were deprived of their material base—land, tools, and hired labor—they were demoralized, and the overwhelming majority were evicted from the regions in which they had previously lived. Thus, the last and most numerous exploiting class was defeated.

But even after this, the kulaks did not lay down their arms. As Comrade Stalin said more than once in 1932 and 1933, the kulaks “have been defeated, but they are far from finished off”[210]. The kulaks and the last remnants of the other exploiting classes, having been thrown off track, scattered all over the

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[210] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 231.

face of the USSR, “crawling through our factories and plants, through our institutions and trade organizations, through railway and water transport enterprises, and mainly through collective and state farms. They crawled and hid there, donning the mask of “workers” and “peasants,” and some of them even wormed their way into the party”[211].

Comrade Stalin warned the Party that these gentlemen were imbued with a fierce hostility toward socialist forms of economy, life, and culture. Lacking the strength to launch a direct attack against Soviet power, they harmed and caused mischief to the Soviet government in every way they could: they tried to undermine labor discipline, set fire to warehouses, wrecked machinery, infected livestock with diseases, tangled up collective farm accounting, and so on. Most importantly, these "former people" organized the mass theft and theft of state, cooperative, and collective farm property.

“They,” said Comrade Stalin in 1933, “feel, as it were, with a class instinct, that the foundation of the Soviet economy is public property, that it is precisely this foundation that must be shaken in order to harm the Soviet power, and they are really trying to shake public property by organizing mass theft and embezzlement.

"To organize thefts, they utilize the private ownership habits and vestiges of collective farmers, yesterday's individual farmers, now members of collective farms. You, as Marxists, must know that people's consciousness lags behind their actual situation. Collective farmers are no longer individual farmers, but collectivists, but their consciousness is still old, that of private ownership. And so, former members of the exploiting classes utilize the private ownership habits of collective

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[211] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 207.

farmers to organize the plundering of public property and thereby undermine the foundation of the Soviet system—public ownership . "[212]

In this regard, the question of protecting public socialist property became, in 1932–1933, a question of acute class struggle with the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes, which increased their resistance as the power of the Soviet socialist state grew.

During this period, the protection of public property was *primarily* a task of completing the liquidation of the remnants of the exploiting classes and of increasing the revolutionary vigilance of the Soviet people. The dialectic of the historical development of the socialist state during this period consisted of the fact that the *newly emerging* function of the socialist state—the function of protecting public property, which testified to the fact that the Soviet state had already entered the second phase of its development—was carried out in relation to the remnants of the exploiting classes by methods of suppression that characterized the activity of the Soviet state in the first phase of its development. Moreover, at the moment of the destruction of the remnants of the exploiting classes, when it is necessary to finish off the former oppressors, who are strengthening their resistance and resorting to extreme methods of struggle, the measures of suppression become especially harsh and merciless. The desperate resistance of the remnants of the dying exploiting classes can be suppressed only through the further strengthening of the Soviet socialist state. This is why Comrade Stalin again emphasized in January 1933:

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[212] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 208–209.

"A strong and powerful dictatorship of the proletariat is what we need now in order to scatter to dust the last remnants of the dying classes and smash their thieving machinations"[213].

Naturally, the remnants of the obsolete classes, having been routed in the city and the countryside, were unable to change anything in the social order that had taken shape in the USSR. They were no longer able to resist the measures of the Soviet government. But in order to eliminate these elements quickly and without significant casualties, Comrade Stalin said, it was necessary to heighten revolutionary vigilance.

Let us cite several examples demonstrating that the task of protecting socialist property during this period was primarily a task of suppressing the resistance of the remnants of hostile classes. Property crimes in 1931–1932 consisted primarily of the theft of socialist property. According to rough estimates, theft of socialist property accounted for 33.5% of property crimes in the RSFSR in 1931, 40% in the first half of 1932, and 60% in the second half of 1932.

The bulk of thefts of public property occurred on collective and state farms. Across the RSFSR, from August 1, 1932, to April 1, 1933, of all those convicted of theft of public property, 65.4% were individuals embezzling collective farm property, and 7.9% were individuals embezzling state farm property. Thus, 73.3% of cases of theft of public property occurred in agriculture, where the remnants of the kulaks primarily demonstrated their desperate resistance to the collective farm system.

Precisely because the organizers of the theft of public property were class enemies, the theft and embezzlement of public

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213 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 210.

property became the primary form of class struggle. This is why the law of the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of August 7, 1932, prescribed severe penalties for the theft of socialist property. This law prescribed the highest form of social protection—execution with confiscation of all property—as a measure of judicial repression for the theft of state, cooperative, and collective farm property, as well as cargo on rail and water transport. This penalty, commuted under mitigating circumstances, was commuted to imprisonment for a term of at least 10 years with confiscation of all property.

Not only did the full force of the socialist state's punitive organs descend upon the plunderers of socialist property, but all the honest workers of our country—workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals—rose up against them and actively assisted the courts and prosecutors in identifying those who stole the people's property. Here's one example demonstrating how the masses, from below, supported the Soviet state's efforts to protect socialist property, which were directed from above. After the trial of Chulkov and Fartyshev, plunderers of collective farm grain, was held by a visiting session of the West Siberian Regional Court, the peasants present at the trial adopted the following resolution:

"We, the collective farmers and individual farmers of the village of Mereti, with the participation of representatives from the collective farms of Verkhniy Suzun, Gorodishche, Krotovo, and Razdolye, welcome the government's resolution of August 7 and endorse the verdict of the visiting session of the regional court, which sentenced the thieves of collective farm grain—the kulaks Chulkov and Fartyshev—to death by firing squad and confiscation of all property. We express confidence that the organs of the proletarian dictatorship—the courts, the prosecutor's office, and the investigative bodies—will continue

to wage a harsh fight against the plunderers of collective farm property. Death to the enemies of the people who plunder public property. It is sacred and inviolable!"

In response to the attacks of the class enemy—the kulak—we are mobilizing for the fastest possible wheat harvest and stacking, organizing the raking and gathering of the ears by hand, and challenging the collective farms of Gorodishche, Krotovo, and V. Suzuna to socialist competition. Our collective farm has fulfilled its monthly grain procurement plan, but in response to the correct verdict of the regional court session, we are organizing a red convoy of grain.

Comrade collective farmers! Vigilantly guard collective farm property! We will assign our best shock workers—production workers—to protect the socialist harvest."

The Communist Party and the Soviet government, while mobilizing the peasant masses to combat kulak sabotage and wrecking, also considered the danger that kulaks might involve some backward collective farmers, particularly those with strong private ownership tendencies, in their subversive activities of plundering collective farm property. Under these circumstances, the key to strengthening the collective farms organizationally and economically, increasing their profitability, and strengthening public ownership—the foundation of the collective farm system—was the political strengthening of the collective farms.

The Party and the Soviet state pursued the political strengthening of collective farms under the slogan of making all collective farms Bolshevik. In his speech "On Work in the Village," Comrade Stalin demonstrated that collective farms are a socialist form of agriculture, but form alone does not determine the direction of development. The direction of

development depends on the content infused into this form. Collective farms, as a socialist form of economic organization, can achieve miracles of economic development if the policy of the Bolshevik Party is the foundation of all their activities. To strengthen collective farms politically and organizationally, the Communist Party and the Soviet state established political departments at machine and tractor stations (MTS) serving the collective farms. "This was a significant assistance." The political departments of the MTS managed to do a great deal of work in two years (1933 and 1934) to eliminate the shortcomings of work on collective farms, to develop collective farm activists, to strengthen collective farms, to cleanse collective farms of hostile, kulak, and sabotage elements"[214].

Thus, the struggle to preserve socialist property in the early 1930s was a form of class struggle: it was a struggle between the forces of socialism and the fierce resistance of the remnants of dying classes. To bring this struggle to a successful conclusion, the Soviet socialist state had to adopt harsh repressive measures, on the one hand, and conduct a massive mass political effort to mobilize workers to fight the plunderers of the people's property, on the other.

But the matter is not limited to the fact that with the victory of the collective farm system in the village and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the remnants of the dying class applied new tactics of struggle. The fact is, and this is of historical significance, that public, socialist ownership of the means of production began to dominate undividedly in the USSR, that public ownership became the sole and solid support of Soviet

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[214] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course", p. 303.

power both in the city and in the village. The resolution of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of August 7, 1932, "On the Protection of the Property of State Enterprises, Collective Farms and Cooperatives and the Strengthening of Public (Socialist) Ownership" stated: "The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR believe that public property (state, collective farm, cooperative) is the foundation of the Soviet system, it is sacred and inviolable, and people who encroach on public property must be considered enemies of the people, in view of which a decisive fight against the plunderers of public property is the primary duty of the organs of Soviet power"[215].

Comrade Stalin's report, "Results of the First Five-Year Plan," made several months after the publication of this law, revealed its historical meaning.

“The foundation of our system,” said Comrade Stalin, “is public property, just as the foundation of capitalism is private property. If the capitalists proclaimed private property sacred and inviolable, having achieved in their time the strengthening of the capitalist system, then we, communists, must all the more proclaim public property sacred and inviolable, in order to thereby consolidate the new socialist forms of economy in all spheres of production and trade. To permit the theft and misappropriation of public property—regardless of whether it concerns state property or cooperative and collective farm property—and to ignore such counterrevolutionary outrages, means to contribute to the undermining of the Soviet system, which rests upon public property as its foundation. Our Soviet government proceeded from this when it recently issued a law

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[215] “Collection of Laws and Orders of the USSR”, 1932, No. 62.

on the protection of public property. This law is the basis of revolutionary legality at the present moment. And the duty of strictly enforcing it is the primary duty of every communist, every worker and collective farmer"[216].

The Law on the Protection of Socialist Property legally enshrined the newly established function of the socialist state. In fulfilling this function, the Soviet state defeated the enemies of socialism who attempted to undermine public socialist property, strengthened and continues to strengthen the economic foundation of the USSR—the socialist national economic system—and educated and continues to educate Soviet citizens in the spirit of communist care and concern for socialist property.

3. The function of protecting socialist property during the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Stalin's Constitution of the USSR legally enshrined the construction of socialism in our country. "The economic foundation of the USSR," states Article 4 of the Constitution, "consists of the socialist economic system and socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, established as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist economic system, the abolition of private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man."

The undivided dominance of public socialist property is the economic foundation of the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the source of the prosperous and cultured, joyful and happy lives of Soviet people. The strengthening and development of public property is the most important condition

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[216] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 209.

for the growth of the Soviet Union's power and the further victorious advance of socialist society toward communism.

Entrusting the Soviet state with the task of protecting socialist property, the Stalin Constitution considers the preservation of public property a sacred duty for every Soviet citizen. "Every citizen of the USSR," states the section on the rights and duties of Soviet citizens, Article 131, "is obligated to protect and strengthen public, socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and power of the homeland, and as the source of a prosperous and cultured life for all working people."

“Persons who encroach on public, socialist property are enemies of the people.”

What was new in the protection of socialist property after the suppression of the resistance of the last remnants of the defeated exploiting classes was that the center of gravity in the performance of this function shifted to the application of coercive measures in relation to those citizens of socialist society who had resorted to the theft of socialist property not because of their belonging to hostile classes or because of their hostile attitude toward the Soviet system, but because of their adherence to small-proprietorship habits and remnants.

The exploiting classes in the Soviet Union have been liquidated, and the resistance of their remnants has been completely suppressed.

This speaks to the strengthening of the socialist social system. Therefore, the Soviet state mitigated penalties for crimes against public property. A decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, issued on June 4, 1947, brought uniformity to existing legislation on criminal liability for the theft of state and public property and provided for varying

terms of corrective labor from 5 to 25 years, with or without confiscation of property. At the same time, a decree was issued on strengthening the protection of the personal property of USSR citizens, increasing the penalty for theft of personal property and stipulating imprisonment in a corrective labor camp for 5 to 10 years for theft of personal property, and for 10 to 20 years for robbery.

The personal property of Soviet citizens, like their overall well-being, is ultimately based on the strength of the Soviet social and political system. Socialism is the source of a joyful, prosperous, cultured, and happy life.

The Soviet state, while protecting public property, also protects the personal property of Soviet citizens.

Nowadays, the system of socio-political activities of the Communist Party and the Soviet state—activities designed to instill in every Soviet citizen a conscious concern for the protection of socialist property—is particularly important. The activities of the punitive organs of the Soviet state, which have always played a significant educational role, are acquiring even greater significance in fostering concern for the protection of socialist property.

As early as 1918, Lenin spoke of combining the functions of coercion and education in the work of judicial bodies. “We need a state,” he said, “we need coercion. The organ of the proletarian state that exercises such coercion must be the Soviet courts. And they bear the enormous task of educating the population in labor discipline. We have done inordinately little, or rather, almost nothing, toward this goal. But we must achieve the organization of such courts on the broadest scale, extending their activities throughout the entire working life of the country. Only such courts, with the participation of the

broadest masses of the working and exploited population, will be able, in democratic forms and in accordance with the principles of Soviet power, to ensure that the desires for discipline and self-discipline do not remain mere wishes"[217].

Soviet people's courts are deeply democratic state bodies, elected by the entire people, and play a colossal role in the communist education of the people, in cultivating a communist attitude toward labor and a caring attitude toward socialist property. Today, the core tenet of revolutionary legality is the protection of socialist property and the comprehensive promotion of state and industrial labor discipline, the development of a communist attitude toward labor, and the education of people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism.

The coercive and educational activities of the punitive organs of the Soviet state within the country to protect public property are based on the enormous work of communist education of workers, which is carried out by all state and public organizations under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

Let us take a closer look at the directions in which the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of socialist property unfolds during the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism.

In the USSR, as is known, two forms of public socialist property exist and are legally enshrined in the Stalin Constitution.

Firstly, state property, the national treasure – the land, its subsoil, forests, waters, factories, plants, mines, pits, power plants, all types of transport and communications, banks and

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[217] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, ed. 4, pp. 191–192.

major trading establishments, public utilities and the main housing stock in cities and industrial areas, state farms and machine and tractor stations, etc.

Secondly, cooperative-collective farm property, consisting of the public property of collective farms and other cooperative associations.

The Soviet system is based on both forms of socialist property and is deeply interested in the development and strengthening of both . The development of cooperative and collective farm ownership, with a steady increase in the share of public property and its leading role in the system of economic relations, will prepare the way for the blurring of the boundaries between these forms of public ownership in the future, communist society. It is important to emphasize that the development and strengthening of both forms of public ownership occurs with a steady increase in the share and leading role of public property in the country's economy . This is expressed in the enormous growth of industry and the increase in its share, on the one hand, and in the increasing share of public ownership in socialist agriculture (the growth of machine and tractor stations, the construction of dams and canals of national importance for artificial irrigation, the electrification of agriculture, etc.) on the other.

The Soviet people and the Soviet state see the development of socialist industry as the primary condition for creating the material and technical basis of communism. They tirelessly strengthen and develop it in the struggle for communism. Soviet people have no tolerance for thieves, embezzlers, and other antisocial, criminal elements that still exist in our country. Soviet people help the socialist state combat these elements with the full rigor of the revolutionary legality of our time.

The high socialist consciousness and noble character of Soviet people, their devotion to the Soviet Motherland, do not mean that all workers in our country have overcome the vestiges of capitalism in their consciousness. These vestiges are quite tenacious. Under certain circumstances, the vestiges of capitalism can push some of the less stable Soviet citizens, especially those with certain weaknesses—vanity and the desire to live better than others, regardless of their means, etc. —to commit crimes against the interests of the people and the state, to commit crimes against socialist property. Moreover, the embezzlement of state funds, materials, raw materials, and products does not always directly constitute theft. Sometimes, an employee, abusing their official position, displays unacceptable generosity at the expense of the state, diverting funded materials to other parties, engaging in squandering, etc. Unfortunately, such "employees" still exist in economic and other parts of the state apparatus. Comrade Stalin more than once mercilessly castigated those who ceased to distinguish between the state's pocketbook and their own.

The forms and methods of struggle to preserve and develop socialist property must be varied. At enterprises and institutions that are the property of the people, this struggle proceeds along the following main lines:

a) The Soviet state applies with the utmost severity the laws on the protection of socialist property to all antisocial elements or individual citizens who have taken the path of crime against public property and the state, no matter what form the theft of public property takes—theft of products from a factory or a store, embezzlement, illegal expenditure of state funds, etc.

b) The Soviet state requires enterprise managers and all employees to strictly and unwaveringly adhere to state discipline and, above all, to fulfill state planning targets.

Violations of state discipline and the slightest manifestation of anti-state tendencies introduce elements of disorganization into the smoothly functioning mechanism of the socialist economy, cause serious material damage to the state, and, therefore, objectively constitute an act tantamount to the undermining and theft of public property. The Soviet state has placed particular emphasis on the inadmissibility of the sale of surplus and dismantled equipment, qualifying such sales as disguised theft of socialist property.

In planning the development of the national economy, the Soviet state demands from economic managers accurate and truthful information on the state of enterprises, plan fulfillment, the stocks of raw materials and supplies held by these enterprises and institutions, etc. Without truthful information and accurate accounting, it is impossible to conduct a planned economy. Therefore, individual employees who violate these requirements hinder the Soviet state's planned development of our economy. Regardless of their motives, they commit offenses tantamount to sabotage, undermining the foundations of the socialist economy. A ruthless struggle against all forms of anti-state activity is the primary task of the socialist state.

c) The Soviet state persistently strives to improve product quality. The release of substandard and incomplete products seriously harms production, accelerates trade turnover within the country, and causes significant material losses to the state. The release of substandard and incomplete products creates a sense of irresponsibility among workers for their work before society and the state, and substandard products are written off or sold below cost, resulting in losses for the state enterprise. Incomplete products sit in factory warehouses, resulting in a significant portion of public funds being frozen for a period of time. By the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of July 10, 1940, the release of substandard or

incomplete products and the release of products that do not meet the requirements of mandatory standards are crimes against the state, tantamount to sabotage.

d) The Soviet state and the entire Soviet public organized a mass movement of workers for careful handling of factory equipment, for the economical use of fuel, electricity, raw materials, auxiliary materials, etc. This movement is one of the indicators of the development of a communist attitude among workers toward public property and labor.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that communism, the communist attitude to work, begins where there appears a selfless concern of workers, overcoming hard work, for increasing labor productivity, for protecting every pood of grain, coal, iron and other products that go not to the workers personally and not to their "near ones", but to "distant ones", i.e. to all workers, to the whole of society as a whole, tens and hundreds of millions of people[218].

Socialist competition, which has become a truly national force in our country in the struggle to increase labor productivity, serves to further strengthen and develop public ownership. New forms of socialist competition, based on close collaboration between Stakhanovites and engineering and technical workers with production managers, make it possible, among other things, to reduce production costs, accelerate the turnover of working capital, and promote the growth of above-plan savings, all of which are of paramount importance for the development of socialist ownership. The powerful growth of socialist competition in our country is the best evidence that the Soviet state's commitment to the protection and development of socialist ownership is based on the inexhaustible creative

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[218] See V.I. Lenin, Soch., vol. 29, ed. 4, p. 394.

initiative of the masses, who, through their dedicated labor, develop public ownership.

Protecting state enterprises, warehouses, and other state assets, as well as collective farms, from sabotage by agents of foreign imperialist states, is essential for safeguarding socialist property. Soviet intelligence, relying on the revolutionary vigilance of the entire Soviet people, plays a major role in fulfilling this task.

These are some of the points that demonstrate the diversity of measures by which the Soviet state protects and strengthens the national wealth – the leading form of socialist property in our country.

The Soviet state carries out extensive work to protect and strengthen cooperative-collective farm property. Stalin's Charter of the Agricultural Artel forms the foundation of life in the collective farm village. " The Charter ," says Comrade Stalin, " is the *highest law for building a new society in the village*. "[219] The Charter of the Agricultural Artel is based on the Constitution of the Soviet Union. The Charter proceeds from the premise that land is state property, but is assigned to the artel in perpetuity and cannot be leased, bought, or sold. State deeds of perpetual land ownership define the boundaries of the land area assigned to the artel.

The Charter establishes, depending on the conditions of a given region or republic, the size of household plots allocated to collective farmers, guided by Stalin's directives on the balance between the social and personal interests of collective farmers. The Charter considers public lands and the public economy of the artel to be the foundation of collective farm production, and

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[219] “Bolshevik” No. 10–11 for 1938, p. 18.

therefore the basis for the well-being of collective farms and collective farmers.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government strictly monitor the precise observance of Stalin's Charter of the Agricultural Artel, in particular its provisions on the protection of public lands and public property of collective farms.

As the practice of collective farm construction has shown, violations of the Agricultural Artel Charter and the theft of public property on collective farms primarily involved the squandering of collective farm public lands. In the landmark resolution "On Measures to Protect Collective Farm Public Lands from Squandering" of May 27, 1939, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People 's Commissars of the USSR noted:

"The squandering and plundering of collective farm public lands in favor of the private farms of collective farmers occurs through all sorts of illegal additions of household plots in excess of the norms stipulated by the charter, in the order of fictitious divisions of families, when a collective farm household fraudulently receives an additional plot of household land for the share of the supposedly separated family members, or through the direct allocation of household plots to collective farmers at the expense of the collective farm's public field lands.

As a result of this anti-collective farm and anti-state practice, the interests of the public economy of the collective farm, the basis of which is the public collective farm land, are sacrificed to the benefit of private property and grasping elements who

use the collective farm for the purposes of speculation and personal gain"[220].

The expansion of the collective farmers' personal farms led to the fact that the personal farm lost its character as a *subsidiary* farm and sometimes turned into the main source of income for the collective farmers.

In a number of collective farms, there was a practice whereby a household plot of land was effectively converted into personal property and was retained for use by people who stopped working on the collective farm, leased out, etc.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government strongly condemned this practice, which violated the Agricultural Artel Charter and led to the theft of collective farm public lands. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR confirmed that collective farm public lands were inviolable and could not be reduced under any circumstances without special permission from the USSR government; they could only be increased. The Party and government demanded strict adherence to the Agricultural Artel Charter, ordered that violators and anyone who abetted the theft of collective farm public lands be brought to justice, and outlined practical measures to eliminate distortions and violations of the Charter. Soviet courts and prosecutors were instructed to vigilantly protect the Agricultural Artel Charter and ensure its strict observance and implementation. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR "On Measures to Protect Collective

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[220] Pravda, May 28, 1939.

Farm Public Lands from Squandering" played a significant role in further strengthening the collective farm system.

The Soviet socialist state wages a relentless struggle for the inviolability of collective farm public property. Remnants of private ownership in the minds of individual collective farmers contribute to the emergence of private-property bourgeois tendencies in collective farms that are hostile to the collective farm system. These tendencies revived during the war in areas temporarily occupied by the enemy, and to some extent in other parts of the country. The Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in a resolution of September 19, 1946, stated that the historic resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of May 27, 1939 "was forgotten by many workers, and the theft of collective farm public lands once again acquired a mass character"[221].

The plundering of public lands during the war years proceeded along two main lines: a) along the line of increasing the size of household plots through unauthorized seizures or illegal additions with the permission of the board and chairmen of collective farms; b) along the line of illegal allocation by local Soviets and land authorities, or even the arbitrary seizure of public lands of collective farms by various organizations and individuals under the pretext of creating all sorts of subsidiary farms and individual vegetable gardens for workers and employees on collective farm lands. The illegal seizure of public lands of collective farms for all sorts of subsidiary farms reduces the land funds of collective farms, undermines the

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[221] Pravda, September 20, 1946.

public economy of collective farms and encourages the seizure of public lands of collective farms by self-seeking elements[222].

The party and government demanded strict compliance with the decree "On measures to protect collective farm public lands from squandering" and the Agricultural Artel Charter. They demand that violators of the Agricultural Artel Charter be treated as criminals, as enemies of the collective farm system, and brought to justice.

The February Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1947 mobilized the party to quickly eliminate violations of the Charter of the agricultural artel and outlined a majestic program of work for the restoration and further development of socialist agriculture.

The plundering of collective farm public property occurred not only through the squandering of public lands, but also through the plundering of collective farm assets. Some workers, instead of strictly protecting collective farm public property, grossly violated the law: using their official positions, they took property, livestock, and food from collective farms for free or for a small fee and, as noted in the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of September 19, 1946, "embarked on the path of arbitrariness and lawlessness in relation to collective farms and, without any shame, began to pry into the property of collective farms as if it were their own pocket. It is easy to understand that these abuses undermine the foundations of the collective farm's well-being, corrupt the leadership of collective farms, and push them, in turn, to all sorts of lawlessness"[223].

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[222] See Pravda, September 20, 1946.

The theft and illegal disposal of collective farm property is a gross violation of the law, a crime against the collective farm system and the Soviet state. Those who embezzle collective farm property and violate the Agricultural Artel Charter are enemies of the collective farm system.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government demand the strict preservation and expansion of collective farm property. One of the most important responsibilities of the Council for Collective Farm Affairs, established under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, is to establish strict oversight of compliance with the Charter of the Agricultural Artel and to protect collective farms from attempts to violate it.

The Soviet state and its organs guard the inviolability of collective farm public lands, which form the foundation of the collective farm's public economy, as the apple of their eye. The inviolability of cooperative-collective farm property is the utmost respected by the Soviet state. At the same time, the Soviet state strictly ensures that individuals and government bodies respect and take into account the specific features of the cooperative-collective farm form of ownership. The Party and government resolutely suppress any tendency to prematurely leap from an agricultural artel to a commune, which sometimes occurs among individual workers. For example, the Party condemned attempts to liquidate collective farmers' private plots as untimely and harmful, threatening to undermine the strengthening of the collective farm system. The Party and government educate collective farmers in the spirit of strict adherence to the collective farm charter, commitment to public property, and concern for its strengthening and development.

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[223] See Pravda, September 20, 1946.

The Soviet state ensures that all state and economic organizations promptly pay collective farms for products supplied or sold by collective farms, or for work performed by collective farms. The Soviet state demands that collective farms fulfill their obligations to the state accurately and promptly, and resolutely combats anti-state tendencies in the practices of certain collective farm leaders.

While protecting public, socialist property in both its forms, the Soviet state is committed to developing Soviet trade—both state and cooperative-collective farm—without the influence of merchants and speculators. Recognizing the potential for private traders and speculators to enter trade, particularly with the development of collective farm trade, the Soviet government adopted a decree on August 22, 1932, on combating speculation, obliging the punitive organs of the Soviet state and local authorities to take decisive measures to eradicate speculation. Soviet law imposes sentences of 5 to 10 years in a corrective labor camp for speculators and resellers, with no right to amnesty.

Comrade Stalin, summing up the results of the first five-year plan, stated that we had completely eliminated private traders, merchants, and intermediaries of all kinds from trade between city and village. "Of course," said Comrade Stalin, "this does not exclude the possibility that, by the law of atavism, private traders and speculators may reappear in trade, using the most convenient field for this, namely, collective farm trade. Moreover, the collective farmers themselves are sometimes not averse to engaging in speculation, which, of course, does them no credit. But against these unhealthy phenomena, we have a recently issued law of Soviet power on measures to suppress

speculation and punish speculators. You know, of course, that this law is not particularly lenient..."[224].

The Soviet state consistently enforces this law, closing all channels for the resurgence of unearned, speculative elements and systematically developing and improving Soviet trade. The Soviet state severely punishes embezzlers and other thieves of goods and funds in state and cooperative trade.

Thus, the Soviet state carries out the protection of socialist property in industry, agriculture, trade – in all spheres of the national economy.

The function of protecting socialist property plays a vital role in strengthening and developing the Soviet socialist social system and in building a communist society in our country.

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[224] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 204.

Chapter Five

The Soviet State as a Tool for Defending Socialist Society from External Attack.

Under the conditions of a victorious socialism, the task of protecting the country from external aggression, in addition to preserving socialist property, plays a vital role. This function is inherent in the Soviet state from its very first days. The task of defending the country will confront socialist society as long as capitalist encirclement exists. Consequently, the Soviet socialist state must be strengthened as a weapon of defense against external aggression until capitalist encirclement gives way to a socialist encirclement.

1. Lenin and Stalin on the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland.

In formulating a new theory of socialist revolution, Lenin and Stalin concluded that with the victory of socialism in one or more countries, the world is divided into two opposing systems, and a struggle between them is inevitable. This struggle, under certain conditions, takes the form of armed defense of the new socialist fatherland against external aggression by imperialist states. The First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of a general crisis of capitalism. The imperialist chain was broken at its weakest link, namely Russia. The socialist homeland was born; it served as a fortress and base for the development of the world communist revolution and became the antithesis of the capitalist world. The world was divided into two camps, two systems: socialist and capitalist. Long before the victory of the socialist revolution, Lenin wrote that the proletariat could not remain indifferent to the fate of its country. He stated: "The homeland, that is, the given political, cultural and social

environment, is the most powerful factor in the class struggle of the proletariat."[225] Lenin wrote these lines at a time when power belonged to the bourgeoisie, the social environment was characterized by the exploitation of the proletariat, and national culture, although formally bourgeois in content, was essentially bourgeois.

Under capitalism, to safeguard the fate of a country means, first and foremost, to fight against the exploiters who oppress the workers and against their state power. In his essay "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," Lenin cleverly demonstrated that during the Tsarist era, and especially when the landowners and capitalists of the Russian Empire, like the bourgeoisie of all the great capitalist countries, were waging an imperialist war of conquest, safeguarding the fate of the fatherland meant "fighting with all revolutionary means against the monarchy, landowners and capitalists of *one's own* country, that is, against the *worst* enemies of our fatherland"[226].

The Great October Socialist Revolution transferred power to the working class. For the first time, workers, under the leadership of the working class, took state power into their own hands and began to use it to completely liberate themselves from the oppression of the bourgeoisie and other exploiters. This radically changed the political structure of society. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established. The Great October Socialist Revolution not only saved Russia from the economic catastrophe threatening it and the danger of falling into complete dependence on imperialist predators, but also opened a new era in human history, the era of socialism.

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[225] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 15, ed. 4, p. 171.

[226] V. I. Lenin, Soch., vol. 21, ed. 4, p. 86.

The nationalization of banks, large-scale industry, transportation, and land, and the establishment of a monopoly on foreign trade, signified the transfer of key commanding positions to the Soviet state and marked the beginning of the creation of the socialist sector of the national economy, which from its earliest days began to play a leading role in the country's economy. Thus, new, socialist relations of production were born in the country.

Under the Soviet system, the worldview of the working class became the dominant worldview, and national culture in form became socialist in content.

Thus, all the elements that together constitute the fatherland—the social, political, and cultural environment—were radically transformed. A new fatherland was born, the socialist fatherland of workers and peasants.

Assessing this historical fact, I.V. Stalin said: "In the past, we did not and could not have a fatherland. But now that we have overthrown capitalism, and power is in our hands, the people, we have a fatherland, and we will defend its independence."[227] The emergence of the socialist fatherland provoked, and could not help but provoke, the furious hatred of the imperialist bourgeoisie of all countries. The imperialist bourgeoisie of other countries immediately came to the aid of the overthrown Russian bourgeoisie: first the Germans, then the British, French, American, and Japanese imperialists launched a campaign against the Soviet Republic with the aim of strangling it.

The struggle for the socialist fatherland unfolded the very day after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution. The

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[227] J.V. Stalin, Soch., vol. 13, p. 39.

question of saving and strengthening the socialist fatherland became pressing. Lenin said in 1918:

"We have been defencists since October 25, 1917. We are for 'defense of the fatherland,' but the patriotic war we are marching toward is a war for the socialist fatherland, for socialism as a fatherland, for the Soviet Republic as a *detachment* of the world army of socialism."[228]

"The struggle for a socialist fatherland is a struggle for socialism, for the fatherland of the workers of all countries," explains Lenin, thereby emphasizing the unity of the national and international tasks of the working class and all working people.

The Bolshevik Party proceeds from the fundamental tenet of Leninism that the national and international tasks of the working class of the USSR "merge into the single common task of liberating the proletarians of all countries from capitalism, that the interests of building socialism in our country merge entirely with the interests of the revolutionary movement of all countries into the single common interest of the victory of the socialist revolution in all countries."[229]

The unity and inseparability of the interests and tasks of the working class of our country with the interests and tasks of the proletarians of all countries is the surest path to victory for the world labor movement, teaches I.V. Stalin. The proletarian revolution and the victory of socialism in one country are not an end in themselves, but a means and an aid to the development and victory of the socialist revolution in all countries of the world. "Therefore, building socialism in the

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[228] V. I. Lenin, Soch., vol. 27, ed. 4, pp. 136–137.

[229] I. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 9, p. 27.

USSR means pursuing the common cause of the proletarians of all countries; it means forging victory over capital not only in the USSR but in all capitalist countries, for the revolution in the USSR is part of the world revolution, its beginning and the basis for its development."[230]

Therefore, the active participation of the Soviet people in communist construction, the patriotic concern of the workers of the USSR for the further strengthening of the glory and might of the socialist Motherland, is the greatest contribution to the fight against imperialism throughout the world, the fulfillment of the international duty of Soviet people to the working class of all countries. “We,” said I.V. Stalin in 1931, “must move forward in such a way that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, could say: here it is, my vanguard, here it is, my shock brigade, here it is, my workers' power, here it is, my fatherland—they are doing their job, our job is good—let us support them against the capitalists and fan the flames of the world revolution”[231].

But heroic deeds on the labor front, labor valor is only one side of the patriotic and internationalist activity of Soviet people to strengthen the socialist Motherland. The second side of the patriotic and internationalist duty of Soviet people is their obligation to defend their socialist fatherland to the last drop of blood, to tirelessly strengthen its defense, to be always ready to fulfill the sacred duty of defending the Motherland if the enemy dares to violate the state interests of the USSR and the security of the borders of the Soviet Union. Twice, at the call of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, Soviet people rose up to wage the Great Patriotic War of Liberation

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[230] I. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 9, p. 28.

[231] I. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 13, p. 40.

against the imperialist invaders. From 1918 to 1920, the Party roused the people to wage a patriotic war against the troops of foreign interventionists and against the rebellions of the exploiting classes overthrown by the revolution.

During the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union (1941–1945), the Bolshevik Party rallied the entire Soviet people to support the Soviet Army and defeat the enemy. Life-giving Soviet patriotism and the selfless devotion of the Soviet people to the socialist Motherland and the Bolshevik Party formed the foundation of the labor exploits of the Soviet people in the rear and the unfading military feats of the soldiers of the Soviet Army at the front. The heroic Soviet people in World War II not only defended the honor and independence of their socialist Motherland and further strengthened the power of the Soviet state; they "with their selfless struggle saved the civilization of Europe from the fascist pogromists. This is the great service of the Soviet people to the history of mankind."[232]

The struggle of the Soviet people for the freedom and independence of the socialist Fatherland merged with the struggle of the peoples of other countries for their independence and democratic freedoms. The workers of all countries saw the might of the Soviet Union and the successes of the Soviet Army as the main guarantee of their countries' independence, the guarantee of winning and strengthening democratic freedoms. The Soviet people honorably fulfilled their internationalist duty and defeated Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan.

With the emergence of the Soviet socialist state, the working class of all countries considers it their sacred duty to support

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[232] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 162.

and defend the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the working class of the entire world.

The first and foremost indicator of genuine socialist internationalism today is the complete and unconditional support of the USSR and the willingness to defend it. The entire history of the labor movement over recent decades testifies to the powerful support of the proletariat of all countries for the Soviet Union, the stronghold and base for the development of the world communist revolution.

The working class of all countries will undoubtedly continue to fulfill its revolutionary internationalist duty to support and defend the Soviet Union. This is evidenced by the statements of the leaders of the workers' and communist parties of capitalist countries that the working class of these countries will not fight against the USSR. The consistent internationalism and international solidarity of the working class of all countries lies as the inexhaustible source of the power and invincibility of the USSR as the socialist fatherland of the workers of all countries, the source of the invincibility of the entire camp of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The entire history of the Soviet state and socialist construction in the USSR, the entire history of the Bolshevik Party, the vanguard of the Soviet people, testify to the fact that "the consistent and thoroughly revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks is a model of proletarian internationalism for the workers of all countries."[233]

The party of Lenin and Stalin educated and continues to educate the Soviet people in the spirit of consistently revolutionary socialist internationalism. Consistent socialist

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[233] I. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 13, p. 93.

internationalism constitutes one of the defining characteristics of the patriotism of the Soviet people.

2. The role of the army, punitive organs and intelligence in the implementation of the external function of the Soviet socialist state.

For millennia, the state in a class-based, antagonistic society has served as the apparatus by which the exploitative minority of society kept the exploited masses in check. The exploitative state has at its disposal powerful instruments of power—the army, punitive organs, intelligence, and so on. These instruments of state power serve as a means of fulfilling both the internal, primary function of oppressing the exploited masses, and the external, secondary function of expanding the territory of its ruling class at the expense of other states or defending its own state from attack by other states. This was the case in the past. This is the case today in capitalist countries. The history of exploitative states is the history of the growth and refinement of the aforementioned instruments of power, which in the era of imperialism have reached monstrous development.

More than half a century ago, Engels wrote that class struggle and competition for conquest had intensified social power to such an extent that it threatened to engulf all of society. Lenin, in 1917, noted that the era of imperialism, the intensified competition for conquest between the predatory imperialist powers that had divided up the world, the colossal growth of military and naval armaments, and "the predatory war of 1914–1917 for world domination by England or Germany, for the division of the spoils, brought the 'absorption' of all the forces

of society by predatory state power closer to complete catastrophe"[234].

After World War II, the position of imperialism was further undermined, the general crisis of capitalism deepened, the balance of power in the international arena shifted further in favor of socialism, and the "absorption of all social forces by predatory power" in capitalist countries reached its peak. Today, the militarization of the state and society in a number of capitalist countries, the expansion of the police apparatus, intelligence services, and so on, have reached proportions unseen even in Nazi Germany.

In the United States, the most aggressive country of our time, the army, navy, and military spending in general consume over 80% of the national budget. The entire apparatus of state power is militarized in the United States. All aspects of public life are being militarized, from the conversion of industry to a military footing to compulsory military training in schools. A similar picture is observed in all Marshallized countries.

In all capitalist countries, the police and gendarmerie corps grew enormously. Not limiting themselves to the state police apparatus, the bourgeoisie, particularly in the United States, created private police forces in factories and plants, organizing numerous units from the criminal underworld and fascist elements, ostensibly to "protect" "order" and "democracy," but in reality to protect capitalist property and to carry out pogroms and provocations against workers' organizations. In the United States and other capitalist countries, the state police apparatus merged with the criminal underworld and terrorist fascist gangs such as the Ku Klux Klan in the United States, the de Gaulle units in France, and the like.

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[234] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 363.

The intelligence apparatus of bourgeois states has reached a colossal level of development. The bourgeoisie of the United States, England, and other countries has adopted and expanded upon the Gestapo-fascist methods of infiltrating all legal and underground workers' organizations, carefully concealing these agents and seeking to promote them to leadership positions. Experienced intelligence officers are at the helm of the largest bourgeois political parties. The leaders of many right-wing socialist parties are seasoned bourgeois intelligence agents. British and American intelligence agencies have succeeded in promoting their spies and provocateurs to leadership positions in the Yugoslav Communist Party, seizing control of the party apparatus, and turning the party into an appendage of the Gestapo-fascist regime in Yugoslavia.

The trials of Laszlo Rajk in Hungary, Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria, the exposure of Patroscanu in Romania, Slánský in Czechoslovakia and other facts testify to the Jesuitical cunning and persistence with which the American bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie of other countries are promoting their agents in all workers' organizations.

Not content with this, the bourgeoisie organizes surveillance of all members of democratic organizations. Today, bourgeois countries have established a police regime that, in some respects, surpasses that of the German fascists. Even the fascists didn't institute the fingerprinting of all government employees and the vast majority of the country's population, as is practiced in "democratic" America.

The police surveillance that former Prime Minister Attlee, leader of the Labour Party, which calls itself a "labour" party, instituted on the peace supporters who were gathering in England is a clear example of the police essence of bourgeois "democracy".

The examples given demonstrate the scale of the intelligence agencies' activities within the country. It goes without saying that the scale of their activities in other countries is no less. Bourgeois states send their intelligence agents into all countries. Currently, the spearhead of bourgeois intelligence is directed against the USSR and the people's democracies, against the labor and trade union movements, and against all democratic, progressive organizations. But the intelligence agencies of bourgeois states also operate against "friendly" countries, against their partners in robbery, since the contradictions between the bourgeoisie of various countries, particularly between the American bourgeoisie and its junior bloc partner—the British bourgeoisie—not only remain but are increasingly intensifying.

Therefore, American and British intelligence agencies not only cooperate in the fight against the USSR and the people's democracies, the labor movement, the peace movement, the national liberation struggles of workers in colonies and dependent countries, etc., but also engage in fierce conflict in the Middle East, India and Nepal, Iran, and other parts of the world. It is enough to recall the coups that took place in Syria and Lebanon in 1950–1951, or the events in Iran in 1951.

The history of relations between bourgeois states, both during the period of cooperation and during the period of struggle between them, irrefutably testifies to the justice and depth of the instructions of I. V. Stalin, who said in 1937:

"Take, for example, bourgeois states. Naive people might think that exclusively good relations exist between them, as between states of the same type. But only naive people would think so. In reality, relations between them are far from good neighborly. It has been proven as clearly as two plus two make four that bourgeois states send spies, saboteurs, subversives,

and sometimes even assassins into each other's rear, tasking them with infiltrating the institutions and enterprises of these states, creating their own networks there, and "if necessary"—blowing up their rear in order to weaken them and undermine their power. This is how things stand today. This was also the case in the past..."

This is the law of relations between bourgeois states"[235].

Thus, the most important instruments of power of the bourgeois state - the army and navy, the police and intelligence - in the era of imperialism reach colossal proportions and serve as the main instrument by which the bourgeoisie maintains its dominance within the country and carries out imperialist policy abroad.

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The Soviet socialist state, which initially emerged in a single country, Russia, faced not only the fierce resistance of its own overthrown exploiting classes but also had to repel attacks from powerful imperialist states rushing to the rescue of the defeated Russian bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of England, the United States, France, Japan, and other imperialist countries, meanwhile, hoped to reap rich rewards from the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the enslavement of its peoples.

In order for the Soviet state to suppress the resistance of the overthrown bourgeoisie and repel imperialist intervention from outside, it had to create its own powerful instruments of power. I. V. Stalin pointed out that one of the most important tasks facing the dictatorship of the proletariat on the very day

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[235] I. V. Stalin, On the Shortcomings of Party Work and Measures for the Elimination of Trotskyist and Other Double-Dealers, Gospolitizdat, 1938, p. 7.

following the victory of the socialist revolution was to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie, arm the revolution, organize a revolutionary army, and demonstrate the superiority of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in military organization. In its early days, the Soviet state had detachments of the proletarian Red Guard as its armed force, and then began to form a new army. Lenin and Stalin emphasized that the Soviet Army must be class-based, workers' and peasants' in its composition, and socialist in its objectives. In creating the Soviet Army, the Bolshevik Party devoted enormous attention to issues of organization and discipline and made extensive use of veteran military specialists.

At the VIII Party Congress in 1919, Lenin and Stalin resolutely opposed the "military opposition," which defended the remnants of guerrilla warfare in the army and fought against the creation of a regular Soviet Army. The "military opposition" opposed the use of old military specialists and the iron discipline without which an army cannot be truly an army. Objecting to the "military opposition," I. V. Stalin demanded the creation of a regular army imbued with the spirit of the strictest discipline. "Either," said Comrade Stalin, "we create a genuine workers' and peasants' army, primarily peasants', strictly disciplined, and defend the republic, or we perish . "[236]

Lenin and Stalin, as well as the Bolshevik Party, placed particular emphasis on political education, designed to ensure the creation of an army in which its fighters clearly understood the lofty goals of the revolutionary army and were completely devoted to the working people and the Soviet state, whose interests they served. The Communist Party served as the core

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[236] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course", p. 225.

of leadership for the Soviet Army, both at the front and at the rear, during the years of the Civil War and the intervention, constantly strengthening the army with communists through party mobilizations. The Party created the institution of political commissars in the army, who directed political work in military units and supervised the work of veteran military specialists, as many of the veteran specialists attempted, and did, harm the cause of defending the revolution. The Bolshevik Party, Lenin, and Stalin promoted and nurtured outstanding political workers and new commanders of the Soviet Army, all of whom emerged from the people.

During the Civil War, the Bolshevik Party did not yet possess all the evidence exposing Trotsky as an agent of imperialist intelligence, but it immediately recognized the sabotage nature of Trotsky's actions and decisively suppressed them. Trotsky and the Trotskyists sought to dismantle the Soviet Army by exterminating the army's communist cadres and placing it under the undivided control of "military specialists," former generals of the old, tsarist army. Trotsky, the saboteur and spy, sought to carry out on a large scale the same actions that his successor, the saboteur and spy Tito, would later carry out in Yugoslavia during World War II.

The Eighth Party Congress had already rebuffed Trotsky and demanded improvements in the work of central military institutions and a stronger role for communists in the army. Later, when the criminal nature of Trotsky's actions in directing the Red Army's combat operations was revealed, the plans he had developed were rejected by the party, and he himself was completely removed from participation in directing operations both on the Eastern Front, against Kolchak, and on the Southern Front, against Denikin. The Bolshevik Party carried out the construction of the Soviet Army in the struggle against Trotskyists and other enemies of the people.

The organizers of the Soviet Army and all its victories were Lenin and Stalin. Direct leadership of all major operations of the Soviet Army from 1918 to 1920 was exercised by Lenin's comrade-in-arms, the greatest military leader, I. V. Stalin.

Characterizing the Soviet Army, Comrade Stalin pointed out that it has three main features that are the source of its invincible power.

"The first and main feature of our Red Army is that it is an army of liberated workers and peasants, it is the army of the October Revolution, the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat"[237].

By exposing the class character of the army under capitalism, Lenin and Stalin exposed the lie of capitalism's apologists that the army is politically neutral. In bourgeois states, Stalin explains, the army is deprived of political rights, but this does not mean it is politically neutral. The bourgeois army, being a mass army and recruited primarily from the people, is deliberately deprived of political rights so that it will serve as a blind and obedient tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The armies of bourgeois states have been and remain armies of capitalist rule.

The Soviet Army is an instrument for the assertion of the power of the workers and peasants, an instrument for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an instrument for the liberation of the workers and peasants from the yoke of the landowners and capitalists. Unlike bourgeois armies, which are used against the people and feared by the people, the Soviet Army is inseparable from the people, relies on the people, and is surrounded by the love and care of the

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[237] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 22.

people. But this means that the Soviet Army, unlike bourgeois armies, has a strong and invincible rear. Without a strong rear, teaches I.V. Stalin, without the support and sympathy of the working population, even the largest armies would collapse and perish.

This, for example, was the case with Hitler's army. Even at the very beginning of the Great Patriotic War, I. V. Stalin predicted the inevitable defeat of Hitler's army. He pointed to the fragility of the German rear and the fragility of the European rear of Hitler's army. The enslaved peoples of Europe, he said, would inevitably fight against Hitler's tyranny. I. V. Stalin noted the inevitable turn of the German people against an aggressive, exhausting, and unnecessary war. Comrade Stalin's prediction was fully realized. The fragility of the rear was one of the most important reasons for the collapse of Hitler's bandit state and his army.

Today, new contenders for global domination—American imperialists—have invaded Korea and occupied the Chinese island of Taiwan. American imperialism's military aggression is unpopular with the American people and will only continue to provoke greater indignation and anger.

The situation is even worse behind the American interventionists' lines in Korea itself, where the entire Korean people have risen to fight the invaders. The ground is burning beneath the feet of the American invaders in Korea and Taiwan. All this demonstrates that the American invaders have no future in either Korea or Taiwan.

Unlike bourgeois armies, the Soviet Army has a strong and invincible rear; it relies on the sympathy and support of all the working people of the Soviet country. This, says I. V. Stalin, is the source of its strength.

The Soviet system, as World War II demonstrated, proved not only the best form of organizing the country's economic and cultural recovery during the years of peaceful construction, but also the best form of mobilizing all the people's forces to repel the enemy in wartime. Soviet power, transforming the country into an invincible fortress of defense, tirelessly strengthened the army's rear and grew the armed forces, tirelessly strengthening the unity of the army and the rear. During the Great Patriotic War, I. V. Stalin proudly declared that "of all the armies in the world, the Red Army has the most solid and reliable rear. This is the source of the strength of the Soviet Union"[238]. This is also the source of the invincible might of the Soviet Army. The world-historic victories of the Soviet Army in the Great Patriotic War were primarily due to the might of the Soviet Union, the might of the Soviet Army's rear, and the indestructible unity of the front and rear.

“The second peculiarity of our Red Army is that it, our army, is an army of brotherhood between the nations of our country, an army of liberation of the oppressed nations of our country, an army of defense of the freedom and independence of the nations of our country”[239].

The armies of imperialist countries, and above all the armies of the United States, England, France, Belgium, Holland, and other colonial powers, are trained in the spirit of great power, the spirit of domination over other peoples, and the spirit of conquest and enslavement of other countries. The armies of bourgeois countries are armies of national-colonialist oppression. In the era of imperialism, especially in our own time, when national liberation movements have developed

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238 I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 120.

239 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 23.

widely, the armies of imperialist states almost continuously wage colonial, predatory, and predatory wars in Korea, China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Vietnam, and elsewhere. The armies of imperialist countries are trained in a spirit of hatred and contempt for national minorities within their own countries (racial discrimination against Blacks and Indians in the United States, Indians in the Union of South Africa, and indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand, etc.). This is one of the sources of weakness of bourgeois armies.

"Our army," says I. V. Stalin, "is fundamentally different from the armies of colonial oppression. Its entire being, its entire structure, is based on strengthening the bonds of friendship between the nations of our country, on the idea of liberating oppressed peoples, on the idea of defending the freedom and independence of the socialist republics that are part of the Soviet Union"[240].

This, says I. V. Stalin, is the second main source of the Soviet Army's strength, which relies on the support of all the nationalities inhabiting the vast Soviet land. The Nazi invaders, inspired by the entire international imperialist reaction, in attacking the USSR counted on the fragility of the Soviet social and political system and on ethnic strife within the USSR. They believed that after the Soviet Army's temporary setbacks, discord would break out between the working class and the peasantry, a war between the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The war demonstrated the superiority of the Soviet social and political system over non-Soviet social and political systems. During the Great Patriotic War, all the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union rose up to defend their homeland. At the very height of the Great Patriotic War, Comrade Stalin said: "Now

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[240] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 24.

even Hitler's politicians see how hopelessly foolish their calculations on a split and clashes between the peoples of the Soviet Union were. The *friendship between the peoples of our country* withstood all the hardships and trials of the war and was further forged in the common struggle of all Soviet people against the fascist invaders."

This is the source of the strength of the Soviet Union"[241].

The third distinctive feature of the Soviet Army, teaches I. V. Stalin, is that the Soviet Army is imbued with the spirit of internationalism. In capitalist countries, armies are trained in a spirit of hatred toward the workers and peasants of other countries, in a spirit of aggression toward other peoples. "The strength of our Red Army," says I. V. Stalin, "lies in the fact that it is trained from the very first day of its birth in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of respect for the peoples of other countries, in the spirit of love and respect for the workers of all countries, in the spirit of preserving and strengthening peace among countries. And precisely because our army is trained in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of the unity of interests of the workers of all countries, it is precisely because of this that our army is an army of the workers of all countries"[242].

Because of this uniqueness, the USSR Army has numerous friends throughout the world. The spirit of internationalism that permeates the USSR Army constitutes the third source of its strength and power.

These are the most important characteristics of the Soviet Army and the sources of its power. The fundamental

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241 I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, pp. 118–119.

242 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 25.

characteristics of the USSR Army, I. V. Stalin teaches, are that its actions are always guided by the great goals of liberation, and its soldiers, imbued with a sense of these goals, always display a high understanding of their duty, unparalleled selflessness, and heroism.

As for the role of the USSR army as an instrument of power and the most important organ of the socialist state, this role is as follows.

The Soviet Army, as the army of the proletarian revolution, served as a powerful instrument for suppressing the forces of internal counterrevolution. Without the army, it was impossible to fulfill the state function of militarily suppressing the exploiting classes within the country, a function that was essential because exploiting classes existed within the USSR. The USSR Army serves as a formidable instrument for defending the socialist Motherland from external attack. Finally, the USSR Army, as the army of revolution, serves as a powerful tool for revolutionizing oppressed and exploited classes throughout the world. The heroic and victorious struggle of the Soviet Army, by its example, inspired the working masses of other countries to liberate themselves from imperialism. The victories of the Soviet Army over the forces of imperialist reaction in 1918–1920 and 1941–1945 played a tremendous liberating role and inspired millions of workers in other countries to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism.

The intelligence and punitive organs of the socialist state are a powerful means of defending Soviet society from external attack. Soviet intelligence must wage a continuous war against the machinations of enemy intelligence services , both in times of war and peace. Bourgeois states strive not only to reconnoiter the forces of the socialist state and the people's

democracies and learn their military and state secrets, but also to organize sabotage and subversion to disrupt economic and cultural development plans, and attempt to organize insurgent and bandit movements and rebellions.

A socialist state cannot ensure the country's defense and protect state interests unless it has its own intelligence and punitive agencies, alongside the army. At the same time, until the exploiting classes within the country are eliminated, intelligence and punitive agencies are essential for a socialist state to suppress the resistance of the exploiters, because the intelligence services of imperialist states rely primarily on the exploiting classes and seek to organize them to combat the revolutionary power of the working people.

When discussing the elimination of the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes in the USSR, I. V. Stalin warned that the further the Soviet people advanced along the path to socialism, the more desperately these elements would resort to more extreme forms of struggle, the more they would harm the Soviet state. Stalin warned that the intelligence services of bourgeois countries would try to exploit these elements. He said:

"We must bear in mind that the remnants of the defeated classes in the USSR are not alone. They have direct support from our enemies beyond the borders of the USSR. It would be a mistake to think that the sphere of class struggle is limited to the borders of the USSR. While one end of the class struggle operates within the USSR, the other end extends beyond the borders of the bourgeois states surrounding us. The remnants of the defeated classes cannot fail to be aware of this. And

precisely because they know this, they will continue their desperate forays."[243]

I. V. Stalin pointed out that the exploiting classes within the country, or their remnants, do not lose hope for the restoration of the bourgeois order as long as the bourgeoisie, on whose intervention they rely, remains in power in a number of countries. Bourgeois states actively interfere in the internal affairs and class struggles of those countries where the working people themselves have come to power, exploiting the reactionary forces within these countries for their own ends.

But from all this it follows that only a powerful intelligence and punitive organs of the socialist state can ensure the suppression of the exploiting classes or their agents within the country and paralyze the actions of enemy intelligence services. From the very first days of its existence, the Soviet state had to create organs to combat domestic and foreign counterrevolution—organs of Soviet intelligence. The Soviet state also created a people's court and a prosecutor's office, which stood guard over revolutionary legality and ruthlessly dealt with attempts by class enemies to undermine the Soviet system.

The strength of Soviet intelligence, like the strength of the Soviet Army, lies in its unbreakable ties with the people. In the early years of the revolution, the Cheka was staffed by politically vetted officers loyal to the Soviet Motherland and the Communist Party, but lacking serious intelligence experience. However, the Cheka, led by F. E. Dzerzhinsky, with the constant support and oversight of the Party, honorably resisted the activities of enemy intelligence services in all

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[243] I. V. Stalin, On the Shortcomings of Party Work and Measures for the Elimination of Trotskyist and Other Double-Dealers, p. 18.

capitalist countries, which organized espionage, counterrevolutionary conspiracies, and rebellions within the country, and prepared for military intervention. The success of Soviet intelligence is explained primarily by the support and assistance of millions of conscious workers and peasants. Enemies of Soviet power were sought not only by Soviet intelligence, but by the eyes of all Soviet people. The vigilance of Soviet people—from young pioneers to the elderly—was an invaluable support for Soviet intelligence during the Great Patriotic War. The vigilance of all Soviet people remains the most important source of strength for Soviet intelligence today.

I. V. Stalin drew the attention of the Communist Party to the fact that, for some time, a significant number of communists had been unclear on certain issues of state theory and had even circulated vulgarizing, harmful "theories" about the withering away of the state after the victory of socialism in the USSR. This resulted in many Soviet officials underestimating the role of Soviet intelligence and misunderstanding its place in the mechanism of the socialist state. This error was compounded by another—the underestimation of the role of the intelligence services of bourgeois states. The root cause of these blunders was an underestimation of the fact of capitalist encirclement, on the one hand, and the incompleteness and inadequacy of certain tenets of Marxist theory of the state, on the other. I. V. Stalin comprehensively examined the question of capitalist encirclement, developed a Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, and created a coherent and complete doctrine of the socialist state.

I. V. Stalin first drew the attention of the Communist Party and all Soviet people to the significance of the capitalist encirclement, warning party comrades against the inadmissibility of carelessness, complacency, and complacency that many of them had developed as a result of their infatuation

with economic success, a result of their dizziness with success. Behind their economic successes, some Soviet leaders began to forget many political facts both within and outside the country, and most importantly, they began to forget the danger of the capitalist encirclement. I. V. Stalin demonstrated that the Bolsheviks could not merely acknowledge the capitalist encirclement in words, but must constantly be mindful of it and take its existence into account at every step of their practical, particularly economic, activities.

"Capitalist encirclement," said I. V. Stalin, "is not an empty phrase; it is a very real and unpleasant phenomenon. Capitalist encirclement means that there is one country, the Soviet Union, which has established a socialist order, and there are, in addition, many countries—bourgeois countries—that continue to lead a capitalist way of life and that surround the Soviet Union, waiting for an opportunity to attack it, to destroy it, or, in any case, to undermine its power and weaken it.

Our comrades have forgotten this fundamental fact. Yet it is precisely this fact that determines the basis of the relationship between the capitalist environment and the Soviet Union"[244].

I. V. Stalin explains that the capitalist encirclement is not a geographical concept, but a political one[245]. This refers to the presence of capitalist states hostile to the Soviet Union, sending spies, saboteurs, and subversives into the Soviet country and waiting for the right moment to attack the USSR.

Even today, there are some comrades among Soviet workers who believe that in our day, when the Soviet Union is

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[244] I. V. Stalin, On the Shortcomings of Party Work and Measures for the Elimination of Trotskyist and Other Double-Dealers, pp. 6–7.

[245] See I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 303.

surrounded on almost all sides by friendly countries that have broken free from the orbit of imperialism and, under the leadership of the USSR, have formed a powerful democratic, anti-imperialist camp, superior in strength to the camp of imperialist reaction, it is no longer correct to speak of capitalist encirclement. These comrades are profoundly mistaken. They approach the phenomenon of capitalist encirclement geographically, not politically.

In our day, after World War II, when the capitalist world has suffered further colossal losses and become weaker than the world of socialism and democracy, the aggressiveness of imperialist forces has increased even further. The militarization of the major capitalist countries and the expansion of their intelligence and police apparatuses have reached unprecedented proportions, and bourgeois states are sending their spies, saboteurs, and subversives to an even greater extent than before into the USSR and the People's Democracies, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and embattled Vietnam.

On October 10, 1951, the United States passed a law allocating $100 million to finance espionage, sabotage, and other criminal activities against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, specifically to create armed units of individuals who had betrayed their people and fled these countries. Now, more than ever, the words of Comrade Stalin, spoken in 1937, ring true:

“Remember and never forget that as long as there is a capitalist encirclement, there will be wreckers, saboteurs, spies, terrorists sent into the rear of the Soviet Union by the intelligence agencies of foreign countries; remember this and fight against those comrades who underestimate the significance of the fact

of capitalist encirclement, who underestimate the power and significance of sabotage"[246].

These instructions of I. V. Stalin served and serve the cause of increasing the political vigilance of the Soviet people, directing Soviet cadres not to lose sight of the inseparability of political and economic tasks, and orienting them toward raising their ideological level and political fortitude.

Along with underestimating the fact of capitalist encirclement, some Soviet workers in the past underestimated the role and importance of bourgeois states and their intelligence agencies, which send their agents into our country, as well as underestimating the role and importance of the Soviet socialist state, underestimating its military, punitive and intelligence agencies, which are necessary for defense against attack from outside.

"On what basis," asked I. V. Stalin at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), "could this underestimation have arisen in us?

"It arose from the incompleteness and inadequacy of certain general provisions of Marxist doctrine on the state. It became widespread as a result of our impermissibly careless attitude toward questions of state theory, despite the fact that we have the practical experience of twenty years of state activity, which provides rich material for theoretical generalizations, despite the fact that we have the opportunity, if we wish, to successfully fill this theoretical gap"[247].

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[246] I. V. Stalin, On the Shortcomings of Party Work and Measures for the Elimination of Trotskyist and Other Double-Dealers, p. 15.

[247] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 601–602.

I. V. Stalin directly pointed out that the blunder, which consisted in the fact that the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyists and Bukharinites were discovered only in 1937–1938, although these gentlemen had been spies for foreign intelligence services since the October Socialist Revolution, was explained by "the underestimation of the power and significance of the mechanism of the bourgeois states surrounding us and their intelligence agencies, which are trying to exploit the weaknesses of people, their vanity, their spinelessness in order to entangle them in their spy networks and surround the agencies of the Soviet state with them. It is explained by the underestimation of the role and significance of the mechanism of our socialist state and its intelligence, the underestimation of this intelligence, the chatter about how intelligence under the Soviet state is a trifle and a trifle, that Soviet intelligence, like the Soviet state itself, will soon have to be consigned to a museum of antiquities"[248].

Developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state and creating a complete theory of the socialist state, I. V. Stalin exhaustively characterized the role of Soviet intelligence and set the task of further strengthening and developing it. Describing the Communist Party's tasks in domestic policy, I. V. Stalin stated:

"Don't forget about the capitalist environment, remember that foreign intelligence will send spies, murderers, and saboteurs into our country, remember this and strengthen our socialist intelligence, systematically helping it to defeat and root out the enemies of the people"[249].

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248 I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 601.

249 I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 592.

I. V. Stalin's directives formed the basis for the Soviet state and people's efforts to strengthen Soviet intelligence. A vigilant Soviet intelligence service, boundlessly devoted to the Soviet people, and a strong connection between Soviet intelligence and the people, along with increased political vigilance among all Soviet citizens, are essential conditions for state security and the defense of the socialist homeland from external attack.

This is how things stand with the army, the punitive organs, and the intelligence service as instruments of Soviet power. As long as capitalist elements existed in the country and the Soviet state was in the first phase of its development, all these organs served as a means of implementing the two main functions of the socialist state: the function of suppressing the overthrown classes within the country and the function of defending the country from external attack. With the liquidation of the exploiting classes, when the function of military suppression within the country died out, giving way to the function of protecting socialist property, and the function of economic-organizational and cultural-educational work received full development, the army, the punitive organs, and the intelligence service serve the function of defending the country from external attack: "As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence, their point is no longer turned inward, but outward, against external enemies"[250], said I.V. Stalin, summing up the changes that took place in the Soviet socialist state in connection with its transition from the first phase of development to the second. As long as the danger of attack from outside remains, the most important organs of the socialist state are preserved and strengthened: the army and navy, which are a formidable instrument for the defense of peace and the security of the peoples of the USSR, the punitive

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[250] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 606.

organs and intelligence, which are necessary for catching and punishing spies, saboteurs and subversives sent into our country by the intelligence services of bourgeois states.

3. The Soviet Army is the most powerful army of our time.

During the construction of socialism in the USSR, the Soviet state developed and strengthened, strengthening all its organs, including the Soviet Army and Navy. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the destruction of the exploiting classes, the transformation of all workers into active and conscious builders of communism, led to the further strengthening of the Soviet Army's rear. In contrast to the armies of bourgeois countries, the army of the country of victorious socialism is the only army that relies on the entire people.

There are no exploiting classes in the USSR. The entire nation is consumed by a single desire: to strengthen their beloved Soviet Army and Navy, and, if necessary, to devote all their efforts to maintaining the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. The victory of socialism led to a further strengthening of friendship between peoples, eliminating the elements of mutual mistrust that the Soviet state inherited from Tsarism and that had been felt in the first years after the Revolution. The Bolshevik Party and Soviet power instilled a sense of mutual friendship in all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Close cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union was established on the basis of equality, mutual trust, and respect, based on the joint struggle for communism. Friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union blossomed, and all the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union shared a love for the Soviet Army and were committed to its strengthening.

The victory of socialism in the USSR and the technical reconstruction of the national economy made it possible to

equip the Soviet Army and Navy with modern weaponry in sufficient quantities, transforming the Soviet Armed Forces into the most technologically advanced. By the time of Nazi Germany's predatory attack on the USSR, the Soviet Armed Forces possessed powerful armored formations and artillery, a powerful Air Force and Navy, numerous military engineering units, and so on. During the Great Patriotic War, socialist industry was able to supply the Soviet Armed Forces with everything they needed in sufficient quantities. Socialist agriculture provided a reliable supply of raw materials and food to industry, the population, and the army. The Soviet Union possessed the necessary material and technical resources for defense.

In 1940, on the eve of the war, the USSR produced 15 million tons of cast iron, 18.3 million tons of steel, 166 million tons of coal, 31 million tons of oil, 38.3 million tons of commercial grain, and 2.7 million tons of raw cotton.

“Such were the material capabilities of our country with which it entered the Second World War.

“This was the economic base of the Soviet Union, which could be used to wage war”[251].

The rear, teaches I. V. Stalin, not only replenishes the army with reserves, supplies it with weapons, ammunition, equipment, and food, ensures the uninterrupted operation of communication lines, etc., but also provides the army with views and ideas. The unity of the Soviet people, the high moral qualities of the Soviet people, their selfless devotion to the cause of communism, and their life-giving Soviet patriotism

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[251] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at pre-election meetings of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, p. 17.

are embodied in the Soviet Army, which represents the child of the Soviet people. The soldiers of the Soviet Army are boundlessly devoted to their country and their people. A sense of military duty, their responsibility to the Soviet people and the working masses of the world, courage, and unparalleled heroism characterize the soldiers of the Soviet Army and Navy —from the soldier and sailor to the general, admiral, and marshal. Inspired by the high, noble goals and objectives set before the Armed Forces by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people, the Army and Navy of the Soviet Union live by the feelings and thoughts of all Soviet people, with whom they are connected by countless threads of moral and political unity, social and ideological community.

All of the above testifies to both the strengthening of the rear of the Soviet Army and Navy and the further strengthening of the ties between the army and the people, which form a single whole in the Soviet Union. The most important indicator of the growing power of the Soviet Army is its transformation into a cadre army. At the beginning of the October Revolution, the prevailing view among Marxists was that the class army of the proletarian revolution was a transitional stage to a people's militia. The first paragraph of the section of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) program, defining the party's military tasks, states: "In an era of the decay of imperialism and the spreading civil war, it is impossible either to preserve the old army or to build a new one on a so-called non-class or nationwide basis. The Red Army, as an instrument of the proletarian dictatorship, must necessarily have an overtly class character, i.e., be formed exclusively from the proletariat and the semi-proletarian strata of the peasantry close to it." Only in

connection with the destruction of classes will such a class army be transformed into a people's socialist militia"[252].

The fourth point of the same section of the program of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) states: "In contrast to the structure of the old army, the following is necessary: the shortest possible period of purely barracks training, bringing barracks closer to the type of military and military-political schools, the closest possible connection between military formations and factories, plants, trade unions, and organizations of the rural poor"[253].

Guided by these Party directives, the Soviet state, in launching the development of the Soviet Army, minimized the time spent training in barracks to ensure its rapid establishment and the closest possible connection between the army and the working masses. Most military formations were organized on a territorial basis, with short-term military training serving as the most important means of military training. Students were generally exempt from military service and underwent so-called pre-conscription training. The number of professional military personnel was reduced to a minimum.

During the initial stages of the Soviet state's development, such an army structure ensured the defense of the socialist homeland. In the Patriotic War of 1918–1920, the young Soviet Army honorably fulfilled its revolutionary duty. However, the experience of the Soviet state's long existence under hostile capitalist encirclement and the rapid development of military technology confronted the Communist Party and the Soviet

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252 "Program and Charter of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)", Partizdat of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), 1936, pp. 19–20.

253 "Program and Charter of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)", p. 20.

government with the challenge of transforming the Soviet Army into a fully-fledged cadre force with a professional, highly trained command staff.

For the first time in the history of Marxism, this question was posed and creatively resolved by I. V. Stalin, who showed that under communism, initially victorious in one or several countries, the state and its organs for protecting communist society from external attack—the army, punitive organs, and intelligence—would be preserved.

The socialist state will wither away when the capitalist encirclement is eliminated. It is important to emphasize that, as Lenin noted, the last organs of the state to wither away are the army and the punitive organs. When the enemy of the people, Bukharin, published his capitulatory book, "The Economy of the Transition Period," in which he sabotagingly asserted that the army and navy would *first* wither away, *then* the system of punitive organs, and *then* forced labor, Lenin remarked: "Isn't it the other way around: first 'further,' then 'later,' and finally 'first'?"[254]. By this, Lenin directly and definitely indicated that such instruments of power as the army and the punitive organs would be the last to wither away.

During the gradual transition from socialism to communism, and under communism in the context of an unbroken capitalist encirclement, the army, punitive organs, and intelligence of the socialist state must be continually strengthened in order to honorably fulfill the tasks of defending communist society from an enemy armed to the teeth. These directives of I. V. Stalin, stemming from the complete theory of the socialist state he created, formed the basis for the development of the Armed

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[254] "Lenin's Collection" XI, p. 400.

Forces of the Soviet Union under the conditions of victorious socialism.

On the orders of I. V. Stalin and under his direct supervision, the recruitment system of the Soviet Army and Navy was restructured, with regular units and formations forming the basis of its structure. A major role in the development of the Soviet Army and Navy was played by the law on universal military service, adopted at the initiative of I. V. Stalin at the extraordinary fourth session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the first convocation in 1939. This law consolidated the already established practice of building the Soviet Army as a regular army and brought the provisions on military service for Soviet citizens into line with Stalin's new Constitution.

The development of the Soviet Army as a full-fledged professional army raised the need to create a large group of highly qualified military specialists with a high level of cultural development, an intimate knowledge of military science and technology, and a selfless devotion to the Soviet people and the Bolshevik Party. This task became all the more urgent because the successful socialist industrialization of the country and the collectivization of peasant farms, as well as the successes of the cultural revolution, on the one hand, made it possible to equip the army with modern military equipment and, on the other, led to a significant increase in the cultural level of army and navy personnel. All this placed new, increased demands on the command staff. The Soviet government addressed this challenge by creating a vast network of specialized military secondary and higher educational institutions and intensive military training within the army itself. Resolutions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR establishing military ranks for command personnel played a significant role in improving the qualifications of command personnel and securing their place in the army.

I. V. Stalin's creation of the Soviet science of war played a crucial role in the development of the Soviet Army and the growth of its power. Drawing on the experience of all wars, past and present, and the achievements of military science in the past, particularly those of great Russian commanders, I. V. Stalin created the Bolshevik Soviet science of war. The foundations of this science were laid by him during the years of the Civil War and the intervention. As early as 1918–1920. I. V. Stalin developed the Marxist doctrine of the front and rear, the role of economic and moral factors in war, the paths of building the armed forces of the revolution, the sources of the Soviet Army's strength, etc. During this period, I. V. Stalin formulated the most important tenets of Bolshevik military art, military strategy, and tactics, including the relationship between political and military strategy, the role of reserves, the choice of the primary direction of attack for defeating the enemy, the laws of the offensive, etc. In the pre-war period and during the Great Patriotic War, I. V. Stalin further developed Lenin's doctrine of just and unjust wars. During the Great Patriotic War, Comrade Stalin further developed the principles of advanced military science he had established at the beginning of the revolution and in the pre-war period, creating a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist military science.

I. V. Stalin exhaustively explored the role of the rear in modern warfare, as well as the characteristics and advantages of the Soviet rear. Describing the importance of the rear in war for the morale and political well-being of troops, Comrade Stalin demonstrated that the noble and lofty goals of a just, liberating war for the independence of the socialist fatherland inspired the masses of Soviet Army soldiers to heroic deeds. The patriotism of the masses plays a crucial role in the liberation war. In describing the exploits of Soviet people at the front and in the rear, I. V. Stalin offered a remarkable characterization of the

nature of Soviet patriotism as the driving force behind the development of Soviet society and the source of the Soviet people's heroism.

"The strength of Soviet patriotism," said I. V. Stalin, "lies in the fact that it is based not on racial or nationalistic prejudices, but on the people's profound devotion and loyalty to their Soviet Motherland, the fraternal community of workers of all nations in our country. Soviet patriotism harmoniously combines the national traditions of the peoples and the common vital interests of all workers of the Soviet Union... At the same time, the peoples of the USSR respect the rights and independence of the peoples of foreign countries and have always shown a willingness to live in peace and friendship with neighboring states"[255].

By contrasting the Soviet Army with the army of Nazi Germany, I. V. Stalin demonstrated that the brutal morality instilled in the army by the imperialist invaders could not ensure the long-term stability of the invading army.

In developing military science, I. V. Stalin revealed the role of temporary, transient factors in war, such as surprise attack, and demonstrated the decisive significance of permanent factors, such as the strength of the rear, the morale of the army, the number and quality of divisions, the armament of the army, and the organizational skills of the army's command staff. I. V. Stalin elucidated the role of individual branches of the armed forces: infantry, armored formations, artillery, aviation, navy, engineering and technical units, etc., and discovered the laws of their interaction. He substantiated the principles of active defense and, in new conditions, developed the principles of a special type of offensive—the counteroffensive. I. V. Stalin

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[255] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, pp. 160–161.

developed the question of maneuver tactics, raised operational art to extraordinary heights, and provided a profound study of military strategy and strategic leadership. Stalin's military science played a huge role in the creation of the invincible Soviet Army and the defeat of all its enemies.

I. V. Stalin not only created Soviet military science. He personally oversaw the entire development of the Soviet Army and its combat operations. Stalin's genius as a commander played a significant role in the victories of the Soviet people and the Soviet Army. V. M. Molotov expressed the innermost thoughts of all Soviet people and all honest workers throughout the world when he said:

"It is our good fortune that during the difficult years of the war, the Red Army and the Soviet people were led forward by the wise and experienced leader of the Soviet Union—the Great Stalin. The glorious victories of our army will go down in the history of our country and in world history under the name of Generalissimo Stalin. Under the leadership of Stalin, the great leader and organizer, we have now embarked on peaceful construction to achieve a true flowering of the forces of socialist society and to justify the best hopes of our friends throughout the world . "[256]

The Soviet Army, created and nurtured by Lenin and Stalin, met the onslaught of the brutal fascist enemy fully armed under Stalin's leadership during the Great Patriotic War. True, at first, it lacked sufficient experience in conducting combat operations using all the latest technological means of war. But over the course of the war, the Soviet Army accumulated this experience. "It learned to strike the enemy with certainty,

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[256] V. M. Molotov, 28th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, 1945, pp. 18–19.

taking into account his strengths and weaknesses, as required by modern military science. Hundreds of thousands and millions of Red Army soldiers became masters of their weapons—rifles, sabers, machine guns, artillery, mortars, tanks, sappers, and aviation. Tens of thousands of Red Army commanders became masters of troop leadership." They learned to combine personal courage and bravery with the ability to lead troops on the battlefield, abandoning stupid and harmful linear tactics and firmly placing themselves on the ground of maneuvering tactics"[257].

The Soviet Army was the first and only army that, in single combat with the German Army and its allied armies, *fighting on the same front, not only withstood the onslaught of the German military machine, but also broke it* . "I think," said I. V. Stalin, "that no other country and no other army could have withstood such an onslaught from the brutal gangs of German fascist bandits and their allies. Only our Soviet country and only our Red Army are capable of withstanding such an onslaught. And not only withstanding it, but also overcoming it . "[258]

The Second World War demonstrated that the Soviet Army is a "first-class army of our time, with completely modern weapons, a highly experienced command staff, and high morale and combat qualities. We must not forget that the Red Army is the same army that utterly defeated the German army, which only yesterday struck terror into the armies of European states"[259].

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[257] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, pp. 92–93.

[258] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, pp. 69–70.

[259] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at pre-election meetings of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, p. 15.

The Soviet Army not only emerged victorious, heroically enduring all the trials and tribulations of war, but also grew stronger, more powerful, and more forged during the war. It is the most powerful army of all modern armies in the world. It now vigilantly guards the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the security of our borders, and the national interests of the Soviet Union. It is an invincible bulwark of peace and security for peoples throughout the world. The Soviet people and the Soviet government, fighting for peace, vigilantly monitor those who incite a new world war and tirelessly strive to strengthen the country's defenses and reinforce the Soviet Army and the Soviet Navy.

4. The Soviet Army is an army of peace and friendship among peoples. The liberating role of the Soviet Army.

The socialist revolution is called upon to put an end to all forms of oppression and tyranny, the economic, political, national, and cultural oppression of workers. It destroys imperialism and all forms of imperialist expansion, eliminating the causes of war, oppression, and the exploitation of man by man. Accordingly, the armed forces of the socialist revolution, the Armed Forces of the socialist state, serve the most noble of purposes—they are a bulwark of the independence of peoples, peace, and friendship among them, and play an important, liberating role. "The Red Army," teaches I. V. Stalin, "is an army for the defense of peace and friendship among the peoples of all countries. It was created not to conquer foreign countries, but to defend the borders of the Soviet Union. The Red Army has always respected the rights and independence of all peoples."[260]

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[260] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 89.

During the years of the Civil War and Intervention (1918–1920), the Soviet Army repelled the onslaught of foreign interventionists and Russian bourgeois-landlord White Guards, winning peace for the peoples of the Land of Soviets and the opportunity for peaceful, constructive labor for workers, peasants, and intellectuals. During the years of peaceful construction of socialism, the USSR Army protected the borders and the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, serving as a stern warning to aggressors, constraining their forces in the West and East, and, thus, serving the cause of peace throughout the world.

During the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet Army, relying on the entire Soviet people, heroically defended the socialist fatherland, protecting the freedom and independence of the Soviet Motherland and those peoples enslaved by Hitlerite and Japanese imperialism or threatened with enslavement. Defeating the invaders, the Soviet Army crossed the borders of the Soviet Union and brought liberation to the European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism, as well as to the peoples of Asia oppressed by Japanese imperialism.

The Soviet Army, as soon as the military necessity for it had disappeared, withdrew from the territories of all countries involved in the war of liberation: Norway, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, China, and Korea. Meanwhile, the armies of the imperialist countries, primarily England and the United States, did not withdraw but remained "stuck" for many years in France, Holland, Greece, China, Korea, Egypt, and elsewhere. They retained all their naval and air bases in other countries, established new bases, occupied new territories, and, most importantly, waged a predatory war against the peoples of a number of countries that had just liberated themselves from Nazi and Japanese tyranny (Greece, China, Korea, Vietnam, and so on). The Soviet state is fighting

for the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces from the territories of former enemy countries—Germany and Japan—while the Anglo-American imperialists are making every effort to prolong the presence of their occupation forces in these countries. In all this, the contrast between the Soviet Army, the army of peace and friendship among peoples, and the armies of the imperialist countries, which are instruments of wars of conquest and a means of enslaving other peoples, is also evident.

Only the existence of the Soviet Union and its powerful army prevented the imperialists of the United States, Britain, and other capitalist countries from unleashing civil war in the People's Democracies of Europe and intervening against them immediately after World War II. The powerful Soviet Army prevented the imperialists from throwing their armies against the USSR after World War II. The powerful people's peace movement, the peace-loving policies of the Soviet government and the People's Democracies, and the presence of the Soviet Army, standing guard over the peace, are a bulwark of peace. This is precisely why the Soviet Army is loved not only by the working people of the USSR and the People's Democracies, but also by all friends of peace and democracy throughout the world.

As an army of peace and friendship among peoples, the Soviet Army, defending the gains of the socialist revolution, fulfills a great liberation mission. By creating the Soviet state and the Soviet Army, the Soviet people demonstrated to the working people of all countries that they could seize power. The Soviet Army's historic victories over the interventionists in 1918–1920 demonstrated to the peoples of all countries that all peoples, too, could defeat and defeat the imperialist invaders. The Soviet Army's historic victories gave a powerful impetus to the liberation struggle of the masses against imperialism in

all colonial and semi-colonial countries. Lenin, assessing the immense international significance of the October Socialist Revolution and the victories of the Soviet Army, said:

“I think that what the Red Army has accomplished, its struggle and the history of its victory will be of enormous, worldwide significance for all the peoples of the East. It will show the peoples of the East that no matter how weak these peoples may be, no matter how invincible the might of the European oppressors, who employ in their struggle all the wonders of technology and military art, may seem, nevertheless, the revolutionary war waged by the oppressed peoples, if this war succeeds in awakening the millions of workers and exploited, contains such possibilities, such miracles, that the liberation of the peoples of the East is now quite feasible from the point of view not only of the prospects of the international revolution, but also from the point of view of the direct military experience gained in Asia, in Siberia, the experience gained by the Soviet Republic, which was subjected to military invasion by all the powerful countries of imperialism”[261].

The Soviet Army played a tremendous liberating role in the war against Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan. At the very beginning of the Great Patriotic War, in his radio speech on July 3, 1941, I. V. Stalin said that the goal of the Soviet Union's all-people's Patriotic War "is not only the elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also assistance to all the peoples of Europe groaning under the yoke of German fascism"[262]. Comrade Stalin prophetically predicted that the struggle of the Soviet people for the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland "will merge with the struggle of the

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[261] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 30, ed. 4, pp. 132–133.

[262] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 16.

peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic freedoms"[263]. In the order of the People's Commissar of Defense on May 1, 1942, Comrade Stalin noted that the heroic struggle of the Soviet people and their army for the freedom, honor, and independence of the socialist fatherland aroused "the admiration of all progressive humanity. The peoples of all freedom-loving countries look to the Soviet Union as a force capable of saving the world from the Hitlerite plague"[264].

Inspired by the steadfast and heroic struggle of the Soviet people and the Soviet Army, the oppressed peoples of Europe rose up in a great struggle for liberation against the Nazi occupiers. Powerful partisan movements developed in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Resistance movements assumed widespread proportions in France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway. In fascist Italy, the anti-fascist movement intensified, and partisan struggle against fascism began.

The defeat of Hitler's military machine by the Soviet Army gave a powerful impetus to the development of the anti-fascist struggle, mobilizing and uniting the forces of democracy and socialism. The peoples of Eastern Europe, liberated by the Soviet Army, took their fate into their own hands and established a regime of people's democracy. Democratic movements grew throughout the bourgeois countries of Europe. In East Germany, where, thanks to the Soviet Union, demilitarization and denazification measures were fully implemented, powerful anti-fascist forces emerged and grew, and mass activism increased to an unprecedented level. In the

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263 I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 16.

264 I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 54.

western zone of Germany, despite the patronage of fascist elements by Anglo-American and French imperialists, the forces of peace and democracy are steadily growing. In East Germany, the people were given the opportunity to create a democratic republic that took its place in the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism.

The heroic struggle of the Soviet Army during World War II, particularly its defeat of imperialist Japan, inspired hundreds of millions of workers in colonial and dependent countries—China, India, Indonesia, Malaya, Vietnam, Korea, and elsewhere—to fight for liberation against imperialist oppression. The Soviet Army's liberation of Manchuria and Korea from Japanese invaders played a decisive role in the development of the Chinese people's liberation struggle and the establishment of the Korean People's Democratic Republic. Mao Zedong, leader of the Communist Party of China and head of the Central People's Government, assessed the historic role of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army in building on the successes of the Chinese People's Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Feudal Revolution:

“If the Soviet Union had not existed, if there had been no victory in the anti-fascist Second World War, if—what is especially important for us—Japanese imperialism had not been defeated, if the new democracies had not emerged in Europe, if there had not been the intensifying struggle of the oppressed countries of the East, if there had not been the struggle of the masses in the United States, England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries against the ruling reactionary clique, if all these factors had not existed, then the pressure of the international reactionary forces would, of course, have been much stronger than it is now. Could we have achieved victory under such circumstances? Of course not. It would have been equally impossible to consolidate the

victory once it had been achieved. The Chinese people have extensive experience in this. Sun Yat-sen's statement before his death regarding uniting with the international revolutionary forces has long been an expression of this experience"[265].

The Soviet Army, a powerful instrument of defense for the socialist revolution, an army of friendship and peace among peoples, carries out a great liberation mission for all working humanity. The Soviet Army, for many years the only army born of the working people and defending their interests, is no longer alone. The armies of the people's democracies stand guard over the interests of their countries' workers, over the peace and security of their peoples. The armies of the democratic countries are bound together by fraternal and friendly relations. Today, not only the successes of the Soviet Army, but the successes of all people's armies serve the cause of freedom and independence for peoples, the cause of peace and democracy. The historic victories of the Chinese people and their glorious People's Liberation Army are a great contribution to strengthening the camp of peace, socialism, and democracy. These victories inspire all workers in the colonial countries, still groaning under the yoke of imperialism, to fight against imperialism. The heroic struggle of the Korean people, their People's Army, and the Chinese People's Volunteers against the American interventionists, who invaded Korea with the goal of enslaving the Korean people and turning the country into a springboard for attacks on China and the USSR, played a great role in liberation. "With their heroic struggle against the American interventionists, the Korean people won the sympathy of peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

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[265] Mao Zedong, On the Dictatorship of People's Democracy, Gospolitizdat, 1949, p. 9.

Korea became the banner of the liberation movement for oppressed and dependent countries"[266].

5. The Soviet state as an instrument for organizing the people to defend the Motherland.

The army, punitive organs, and intelligence are not the only instruments of defense of the socialist fatherland. All organs of the Soviet state, no matter how diverse their purpose, serve the cause of national defense: economic organs by directing the creation of the material and technical base for defense; cultural and educational organs by training personnel for all sectors of the national economy and the army, directing the work of communist education; financial organs by ensuring budget execution and creating the financial basis for the implementation of economic plans and the development of the Armed Forces, etc. The Soviet socialist state as a whole, and not just its military and intelligence organs, serves the cause of national defense.

During critical periods in the existence of a socialist state, when the enemy dares to attack the socialist country, all efforts of the Soviet state, the Communist Party, and all public organizations are concentrated, all the efforts of the Soviet people are focused on solving the main task—defeating the enemy. The experience of the Patriotic Wars of 1918–1920 and 1941–1945 serves as an example of this.

During the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945, the Soviet state, while implementing a number of purely military measures related to the deployment of the Soviet Army, the preparation of human reserves, equipment, ammunition, etc., carried out a

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[266] N. A. Bulganin, 33rd Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Gospolitizdat, 1950, p. 25.

whole system of economic and political measures designed to mobilize all the forces of the country, all the forces of the people, to defeat the enemy.

In a radio speech on July 3, 1941, the leader of the Soviet people, I. V. Stalin, laid out a program of action for the entire Soviet people during the war. In his speech, Comrade Stalin first of all exposed the insidious plans of the Nazi invaders and demonstrated the liberating nature of the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. In this regard, I. V. Stalin explained the full depth of the danger threatening our country and called on the Soviet people to abandon their complacency and carelessness, their peacetime attitudes. "The matter at hand," said I. V. Stalin, "is a matter of life and death for the Soviet state, of life and death for the peoples of the USSR, of whether the peoples of the Soviet Union will be free or fall into enslavement. The Soviet people must understand this and stop being careless, must mobilize themselves and reorganize all their work on a new, war-like basis, one that knows no mercy for the enemy"[267].

Comrade Stalin called on the Soviet people to wage a merciless war against deserters, panic-mongers, cowards, and other disruptors of the rear, to increase the political vigilance of the Soviet people, and to promptly expose and eliminate spies, saboteurs, and enemy paratroopers. Stalin declared that all those who, through panic-mongering and cowardice, hinder the defense must be immediately brought to trial before a Military Tribunal.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that it was necessary to immediately reorganize all work on a war footing, subordinate everything to the interests of the front, strengthen the rear of

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[267] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 13.

the Red Army in every possible way, and ensure the intensified work of all enterprises, transport, collective and state farms in order to continuously supply the army with everything it needs. In the event of a forced retreat of Red Army units, all equipment, raw materials, grain, wool, cattle, trains, etc., must be taken away, and what cannot be taken away must be destroyed. Behind enemy lines, a nationwide struggle against the invaders must be launched, guerrilla warfare must be organized, and conditions must be created that are intolerable for the enemy. “The war with fascist Germany,” said I. V. Stalin, “cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies. It is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German fascist troops . ”[268] Comrade Stalin called on all Soviet workers to rise up to defend their freedom, their honor, their socialist homeland in the Patriotic People's War against German fascism.

"In order to rapidly mobilize all the forces of the peoples of the USSR, to repel the enemy who has treacherously attacked our homeland," Comrade Stalin reported, "the State Defense Committee has been created, in whose hands all power in the state is now concentrated. The State Defense Committee has begun its work and calls upon the entire people to rally around the party of Lenin and Stalin, around the Soviet government, for the selfless support of the Red Army and the Red Navy, for the defeat of the enemy, for victory . "[269]

In all its activities during the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet state, guided by the instructions of I.V. Stalin, organized the people's forces and utilized all the country's resources to defeat the enemy. The Soviet state transferred hundreds of factories

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[268] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 16.

[269] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 17.

and material assets from threatened areas to the east, launched new industrial construction on the Volga, the Urals, Siberia, Transcaucasia, and the Central Asian republics, and ensured the reorganization of all industry and transportation on a new, wartime basis. Soviet authorities oversaw the accommodation and employment of Soviet citizens evacuated from areas of the country temporarily occupied by the Nazis.

The Soviet socialist state provided assistance to agriculture in the difficult conditions of wartime and, using all the advantages of socialist agriculture, organized an uninterrupted supply of raw materials to industry and food to the population and the army.

The Soviet state accomplished a tremendous amount of work in preparing reserves for the Soviet Army and training personnel for all sectors of the national economy and culture to replace those who had gone to the front. The Soviet state, led by the Bolshevik Party, rallied the entire Soviet people to selflessly support its heroic army.

The wise foreign policy of the Soviet state ensured the strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition, which the reactionary forces operating in all capitalist countries sought to undermine.

The great advantages of the Soviet socialist social and political system were fully utilized by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state to achieve victory over the enemy. The Party and the Soviet state organized the great patriotic feat of the Soviet people. The Soviet socialist state served as the primary instrument in the hands of the Soviet people in defending the socialist fatherland during the Great Patriotic War, fulfilling its great mission of liberation and the complete defeat of the fascist aggressors.

The Soviet state emerged from World War II even stronger and more powerful. War, says I. V. Stalin, is not only a severe test for nations but also a test of the strength of the country's social and political system and the might of its army. War fully reveals the face of all classes, the nature and policies of all parties and governments, and in this regard is the greatest school for workers.

During the Second World War, the prestige of the Soviet state grew enormously in the eyes of all honest workers around the world. The authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union grew unprecedentedly, and the influence of communist and workers' parties in other countries increased. Communist parties emerged before the peoples of their countries as the most consistent and fearless defenders of their fundamental interests. The growing influence of communism, says Comrade Stalin, is a law of historical development.

The power of the Soviet state grew colossally. At the height of the Great Patriotic War, I. V. Stalin said: "The current war has forcefully confirmed Lenin's well-known admonition that war is a comprehensive test of all the material and spiritual strength of every nation. The history of wars teaches that only those states have withstood this test that proved stronger than their adversaries in the development and organization of their economies, in the experience, skill, and fighting spirit of their troops, and in the endurance and unity of their people throughout the war. Our state is precisely such a state"[270].

The Soviet system proved not only the best way to organize the country's political, economic, and cultural upsurge, but also the best way to mobilize all the people's forces to repel the enemy. Soviet power created a powerful army and transformed the

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[270] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 119.

entire country into an impregnable fortress for the defense of socialism. The Soviet state and its people grew even closer during the war, which served to further strengthen the socialist state. The Soviet people rallied even more closely around their beloved Bolshevik Party.

"The leading and guiding force of the Soviet people, both during the years of peaceful construction and during the war, was the Party of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party. No other party has had or has such authority among the masses as our Bolshevik Party. And this is understandable. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia of our country won their freedom and built a socialist society. During the Patriotic War, the Party emerged as the inspirer and organizer of the nationwide struggle against the fascist invaders. The Party's organizational work united and directed all the efforts of the Soviet people toward a common goal, subordinating all our forces and resources to the cause of defeating the enemy. During the war, the Party became even more closely connected to the people and became even more closely bound to the broad masses of working people.

This is the source of strength of our state"[271].

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The Soviet Army protects the peaceful, creative labor of Soviet people. The army and intelligence services of the socialist state guard the interests of the state and the security of the borders of our great Motherland. They serve as a bulwark of peace throughout the world. Soviet people, while building communism and fighting for peace, constantly remember the instructions of our leader, I. V. Stalin, on the need to increase

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[271] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 119.

vigilance and strengthen the country's defenses. The Soviet people tirelessly strengthen the country's economic and defensive might, ensure the further strengthening of the Soviet state and all its organs, and enhance the power of the Soviet Army and Soviet intelligence.

Chapter Six

The Soviet State in the Struggle for Peace.

1. The struggle for peace among nations is the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The activities of the Soviet state to protect the country from external attack are inseparable from the foreign policy of the Soviet state, in the implementation of which the apparatuses of diplomacy and foreign trade play an important role.

The foreign policy of the Soviet state is of enormous importance for two reasons: on the one hand, the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet state, by strengthening the forces of peace throughout the world, facilitates the defense of the socialist fatherland. On the other hand, the foreign policy of the socialist state promotes the strengthening of international ties between the workers of our country and the workers of all countries interested in peace and friendship among peoples. Comrade Stalin repeatedly emphasized this other aspect of the matter. Even at the beginning of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, J. V. Stalin noted the increasing scope of the strategic work of the Bolshevik Party as the ruling party. In this regard, along with other factors, Comrade Stalin drew attention to the following:

a) to increase the *means and opportunities for maneuvering* : "old means were supplemented by new ones in the form of, for example, diplomatic work, the establishment of more real connections both with the Western socialist movement and with the Eastern revolutionary movement"[272];

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[272] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 85.

b) *the emergence of new, broader opportunities for the use of reserves* "in view of the increase in the strength and resources of the proletariat, which has become the dominant political force in Russia, with its own armed forces, and in the international world – the vanguard of the world revolutionary movement"[273].

These points testify to the fact that the enormous international role of the Soviet socialist state as a revolutionary force, inspiring millions of masses of workers in all countries to fight against imperialist oppression, finds one of its expressions in the foreign policy activities of the socialist state.

The foreign policy of the Soviet state is, in its principles, opposite to the foreign policy of exploitative states.

1. The struggle for peace among nations is the basis of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The entire history of class society is a history of wars: civil wars within the country and foreign wars between different states. Exploiting classes organize and wage wars through the state.

The two functions of an exploitative state—the internal one of keeping the exploited majority in check, and the external one of expanding the territory of its ruling class at the expense of other states or defending its territory from attacks by other states—are inseparable and mutually complementary. Both express the essence of the exploitative state. Domestically, this state keeps the oppressed classes in check in order to preserve and strengthen their exploitation. Externally, it protects the wealth and privileges of the exploiters and serves as an

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[273] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 85.

instrument of struggle to increase this wealth through the seizure of new territories and the direct subordination of new masses of workers to this ruling class. An exploitative state cannot exist without waging covert or overt war against the workers of its own country and covert or overt foreign wars against other states in order to strengthen and expand the privileges and preserve and increase the wealth of the ruling class.

Such a war against the working class and all the working masses of their countries is being waged today by the imperialists of the USA, England, France, Italy and other capitalist countries through the creation and use against the working class of various fascist organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan or de Gaulle's troops, and through the most brutal police repressions with the help of all organs of the militaristic-bureaucratic imperialist state - from the courts and the police to the army and navy.

The ruling circles of the USA, England, France, Italy and other capitalist countries use soldiers both as strikebreakers in the fight against strikers and as executioners of workers, shooting unarmed demonstrators, provoking and inciting civil war.

The exploitative state, being an instrument of oppression of workers within the country, is also the organizer of the ruling class's foreign wars, thereby also expressing its exploitative nature. The ruling class's domestic and foreign policies mutually continue and complement each other, and war, as a continuation of domestic and foreign policies through other, violent means, expresses, continues, and complements the exploitative state's internal activities. This was the case in the past, and this is the case in capitalist countries today.

In ancient society, the slave-owning state not only kept slaves in subjection, mercilessly suppressing their rebellions, but also waged wars of conquest, which supplied the ruling class with new wealth and new batches of slaves.

In feudal society, the state of the nobility not only kept the serfs in check and brutally suppressed peasant uprisings and wars against oppressors, but also waged wars of conquest in order to expand territory and subjugate new masses of workers.

In capitalist society, the bourgeois state, while in the hands of the bourgeoisie an instrument of oppression against the working class and the toiling peasantry, represents a weapon in the struggle to preserve and increase the wealth of the bourgeoisie, a struggle for new markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres of capital investment. There is an organic link between the reactionary domestic policies of the capitalist state and its reactionary foreign policy and wars of conquest. The strengthening of reaction within the country usually corresponds to the growth of predatory aspirations and the growth of imperialist expansion abroad. And the more acute and profound the contradictions corroding the capitalist world become, the more precarious the position of the bourgeoisie becomes, the more quickly it turns to the path of increasing reaction in domestic and foreign policy. Analyzing the development of the world economic crisis in 1930, I. V. Stalin pointed out that the bourgeoisie would seek a way out of it, on the one hand, in further fascism in the area of domestic policy, and on the other hand, in a new imperialist war in the area of foreign policy[274].

It happened just as I.V. Stalin predicted. In the East, the Japanese bourgeoisie, intensifying repression against workers

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[274] See I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 254.

and peasants within the country, waged a war of conquest against China, aiming to expel the Anglo-American and French imperialists from China, subjugate China, and become master of the situation there. The Japanese imperialists simultaneously wanted to create a springboard for an attack on the USSR and seize the Soviet Far East. Arming themselves to defend their imperialist interests in the Pacific, the Anglo-American imperialists had no objection to a Japanese attack on the USSR. Moreover, they strongly supported this intention of the Japanese imperialists. This is precisely why they pursued a policy of "non-intervention" throughout the 1930s, encouraging the Japanese military to attack the USSR.

In the center of Europe, in Germany, the German bourgeoisie, in collusion with the imperialists of the USA, England and France, called to power a party of fascists, who marked their domestic policy by “the burning of the Reichstag, the brutal suppression of the working class, the destruction of working class organizations, the destruction of bourgeois-democratic freedoms. Their foreign policy was their withdrawal from the League of Nations and open preparation for war for the violent revision of the borders of European states in favor of Germany”[275].

Nazi Germany undermined the interests of England, France, and the United States, encroaching on their positions in global markets. But Anglo-American imperialists viewed fascism as an antidote to the labor movement in Europe and the national liberation movements in Asia. The Anglo-American imperialists, aware of the anti-Soviet nature of Nazi plans, quietly, under the guise of non-interventionism, armed Nazi

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[275] “History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course”, p. 289.

Germany and incited it against the USSR. They pursued a similar policy toward a third aggressive country—Fascist Italy.

Thus, imperialist reaction in all countries prepared the way for the Second World War, which was unleashed by Nazi Germany. At that time, and especially during the Second World War, the imperialists of England, France, and the United States did not yet dare openly break with bourgeois freedoms in their countries. Moreover, they loudly expressed disapproval of the "extremes" of the fascist states and exploited the anti-fascist sentiments of the masses to crush their competitors. But even then, they never lost sight of the anti-Soviet and anti-democratic goals of their policies, which influenced the entire conduct of the British and American governments during the war.

After the Second World War, when the balance of power in the international arena shifted in favor of socialism and democracy and two camps emerged—the anti-imperialist camp led by the USSR and the reactionary, imperialist camp led by the United States—the connection between the fascistization of bourgeois states and the preparation of an aggressive, imperialist war, as identified by I.V. Stalin, became even more obvious.

Reactionary circles in the United States have launched an offensive against democratic freedoms: they are curtailing trade union rights, attempting to intimidate and persecute democratic organizations and democratic figures, planting fascist organizations, and so on. Similar processes are being observed in England, France, and other Marshallized countries. At the same time, Anglo-American imperialists have launched frantic preparations for a Third World War against the USSR and the People's Democracies, and are already waging this war against the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, China, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, and elsewhere. Now, more than ever, the

connection between the reactionary domestic policies of bourgeois states and their reactionary foreign policies is clear, and accordingly, it is clear that the struggle for peace and the struggle for democracy and national independence are inseparable.

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The direct opposite of exploitative states, and above all the bourgeois state, is the socialist state. It is the instrument of the working class and the toiling peasantry in the struggle for communism. It performs the function of militarily suppressing exploiters within the country as long as the exploiting classes still exist. While the bourgeois state's primary, and even its sole, internal function is to suppress the majority of society by a minority, the socialist state suppresses the exploiting minority in the interests of the working majority and retains this function only as long as this exploitative minority exists. With the abolition of the exploiting classes, the socialist state ceases to be an instrument of antagonistic struggle within society and becomes the embodiment of the moral and political unity of society.

The overthrown bourgeoisie furiously resists the victorious proletariat and enjoys the support of the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie. The international bourgeoisie sees the existence and strengthening of the socialist state as a mortal threat and takes every measure—economic, ideological, diplomatic, and military—to undermine the power of the socialist state. Even the victory of socialism and the destruction of the exploiting classes within the USSR does not dampen the imperialist bourgeoisie's hopes for the abolition of the socialist state.

Moreover, history teaches that the strengthening of the socialist country and the growth of democratic and socialist forces

throughout the world are fueling the bourgeoisie's frantic desire to suppress the centers of socialism with a new war. This is precisely the direction in which the American and British imperialists and all other forces of the reactionary, imperialist camp are currently acting. Therefore, the Soviet socialist state must be fully prepared to eliminate the machinations of the imperialist bourgeoisie and ensure the security of socialist society and the possibility of peaceful, creative labor.

The socialist state is thus called upon to protect the interests and achievements of the workers, to strengthen the country's defense capability, and, in the event of an imperialist attack, to organize and lead a just war of the workers defending their socialist homeland.

The Soviet socialist state of workers and peasants, by eliminating social oppression within the country, eliminates national inequality and unites workers of all nations into a single family based on complete mutual trust, friendship, and mutual assistance. The spirit of equal rights and respect for the rights and characteristics of other peoples also permeates the foreign policy of the Soviet socialist state.

The very idea of seizing foreign territory, much less subjugating and oppressing other peoples, is alien to a socialist society. The socialist state is an instrument for strengthening friendly ties and brotherhood among peoples. But it also acts as a formidable, punishing sword of the socialist revolution when imperialists dare to attack a socialist country. This was experienced firsthand by the American, British, French, Japanese, and German interventionists during the Civil War, and by the German-Japanese invaders during World War II.

The fundamentally new role of the socialist state in foreign policy relations found its expression in the Soviet government's

rupture of all imperialist treaties concluded between the tsarist and Provisional bourgeois governments of Russia and the governments of England, the USA, France, Germany, and Japan, as well as in the complete rejection of unequal treaties with China, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, and other states.

The Soviet state, guided in its policies by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, proceeds from the premise that the liberation of the working people from imperialist oppression and the creation of a truly people's government can only result from a movement of the masses. Lenin and Stalin repeatedly exposed the slander of the enemies of socialism about the "export" of revolution and noted that socialist revolution requires objective conditions, including a certain minimum level of development of large-scale industry and the size of the working class, as well as the existence of a revolutionary situation. The objective possibility of revolution becomes a reality in the presence of the necessary subjective conditions, and above all, a Marxist party pursuing the correct policies. In a conversation with Howard, I. V. Stalin ridiculed the notion that the Soviet Union seeks to change the face of bourgeois states by force. He said:

“We Marxists believe that revolution will occur in other countries as well. But it will only occur when the revolutionaries in those countries find it possible or necessary. Exporting revolution is nonsense. Every country, if it wants to, will carry out its own revolution, and if it doesn’t, there will be no revolution. For example, our country wanted to carry out a revolution and carried it out, and now we are building a new classless society. But to claim that we want to carry out a revolution in other countries by interfering in their lives is to

say something that does not exist and that we have never preached"[276].

While defending the independence of the socialist fatherland, the Soviet state does not interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples. But the very existence of the socialist Soviet Union plays a tremendous revolutionizing role, inspiring all oppressed and exploited people to fight for their liberation from the yoke of capital.

The Soviet state's foreign, peace-loving policy is based on the immutable foundations established by Lenin and Stalin. It stems from the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union as the socialist homeland of the working people, the stronghold and base of the world communist revolution. "Our orientation has been and remains one: we are oriented toward the USSR and its prosperity both within our country and abroad. We need no other orientation,"[277] said I.V. Stalin. The banner of the Soviet state, alien and hostile to any expansion, has always been a banner of peace, and its policy a policy of active struggle for peace among peoples. At the 14th Party Congress, defining the principles of the USSR's foreign policy and formulating specific tasks in this area, I.V. Stalin said:

"Firstly, to carry out work along the lines of the struggle against new wars, then along the lines of preserving peace and ensuring so-called normal relations with the capitalist countries. The basis of our government's policy, our foreign policy, is the idea of peace. The struggle for peace, the struggle against new wars, the exposure of all those steps that are being

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[276] I. V. Stalin, Conversation with the chairman of the American newspaper association Scripps-Howard Newspapers, Mr. Roy Howard, March 1, 1936, Gospolitizdat, 1939, p. 7.

[277] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 237.

taken to prepare for a new war, the exposure of those steps that cover up the preparation of war in reality with the flag of pacifism—this is our task"[278].

In exposing the fascist warmongers who, upon coming to power in Germany in 1933, cried out that the USSR had changed its foreign policy orientation because it disliked the fascist regime in Germany, I. V. Stalin exposed the falsity of the fascist hype. He showed that the Soviet Union, in its foreign policy actions, is always guided by the interests of the USSR and the interests of peace, does not interfere in the internal affairs of other states, and demands that other states not interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR[279].

In this regard, I. V. Stalin showed that the change in relations with Germany after the Nazis came to power was due to a change in the policy of the ruling circles of Germany towards the Soviet Union, and their preparation of military blocs for the purpose of attacking the USSR.

At the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), I. V. Stalin declared:

"Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening trade relations with all countries. The USSR does not intend to threaten anyone, much less attack anyone. We stand for peace and defend the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are ready to respond blow for blow to the warmongers. Those who desire peace and seek business relations with us will always find our support. And those who attempt to attack our country will receive a crushing rebuff, so

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278 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 296.

279 See I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 302–303.

that they will not dare to stick their pig snouts into our Soviet garden in the future . "[280]

At the beginning of 1939, when the capitalist world, with the connivance of the ruling circles of England, France and the United States, which acted as accomplices in the aggression being prepared, slipped into war, and the war undermined the foundations of the post-war peace regime, overturned the elementary concepts of international law and called into question the value of international treaties and obligations, the calm and confident voice of I. V. Stalin was again heard throughout the world:

“The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and understandable:

1. We stand for peace and strengthening business ties with all countries, we stand and will stand on this position, since these countries will maintain the same relations with the Soviet Union, since they will not try to violate the interests of our country.

2. We stand for peaceful, close and good-neighborly relations with all neighboring countries that have a common border with the USSR; we stand and will stand on this position, since these countries will maintain the same relations with the Soviet Union, since they will not attempt to violate, directly or indirectly, the interests of the integrity and inviolability of the borders of the Soviet state.

3. We stand for support of peoples who have become victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their homeland.

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[280] See I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 305.

4. We are not afraid of threats from aggressors and are ready to respond with a double blow to the attack of warmongers trying to violate the inviolability of Soviet borders.

This is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union"[281].

Lenin and Stalin repeatedly pointed out that the Soviet Union's love of peace and its peaceful foreign policy stemmed from the fundamentally new nature of the socialist state as a workers' state, but in no way indicated the Soviet Union's weakness. On the contrary, the strength of the socialist state was one of the most important conditions determining the strength and effectiveness of the USSR's peaceful policy. I. V. Stalin always emphasized that in its foreign policy, the Soviet Union relied on its steadily growing economic, political, and cultural might, the moral and political unity of Soviet society, Soviet patriotism, and the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

Consistently pursuing a peaceful policy and persistently fighting for peace, the Soviet state further relies on the moral support of the working people of all countries who have a vested interest in maintaining peace, as well as on the prudence of those countries that, for one reason or another, have no interest in disturbing the peace. After World War II, when a powerful, organized international peace front emerged, the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy relies on the full strength of this front.

While demonstrating that only a powerful Soviet state, with a powerful army and navy, was capable of repelling aggressors, I. V. Stalin at the same time emphasized that the Soviet Army and Soviet navy served as the backbone of the Soviet government's peaceful policy.

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[281] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 574.

Imperialists of all countries would very much like the Soviet Union to be weak. Some of them would then be willing to express hypocritical regret over this weakness and dictate their will to the Soviet people. But the Soviet people and the Soviet state do not exist to please the imperialists. The Soviet state exists to defend the interests of the people, the interests of socialism, and to fight imperialism and imperialist wars. It actively fights for peace. It must be powerful in order to respond with a double blow to the warmongers. This firmness of the Soviet Union displeases the imperialists—the warmongers. It also displeases the liberal-reactionary pacifist bourgeois circles, who are willing to "give" the Soviet people their sympathy, but only on the condition that the USSR be weak, unarmed, and capitulating to the capitalist countries. I. V. Stalin said on this matter: “There was ‘bloody’ Belgium, whose image was constantly appearing on the labels of cigarette boxes for a time. Why shouldn’t there be a ‘bloody’ USSR? Everyone would sympathize with it then, everyone will feel sorry for it. No way, comrades! We disagree with that. It would be better for all these liberal-pacifist philosophers with their ‘sympathy’ for the USSR to go to hell. If only we had the sympathy of the millions of working masses, the rest would follow”[282].

In connection with the fuss raised in the bourgeois, primarily American, press regarding the testing of the atomic bomb in the USSR, I. V. Stalin declared:

"US officials cannot help but know that the Soviet Union not only opposes the use of atomic weapons, but also advocates their prohibition and the cessation of their production. As is well known, the Soviet Union repeatedly demanded a ban on

[282] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 46.

atomic weapons, but each time it was refused by the Atlantic bloc powers. This means that in the event of a US attack on our country, the US ruling circles will use the atomic bomb. This very circumstance compelled the Soviet Union to acquire atomic weapons in order to be fully prepared to meet the aggressors.

Of course, the aggressors want the Soviet Union to be unarmed if they attack. But the Soviet Union disagrees and believes the aggressor must be met fully armed.

Consequently, if the United States does not think of attacking the Soviet Union, the alarm of US officials must be considered groundless and false, because the Soviet Union does not think of ever attacking the United States or any other country"[283].

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The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia led to the secession of one-sixth of the globe from the capitalist world and marked the beginning of a general crisis of capitalism. A competition and struggle between two worlds, two systems, began: socialism and capitalism. Lenin, with this circumstance in mind, wrote: "Once Soviet power has been achieved, once the bourgeoisie has been overthrown in one country, the second task is the struggle on an international scale, a struggle on a different plane, the struggle of the proletarian state among capitalist states"[284].

I. V. Stalin repeatedly developed the same idea. In 1919, he wrote: "The world has split into two irreconcilable camps: the

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283 I. V. Stalin, Reply to a Pravda correspondent regarding atomic weapons, Gospolitizdat, 1951, pp. 4–5.

284 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, ed. 4, p. 40.

camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism. Dying imperialism is grasping at its last resort, the 'League of Nations,' trying to save the situation by uniting the robbers of all countries into a single union. But its efforts are in vain, for the situation and time work against it, for socialism. The waves of the socialist revolution are growing irresistibly, besieging the strongholds of imperialism. Their roar is echoed in the countries of the oppressed East. The ground under the feet of imperialism is burning. Imperialism is doomed to inevitable destruction"[285].

This struggle between two worlds unfolded across the economic, political, and ideological realms. From its very inception, the social and political systems of the young socialist republic demonstrated their advantages over those of the imperialist states. Consequently, the imperialists viewed the peaceful coexistence and competition between the two systems as a mortal threat to their own existence and made desperate efforts to strangle the Soviet Republic through economic blockade and intervention.

In order to establish its existence and be able to fully exploit its advantages, the Soviet Republic had to prove its superiority in the area of military organization as well. To preserve the gains of the revolution, it was necessary to ruthlessly repel the aggressors. At the VIII Party Congress in 1919, Lenin emphasized the idea that the oppressed class must prove in practice that it is capable not only of overthrowing the exploiters, "but also of organizing for self-defense, of putting everything on the line"[286]. Foreseeing the imperialist invasion, which Churchill and other warmongers were frantically

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[285] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 235.

[286] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, 4th ed., p. 133.

preparing at the time, Lenin pointed out that there had not been a single major revolution that was not somehow connected with war. “We,” said Lenin, “live not only in a state, but also *in a system of states* , and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for any length of time is unthinkable. In the end, one or the other will triumph. "And until this end comes, a series of the most terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that the ruling class, the proletariat, if it wants and will rule, must prove this with its military organization"[287].

This fundamental statement of Lenin's is grossly falsified by modern warmongers, who attempt to accuse him of contradictions, since, on the one hand, he spoke of the inevitability of terrible clashes between the socialist and capitalist worlds, while, on the other, he argued for the coexistence of the two systems and steadfastly fought for peace. In reality, of course, there is not even a hint of contradiction here. Lenin, Stalin, and the Bolshevik Party, based on scientific Marxist analysis, concluded that the ultimate triumph of socialism was inevitable. In the competition between the two systems, the advantages of the socialist system will inevitably ensure its victory over capitalism. Attempts to forcibly hinder the growth of socialism can only hasten the demise of capitalism. After the First World War, the Soviet Union was born. After the Second World War, the capitalist world lost several countries in Eastern Europe and China. If the imperialists attempt to unleash a Third World War, the entire capitalist system will collapse.

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[287] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, 4th ed., p. 133.

Lenin anticipated that the imperialists would do everything in their power to liquidate the fledgling Soviet Republic and would attack it at the first opportunity. Such an attack seemed not only inevitable but also *imminent* . This prediction was fully justified. But Lenin saw factors and circumstances that determined the possibility of, if not preventing, then at least delaying the imperialist attack on Soviet Russia, and he did everything to prolong the peaceful respite and thwart the plans of the enemies of socialism. At the same time, Lenin skillfully directed the foreign policy of the socialist state to prevent the unification of forces between the aggressive countries and prevent them from implementing their plans for a combined campaign against Soviet Russia. "...Is our policy of exploiting the discord between them (the imperialists – D.Ch.) to make it difficult for them to unite against us correct?" Lenin asked at the Eighth All- Russian Congress of Soviets. And he answered: “Of course, such a policy is correct”[288].

Lenin pointed to the growing ties between the Soviet working class and the workers of the capitalist world, the growth of the international labor movement, and the liberation struggle in the colonies as powerful reserves of the socialist revolution, hampering the forces of the imperialists. These forces and reserves were utilized by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government in the fight against foreign military intervention.

The first stage of the struggle between the nascent socialist world and the capitalist world ended in favor of the socialist world. The Soviet Republic survived and consolidated its existence in 1918–1920, gaining the opportunity to embark on peaceful socialist construction. But the capitalist states also managed to emerge from the political crisis caused by World

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[288] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 440.

War I. A new situation emerged, characterized by Lenin as follows:

“We have found ourselves in a situation where, without achieving an international victory, the only lasting victory for us, we have won for ourselves the conditions under which we can exist alongside the capitalist powers, who are now forced to enter into trade relations with us. In the process of this struggle, we have won for ourselves the right to an independent existence”[289].

If earlier, during the period of growing political crisis in Europe and the imperialists' preparations for intervention against Soviet Russia, Lenin spoke of winning and utilizing a respite, then from the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920, Lenin spoke of something much more serious, "about serious chances for new construction over a longer period"[290]. A new period in the development of the country of the proletarian dictatorship opened up, "when our basic international existence in the network of capitalist states has been won back"[291].

This does not mean, Lenin warned, that the possibility of a new attack on the Soviet Union is ruled out. Therefore, maintaining and increasing vigilance is necessary. However, he noted, the conditions for the coexistence of the two systems for a certain period have been achieved. In this regard, Lenin spoke of two tendencies in the imperialist states' attitudes toward the Soviet Union. The first tendency is toward aggression against the Soviet state, toward organizing an economic blockade, etc. The second tendency is toward normal economic relations with the

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289 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 384.

290 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 386.

291 V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 385.

Soviet Union in order to obtain necessary materials, raw materials, etc., in order to strengthen the position of the country's capitalists in the competitive struggle with other capitalist groups and increase their incomes. I. V. Stalin provided an exhaustive analysis of both these tendencies:

“Every time capitalist contradictions begin to intensify, the bourgeoisie turns its gaze towards the USSR: is it possible to resolve this or that contradiction of capitalism, or all the contradictions taken together, at the expense of the USSR, this Land of Soviets, the citadel of revolution, revolutionizing the working class and the colonies by its very existence, preventing the establishment of a new war, preventing the redivision of the world in a new way, preventing the management of its vast internal market, so necessary for the capitalists, especially now, in connection with the economic crisis.

Hence the tendency towards adventurist attacks on the USSR and towards intervention, which (the tendency) should intensify in connection with the unfolding economic crisis”[292].

Stalin's characterization of the role of a hostile capitalist encirclement and the imperialists' tendency to attack the USSR was brilliantly confirmed in the pre-war period, during World War II, and the post-war period. On the eve of World War II, Anglo-American imperialists persistently prepared for aggression by German, Japanese, and Italian imperialism against the USSR, hoping, if not to liquidate the Soviet state, then at least to resolve the contradictions corroding the capitalist world at its expense. Even as allies of the Soviet Union in the war against the fascist bloc, the ruling circles of England and the United States continued their anti-Soviet intrigues and did everything in their power to ensure that the

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[292] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 255.

Soviet Union emerged from the war weakened. It is not their fault that the opposite actually occurred. In the post-war period, Anglo-American imperialists united and led all reactionary forces and are frantically preparing a new war against the USSR and the people's democracies. And the clearer the doom of the capitalist world becomes, the stronger this tendency of the ruling circles of the imperialist countries towards war.

But the bourgeoisie of capitalist countries also has a second tendency toward the Soviet Union: the tendency to establish economic ties with the USSR. This tendency is dictated by a consciousness of the Soviet Union's economic and military might and the fear that the capitalists will fail to rouse the peoples to wage a predatory, predatory war against the Soviet Union. The imperialists cannot help but understand that a war against the USSR would be the most dangerous war for them, since, especially in the current conditions of the deepening general crisis of capitalism, it would raise the question of the very existence of capitalism and its collapse. On the other hand, the capitalist world is being riven by profound contradictions between the imperialist countries themselves. The bourgeoisie of each capitalist country strives to maximize profits and strengthen its position in every possible way to combat the bourgeoisie of other countries. Consequently, certain groups within the bourgeoisie strive to gain advantages from economic ties with the USSR.

The trend toward establishing economic ties with the USSR is reinforced by the USSR's peaceful policy, which evokes the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world, a fact that cannot be ignored by the most far-sighted circles of the bourgeoisie. I. V. Stalin said:

"But intervention is a double-edged sword. The bourgeoisie knows this perfectly well. It thinks it will be fine if the

intervention goes smoothly and ends in the defeat of the USSR. But what if it ends in the defeat of the capitalists? After all, there was already one intervention, which ended in failure. If the first intervention, when the Bolsheviks were weak, ended in failure, what guarantee is there that the second will not also end in failure? Everyone can see that the Bolsheviks are now much stronger, both economically and politically, and in terms of preparing the country's defense capability. But what about the workers of the capitalist countries, who will not allow the USSR to intervene, who will fight against intervention, and who, if necessary, could strike at the capitalists from behind? Wouldn't it be better to strengthen trade ties with the USSR, something to which even the Bolsheviks have no objection?

Hence the tendency to continue peaceful relations with the USSR"[293].

This tendency manifests itself with varying strength among the bourgeoisie of individual countries. During periods of crisis and the progressive weakening of imperialism's position, it manifests itself less strongly, at times almost completely giving way to a second tendency, the tendency toward a military attack on the USSR. However, it never completely disappears among certain groups of the bourgeoisie. Despite all the obstacles that US imperialists place on the trade of other bourgeois countries with the Soviet Union, they have failed to completely paralyze trade relations between the USSR and the People's Democracies with bourgeois countries. The enormous interest among business circles in capitalist countries, and even individual US firms, in the International Economic Conference held in Moscow in April 1952 testifies to the tendency to establish economic ties with the USSR.

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[293] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 256.

These are the two tendencies of the bourgeois camp in its attitude toward the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Soviet foreign policy is shaped by taking these two tendencies into account, taking into account all the contradictions between the imperialist states that influence the operation of these tendencies, and, finally, taking into account the foreign policies of the bourgeois states.

Enemies of peace from the camp of imperialist reaction denounce communist assertions about the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the socialist and capitalist systems as "propaganda." In their discussions of the Leninist-Stalinist interpretation of this issue, they, on the one hand, confuse matters out of ignorance, and on the other, deliberately falsify the statements of Lenin and Stalin. They cherry-pick quotes from the works of Lenin and Stalin that speak of the first trend in the behavior of capitalist countries, ignoring Lenin and Stalin's references to the second trend—the trend toward continuing peaceful relations with the USSR. The enemies of peace and the USSR pretend not to notice that, after the end of the civil war and the intervention of 1918–1920 and the onset of peaceful socialist construction in the USSR, Lenin and Stalin always assumed that, at a certain historical period, socialist and capitalist states would exist side by side.

Lenin was the first Marxist to demonstrate the possibility of peaceful coexistence and competition between two systems—socialist and capitalist. "The idea of cooperation between the two systems was first expressed by Lenin. Lenin is our teacher," says I.V. Stalin, "and we, Soviet people, are Lenin's

students. We have never deviated and will never deviate from Lenin's instructions"[294].

I. V. Stalin thoroughly substantiated this thesis of Lenin's in his works. In doing so, Stalin paid particular attention to the following points:

a) The basis of the USSR's relations with capitalist countries is the acceptance of the coexistence of two opposing systems. Various forms of agreements and cooperation between the USSR and capitalist countries are possible and advisable in economic, political, and, as the experience of World War II demonstrated under certain conditions, military matters.

b) The limits of these agreements are set by the opposition of the two systems, capitalist and socialist, between which there is competition. This means that, in cooperation, the right of each people to independently choose the social and political system in their country must be respected and not demanded that they make concessions on this decisive issue for the sake of cooperation. "Within the limits permitted by these two systems, but only within these limits, agreements are entirely possible,"[295] said I.V. Stalin.

Two different economic systems, I. V. Stalin said in a conversation with Harold Stassen, can, of course, cooperate with each other. "The differences between them are irrelevant, since we are talking about their cooperation. The economic systems in Germany and the United States are identical, yet a war broke out between them. The economic systems of the United States and the USSR are different, yet they did not fight

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[294] Recording of conversation between Comrade I. V. Stalin and Harold Stassen on April 9, 1947, Pravda, May 8, 1947.

[295] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 123.

each other; they cooperated during the war. If two different systems could cooperate during the war, then why can't they cooperate in peacetime? Of course, the implication is that if there is a desire to cooperate, then cooperation is entirely possible even with different economic systems. But if there is no desire to cooperate, then even with identical economic systems, states and people can come to blows."

"We must," I. V. Stalin continued, "distinguish between the possibility of cooperation and the desire to cooperate. The possibility of cooperation always exists, but the desire to cooperate is not always present. If one side is unwilling to cooperate, the result will be conflict, war."

The ruling circles of England, France, the USA, and Japan did not want to cooperate with the young Soviet Republic and organized an armed intervention against it, and later, when the intervention failed, they carried out an economic blockade and sought to establish political isolation of the USSR.

Hitler's Germany and its rulers did not want cooperation with the USSR and attacked the Soviet Union. "Could the USSR have cooperated with Germany? Yes, the USSR could have cooperated with Germany, but the Germans did not want to cooperate. Otherwise, the USSR would have cooperated with Germany, just as it would with any other country. As you see," concluded I.V. Stalin, "this pertains to the realm of desire, not the possibility of cooperation."

In response to the question from American newspaper editors: “On what basis is the coexistence of capitalism and communism possible?”, I. V. Stalin replied on March 31, 1952: “The peaceful coexistence of capitalism and communism is entirely possible given a mutual desire to cooperate, a readiness to fulfill the obligations assumed, and the observance of the

principle of equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states."

Cooperation between the two systems will occur when both sides, and not just the Soviet Union, demonstrate goodwill for peace and a negotiated resolution of issues of mutual concern. The desire of capitalist countries, especially the United States of America, to dictate their will to the Soviet Union or the People's Democracies certainly does not indicate the desire of their governments to cooperate with the USSR and the People's Democracies.

Agreements and cooperation between the two systems are carried out in conditions of competition and struggle between them. The ruling circles of capitalist countries are pessimistic and uncertain about the prospects of capitalism, despite all the hype about the "strength" of the bourgeois order, while the workers of the USSR and the People's Democracies are optimistic and believe in the advantages of socialism—advantages substantiated not only theoretically but also confirmed by practice. This explains the principled and consistent peace policy of the USSR and the People's Democracies, whose peoples are confident of the victory of socialism in this competition. The capitalists are unsure of the favorable prospects for themselves in the peaceful competition between the two systems; hence their desire to use military means to change the balance of power in their favor, preparing for war against the USSR and the People's Democracies. And the more difficult their situation becomes at home, the more hopeless their prospects in peaceful competition become, the more ferociously they prepare for a new war.

The possibility of the coexistence of the two systems is becoming a reality thanks to the constant growth of the power of the USSR—the country of socialism—as well as the

strengthening of the people's democracies and the growing strength of the camp of peace, socialism, and democracy throughout the world. Stalin's wise foreign policy, based on a sober assessment of the balance of power in the international arena and taking into account the struggle between two tendencies in the capitalist world in relation to the USSR and the contradictions between the capitalist countries themselves, serves to transform the possibility of cooperation between the two systems into reality. The foreign policy of the Soviet socialist state consistently and tirelessly champions the cause of peace, winning the sympathy of workers in all countries and preventing aggressors from carrying out their dirty work. The movement of the masses, who do not desire war and who are organized into an international front of peace fighters, is a powerful force, capable, under current conditions, of preventing the war being prepared by the American-British and other warmongers.

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From the very first days of its existence, the Soviet Union has tirelessly fought for peace and for the establishment of normal, businesslike relations with all countries, regardless of their economic system. On November 8, 1917, the very day after the establishment of Soviet power, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted the famous *Decree on Peace* , written by Lenin , which proposed that all belligerent peoples and their governments immediately begin negotiations for a just, democratic peace, without annexations or indemnities. To dissuade any objections from the imperialists, the Soviet government emphasized that demands for peace without annexations or indemnities were not an ultimatum, that the Soviet government was prepared to consider any other peace terms and insisted on their immediate submission.

The Soviet government's peace proposal was accepted only by the German imperialists, who, exploiting the Soviet Republic's difficult situation and Trotsky's treacherous behavior, dictated the terms of the predatory Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. The Soviet people made enormous sacrifices to escape the war. The imperialist policies of Britain, France, and the United States, whose governments did not even respond to the peace appeal of the peoples of Soviet Russia, allowed the German imperialists to dictate these terms. Lenin wrote on this matter:

"It was the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie that rejected our proposal; it was they who refused to even discuss world peace with us! It was they who acted treacherously against the interests of all peoples; it was they who prolonged the imperialist slaughter!"

It was she who, speculating on drawing Russia back into an imperialist war, withdrew from the peace negotiations and thereby untied the hands of the equally predatory capitalists of Germany, who imposed on Russia the annexationist and violent Brest Peace!"[296].

The Soviet state made every effort to establish normal relations with all bourgeois countries. However, the ruling circles of England, France, the United States, and Japan responded by organizing interventions. The Soviet people and the Soviet state were forced to defend their right to exist and their independence in a painfully difficult struggle.

After the defeat of the White Guards and the interventionists, the imperialists of the USA, England and France continued the economic blockade of the Soviet Republic, pursuing a policy of complete isolation, waiting for an opportune moment for a new

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[296] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, ed. 4, pp. 46–47.

attack on Soviet Russia. The Soviet government persistently sought to normalize relations with the capitalist countries and establish business cooperation with them. In 1920, Lenin, answering questions from an American newspaper, once again emphasized that the plans of the Soviet government in Europe and Asia, as well as throughout the world, consisted of striving for peaceful coexistence with the peoples of all countries. Answering the newspaper's question: "The foundations of peace with America?", Lenin declared: "Let the American capitalists leave us alone. We will not touch them." And to the next question: "The obstacles to such a peace?", Lenin said: "None on our part. Imperialism on the part of the American (as well as any other) capitalists . "[297]

In its foreign policy, the Soviet government skillfully exploited the contradictions between the imperialists, preventing them from colluding at the expense of the USSR's interests. For example, Soviet diplomacy thwarted the plans of the US, England, and France to create a united capitalist front against Soviet Russia at the Genoa Conference in 1922, securing the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany, which was mutually beneficial to both Germany and the Soviet Union. The persistent, persistent peace policy of the Soviet government, based on the growing power of the socialist state and the sympathy of the masses in capitalist and colonial countries, led to the capitalist states, one after another, reestablishing diplomatic relations with our country. In 1924, diplomatic relations were restored with England, France, Japan, and Italy (diplomatic relations with Germany had been established in 1922). The Soviet Union won an entire period of peaceful respite.

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[297] "Bolshevik" No. 7, 1950, pp. 11–12.

The period of peaceful respite did not mean that the imperialists had laid down their arms and ceased to fight the Soviet state using the methods available to them. Capitalist governments saw the growth and strengthening of the socialist economy of the USSR as a threat to the existence of the capitalist system. "Therefore, the imperialist governments took all possible measures to exert renewed pressure on the USSR, to sow confusion, to disrupt, or at least to slow down, the industrialization of the USSR"[298].

In May 1927, the Conservative government of England broke off diplomatic and trade relations with the USSR.

In the summer of 1929, the imperialists orchestrated a conflict along the Chinese Eastern Railway, the seizure by militarists of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and an attack on the Far Eastern borders of our country. The imperialists of France, England, Germany, Japan, and the United States were busily preparing a new intervention against the USSR, which was scheduled to erupt in the early 1930s. But the rapid growth of the USSR's economic and defensive might, the defeat of the exploiting classes and their agents, and the USSR's peace-loving policies secured a complete victory and prevented the warmongers from organizing a new military campaign against the USSR.

The global economic crisis of 1929–1933 further exacerbated the contradictions between the imperialist states and prompted the bourgeoisie to seek a solution through the fascistization of their countries and through war. During this period, two flashpoints for a new war emerged: in the East—in Japan, which attacked China and seized Manchuria, creating the puppet state of Manchukuo—and in Central Europe—in

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[298] “History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course”, p. 269.

Germany, after the German fascists came to power. Japan and Germany were soon joined by fascist Italy, which attacked Abyssinia in 1935 and, together with Nazi Germany, carried out a military intervention against Republican Spain. A bloc of aggressive states formed, feverishly preparing and unleashing a new war with the connivance and assistance of American, British, and French imperialists.

Only the Soviet Union did everything possible to curb the aggressors. In 1932, the Soviet Union proposed a convention on general disarmament, and if it was rejected, on proportional and progressive arms reductions. These Soviet proposals were rejected by the ruling circles of England, France, and other bourgeois countries. In 1933, the Soviet Union proposed a very clearly defined definition of aggression. This definition stated that the aggressor is a state that commits one of the following actions:

“1) Declaration of war on another state.

2) Invasion of one’s armed forces, even without a declaration of war, into the territory of another state.

3) An attack by one's own land, sea or air forces, even without a declaration of war, on the territory, ships or aircraft of another state.

4) A naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another state.

5) Support given to armed bands which, having been formed on its territory, invade the territory of another State, or refusal, despite the demand of the State subjected to invasion, to take all measures in its own territory to deprive the said bands of any assistance or protection."

This definition was supported by representatives of many bourgeois countries. It formed the basis of the non-aggression pacts concluded between the USSR and neighboring countries.

When the League of Nations, created after the First World War as a tool in the hands of the imperialists, used against the USSR, after the countries that unleashed the Second World War left it, turned out to be a kind of bump, capable of at least somewhat complicating the cause of war and facilitating the cause of peace, the USSR joined the League of Nations in 1934.

Throughout the pre-war period (1937–1941), the Soviet government and the Soviet delegation to the League of Nations championed the principle of collective security. However, Britain and France, then leaders of the League of Nations, rejected collective resistance to aggressors. The imperialists of the United States, Britain, and France sought not an agreement with the USSR to curb fascist aggression, but an agreement with the aggressors at the expense of the USSR's interests.

The governments of England, France, and the United States permitted Hitler to seize Austria and Czechoslovakia and negotiated with representatives of Nazi Germany and Poland to direct Germany's expansion eastward, against the USSR. This was the insidious purpose of the policy of "appeasement" of the aggressor and "non-intervention." This reactionary and criminal policy of the ruling circles of the United States, England, and France was exposed by Joseph Stalin at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

“The policy of non-intervention,” he said, “means condoning aggression, unleashing a war, and consequently, turning it into a world war. The policy of non-intervention is marked by the desire, the aspiration, not to interfere with the aggressors in

doing their dirty work, not to interfere, say, with Japan getting involved in a war with China, or even better with the Soviet Union, not to interfere, say, with Germany getting bogged down in European affairs, getting involved in a war with the Soviet Union, to allow all the participants in the war to get bogged down deep in the mire of war, to encourage them in this on the sly, to allow them to weaken and exhaust each other, and then, when they are sufficiently weakened, to appear on the scene with fresh forces, to act, of course, "in the interests of peace," and dictate their terms to the weakened participants in the war"[299].

I. V. Stalin revealed the cards of the warmongers, exposed the imperialist Anglo-French policy of isolating the Soviet Union, and showed that the governments of England and France, by delaying negotiations with the USSR in 1939, were covering up their desire to reach an agreement with the aggressor against the USSR and were doing everything possible to incite Nazi Germany against the USSR.

In 1939, the Soviet Union faced the following choice: either accept Germany's offer to conclude a non-aggression pact and thereby thwart the plans of the warmongers, prolong peace for the USSR, and use it to better prepare to resist the aggressor; or reject the German offer, allowing the imperialists of England, France, and the United States to drag the USSR into war with Germany under the conditions of the USSR's isolation created by the Anglo-French imperialists.

"Just as in 1918, due to the hostile policy of the Western powers, the Soviet Union was forced to conclude the Brest Peace with the Germans, so now, in 1939, 20 years after the Brest Peace, the Soviet Union was forced to conclude a pact

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[299] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 570–571.

with the Germans due to the same hostile policy of England and France"[300].

It's important to emphasize that the USSR was not the only or first country to conclude a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. Moreover, the USSR concluded the pact with Germany not with the aim of provoking war, as the governments of England, France, and Poland had done before it, but with the aim of thwarting the plans of those who provoked the war.

The Soviet Union's wise, peace-loving policy prevailed once again. The Soviet Union managed to gain time to further strengthen its economic and military might, push its borders westward, and block the unimpeded advance of German aggression eastward. While consistently pursuing a policy of peace and restraining aggressors, the Soviet government recognized that Nazi Germany would sooner or later attack the USSR. Therefore, in 1939–1940, it created an "eastern front" against Nazi aggression from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Belarusian and Ukrainian lands were liberated. Construction of a defensive line along the western borders of Ukrainian and Belarusian lands was launched. Soon after the liberation of Western Ukraine and Belarus, mutual assistance pacts were signed with the Baltic republics: Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Finland's fascist leaders of the time, closely allied with the Nazis, rejected the Soviet government's proposals to conclude a non-aggression pact and to move the border from Leningrad to the Karelian Isthmus in exchange for twice the size of the territory in Karelia. Finland's rulers of the time wanted to turn their country into a springboard for an attack by Nazi Germany

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[300] "Falsifiers of History (Historical Reference)", p. 54.

on the Soviet Union. Hostile actions and direct military provocations by Finland's ruling circles unleashed the Finnish-Soviet War. As a result of this war, the USSR's northwestern border was moved 150 km away from Leningrad. "The Soviet Union, having defeated the Finnish army and having every opportunity to occupy all of Finland, did not agree to this and did not demand any indemnity to compensate for its military expenses, as any other power would have done, but limited its wishes to the bare minimum..."[301].

In the summer of 1940, Soviet troops entered Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Bukovina and Moldova. “Thus, the formation of the ‘eastern’ front from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea against Hitler’s aggression was completed”[302].

The ruling imperialist circles of England and France not only vilified the USSR for creating an "Eastern Front" but also directly opposed the Soviet Union's efforts to impede Nazi aggression. And during the Finnish-Soviet War of 1939–1940, they intensively prepared for an attack on the USSR. Instead of a war with Nazi Germany, they wanted a war with the USSR. The defeat of the forces of Nazi Finland put an end to the machinations of the Anglo-French imperialists, who were forced to limit themselves to a stream of lies and slander against the USSR and the charade of "expulsion" of the Soviet Union from the League of Nations.

Despite the efforts of the Anglo-French imperialists, the "Eastern Front" was created and played a major role in

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[301] V. M. Molotov, Report at the VI Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, March 29, 1940, Bolshevik No. 7 for 1940, p. 9.

[302] “Falsifiers of History (Historical Reference)”, p. 63.

accelerating the defeat of Nazi Germany in the interests of all freedom-loving peoples.

After the treacherous attack by Nazi Germany and its satellites on the Soviet Union, reactionary circles in England and the United States believed that the moment they had longed for had arrived: that the war would lead to the demise of Soviet power, or at least to its exhaustion. The day after Nazi Germany's attack on the USSR, then-Senator and current US President Truman declared: "If we see Germany winning, then we should help Russia, and if Russia wins, then we should help Germany, and thus let them kill as many as possible."

However, the profound contradictions between the imperialist countries—the United States, England, and France, on the one hand, and Germany, Japan, and Italy, on the other—and the desire of the bourgeoisie in the United States, England, and France to eliminate the powerful competition of Germany and Japan, forced the ruling circles of the United States and England to cooperate with the Soviet Union. The will of the masses of the Western countries to cooperate with the Soviet Union played a decisive role in this.

The Anglo-Soviet-American coalition that emerged during the war years thanks to Stalin's wise foreign policy was a brilliant demonstration of the possibility of cooperation between a socialist state and a bourgeois state if these states showed a desire to cooperate.

Of course, even then there were serious disagreements between the USSR and the governments of England and the United States. The most significant of these was the question of a second front against Nazi Germany. But these disagreements merely demonstrated that reactionaries in England and the United States were pursuing their own specific goals in World

War II and had not abandoned their plans to weaken the USSR. They sought to undermine Germany's power and eliminate Germany as a dangerous competitor in the global market. "But their intentions by no means included liberating Germany and other countries from the domination of reactionary forces, the constant bearers of imperialist aggression and fascism, nor did they include implementing fundamental democratic reforms.

At the same time, they were counting on the weakening of the USSR, on its bleeding and on the fact that as a result of a grueling war the USSR would lose its significance as a great and powerful power for a long time and would become dependent on the United States of America and Great Britain after the war"[303].

During the war, the ruling circles of England and the United States demonstrated that they did not base their inter-allied relations on mutual trust and respect, but were guided by a desire to weaken their ally in order to exploit them for their own ends and strengthen their own position at their expense. Only the wise Stalinist policy of the Soviet government ensured the preservation and strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition under these conditions and, in practice, confirmed the Leninist-Stalinist thesis on the possibility of cooperation between countries with different socio-political structures.

Thus, the entire history of the Soviet state from the moment of its inception, all of its foreign policy activities testify to the fact that the Soviet state persistently fought for peace among peoples, tirelessly exposed aggressors, fought for the unification of democratic forces to curb aggression and aggressors, and demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with

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303 "Falsifiers of History (Historical Reference)", p. 75.

capitalist countries wishing to maintain business relations with the USSR.

2. The new balance of power in the international arena after the Second World War and the struggle of the Soviet state for peace.

After World War II, fundamental changes occurred in the international situation, leading to a shift in the balance of power between the two systems in favor of socialism. The weakening of the capitalist economic system occurred along several lines.

First, as a result of World War II, two powerful and most aggressive imperialist countries—Nazi Germany and Japan—were defeated. Reactionary imperialist elements around the world, and especially in the United States, Britain, and France, had placed particular hopes in these countries, as a force capable, in their calculations, of defeating or at least weakening the USSR. The Soviet Union and the freedom-loving peoples of the world thwarted the plan of international reaction. As a result of the Soviet Union's victory, these forces of international reaction were defeated. After the war, Japan and West Germany found themselves in a difficult situation: the entire economic and political life of these countries was shackled by the American occupation regime.

Secondly, France and Italy, the largest imperialist countries, were weakened by World War II, expelled from the ranks of great powers, and relegated to the status of second-tier capitalist countries. Britain's position was significantly undermined, forced to cede primacy in all areas to the predatory imperialism of the United States; vis-à-vis the United States, Britain became a junior partner. All capitalist countries, to varying degrees, fell into a state of indentured dependence on the United States.

Of course, neither the bourgeoisie of West Germany and Japan, nor the bourgeoisie of France, Italy, and especially England, will reconcile themselves to enslaving dependence on

American imperialism, which will undoubtedly lead to a new exacerbation of imperialist contradictions. But all this does not negate the fact of a serious weakening of global imperialist forces; rather, it merely confirms it.

Thirdly, as a result of the historic victories of the Soviet Army, which led to the defeat of fascism and the further development of the anti-fascist movement, a number of countries in Central and Southeastern Europe broke away from the imperialist system. The peoples of these countries, led by communist and workers' parties, took their destiny into their own hands. A people's democracy, based on a bloc of working classes under the hegemony of the working class, was established in these countries and currently functions as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fourth, imperialism's position weakened on both the "internal" (proletarian) and "external" (colonialist) "rear" fronts. The labor movement expanded, genuine workers' organizations grew, and communist parties grew in numbers and strengthened their ties with the masses. The position of right-wing socialists—capital's agents in the labor movement—was significantly weakened. A powerful liberation movement unfolded in the colonies and dependent countries, threatening the rear of imperialism (Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, and elsewhere). In China, Korea, and Vietnam, the national liberation movements culminated in the creation of people's democratic republics.

Finally, fifthly, on this new basis, contradictions and conflicts are intensifying between capitalist countries, especially between the United States and England. The English bourgeoisie is making desperate attempts to weaken its dependence on the United States and strengthen its influence in

the Dominions, Southeast Asia, the Arab East, and other regions from which it is being displaced by American capital.

At the same time, the forces of socialism grew unprecedentedly. The Soviet Union emerged from World War II even stronger. The socialist state and the Soviet Army, having demonstrated their invincible might, grew even stronger. The Soviet people rallied even more closely around the Bolshevik Party and, in a short period of time, not only restored industry and agriculture in areas devastated by the Nazis but also launched a massive new construction project. During the post-war five-year plan of 1946–1950, over 6,000 large industrial enterprises were commissioned. The Soviet Union's international prestige as a staunch champion of peace, democracy, and socialism grew unprecedentedly. The people's democracies united around the Soviet Union.

As a result of all these fundamental changes that took place in the international situation, a new balance of power emerged and two international camps were formed.

The imperialist, anti-democratic camp, led by the United States, which has become the center of imperialism and reaction, has as its primary goal the preparation of a new imperialist war to crush democracy and socialism and establish American imperialism's global domination. American imperialism, fattened by the war, is exploiting the defeat of Japan and Nazi Germany, which had aspired to global domination, and the weakening of British imperialism, France, Italy, and other powers, to intensify its struggle for global domination and undermine the positions of other bourgeois countries, which is one of the sources of instability in the imperialist camp.

Alongside the imperialist camp, an anti-imperialist, democratic camp emerged, led by the Soviet Union. The primary goal of the democratic camp is the struggle for a lasting democratic peace among peoples, against warmongers, for the strengthening of democracy, against reaction and fascism, for the freedom and independence of peoples, against imperialist oppression, and for socialism. Mutual respect, equality, cooperation, and mutual assistance define the cohesion and unshakable unity of the democratic camp.

Two camps in international affairs correspond to two policies in international relations. Those seeking global dominance refuse to be guided by the principle of international cooperation and peaceful competition between the two systems. As a smokescreen for their aggressive policies, the imperialists develop the theory of the "impossibility" of peaceful coexistence between the two systems.

In reality, of course, we're not talking about the "impossibility" of peaceful cooperation, but about the warmongers' unwillingness to adhere to a policy of international cooperation. Their focus is on the dictates of the United States of America, which seeks global domination. Their focus is on war against the USSR and the people's democracies, which are the main obstacle to their expansionist plans.

The Soviet Union, at the head of the democratic camp, follows the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the possibility of the prolonged coexistence of the two systems and their competition. The democratic camp believes that all the peoples of the world have a vital interest in the peaceful competition between the two systems. Only a small number of anti-popular imperialist groups thirst for war. They need war to extract profits and achieve world domination. But these groups can and must be isolated and paralyzed by the will and actions of

the masses. The criminal plans they are hatching and preparing for a new war can and must be thwarted by the active efforts of the masses.

“The struggle between two opposing camps—the imperialist and the anti-imperialist—is taking place in a context of further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the weakening of the forces of capitalism and the strengthening of the forces of socialism and democracy,” stated the Declaration of the meeting of some communist parties that took place in 1947.

This struggle is becoming increasingly intensified. The imperialist camp, led by the ruling circles of the United States, is now openly pursuing a policy of aggression, a policy of unleashing a new world war. The meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties, held in Hungary in November 1950, concluded that the Anglo-American imperialists had embarked on a conspiracy against the peace and security of nations.

The imperialist camp is preparing for a new war on all fronts. *Economic* preparation for war consists of the imperialists converting the economies of capitalist countries, especially industry, to a war economy. The militarization of industry has gone particularly far in the United States. The notorious "Marshall Plan" was a means of subordinating the economies of European countries to US interests and control, and to the military plans of American imperialism. The imperialist camp is also preparing for a new war on the *political* front , launching a rabid offensive against the working class and its vanguard—the communist parties—eliminating the remnants of democratic freedoms, smashing democratic organizations in capitalist countries, and supporting all obsolete reactionary regimes—from Franco's fascist regime

to the puppet regimes of Chiang Kai-shek on the American-occupied Chinese island of Taiwan and Syngman Rhee in American-occupied South Korea.

The imperialist camp—primarily the ruling circles of the United States and Britain—is preparing for a new war through both *military-political and strategic* means . An aggressive Western and North Atlantic bloc has been created, and a joint headquarters and command of the united army of this bloc have been established. American and British imperialists are making efforts to supplement the North Atlantic Alliance with Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern alliances—branches of the North Atlantic bloc. The armaments of the North Atlantic Pact members are being modernized and standardized. Under pressure from the United States, the governments of capitalist countries are allocating enormous funds to increase arms production and expand their armies and navies. The United States itself allocated over 80% of its budget for armaments in 1951/52. At the end of 1951, military production in the United States was at the level of 2 billion dollars per month, i.e. it was three times more than in 1950. According to Wilson, in 1953 the monthly cost of military production would be approximately 4 billion dollars. All over the world, US naval and air bases are being strengthened and bridgeheads are being created aimed against the USSR and the people's democracies.

American-British military intelligence has launched its subversive activities everywhere.

The imperialist camp is conducting *ideological* preparation for a new world war through the reactionary press, radio, and other propaganda media, instilling in the minds of the people the reactionary idea of the inevitability and expediency of war, waging a slanderous campaign against the USSR and the

people's democracies, against communist parties, against all progressive and democratic organizations, and particularly against peace activists. To weaken the people's resistance to American aggression, they are promoting reactionary ideas of cosmopolitanism, which are an expression of the nationalism and racism of the Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie and the ideology of American imperialism.

Tito's mercenaries of American and British imperialism, who sold Yugoslavia to American imperialism and installed a fascist-Gestapo regime in the country, play a particularly vile role in preparing and unleashing a new war. Right-wing socialists of all countries and stripes—Labourites like Attlee and Morrison in England, "socialists" like Guy Mollet and Jules Mock in France, Saragat in Italy, and Schumacher in West Germany—are not far behind the Tito clique in betraying the working class.

Currently, warmongers are increasingly brazenly and cynically moving from preparing for war to actually starting it. A striking example of this is the intervention of American imperialism against the Korean people and the People's Republic of China (the occupation of Taiwan and the US preparation of military aggression against China through Burma, exposed at the Sixth Session of the United Nations).

The growing aggressiveness of the imperialist camp, and the corresponding increase in the threat of war, does not mean a growth in its strength. On the contrary. The balance of power has further shifted in favor of the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism. This is precisely what infuriates the leaders of the imperialist camp, and they are frantically rushing toward new adventures.

In the six years since the end of World War II, all the contradictions of imperialism have further intensified. New countries have fallen out of the imperialist system, most notably China, whose population accounts for a quarter of humanity. The great victory of the Chinese Revolution and the formation of the People's Republic of China dealt a crushing blow to the rear of imperialism and to the entire imperialist system. In Asia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have emerged and are fighting to liberate their countries from imperialist aggressors. Thus, powerful new forces have joined the camp of peace and democracy. Sympathy for the camp of peace and democracy is growing throughout the world. The peace movement has expanded in all countries. An increasing number of workers are joining the ranks of active peace activists.

The Soviet Union's economic and military might grew even further, and its socialist culture achieved new successes. The post-war five-year plan was exceeded in the USSR by all indicators. The people's democracies in Eastern Europe achieved enormous success in building socialism.

In his speech on March 10, 1950, V. M. Molotov characterized the international position of the USSR as follows:

"In World War II, the USSR inflicted a crushing defeat on the most impatient of its enemies. Having won this war and gained the opportunity to provide effective assistance to the liberation movements of other peoples, the Soviet Union finally emerged from its position of international isolation. Now the Soviet Union has not only emerged from international isolation but is also the center of a powerful international democratic camp, uniting all people's democratic states. In the capitalist countries themselves, we now have millions of active friends who are

increasingly uniting in the ranks of a broad democratic, anti-imperialist movement.

"Under these new conditions, and especially since the establishment of a strong anti-imperialist alliance between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, between the two largest states on earth, the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism has become a tremendous force. This camp of peace and freedom is moving forward along a reliable, historically proven path, and the guarantee of this is that the great name of Stalin is inscribed on its unifying banner"[304].

Amidst the deepening general crisis of capitalism, the growing threat of a new war, and the intensifying struggle between the two camps, the Soviet socialist state consistently strives for peace and pursues its traditional peace policy. The foreign policy of the Soviet state is designed to ensure peaceful conditions for the construction of communism in the USSR. This policy contributes to the further strengthening of the democratic camp, which fights for peace, democracy, and socialism throughout the world.

After World War II, a new type of foreign policy for the Soviet Union emerged and strengthened—its relations with the people's democracies in Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union's foreign policy toward the people's democracies is one of close cooperation and selfless assistance.

In its foreign policy, the Soviet socialist state relies primarily on its steadily growing economic might. It provides enormous assistance to the economic and cultural development of the people's democracies. The Council for Mutual Economic

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[304] V. M. Molotov, Speech at a meeting of voters of the Molotov electoral district of the city of Moscow on March 10, 1950, Gospolitizdat, 1950, pp. 20–21.

Assistance plays a vital role in organizing this assistance on the part of the Soviet state, as well as in organizing mutual assistance among all democratic countries. The development of the economy and culture in the people's democracies, just like the development of the economy and culture in the USSR, signifies the further strengthening of the democratic camp and the advancement of peace.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy protects not only its own national interests, but also those of the People's Democracies from the encroachments of American and British imperialism. The ruling circles of the United States and Britain organize espionage and subversive activities in the People's Democracies, openly and brazenly interfering in the internal affairs of these countries. They are particularly brazen and shameless in their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of countries that were former allies of Nazi Germany under the fascist regime. American and British imperialists are doing everything possible and impossible to save the remnants of fascist elements responsible for the war on the side of Nazi Germany, with the aim of using them to prepare a new war against the People's Democracies and the USSR.

Grossly distorting the articles of the peace treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, the Anglo-American imperialists are openly protecting their failed spies and saboteurs caught red-handed in these countries. Not limiting themselves to trade discrimination, direct diplomatic pressure on Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Albania, and threats against the peoples of these countries, the ruling circles of England and the United States, for provocative purposes, have dragged the issue of alleged violations of democratic freedoms and individual rights in these countries onto the agenda of the UN General Assembly and the meeting of foreign ministers. The Anglo-American imperialists even resort to direct and

crude interference in the internal affairs of their former wartime allies—Czechoslovakia and Poland. It is enough to recall the February 1948 events in Czechoslovakia or the organized banditry in Poland.

Having suffered defeat in the intervention that the American imperialists carried out in China, providing military and economic support to their puppet, Chiang Kai-shek, the American ruling circles are making desperate efforts to prevent representatives of the Chinese people from entering the United Nations, trying to resolve issues of interest to the Chinese people without China, contrary to the will of the Chinese people and to the detriment of their interests.

Soviet diplomacy exposes the maneuvers of the reactionary Anglo-American bloc in the UN, consistently and persistently defends the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of peoples, and upholds the interests of people's democracies and all peoples from the encroachments of imperialists.

In the interests of peace and to curb aggressors, the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of alliance and mutual assistance with the European People's Democracies and Finland in the event of renewed aggression by Germany or any other country directly or indirectly allied with Germany. The Soviet Union welcomed the formation of the German Democratic Republic as a turning point in the development of Europe and the most important condition for a strong and lasting peace in Europe. Generalissimo Stalin's greeting to the leaders of the German Democratic Republic, President Wilhelm Pieck and Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl, stated:

"The formation of the German democratic peace-loving republic is a turning point in the history of Europe. There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving democratic

Germany, alongside the existence of a peace-loving Soviet Union, excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to the bloodshed in Europe, and makes the enslavement of European countries by world imperialists impossible"[305].

The Soviet government respects the rights, freedom, and independence of all peoples. All treaties of the Soviet Union with both large and small nations are concluded on the basis of equality, voluntariness, and reciprocity of obligations. A striking example of this is the Soviet-Finnish Treaty. In connection with the conclusion of the treaty with Finland in 1948, J.V. Stalin said:

Many don't believe that relations between large and small nations can be equal. But we, Soviet people, believe that such relations can and should exist. Soviet people believe that every nation, whether large or small, has its own qualitative characteristics, its own specificity, which belongs only to it and is not found in other nations. These characteristics constitute the contribution that each nation makes to the common treasury of world culture, complementing and enriching it. In this sense, all nations—both small and large—are in the same position, and each nation is equal to every other nation.

Therefore, Soviet people believe that Finland, although it is a small country, acts in this treaty as an equal party in relation to the Soviet Union"[306].

These words of I. V. Stalin express the policy of the Soviet government towards small nations.

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[305] "Bolshevik" No. 19, 1949, pp. 1–2.

[306] "Bolshevik" No. 7 for 1948, p. 2.

An alliance and unbreakable friendship bind two great nations —the Soviet and Chinese. The Treaty between the USSR and the People's Republic of China cements this friendship and serves as a powerful barrier against renewed aggression by Japanese imperialism or any other country allied with Japan in any way.

All treaties concluded by the Soviet Union were based on the United Nations Charter and comply with the letter and spirit of that Charter. By strengthening the democratic camp as a whole, the Soviet Union's treaties with other countries serve the cause of world peace.

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The USSR's peaceful foreign policy is designed to curb aggressors and support peoples fighting for the independence of their homeland. When Dutch imperialists, with the connivance and support of Anglo-American imperialists, attacked the Indonesian Republic, the Soviet Union resolutely opposed the Dutch aggression and supported and defended the Indonesian people under attack. When French imperialists, on instructions from their overseas masters, violated the treaty concluded with the Ho Chi Minh government and attacked the people of Vietnam, the Soviet government expressed its warmest sympathy for the Vietnamese people and was one of the first to establish normal diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. When the United States invaded Korea to turn it into a colony under the guise of a puppet "independent" state ruled by American lackeys—the Syngman Rhee clique—the Soviet Union raised its voice in defense of the Korean people and condemned the aggression of American imperialism. The feelings of all Soviet people were expressed by the head of the Soviet government, the leader and teacher of all working people, I. V. Stalin, in his response to

the greetings of Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Stalin's reply to Kim Il Sung reads:

“I wish the Korean people, who are heroically defending the independence of their country, a successful completion of their long struggle to create a unified, independent, democratic Korea”[307].

The Soviet people and the Soviet government sympathize with the liberation struggle of all peoples rebelling against imperialist oppression, for their independence, and against the infringement of their national interests. The Soviet Union supported the peoples of Syria and Lebanon when they demanded the removal of Anglo-French troops from their territories. The Soviet Union sympathizes with the efforts of the Egyptian people seeking the withdrawal of British troops from Egyptian territory and the efforts of the Iranian people to free themselves from the oppression of British imperialism. The Soviet Union supports the people of Libya in their quest to establish an independent state. The Soviet people and the Soviet government sympathize with the liberation movement for independence and democratic freedoms in Burma, Malaya, and all countries around the world under imperialist oppression.

Based on the Leninist-Stalinist principle of the possibility of the long-term peaceful coexistence of two systems, and taking into account that this possibility can be realized only through respect for the social and state system chosen by the people,

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[307] Pravda, October 12, 1950.

and non-interference by other states in the internal affairs of nations, the Soviet government consistently upholds and defends the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations. I. V. Stalin said: “Every nation adheres to the system it wants and can adhere to. Which system is better, history will show. We must respect the systems chosen and approved by the people. Whether the system in the United States is good or bad is a matter for the American people. Cooperation does not require that nations have the same system. We must respect the systems approved by the people. Only under this condition is cooperation possible”[308].

In response to Mr. Wallace’s Open Letter, I. V. Stalin wrote that, “despite the differences in economic systems and ideologies, coexistence and peaceful resolution of disagreements between the USSR and the USA are not only possible, but also absolutely necessary in the interests of world peace”[309].

The victory of socialism and the construction of communism in the USSR, the construction of socialism in the people's democracies of Central and Southeastern Europe, and profound social transformations in the People's Republic of China are not obstacles to peaceful coexistence and even cooperation with capitalist countries, provided both sides abide by mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Post-war experience demonstrates that the ruling circles of the United States and Britain disregard this condition. They blatantly interfere in the internal affairs of democratic countries, seeking, following the "Greek" or Yugoslav model, to turn the people's democracies back toward capitalism and fascism. At the same time, as the

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[308] Pravda, May 8, 1947.

[309] “Bolshevik” No. 10, 1948, p. 2.

experience of Korea, Vietnam, and other countries has shown, American and British imperialists do not hesitate to resort to armed invasion of other countries to implement their plans. The Soviet Union exposes this vile policy of the Anglo-American bloc, defending the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and consistently implementing this principle in its foreign policy. The Soviet government reacted negatively to the Marshall Plan because it aimed to subordinate the economies of all countries that adopted it to American monopolies. The Marshall Plan represented a crude interference by American imperialism in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The Soviet government opposed Anglo-American intervention in the internal affairs of Greece – an intervention designed to establish fascist rule in Greece.

Interference in the internal affairs of other states in today's world is a tool used by the imperialist camp to support fascist and other reactionary elements against workers and their democratic organizations, to expand conflicts and civil wars, and to spread aggression to other countries with the goal of fomenting a new world war. This is precisely how American imperialists are acting in Korea.

The Soviet government denounces the predatory policies of American imperialism, insists on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and proposes effective measures to ensure peace and the creation of a unified, independent Korean state. The Soviet Union's proposals are supported by the Korean people, Korea's immediate neighbor—the great Chinese nation, and true friends of peace throughout the world. As is well known, the Soviet proposals boil down to an end to military action, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the formation of a joint provisional parliament consisting of

representative bodies from both parts of Korea, democratic parliamentary elections supervised by a UN commission with the mandatory participation of countries bordering Korea, and the dissolution of the illegally created so-called "Commission on Korea."

The Anglo-American aggressor majority in the UN rejected all of these reasonable and fair proposals from the Soviet Union, as well as those put forward by the government of the People's Republic of China. The warmongers set a course for further escalating their aggression against the Korean and Chinese peoples.

In the summer of 1951, the USSR's permanent representative to the Security Council, Yakov A. Malik, proposed a ceasefire and a withdrawal of troops from the 38th parallel in a radio speech, with the 38th parallel serving as the dividing line between the armies. Forced by public opinion to verbally accept these proposals, the American and British warmongers, through provocations and protracted negotiations, did everything they could to thwart such an agreement.

The experience of the Soviet state's struggle for peace shows that it is impossible to defend the cause of peace without pursuing and consistently defending a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, without exposing aggressors who interfere in the affairs of other peoples.

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The peace-loving policy of the USSR, based on the Leninist-Stalinist approach to the possibility of long-term peaceful coexistence of the two systems, is designed to restore and expand the cooperation of the great powers established during

the war and enshrined in a number of agreements and treaties - primarily in the agreements concluded in Yalta and Potsdam.

The cooperation of the USSR, England, and the USA during the war against Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan played a vital role in defeating the enemy. This cooperation benefited all nations. After the war, when nations began to enjoy the benefits of peace, the opportunities for cooperation expanded even further. In response to Elliott Roosevelt's question: "Do you consider it possible for a democracy like the United States to live peacefully side by side in this world with a communist form of government such as exists in the Soviet Union, and that neither side will attempt to interfere in the internal political affairs of the other?"

"Yes, of course. It is not only possible. It is reasonable and entirely feasible. During the most tense times of the war, differences in the form of government did not prevent our two countries from uniting and defeating our enemies. It is even more possible to maintain these relations in peacetime . "[310]

During the war, the Soviet Union concluded agreements on the basis of equality and reciprocity, with the parties finding a way to resolve the inevitable disagreements that arose in a manner acceptable to all participants. These agreements were based on the will of the peoples to defeat the fascist invaders, the desire to restore and strengthen democratic order in Europe, the elimination of fascism and the prevention of further aggression by Germany and Japan, and the establishment of comprehensive and lasting cooperation among the peoples of the world. The Anglo-American imperialists, pursuing their own specific imperialist goals in World War II, could not ignore the will of the people during those dreadful years and

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[310] "Bolshevik" No. 1, 1947, pp. 1–2.

were forced to cooperate with the USSR. After the Second World War, they launched a campaign against the foundations on which this cooperation had been based: instead of completing the task of eradicating fascism, they began to pursue a policy of supporting fascism; instead of preventing aggression on the part of German and Japanese imperialism, they began to pursue a policy of restoring the military might of Japanese and German imperialism in order to foment war against the USSR and the People's Democracies; instead of the established practice of coordinated decisions by the great powers, they began to pursue a policy of dictatorship on the part of the USA, England and France in relation to the USSR; instead of a policy of peace and cooperation with the USSR, they began to pursue a policy of forming blocs against the USSR and the People's Democracies in order to prepare for a new world war.

Since the principles underlying great power cooperation were enshrined in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and the United Nations Charter, the new policies of the ruling circles of the United States, Britain, and France primarily took the form of criticism of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and their abandonment, as well as criticism of the UN Charter and flagrant violations thereof. Therefore, the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union, based on the need to restore and develop the great power cooperation established during the war, is aimed at defending the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and the United Nations Charter. The rejection of the Potsdam and Yalta agreements by the ruling circles of the United States and Britain was primarily revealed in connection with the German problem: the separate actions of the United States, Britain, and France led to the formation of a trizone and the disintegration of Germany. Continuing their policy of preparing for a new world war, the American-British bloc and the countries it led

began to restore German imperialism and rebuild the German army for the purpose of using it to attack the USSR. The US's rejection of the Potsdam Agreement, the Cairo Declaration, and the Soviet-American Agreement on Non-Intervention in China's Internal Affairs found expression in the US ruling circles' instigation of civil war in China, their support for the rotten, reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek's clique, and the occupation of Taiwan and other Chinese islands with the aim of turning them into a US colony and using them as a springboard for an attack on the People's Republic of China.

The American and British imperialists, who are re-establishing imperialism and militarism in West Germany as a strike force for the war against the USSR and the People's Democracies, are assigning a similar role to Japan in the East. To this end, they concluded a separate "peace treaty" with Japan, contrary to the will of the Soviet, Chinese, Indian, and other peoples, who constitute more than half of humanity and who made a decisive contribution to the defeat of imperialist Japan. The American and British warmongers needed a separate "peace treaty" with Japan to revive Japanese imperialism as an instrument and tool for the new war they are preparing. This is not a treaty of peace, but of war.

However, they concluded this "peace treaty" without the Japanese people and against their will. The Japanese people, suffering under American military occupation, are rising up to fight against their foreign oppressors and their Japanese agents. Welcoming the Japanese people's liberation struggle, I.V. Stalin said in his New Year's message to the Japanese people:

“Please convey to the Japanese people that I wish them freedom and happiness, that I wish them complete success in their courageous struggle for the independence of their homeland.

The peoples of the Soviet Union themselves experienced the horrors of foreign occupation in the past, including the participation of Japanese imperialists. Therefore, they fully understand the suffering of the Japanese people, deeply sympathize with them, and believe that they will achieve the revival and independence of their homeland, just as the peoples of the Soviet Union once did.

I wish Japanese workers freedom from unemployment and low wages, the elimination of high prices on consumer goods, and success in the struggle to preserve peace.

I wish Japanese peasants liberation from landlessness and land shortage, the elimination of high taxes, and success in the struggle to preserve peace.

I wish the entire Japanese people and their intelligentsia a complete victory for the democratic forces of Japan, the revival and rise of the country's economic life, the flourishing of national culture, science, art, and success in the struggle to preserve peace"[311].

The Soviet government persistently exposed the Anglo-American bloc's rejection of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements as soon as this rejection—at first disguised and accompanied by sworn assurances of fidelity to these agreements—began to make itself felt. The Soviet government defends these agreements, for on their basis genuine international cooperation and lasting peace are possible. The Soviet government systematically exposes all steps by the Anglo-American bloc to revive German and Japanese militarism and wages a determined struggle against this anti-people policy.

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[311] Pravda, January 1, 1952.

The Soviet government also persistently defends the Charter of the United Nations. The UN Charter is based on the principle of the equality of peoples, the principle of cooperation between various countries based on respect for the integrity and independence of each of them and non-interference in their internal affairs, the principle of the struggle for democracy, peace and security of peoples. The UN, as its Charter states, must be an instrument of peace and security of peoples. A special place in the UN Charter is occupied by the issue of cooperation between the five great powers, which bear the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security of peoples. The UN Charter proceeds from the premise that only cooperation between the great powers will make the UN an instrument of peace. At the end of World War II, on the eve of the creation of the UN, I.V. Stalin said: "Can we expect that the actions of this international organization will be sufficiently effective? They will be effective if the great powers, who bore the main burden of the war against Nazi Germany, continue to act in a spirit of unanimity and agreement. They will not be effective if this necessary condition is violated!"[312].

The validity of this Stalinist proposition was so obvious that during the war, when the most reactionary elements like Churchill were forced to reckon with the necessity of cooperation with the USSR, no one disputed it. It became one of the cornerstones of the United Nations Charter, particularly those sections defining the powers and scope of the Security Council and its voting procedures, particularly the principle of great power unanimity. But after the end of World War II, when the ruling circles of the United States and Britain abandoned the policy of cooperation with the USSR and set a course for world domination, they launched an attack on the

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[312] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 168.

principle of cooperation and consent among the great powers. They countered the Soviet policy of great power cooperation in maintaining peace with a course of Anglo-American imperialism and war. The head of the Soviet delegation to the UN General Assembly, V.M. Molotov, spoke on this matter in October 1946:

"Thus, we must take into account two opposing tendencies in the development of international relations. And it is not difficult to guess that if the principle of unanimity of the great powers, established in the United Nations, is fully consistent with the orientation towards strengthening normal international cooperation, with the comprehensive development of forms of this cooperation and competition, then, on the other hand, the orientation towards the conquest of world domination, which is associated with the desire for expansion and aggression, cannot be consistent with the preservation of this principle intact"[313].

In the years since V. M. Molotov's speech, the Anglo-American bloc's commitment to undermining the UN Charter and preparing for war not only took shape and grew, but also became the foundation of the entire international policy of the ruling circles of the United States and England. The instigators of a new war, who occupied official positions in the governments of capitalist countries, exercised a certain caution for some time after the war, believing it necessary to gradually prepare public opinion for a new course in their foreign policy. The American and British reactionary forces unleashed the seasoned warmonger Churchill with an open call to prepare for war against the USSR. Churchill's ally and longtime enemy of the USSR, President Truman, by his presence at Churchill's

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[313] V. M. Molotov, Questions of Foreign Policy, Gospolitizdat, 1948, p. 258.

speech in Fulton, tacitly endorsed the war program he had proclaimed.

Official circles in the USA and England began to implement Churchill's war program.

In I. V. Stalin's historic response to a Pravda correspondent about Churchill's speech in Fulton, the warmongers' policies were exposed and the forces that could and would thwart their criminal plans were identified. "The horrors of the recent war are too vivid in the people's memory, and the social forces standing for peace are too strong for Churchill's disciples of aggression to overcome them and turn them toward a new war,"[314] declared I. V. Stalin.

Already during the preparation of the peace treaty with Italy, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Finland in 1946, representatives of the United States and Britain attempted to disrupt the established wartime practice of coordinated decisions by the great powers on important issues and to have uncoordinated decisions submitted to broad conferences where the United States and Britain could, through voting, assemble a mechanical majority. The Soviet government's firm and consistent defense of the principle of coordinated decisions prevailed, and the enemies of cooperation were forced to retreat, but not for long.

At several sessions of the UN General Assembly, the Anglo-American bloc launched an attack on the principle of unanimity among the five great powers on the Security Council, seeking to implement a policy of dictatorship by a bloc of countries led by the United States and Britain in this most important UN body. The Soviet Union's consistent

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[314] “Bolshevik” No. 20, 1948, p. 2.

defense of the UN Charter and its defense of the principle of cooperation in international affairs thwarted these warmongers' schemes. Then, the brazen warmongers, exploiting the voting machine and the mechanical "majority" enjoyed by the Anglo-American bloc at UN General Assembly sessions, adopted illegal decisions designed to undermine the UN Charter by replacing the Security Council with either an illegally created Intersessional Committee or the General Assembly. In their cynicism, the imperialists went so far as to attempt to cover up American aggression in Korea with the name and flag of the UN, using completely unacceptable and illegal tactics.

The American and British imperialists pushed through a shameful resolution in the UN declaring the People's Republic of China an aggressor, defending its borders and seeking to recapture the island of Taiwan, seized by the Americans. As I. V. Stalin noted, "The United Nations, created as a bulwark for the preservation of peace, is being transformed into an instrument of war, a means of unleashing a new world war. The aggressor core of the UN consists of ten countries—members of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact (the USA, England, France, Canada, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland) and twenty Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela). Representatives of these countries are now deciding the fate of war and peace in the UN. It was they who passed the shameful decision in the UN about the aggressiveness of the People's Republic of China"[315].

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[315] I. V. Stalin, Conversation with a Pravda correspondent, pp. 10–11.

I. V. Stalin demonstrated that the UN, by becoming an instrument of aggressive war, was simultaneously ceasing to be the global United Nations. The UN, in essence, was now less a global organization than an American organization, acting to serve the American aggressors. "The United Nations is thus embarking on the inglorious path of the League of Nations. It is thereby burying its moral authority and dooming itself to disintegration . "[316]

Pursuing a peaceful policy and defending the cause of peace, the Soviet Union puts forward effective proposals aimed at maintaining peace.

The Soviet Government submitted a motion, adopted by the General Assembly, condemning war propaganda. On September 20, 1950, the Soviet Government submitted the "Declaration on the Elimination of the Threat of a New War and on the Strengthening of Peace and Security of Nations" for discussion by the General Assembly. In this Declaration, the Soviet Government proposed to condemn the propaganda of a new war being conducted in a number of capitalist countries and to call upon all states to prohibit such propaganda in their countries and to bring those responsible to justice; to recognize the use of atomic weapons as a weapon of aggression and mass destruction of people as contrary to the conscience and honor of peoples and incompatible with membership in the United Nations, to declare an unconditional ban on atomic weapons and the establishment of strict international control over the precise and unconditional implementation of this ban; to declare that the government that is the first to use atomic weapons or other means of mass destruction against any country will commit a crime against humanity and will be

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316 I. V. Stalin, Conversation with a Pravda correspondent, p. 12.

considered a war criminal; to call upon the United States of America, Great Britain, France, China and the Soviet Union to (a) unite their peace efforts and conclude among themselves a Pact to strengthen peace;

b) that these great powers should reduce their present armed forces (ground forces, military aviation of all branches, navy) by one-third of their strength during 1950, so that the question of further reduction of armed forces should be brought up for discussion at one of the next sessions of the General Assembly[317].

At the sixth session of the General Assembly, which met in late 1951, the Soviet government, building on these proposals, introduced new ones aimed at countering the threat of a new world war and strengthening peace and friendship among nations. The Soviet government proposed recognizing participation in the aggressive Atlantic bloc as incompatible with membership in the United Nations, an immediate cessation of military action in Korea, and an unconditional ban on atomic weapons, while simultaneously establishing strict international controls over this ban.

The Soviet Government proposed that the five permanent members of the Security Council reduce their armaments and armed forces by one-third within a year, that these five states conclude a Peace Pact, and that the remaining states be called upon to join this Pact.

The Soviet government recommended specific measures to ensure the rapid implementation of all these proposals, such as the establishment within the Security Council of an

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[317] See the Supplement to the magazine "New Time" No. 39 for 1950.

International Control Body with permanent inspections, the convening of a world conference on arms reduction, etc.

The Soviet government's proposals point the way to an effective and efficient defense of peace, as noted by the democratic press worldwide. This is precisely why the UN's aggressor core rejected these proposals.

The Soviet government places particular importance on strict compliance with the decisions adopted by the Great Powers on the demilitarization and denazification of Germany, the reunification of a united, democratic, and peace-loving Germany, and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. The Soviet government resolutely opposes the policies of the United States, Britain, France, and other imperialist countries aimed at reviving German militarism and incorporating West Germany into the aggressive North Atlantic bloc.

The USSR's peace policy is dictated not by the weakness of the socialist country, but by the socialist nature of the Soviet state, its vital interest in the fate of the working masses, and its desire to save them from the horrors of a new war. The strength of the Soviet government's peace policy lies in the fact that it relies on the mighty Soviet Union, which is successfully implementing communist construction and strengthening its economic and military might. The strength of the Soviet Union's peace policy lies, further, in the fact that it expresses not only the unwavering will for peace of the Soviet masses, but also the desire for peace of the masses of all countries, including those whose governments are preparing an aggressive war. All this imbues the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with enormous material and moral force.

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Marxism-Leninism, speaking about the causes and conditions that give rise to wars in our time, proceeds from the peculiarities of capitalist society at the imperialist stage of its development. “Marxists have repeatedly stated,” said I. V. Stalin, “that the capitalist system of world economy conceals within itself the elements of a general crisis and military clashes, that, in view of this, the development of world capitalism in our time does not occur in the form of a smooth and even advance, but through crises and military catastrophes. The fact is that the uneven development of capitalist countries usually leads over time to a sharp disruption of the equilibrium within the world capitalist system, and that group of capitalist countries that considers itself less well-off in raw materials and markets usually makes attempts to change the situation and redistribute ‘spheres of influence’ in its favor – through the use of armed force. As a result, a split in the capitalist world into two hostile camps and a war between them arises”[318].

I. V. Stalin pointed out that the imbalance between the major powers, caused by the uneven development of capitalist countries, necessitates the imperialists to redistribute the world through war in order to create a new balance of power. War arises as an inevitable result of the development of global economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism. The struggle of capitalist countries for markets, spheres of capital investment, etc., as their economic weight shifts due to uneven economic development, makes war between them inevitable. The existence of irreconcilable contradictions between the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism and the camp of imperialist reaction does not resolve the profound contradictions corroding the imperialist camp.

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[318] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at pre-election meetings of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, p. 11.

These contradictions not only exist but are constantly deepening, and accordingly, the struggle between capitalist countries intensifies.

Imperialist troubadours and warmongers from the right-wing socialist camp often gloat over the supposed "contradiction" between the Marxist-Leninist position on the inevitability of world wars under imperialism and the Soviet state's peace policy, aimed at preventing war and strengthening peace. This gloating on the part of these warmongers is a testament to their guilty conscience and ignorance.

Wars are inevitable under imperialism. To abolish the inevitability of war means to abolish imperialism. This is a truism of Marxism. But does this mean that the onset of war at this moment in historical development is inevitable, that the peace period cannot be prolonged for a time, something in which the peoples of the world have a vital interest?

The fight against war always makes it more difficult for aggressors to prepare for it. It is well known that the existence of the Soviet Union and its peaceful policy made it more difficult for aggressors to prepare for and initiate World War II, which, without this factor, would have broken out many years earlier. And every year of peaceful existence gained is a great blessing for humanity. While it is not always possible to prevent war under imperialism, an active struggle for peace can always delay its outbreak, sometimes for a long time. Warmongers seek to distract the masses from the active struggle against war.

An active struggle against war, even if it cannot be prevented, can limit the scope of the war, its scale, and weaken its destructive nature. The crime of the social-chauvinists during the First World War was that, by betraying the interests of the

working class and coming out in defense of their imperialist governments in the imperialist war, they contributed to the aggravation of the destructive nature of the First World War. In the Short Course on the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), I. V. Stalin writes: “The war would not have had such a destructive character and, perhaps, would not have unfolded with such force if the parties of the Second International had not betrayed the cause of the working class, if they had not violated the decisions of the Congresses of the Second International against the war, if they had decided to actively come out and arouse the working class against their imperialist governments, against the warmongers”[319].

After World War II, for the first time in history, the opportunity arose to prevent a new world war being prepared by the imperialists through organized action by the peoples of peace-loving states. This, of course, does not eliminate the inevitability of new wars until imperialism is eliminated. Imperialism inevitably breeds war.

Today, it is not the Soviet Union alone that is fighting for peace, but a powerful bloc of democratic states, led by the Soviet Union. Along with the Soviet Union, this bloc includes the People's Republic of China, whose population accounts for a quarter of the entire planet's population. Over 800 million people live within the territory of the democratic states united around the Soviet Union to fight imperialism and war. For the first time in history, more than a third of all humanity is organizing for peace, using *people's state power* as a weapon in the struggle for peace and relying on the full might of countries where the people themselves are in power. This third of all

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[319] “History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course”, p. 173.

humanity stands guard over peace and vigilantly protects it, relying on its own, truly democratic state power.

In the past, states and armies were, as a rule, instruments of expansion. The state and armies of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies fulfill a different role—they are instruments of the people in the struggle for independence, democracy, peace, and national security. Peaceful labor, economic and cultural development in these countries steadily strengthen the democratic camp, the forces of peace, democracy, and socialism throughout the world.

Peace is desired not only by the peoples of the democratic camp, but by the peoples of all other countries as well. People remember the horrors of the Second World War and still suffer the hardships and disasters it caused. Peoples all over the world understand perfectly well that a new war will bring even greater horrors, which will not pass by any country, including the United States, which has not known war on its territory for almost a hundred years. And "the American people are beginning to understand," stated G. M. Malenkov in a report on the 32nd anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, "that the time has come when the imperialists will not be able to fight only with the hands of other peoples. The American people are beginning to understand that if the warmongers organize a new slaughter of people, then the grief of mothers, wives, sisters, and children will visit the American continent as well. And this is a terrible grief. In it, the warmongers will inevitably choke and drown"[320].

But the peoples of the world not only remember the horrors of war but also understand that a new war, should it break out,

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[320] G. M. Malenkov, 32nd Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Gospolitizdat, 1949, p. 22.

would multiply these horrors, and they do not want war. The peoples of the world are actively joining the struggle for peace. Hundreds of millions of people from various social groups and professions in capitalist countries have risen up to actively fight for peace. The scale of the nationwide peace movement is demonstrated by the collection of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, which called for the prohibition of atomic weapons and the declaration of the government of the first country to use an atomic bomb as a war criminal. Over half a billion adults have signed this Appeal. This means that almost half of humanity has actively joined the struggle for peace.

In the second half of February 1951, the first session of the World Peace Council was held in Berlin. It adopted decisions of enormous importance aimed at further expanding the struggle for peace, including the Appeal of the World Peace Council on the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the five great powers, on the peaceful resolution of the Korean question, on the UN, on the peaceful resolution of the Japanese question, on the peaceful resolution of the German problem, on the UN resolution unfairly condemning the People's Republic of China as an "aggressor" in Korea, on the struggle for peace in colonial and dependent countries, and others. Based on these decisions, an even more active struggle for peace unfolded, and the banner of peace was taken up by ever new contingents of workers. The working class, led by communist parties, leads the movement of fighters for peace in capitalist countries. The number of supporters of this movement is growing every day. The active, intense struggle of communist parties and all peace advocates and active peace fighters must lead to the overwhelming majority of humanity joining the peace movement in the near future. No warmongering front can withstand such a powerful popular movement.

The billionaires and millionaires of the United States, Britain, and other capitalist countries thirst for a new war, which they need to reap colossal profits and plunder other countries. These aggressive forces control their governments, but they fear their own peoples, who oppose the war. Therefore, the imperialists, the warmongers, use reactionary governments and every means to deceive their peoples, entangle them in lies, presenting their criminal plans for war as defensive ones, and their aggressive war of conquest as defensive. This is precisely why they slanderously portray the peace policies of peace-loving countries as aggressive. This is precisely why they fear a peace campaign, fearing the exposure of their dark intentions. "That is precisely why," says I. V. Stalin, "they rejected the Soviet Union's proposals to conclude a Peace Pact, to reduce armaments, to ban atomic weapons, fearing that the acceptance of these proposals would undermine the aggressive measures of reactionary governments and make the arms race unnecessary.

How will this struggle between aggressive and peaceful forces end?

Peace will be preserved and strengthened if the people take the matter into their own hands and defend it to the end. War may become inevitable if warmongers succeed in entangling the masses in lies, deceiving them, and drawing them into a new world war.

Therefore, a broad campaign for the preservation of peace, as a means of exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers, is now of paramount importance.

As for the Soviet Union, it will continue to unwaveringly pursue a policy of preventing war and maintaining peace"[321].

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[321] I. V. Stalin, Conversation with a Pravda correspondent, pp. 14–15.

Warmongers will not voluntarily abandon their dark plans. Every new success for the peaceniks enrages them. The more difficult it is for them to prepare for war under the watchful eye of the people, the more adventurous their policies become. But preparing for war, and most importantly, fighting without the people, is impossible in our time. Therefore, the imperialists lie and prevaricate, declaring their aggressive actions to be actions in "defense" of peace, covering their villainous plans with the cover of the UN, and so on. Tearing off the masks of the warmongers and swell the ranks of the peaceniks, seeking the departure of governments that unleash a new war and replacing them with governments willing, at least temporarily, to pursue a policy of peace—this is the task facing all true supporters of peace and democracy. Warmongers must be curbed. This can and must be done by the friends of peace throughout the world.

The organized actions of peace-loving states, led by the Soviet Union, merge with the organized movement of the masses fighting for peace.

The peace movement is an irresistible force of our time. Its leading force is the Soviet people, whose interests are expressed by the Soviet state and its peace policy.

Peace advocates and active peace fighters look to the future with calm and confidence. The working people of the USSR and the people's democracies know that those who incite a new war should be the ones who fear it most. The aggressive policies of the imperialists, even if they succeed in deceiving the people's vigilance and unleashing a war, will lead to the collapse of imperialism. Now, as V. M. Molotov wrote, "a situation has arisen in which the imperialists, having unleashed a new world war, will inevitably provoke such a universal rebuff from the peace-loving peoples and the entire democratic camp that it will lead not simply to the defeat of certain

aggressive powers, as has been the case until now, but to the liquidation of the entire system of world imperialism "[322].

[322] V. M. Molotov, Stalin and Stalin's Leadership, Gospolitizdat, 1949, p. 18.

Chapter Seven

Economic and Organizational Activities of the Soviet Socialist State.

Socialist ownership of the means of production and socialist production relations are born as a result of the socialistrevolution, in the struggle against capitalist property and capitalist production relations. A new, socialist economycannot arise and become stronger without the seizure of power by the working class, without using the proletariandictatorship as a lever for the revolutionary restructuring of the old economy and the organization of a new, socialistone.

As was shown above, for these purposes the socialist state nationalizes the land, banks and large industry, turning theminto public property, suppresses the resistance of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, organizes the armedforces of the revolution to defend the country and ensure the peaceful constructive labor of the workers and peasants,strengthens the ties of the working class and all the workers who are building socialism with the proletariat and theworking masses of the capitalist countries. The socialist state rallying around the working class all the non-proletarianstrata of the working people, provides the working class with state leadership, engages all the working people in theconstruction of socialism, and communistically re-educates them.

The socialist state acts as the bearer of state-wide socialist property, the owner of enterprises of a consistently socialisttype. It is the organizer and leader of the socialist economic system, it serves as the basic tool of the working class forbuilding socialism and destroying classes.

All these tasks can be solved only by a fundamentally new state, a proletarian socialist state, in which not only thefunctions characteristic of the old, exploitative state have radically changed, but a new function has emerged that theexploiting states did not know. Such a function is the economic, organizational , cultural and educationalactivity of thesocialist state. Without this new function, the socialist state could not have served as a lever for transforming the oldeconomy into a new, socialist one. This new function is a permanent function, it develops and expands with thedevelopment of a socialist state, it will continue as a function of the governing bodies of a communist society after thewithering away of a socialist state.

In this chapter, we will consider one side of this new function, namely, the economic and organizational activity of thesocialist state, with regard to the second side - cultural and educational activities - only as much as is necessary tocharacterize and analyze the issue under consideration.

The transfer of power into the hands of the working class is inevitably combined with the transition of the mostimportant means of production concentrated under capitalism in the hands of the bourgeoisie. A powerful socialistsector of the national economy is being created. The social nature of production receives adequate public ownership ofthe means of production, which opens up unlimited scope for the development of productive forces. The growth of thesocialist sector of the national economy continuously strengthens the economic power of the socialist state.

In a conversation with G.J. Wells , JV Stalin , opposing the socialist state to the capitalist state, said that the economy, inthe proper sense of the word, does not concern the capitalist state, since it is not in its hands. " On the contrary, thestate is in

the hands of a capitalist economy "[323]. The bourgeois state cannot eliminate the spontaneousoperation of the economic laws of capitalism, it cannot eliminate the anarchies of production. The " intervention " ofthe capitalist state in economic life, including partial nationalization of enterprises, only strengthens the rule ofcapitalist monopolies, for the essence of state-monopoly capitalism consists in such a rapprochement of the bourgeoisstate with capitalist monopolies, which is characterized by complete subordination to capitalist monopolies. Attemptsto " plan "under capitalism, farms are reduced to an even more direct and unrestricted use of the state by monopoliesto enhance the exploitation of the working people, to ruin and absorb small and medium-sized enterprises. In such a “planning ”, large monopolies use the capitalist state to obtain profitable government orders, for undivided control oversources and stocks of raw materials, use state subsidies , etc. The bourgeois state tightens the tax press even more, thestate debt grows, and at the same time the income of monopolistic associations grows, for which the state is not only amachine of oppression of workers, but also a machine of tax hitting, a machine of direct mass robbery in the interestsof monopolists.

Such submission to the bourgeois state monopolies took place in Nazi Germany, it is available in the UK, the US, and inthe United States and England, it is even more intensified after the defeat of Nazi Germany, though outwardly andserves a variety of ways: in the USA - in direct and cynical absorption form the state apparatus by monopolies and dictatorships and instructions from their side to the president and the government, in England - in the disguised form ofcapitalist “ nationalization ” and labor “ planning ” .

[323] I. V. Stalin, Leninism, Vol. 10, p. 602.

A characteristic feature of capitalist nationalization, as it turned out in England, is: a) its extension only to certainindustries, while leaving the main industries that generate large profits in the hands of capitalists; b) capitalistnationalization covers only those industries that are ancillary industries, serving monopolies, and which have previouslyworked inefficiently, causing damage to their private owners; c) compensation is paid to the former owners, oftenexceeding the actual value of the nationalized enterprises; in the hands of capitalists, the same remains, if not morecapital, only the form of the securities they own is changing; d) the management of nationalized enterprises remainsin the hands of the former owners or their proxies; e) capitalist nationalization of certain industries is used to providethe bourgeois state with new benefits for entrepreneurs by providing them with goods and services at low prices,which in turn is due to the fact that in nationalized industries workers are forced to work more intensively and keeptheir wages low. . Such is the essence of capitalist nationalization in England, designed to strengthen the positions ofthe bourgeoisie, to increase the incomes of monopolists. Not by chance the Conservatives, much rustling in the tacticalpurposes of their hostility activities Labor in this field are in no hurry with the liquidation conducted by the Labor Party" nationalization " , which brought new benefits to the bourgeoisie.

The " intervention " of the bourgeois state in economic life is intensified during the period of its preparation for theimperialist war and during the war. This is exactly the case now in the USA and England, where the state, like in its timein Nazi Germany, fulfilling the will of the bosses of imperialist monopolies, is preparing a war for world domination,militarizes the economy and develops an arms race. Outwardly, it looks like the strengthening of the “ regulatory ” roleof the state in the country's economy, in fact, the policies of

the United States and England testify to the completesubordination of the state to monopolies. The policy of the imperialist war cannot but lead to the intensification ofchaos and the extreme aggravation of the anarchy of production peculiar to capitalism.

That is why the capitalist economy in the United States and other countries, where the tools and means of productionbelong to the exploiters and the bourgeoisie is in power, is developing spontaneously, and no attempt to carry out "economic regulation " can prevent a crisis approaching the capitalist world after the Second World War. Militarizationof the country's economy in order to artificially increase the situation and obtain the highest profits by the capitalistmonopolies, slowing the unfolding of the economic crisis, will ultimately only strengthen its destructive effect. Somebourgeois leaders are beginning to understand this. For example, in early 1952 city of in the Official Journal of the USCongress , " Congressional Record " published a statement by Rep. Buffett, a member of the House of Representativesof Nebraska, who said: "The US military plans, which aim to try to establish the United States military dominion overthe whole world, are recklessly dangerous and cannot be saved . " In recent months, continues Buffett, representativesof both parties in the United States “ warned the nation about the dangers of our current policies. We must, as theyhave so wisely pointed out to us, review our policies in order to reduce political and economic dangers ... Our currentmilitary operations all over the world, if they continue for even a short time, will make our economic collapse almostinevitable . ”

The " intervention " of the bourgeois state in economic life not only cannot abolish the spontaneous nature of socialdevelopment under capitalism, but, on the contrary, strengthens the spontaneous operation of the laws of

capitalismdevelopment, intensifying competition, crises, unemployment, poverty and ruin of the masses.
The preparation of the new war, carried out by the Anglo-American imperialists and the entire imperialist reactioncamp led by them, places a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people, further worsening their situation andthreatening them with the innumerable disasters of the new war.
A different situation in the Soviet country. Soviet socialist society is free from antagonistic contradictions, from anarchyof production and economic crises; it develops with the planned management of the economy by the state. The basisof socialist society are new laws, fundamentally different from the laws of capitalism. Relying on socialist ownership ofthe means of production, the Soviet state controls the economy, carries out its economic, organizational , cultural andeducational function. All functions of a socialist state are inextricably linked. Economic, organizational , cultural and educational activities areinseparable from the protection and consolidation of socialist property -economic basis of Soviet society. The creativeactivity of the Soviet state assumes the function of protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet people from theaggressive actions of the imperialists and their agents. All this testifies to the close connection between the internaland external functions of the Soviet state. This is only natural, since economics and politics are inextricably linked. Eacheconomic event held by the Soviet state is political in nature and can be carried out on the basis of close interaction ofall functions of the state, as well as vice versa, any political event in one way or another affects the economy.
“ ... In practice, ” says Comrade Stalin, “ politics and economy are inseparable. They exist together and act together. Andanyone who thinks in our practical work to separate economy from politics, to strengthen economic work at the cost

ofbelittling political work or, on the contrary, to strengthen the political work at the cost of diminishing the chore - henecessarily falls into a dead end ".[324]

The Soviet government carries out its economic and organizational activities through the state administration bodies -the USSR Council of Ministers, the State Planning Commission, committees and main administrations under the Councilof Ministers, through the ministries - primarily sectoral, through the Councils of Ministers and the ministries of the Union and autonomous republics, their planned and economic bodies, local Councils of deputies of workers and theirdepartments.

The USSR Council of Ministers unites and directs the work of the ministries, directly supervises the implementation ofthe national economic plan, the state budget and the strengthening of the monetary system. The Council of Ministersof the USSR organizes and directs the entire economic life of the country through the entire system of economicorganizations and economic instruments.

With the development of the socialist economy, the economic and organizational activity of the Soviet socialist state isdeveloping , the apparatus of economic management is growing and becoming more complex. This apparatus is thatpart of the state apparatus that will not die away in the future, if the capitalist environment is destroyed andcommunism is built, but with the demise of the state will lose its political character.

[324] I. V. Stalin, On the shortcomings of party work and measures to eliminate the Trotskyist and other double-dealers, p. 26.

1. The economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state during the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has exercised economic, organizational, cultural, and educational functions since its establishment. However, in the first phase of the development of the Soviet socialist state, as Comrade Stalin points out, this function was not fully developed. The Soviet state had to endure a stubborn struggle against the White Guards and foreign interventionists and tirelessly strengthen the country's defenses. Within the country, during the transition period from capitalism to socialism, a struggle was waged against capitalist elements, and under these conditions, the task of suppressing the resistance of exploiters and limiting capitalist elements inevitably became paramount. Industry and transportation were underdeveloped at the beginning of the revolution, and, furthermore, small-scale peasant farms had not yet been collectivized. The socialist sector was far from dominant in the country's economy. During this period, the economic, organizational, and cultural-educational activities of the socialist state were aimed at restoring industry and agriculture, fully developing the seeds of a new, socialist economy, and politically educating workers in the spirit of Soviet power and an understanding of the advantages of socialism. Only in the second phase of the development of the socialist state did the economic, organizational, and cultural-educational functions fully develop.

What economic tasks did the economic, organizational, and cultural-educational functions address during the first phase of the development of the socialist state? This function played a decisive role in ensuring the victory of the working class in the civil war, in restoring the country's industry and agriculture after the end of the civil war and the defeat of foreign

intervention, in building a socialist economy, and in the abolition of the exploiting classes.

The economic, organizational, and cultural-educational activities of the Soviet state, as noted above, began from the very first days of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin's programmatic works, "The Immediate Tasks of Soviet Power," "On 'Leftist' Childishness and Petty-Bourgeoisness," and others, outlined the economic policy of the Soviet state, designed to initiate socialist construction. However, the implementation of this program was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war and foreign imperialist intervention.

During the Civil War, the Soviet state was forced to pursue a special economic policy, known as War Communism. Comrade Stalin expressed the essence of this policy as follows: "War Communism is a policy of the proletarian dictatorship, imposed by the military situation and intervention, designed to establish direct product exchange between city and village not through the market, but outside the market, by measures primarily of a non-economic and partly military nature, and aiming to organize a distribution of products that would ensure the supply of the revolutionary armies at the front and the workers in the rear."[325] After the defeat of the White Guards and the interventionists, the need for such a policy disappeared, and the Soviet state began to establish economic relations between the city and the countryside through the market. As Lenin demonstrated in his pamphlet "On the Tax in Kind" and other works, economic relations between the socialist city and the small-scale peasantry could initially be realized only through barter and trade.

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[325] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 146.

It is well known that the Soviet Union was then experiencing economic ruin as a result of four years of imperialist war and three years of civil war with the bourgeois-landlord counterrevolution and foreign intervention. The output of large-scale industry in 1920 was seven times less than before the war. Transportation was destroyed. Stocks of metal, coal, and textiles were almost exhausted. Agricultural output was about half of the pre-war level. The country suffered from severe shortages of the most basic necessities: bread, meat, fats, shoes, clothing, matches, salt, kerosene, and soap. "While the war was going on," says Comrade Stalin, "people put up with these shortages and deficiencies, and sometimes even stopped noticing them. But now that the war was over, people suddenly felt these shortages and deficiencies were intolerable and began to demand their immediate elimination."[326]

Discontent swept primarily among the peasantry. During the years of struggle against the White Guards and interventionists, a military-political alliance of workers and peasants was formed: Soviet power gave the peasants land, protected them from landowners and kulaks, the peasantry provided grain to the workers through the food tax and actively fought for Soviet power.

After the Civil War, this foundation for the alliance of workers and peasants proved insufficient. A new economic basis for this alliance had to be established. Such a basis could only be the establishment of normal commodity exchange, trade between small-scale commodity producers—the peasants—and socialist industry, based on the rise of agriculture and the development of socialist industry. At the next stage of

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[326] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Short Course," p. 238.

development, the exchange form of the bond had to give way to the production form of the bond between the working class and the peasantry, which also did not eliminate the need for commodity-money relations between cooperative and collective farm enterprises and state-owned enterprises.

Peasant discontent posed a grave danger, since the alliance of the working class and the peasantry constitutes the foundation of Soviet power and the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the discontent of 1921 engulfed not only the peasantry. To a certain extent, it also affected the working class. While the best, most class-conscious workers selflessly endured the hardships and persistently fought to restore the economy, the less class-conscious workers, forced to engage in handicrafts as many enterprises were idle, retreated to the countryside, ceased to be workers, and became declassed. Consequently, the class base of the dictatorship of the proletariat began to weaken.

Under these conditions, the key to restoring the devastated economy and improving the political situation in the country lay in the revival of agriculture. Lenin and Stalin repeatedly emphasized this. Why did the issue of improving agriculture and improving the situation of the peasantry become the priority in 1921? *Economically*, because only increased production of grain and raw materials for industry made it possible to restore industry and retain workers in the city, stopping their exodus to the countryside. *Politically*, because by increasing the production of grain and raw materials and enabling peasants to sell their surplus agricultural produce on the market, Soviet power eliminated the discontent that had gripped a certain section of the peasantry and even individual workers. This made it possible to preserve the working class as the primary social base for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the

peasantry under the leadership of the working class. The dialectic of historical development urgently dictated the need to increase the productive forces of small-scale production in order to develop the productive forces of the socialist sector, to develop state industry. Lenin said on this matter:

"As a result, the political situation by the spring of 1921 had developed in such a way that immediate, decisive, and urgent measures to improve the peasantry's situation and boost its productive forces became urgently needed.

Why the peasantry, and not the workers?

Because improving the workers' situation requires grain and fuel. The current "delay" is greatest—from the standpoint of the entire state economy—precisely because of this. And increasing grain production and harvesting, fuel procurement and delivery is impossible without improving the peasantry's situation and boosting its productive forces. We must begin with the peasantry. Anyone who fails to understand this, who is inclined to see in this promotion of the peasants to the forefront a "renunciation" or something like a renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, simply fails to think deeply and surrenders to the power of empty words. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the leadership of politics by the proletariat. The proletariat, as the leading, as the ruling class, must be able to direct policy so as to solve first and foremost the most urgent, the most "painful" problem. Most urgent now are measures capable of immediately raising the productive forces of peasant economy. *Only through* this can we achieve an improvement in the condition of the workers, a strengthening of the alliance between the workers and the peasantry, and a strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Any proletarian or representative of the proletariat who would *not seek to improve the condition* of the workers through this

means, in fact, an accomplice of the White Guards and the capitalists. For not to pursue this means placing the guild interests of the workers above class interests, means sacrificing the interests of the entire working class, its dictatorship, its alliance with the peasantry against the landowners and capitalists, and its leading role in the struggle for the liberation of labor from the yoke of capital, to the interests of the immediate, momentary, partial gain of the workers.

And so: first and foremost, we need immediate and serious measures to raise the productive forces of the peasantry"[327].

The 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, following Lenin's report, adopted a crucial decision on the transition from the food tax system to a tax in kind, and the adoption of the New Economic Policy. In introducing the NEP, the Party assumed that the peasants' economic incentives would lead to a rapid recovery in agriculture, which would make it possible to restore industry and displace private capital, accumulate resources for the creation of a powerful socialist industry, begin the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and launch a decisive offensive against capitalist elements along all fronts.

The Communist Party correctly believed that the introduction of a tax in kind and free trade in surplus agricultural products, while leading to a certain revival of capitalism, would ensure the rapid development of the socialist sector. This would allow the working class and the Soviet state to launch an offensive against capitalist elements with the aim of limiting, displacing, and ultimately eliminating them. The struggle between socialist and capitalist elements would lead to the victory of socialist elements over capitalist ones. NEP Russia will become socialist Russia, Lenin pointed out.

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[327] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 32, 4th ed., pp. 319–320.

The nature and characteristics of the new economic policy are revealed with utmost clarity and depth in the following propositions of Comrade Stalin:

"NEP is a special policy of the proletarian state, designed to permit capitalism, with the commanding heights in the hands of the proletarian state; designed to sustain the struggle between capitalist and socialist elements; designed to increase the role of socialist elements at the expense of capitalist elements; designed to secure the victory of socialist elements over capitalist elements; designed to abolish classes and lay the foundations of a socialist economy."[328]

Trotskyists, Bukharinists, Decists, and other anti-Party groups, pursuing a policy of restoring capitalism, interpreted the NEP as a retreat from the policy of building socialism. Lenin and Stalin exposed the enemies of the party and revealed the dual nature of the NEP as a policy that encompassed both retreat and advance. By introducing the NEP, the Communist Party and Soviet power retreated, allowed capitalist elements to enter, reorganized their ranks, and launched a systematic offensive against capitalist elements based on the recovery of the entire national economy. Already in its first year, the NEP enabled major strides in improving agriculture, strengthened the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat. This made it possible to begin the restoration of industry and transportation. Having retained all the key pillars of the national economy—large-scale industry, transportation, land, banks, foreign trade, and a significant portion of domestic trade—the Soviet state achieved a turning point on the economic front overall in favor of socialism.

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[328] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 364.

In 1923, the Soviet government lowered prices on industrial goods, implemented a monetary reform, and established a strong, stable currency. On this basis, serious economic difficulties, still lingering as a result of the unresolved devastation and exacerbated by the sabotage of Trotskyists and other enemies of the people, were overcome.

In 1925, the national economy's recovery neared completion. Agriculture reached 87% of its prewar level, and industry rose to 75% of its prewar industrial output. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the expropriation of landowners and capitalists, the transformation of land, factories, plants, mines, oil fields, transportation routes, and banks into public property, the implementation of the New Economic Policy, the construction of state socialist industry, and the pursuit of Lenin's cooperative plan, the restriction and exclusion of capitalist elements—these were the conditions that ensured the restoration of the national economy of the USSR.

In 1925, the question of the country's development prospects and the fate of socialism in the USSR became acute. Was it possible to build a socialist society through the New Economic Policy, which, while strengthening and expanding the foundations of socialism, simultaneously enabled some growth of capitalism? In what direction should economic development in the USSR be pursued—socialist or capitalist? Relying on Lenin's theory of the possibility of building socialism in a single country, the party under the leadership of I.V. Stalin provided clear answers to these questions. Developing Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, Comrade Stalin demonstrated two aspects of the problem of the victory of socialism in one country—domestic and international.

Comrade Stalin demonstrated that the working class of our country, having defeated capitalism politically in October 1917

and having already implemented a series of measures designed to smash its economic might and create the conditions for building socialism, can and must also defeat capitalism economically. In resolving this problem, the working class can overcome the non-antagonistic contradictions existing between itself and the toiling peasantry, rally the peasants around itself, involve them in socialist construction, develop socialist industry, reconstruct agriculture on a socialist basis, overcome its own bourgeoisie economically, and build socialism.

"Neither the prolongation of the revolution in the West nor the partial stabilization of capitalism in non-Soviet countries can halt our advance toward socialism. The New Economic Policy can only facilitate this matter, for it was introduced by the Party precisely to facilitate the construction of the socialist foundation of our national economy."[329] This was Comrade Stalin's answer, the Party's answer, to the question of the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union in connection with the internal side of the problem.

As for the international aspect of the problem, i.e., the external contradictions between the USSR and the capitalist world, these contradictions can only be resolved by the destruction of the capitalist encirclement, which can only be achieved through the efforts of the proletarians and workers of a number of countries. “But it follows from this that the victory of socialism in the USSR, expressed in the liquidation of the capitalist economic system and the construction of a socialist economic system, still cannot be considered a *final* victory, since the danger of armed foreign intervention and attempts to restore capitalism remains unresolved, since the country of socialism

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[329] “History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Short Course, p. 261.

remains unprotected from such a danger. To eliminate the danger of foreign capitalist intervention, it is necessary to destroy the capitalist encirclement"[330]. Enemies of the people, pursuing a policy of restoration of capitalism, bitterly opposed the Party's course of building socialism in the USSR. They countered the Leninist-Stalinist theory of building socialism with the Menshevik "theory" of "permanent revolution," the denial of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and a lack of faith in the strength of the working class. They also countered the Bukharinist "theory" of the kulak's "peaceful integration" into socialism, the Trotskyist-Zinovievist concept of the impossibility of building socialism in the USSR due to its technical and economic backwardness, and other bourgeois prejudices. Under Comrade Stalin's leadership, the Bolshevik Party defeated the enemies of the people and set a firm course for building socialism in the USSR.

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Developing Lenin's theory of building socialism in one country, Comrade Stalin addressed the question of the methods and paths of socialist construction, and above all, the question of the socialist industrialization of the country and the collectivization of peasant farms. In December 1925, Comrade Stalin summarized the successes of economic development in the USSR and stated that the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, in a short historical period, relying on the advantages of the Soviet economic system, had succeeded in restoring the national economy. These successes, Comrade Stalin pointed out, made it possible to fully tackle the task of

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[330] History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Short Course, p. 262.

transforming our country from an agrarian to an industrial one. The implementation of this task lay at the core, the foundation of the Party's general line on building socialism.

Explaining the essence of the *Bolshevik policy of industrializing the country*, Comrade Stalin drew particular attention to the following points: a) industrialization of the country as the basis for building socialism meant not the development of industry *in general*, but the development of *socialist* industry with the steady displacement of capitalist industry; b) industrialization of the country presupposed the creation and development of heavy industry and its core—mechanical engineering—as the foundation of the country's industrial might. "The center of industrialization, its basis, lies in the development of heavy industry (fuel, metal, etc.), in the development, ultimately, of the production of the means of production, in the development of its own mechanical engineering"[331]; c) the industrialization of the country presupposed the technical reconstruction of industry and all types of transport, the re-equipment of old factories, the construction of new ones, the creation of new branches of industry; d) the industrialization of the country had as its goal to ensure the economic independence of the Soviet Union and protect the country from turning it into an appendage of world capitalism. "This," said Comrade Stalin at the XIV Party Congress, "is our line of construction, which the Party adheres to and which it will adhere to in the future. This line is obligatory as long as there is a capitalist encirclement." "...We absolutely need that minimum of independence for our national economy, without which it will be impossible to protect our country from economic subordination to the system of world

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[331] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 120.

capitalism"[332]; d) the country's industrialization was intended to create a powerful defense base, a powerful defense industry equipped with shipbuilding, aircraft, tank, artillery, and other military plants; e) finally, the country's industrialization entailed the creation of tractor factories and modern agricultural machinery plants to supply agriculture with their products and enable millions of small individual peasant farms to transition to large-scale collective farm production. The policy of socialist industrialization of the country was intended to ensure the creation of a heavy industry capable of carrying out the technical reconstruction of the country, ensuring the rapid growth and dominance of socialist forms of economy, strengthening the economic base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, achieving the country's complete economic independence, and strengthening its defensive power. This is the essence of the Bolshevik policy of industrializing the country.

Crucial to the success of this policy was the correct resolution of the issues of *sources of financing* for capital construction and the pace of development of socialist industry.

"History," says Comrade Stalin, "knows various methods of industrialization.

England industrialized by plundering colonies for decades and hundreds of years, accumulating 'additional' capital there, investing it in its own industry, and accelerating the pace of its industrialization. This is one method of industrialization.

Germany accelerated its industrialization as a result of its victorious war with France in the 1970s, when it took five

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[332] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course", p. 302.

billion francs in indemnity from the French and poured it into its own industry. This is the second method of industrialization.

Both of these methods are closed to us, for we are a country of Soviets, for colonial plunder and military seizures for the purpose of plunder are incompatible with the nature of Soviet power.

Russia, the old Russia, granted enslaving concessions and received enslaving loans, thus attempting to gradually embark on the path of industrialization. This is the third option. But it is the path of enslavement, or semi-enslavement, the path of turning Russia into a semi-colony. This path, too, is closed to us, for we did not wage a three-year civil war, repelling all and sundry interventionists, only to voluntarily submit to imperialist enslavement after defeating them.

There remains a fourth path to industrialization: the path of our own savings for industry, the path of socialist accumulation, which Comrade Lenin repeatedly pointed to as the only path to the industrialization of our country."[333] The Party and the Soviet people followed this fourth path, indicated by Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet state, led by the Bolshevik Party, discovered new sources of accumulation, the likes of which capitalist society had not known and cannot know. The Soviet state expropriated the landowners and capitalists in our country, thereby turning land, factories, plants, banks, and so on into public property. Profits from state-owned enterprises, banks, and trade were directed not toward the consumption of the parasitic capitalist class or toward expanding their incomes, but toward the further expansion of industry.

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[333] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 123–124.

Furthermore, by abolishing landowner ownership, the Soviet government freed the peasantry from paying landowners approximately 500 million rubles in gold annually in rent, freeing them from the obligation to pay rent in kind and purchase land.

Finally, the Soviet government annulled the tsarist debts, which required hundreds of millions of rubles in gold to be paid abroad annually in interest alone.

The Soviet government skillfully utilized all these new sources of accumulation, established strict financial discipline and meticulous economy of funds and material assets, and directed the accumulated resources toward capital construction. A key role in the implementation of these measures was played by the resolutions of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of June 11, 1926, "On the Economy Regime," and the Council of Labor and Defense of March 8, 1929, "On the Proper Use of Internal Resources of State Enterprises," as well as other Soviet government resolutions that outlined specific measures for rationalizing production, reducing production costs, eliminating unproductive expenses, etc. During the reconstruction period, the Soviet state, even more vigorously than during the first stage of the NEP, during the recovery period, introduced the method of economic accounting as the most important method of economic management. The Soviet people unanimously supported their government in the consistent implementation of all these measures, and the cause of socialist industrialization of the country rapidly advanced. The country began the construction of new gigantic enterprises, such as Dneprostroy, the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, the Stalin Automobile Plant, and others.

The growth of large-scale industry was the basis for the displacement of capitalist elements, which by 1930 had

completely collapsed in the industrial sector. The 16th Party Conference, convened in April 1929, approved a grandiose plan to equip industry and agriculture with new technology. The volume of capital investment for 1928–1933 was set at 64.6 billion rubles. "The main task of the five-year plan," Comrade Stalin pointed out, "was to create in our country an industry capable of rearming and reorganizing not only industry as a whole, but also transport, and agriculture—on the basis of socialism."[334]

The USSR entered the period of Stalin's great five-year plans, which transformed the face of the country and determined a monumental leap from backwardness to progress.

One of the central questions in the development of socialist industry is the question of the pace of development. The Bolshevik Party's rationale for rapidly industrializing the country was twofold.

First, the Party recognized the existence of a hostile capitalist encirclement preparing for war against the USSR. Even on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution, V. I. Lenin emphasized: "War is inexorable; it poses the question with merciless clarity: either perish, or catch up with the advanced countries and surpass them *economically* as well... Perish or rush forward at full speed. That is how history has posed the question."[335]

The question of rapid development would not have been so pressing, Comrade Stalin explained, if the USSR had possessed from the outset a highly developed industry on a high technical basis, or if the USSR had not represented the sole dictatorship

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[334] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 172.

[335] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, ed. 4, p. 338.

of the proletariat, but had relied on cooperation with other major socialist countries. But the peoples of the Soviet Union had to industrialize the country, overcoming technical and economic backwardness in the face of a hostile capitalist encirclement, with war looming inexorably. Under these circumstances, the question of quickly catching up and surpassing the capitalist countries technically and economically was a matter of life and death for our development. "Sometimes people ask," said Comrade Stalin in his speech "On the Tasks of Economic Managers," "whether it is possible to slow down the pace a little, to hold back the movement. No, it is not possible, comrades! The pace cannot be reduced! On the contrary, it must be increased to the best of our ability. Our obligations to the workers and peasants of the USSR demand this of us. Our obligations to the working class of the entire world demand this of us.

To slow down the pace means to fall behind. And those who fall behind are beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we do not!"[336]

Such were the external circumstances that dictated the need for a rapid pace of development of large-scale socialist industry in the USSR. But in addition to external conditions, there were internal ones that demanded a rapid pace of industrial development. These internal conditions, Comrade Stalin points out, consisted primarily in the extreme backwardness of our agriculture, its technology and culture. If industry is the leading principle of the national economy, then agriculture, in turn, constitutes the basis for the development of industry, both as a market absorbing the products of industry, and as a supplier of raw materials and food, and as a source of export reserves. It is

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[336] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 38.

impossible to advance industry while leaving agriculture in the conditions of backward technology. It is necessary to carry out the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, and for this a rapid pace of industrial development is necessary. "It is impossible indefinitely, that is, for too long a period of time, to base Soviet power and socialist construction on two *different* foundations: on the basis of the largest and most united socialist industry and on the basis of the most fragmented and backward small-scale peasant farming.

"We must gradually, but systematically and persistently transfer agriculture to a new technical basis, a basis for large-scale production, bringing it into line with socialist industry. Either we solve this problem—and then the final victory of socialism in our country is assured, or we abandon it and fail to solve this problem—and then a return to capitalism may become inevitable."[337]

Thus, the transfer of the country's agriculture to a new technical basis, the task of socialist reconstruction of agriculture, urgently dictated the need for a rapid pace of industrial development.

Proceeding from the need for a rapid pace of industrialization, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government rejected the path of industrialization characteristic of capitalist countries. In bourgeois countries, industrialization begins with the development of light industry. Light industry, as is well known, requires less capital investment; capital circulates more quickly in it, and therefore, the development of light industry is easier. "Only after a long period of time, during which light industry accumulates profits and concentrates them in banks, does heavy industry's turn come and the gradual transfer of savings

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[337] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 253.

to heavy industry begins in order to create the conditions for its development. But this is a lengthy process, requiring several decades, during which one must wait for light industry to develop and vegetate without heavy industry. Clearly, the Communist Party could not take this path."[338]

The Party chose a different path, the path of direct and comprehensive development of heavy industry. This path was undoubtedly more difficult than the path trodden by capitalist countries. Moreover, it was impossible for capitalist countries, developing spontaneously, on the basis of private property. The characteristics and advantages of the Soviet economic system allowed the Communist Party and the Soviet people to follow this new path opened by Comrade Stalin and, in a short period of time, transform the country from backward to advanced, from agrarian to industrial. This leap from backwardness to progress took the socialist country only about thirteen years. This is undoubtedly due to the Soviet socialist method of industrialization, which differs fundamentally from the capitalist method of industrialization.

The country's socialist industrialization unfolded amid intense class struggle. The perishing exploiting classes fiercely opposed the implementation of socialist industrialization policies. Relying on the support of foreign imperialists, bourgeois specialists organized sabotage in a number of industries. This sabotage was uncovered by Soviet state agencies (the Shakhty affair, the so-called "Industrial Party" case, the case of the Menshevik saboteurs, etc.). Enemies of the people—Trotskyists, Bukharinists, and bourgeois nationalists —either sought to create discord between the working class

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[338] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at Pre-Election Meetings of Voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, p. 19.

and the peasantry in order to derail socialist construction. They then tried by every means possible to turn the Party and the Soviet state onto the "normal" capitalist path of development. Finally, they committed sabotage and subversive acts to disrupt socialist industrialization, turn the country back toward capitalism, and turn it into an appendage of the global imperialist economy. The Communist Party and the Soviet state mercilessly rebuffed all the intrigues of these class enemies.

The Party and Soviet power rallied millions of working people, vitally interested in the victory of the Party's policies and the construction of socialism, to fight for the socialist industrialization of the country. For the working class, the victory of industrialization meant the elimination of unemployment and an increase in the material and cultural standards. For the peasantry, the country's socialist industrialization provided tractors and other modern machines, consumer goods, and cultural amenities. For the entire people, the country's industrialization provided the material foundation for socialism and strengthened the state's defensive power.

This is why the development of socialist industry was accompanied by the development of creative initiative and a powerful labor fervor among the masses, especially the millions of working class members. The transformation of labor from the forced and drudgery it had been under capitalism into a matter of honor, glory, valor, and heroism led to a broad expansion of socialist competition. The working class responded to the appeal of the 16th All-Union Party Conference to expand socialist competition with fervent labor enthusiasm. Many enterprises put forward counter-plans, and the slogan "Five-Year Plan in Four Years" was advanced from below, becoming the guiding principle for every worker.

One of the indicators of the growing creative initiative of the working class and all working people was the expansion of criticism and self-criticism and the intensification of the struggle against bureaucracy, which fettered the creative energies and labor activity of the masses. "...Only on the basis of the tremendous growth of the activity and organization of the working masses in general and the working class in particular, on the basis of the comprehensive involvement of the millions of working class masses in socialist construction and economic management, on the basis of the comprehensive development of socialist competition and the powerful development of self-criticism from below by the millions of masses against the bureaucratic distortions of the state apparatus"[339] did the victory of the socialist industrialization of the country, the victory of socialism, become possible.

In the process of building a powerful industry, serious changes took place in the working class: its numbers grew, the material standard of living and the cultural level of the workers rose, the political level of the masses, their level of communist consciousness, and their technical literacy grew. On this basis, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government resolved the personnel problem.

Having saturated industry with new technology, the Soviet socialist state organized industrial and technical training for workers, teaching them industrial and technical skills. Without this, it was impossible to put the new technology into operation. At first, industry faced serious difficulties related to a shortage of skilled workers and a shortage of engineering and technical personnel. These difficulties were particularly acute

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[339] "The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in Resolutions and Decisions", vol. 2, p. 328.

during the launch of the Stalingrad Tractor Plant and several other newly built facilities equipped with the most advanced technology. But the Communist Party and the working class quickly overcame these difficulties. Relying on the political upsurge and creative initiative of the working class, the Soviet government organized the training of new contingents of the working class. Workers successfully mastered new professions, and the giants of socialist industry began to operate confidently and rhythmically. The situation was more complex with the training of specialists—engineers and technicians. The old engineering and technical personnel were few in number; they were infected with sabotage; they were unfamiliar with new technology. It was necessary to suppress sabotage, fully train the old personnel, and, most importantly, create a new engineering and technical intelligentsia. This task was fully accomplished only during the second phase of the development of the socialist state. But already in 1928–1929, the Communist Party and the Soviet government took a number of very important measures to expand the network of specialized secondary and higher educational institutions. These educational institutions themselves were transferred to the relevant sectoral economic commissariats, which were particularly interested in training specialists in the required fields.

As a result of the efforts of the Communist Party, the Soviet government, and the entire Soviet people, significant successes were achieved in the development of heavy industry, in personnel training, and in improving the performance of enterprises. These successes ensured the ousting of capitalist elements from industry and prepared the material basis for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

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Lenin and Stalin, even at the outset of the socialist revolution, emphasized the need to collectivize peasant farms. At the same time, Lenin and Stalin, along with the Bolshevik Party, recognized that the transition of fragmented individual peasant farms to the socialist path of development represented the most complex, the most difficult task of the socialist revolution. Haste and administrative oversight could only hinder the process. Long-term, persistent, and painstaking explanatory and organizational work with the peasantry was needed, along with a whole system of preparatory measures, to accomplish this task.

In developing a cooperative plan for the transition of peasant farms to the socialist path of development, Lenin emphasized the diversity of forms of cooperative associations and the gradual transition from the simplest forms of cooperation (consumer cooperatives, supply and marketing, and other forms of barter cooperation) to complex production forms of cooperation. During the first period of the NEP, when the predominant forms of economic bond between the working class and the peasantry were barter, Lenin devoted particular attention to consumer cooperatives. But Lenin pointed out that in the future, when the question of production forms of the bond arose, the question of production cooperation would inevitably come to the fore.

"Only if," Lenin wrote, "we succeed in demonstrating to the peasants the advantages of social, collective, cooperative, artel cultivation of the land, only if we succeed in helping the peasants through cooperative, artel farming, only then will the working class, wielding state power in its hands, truly prove its case to the peasants and truly win over the millions of peasant

masses to its side, firmly and truly."[340] Lenin's cooperative plan was organically linked to Lenin and Stalin's vision of the socialist industrialization of the country. Comrade Stalin's greatest achievement in this matter was that he defended Lenin's cooperative plan from the attacks of enemies of the people, who rejected the cooperative plan or sought to distort its essence, fraudulently opposing Lenin's cooperative plan to collective farm construction. Comrade Stalin concretized and developed Lenin's cooperative plan, developing and implementing the theory of collectivization of peasant farms.

The theory of collectivization of peasant farms, created by Comrade Stalin, is based on Lenin's directive that production cooperation is the highest form of cooperation, and that the true reconstruction of agriculture will unfold only when cooperation encompasses peasant production. By creating the theory of collectivization of peasant farms, Comrade Stalin: a) discovered the collective farm form of socialist economy in the countryside; b) revealed the inseparable link between the socialist industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture; c) defined the fundamental link in collective farm construction—the artel, which combined the personal interests of collective farmers with their social interests; d) substantiated the transition from the policy of limiting and ousting the kulaks to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class through total collectivization; d) substantiated the importance of the machine and tractor stations (MTS) in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and revealed their role in the development of the village on the path to communism; e) created the Model Charter of the Agricultural Artel, which became the law of life in the collective farm village.

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[340] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 30, 4th edition, pp. 173–174.

Guided by Stalin's theory of collective farm construction, the Communist Party and the Soviet government carried out the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

The preparation of the peasant masses for collective farms was carried out by the Communist Party and the Soviet government over a long period of time and persistently. This preparation was expressed: 1) in the development of socialist industry, which began the mass production of tractors, combines, and other complex agricultural machinery; 2) in the comprehensive development of all forms of barter cooperation and especially the development of agricultural cooperation, gradually accustoming the peasants to collective farming; 3) in the use of the good experience of state farms and the first collective farms to reveal and demonstrate the advantages of large-scale socialist agriculture; 4) in the decisive struggle against the kulaks during the grain procurement campaigns of 1928 and 1929 and the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which was further strengthened on the basis of their joint struggle against the kulaks; 5) in the complete defeat of the right-wing opportunist restorers of capitalism and other agents of the kulaks.

All these measures paved the way for the peasantry's embrace of socialism and facilitated the entry of entire villages and districts of peasants into collective farms. The transition to complete collectivization took place through a mass struggle against the kulaks, whose land, livestock, and machinery were transferred to the collective farms. Kulak agricultural production was replaced by the larger, more productive socialist production of the collective farms.

By 1930, the Soviet Union already possessed a number of collective and state farms that provided the country with more marketable grain than the kulaks had produced in 1927. This

meant that the USSR had created a sufficient material base to replace kulak production with collective farm production and to move from a policy of restricting and displacing the kulaks to the elimination of the kulaks as a class through complete collectivization.

"At the end of 1929, due to the growth of collective and state farms, the Soviet government made a sharp turn away from this policy. She adopted a policy of liquidation, a policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class. She abolished the laws on land leasing and labor hiring, thus depriving the kulaks of both land and hired labor. She lifted the ban on dispossession. She permitted the peasants to confiscate the kulaks' livestock, machinery, and other equipment for the benefit of the collective farms. The kulaks were expropriated. They were expropriated in the same way as the capitalists in industry had been expropriated in 1918, with the difference, however, that this time the kulaks' means of production passed not into the hands of the state, but into the hands of the united peasants, into the hands of the collective farms.

This was a profound revolutionary upheaval, a leap from the old qualitative state of society to a new qualitative state, equivalent in its consequences to the revolutionary upheaval of October 1917. The uniqueness of this revolution was that it was carried out *from above*, on the initiative of state power, with direct support *from below* from the millions of peasant masses fighting against kulak bondage for a free collective farm life.

This revolution, in one blow, resolved three fundamental questions of socialist construction:

a) it liquidated the most numerous exploiting class in our country, the kulak class, the bulwark of capitalist restoration;

b) it transferred the most numerous working class in our country, the peasant class, from the path of individual farming, which gives birth to capitalism, to the path of public, collective farm, socialist economy;

c) it gave Soviet power a socialist base in the most extensive and vital, but also the most backward, sector of the national economy—agriculture"[341].

A characteristic feature of this revolutionary transformation of agriculture is that it occurred on the initiative of state power. In transforming the individual peasant system into a collective farm, socialist system, the workers and peasants relied on the socialist state. While during the October Socialist Revolution, the masses fought from below against the existing bourgeois state power and overthrew it, during the period of collectivization, the initiative for revolutionary change came from the Soviet, truly people's power. The Soviet state prepared the masses for these transformations and created the necessary material prerequisites. As a result of the combined efforts of the Soviet socialist state, acting from above, and the peasant masses, acting from below, who rose up to fight the kulaks for a free collective farm life, a gradual transition from individual peasant farms to a socialist economy was achieved. The development of this process was accompanied by the expansion of the socialist base of Soviet power and the elimination of its worst enemies, the kulaks, and thus represented a process of strengthening the existing revolutionary power. Assessing the uniqueness of this qualitative transformation under Soviet power, Comrade Stalin wrote:

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[341] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Short Course, pp. 291–292.

"Over the course of 8-10 years, we carried out the transition in our country's agriculture from the bourgeois individual peasant system to a socialist, collective farm system. This was a revolution that liquidated the old bourgeois economic system in the village and created a new, socialist system. However, this revolution was accomplished not explosively, that is, not by overthrowing the existing government and creating a new government, but by a gradual transition from the old bourgeois system in the village to a new one. And we succeeded because it was a revolution from above, because the revolution was carried out on the initiative of the existing government with the support of the bulk of the peasantry"[342].

The socialist industrialization of the country strengthened the socialist sector in industry, ensuring the displacement and elimination of capitalist elements in industry. But before the collectivization of peasant farms, the offensive against capitalist elements, aimed at their elimination, unfolded mainly along the urban line, along the industrial line. It was one-sided. The collectivization of peasant farms meant the creation of a powerful socialist base in agriculture. With the transition to comprehensive collectivization and the elimination of the kulaks as a class, "the offensive against capitalist elements assumed a general character; the one-sided offensive turned into an offensive along the entire front. By the time the 16th Party Congress convened, a general offensive against capitalist elements was already unfolding along the entire line."[343]

In expanding the collectivization of peasant farms, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government oriented all

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[342] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Questions of Linguistics, p. 29.

[343] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Short Course," p. 296.

workers toward strict consideration of the specific conditions in different regions of the country, as well as strict adherence to the principle of voluntary participation in collective farm construction. The historic resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of January 5, 1930, enshrined the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class, justified by Comrade Stalin in his speech "On Questions of Agrarian Policy in the USSR." Different rates of collectivization of peasant farms were established for different regions of the country, taking into account the diversity of conditions. The resolution stated that the main form of the collective farm movement at the present stage was the agricultural artel, in which the *main* means of production were socialized. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) provided for extensive measures to assist collective farms by expanding the production of agricultural machinery, increasing credit, implementing land management at state expense, and so on. This resolution played a significant role in the further expansion of collectivization.

The collectivization of peasant farms was carried out amidst a fierce class struggle. The kulaks rose up against the collective farms. Agents of the kulaks—right-wing restorers of capitalism, Trotskyists, and bourgeois nationalists—intensified their struggle against the Bolshevik Party and Soviet power. Enemies of the party and the people exploited shortcomings in party practice and the distortions of party policy on collective farm construction by leftists to combat the collective farms. Particularly dangerous were leftist distortions, expressed in the violation of the Leninist-Stalinist principle of voluntary participation in collective farm construction, the bungling leapfrogging of the artel to the commune, the collectivization of residential buildings, non-commercial dairy and small

livestock, and so on. These leftist attitudes were often a direct expression of the provocative actions of the class enemy, hoping to embitter the peasantry and incite them to anti-Soviet uprisings.

In Comrade Stalin's historical articles "Dizzy with Success" and "Reply to Comrade Collective Farmers," and in the resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) "On Combating Distortions of the Party Line in the Collective Farm Movement," the harm and danger of such distortions of the party line were exposed, and a serious warning was issued to anyone who, carried away by the successes of collectivization, deviated from the party line and thereby directly aided the class enemy. Comrade Stalin showed that the root of the mistakes in the peasant question and the main mistakes in the collective farm movement consisted in the wrong approach to the middle peasant, in the violation of the Leninist principle of voluntariness in the construction of collective farms, in the violation of the Leninist principle of taking into account the diversity of conditions in different regions of the USSR, in jumping over the artel to the commune.

Following Comrade Stalin's instructions and leadership, the Party waged a decisive struggle against deviations in the Party line, not hesitating to remove officials who were unable to consistently implement Bolshevik policy. Comrade Stalin's articles were of the greatest political significance. They helped Party organizations correct their mistakes and deal a powerful blow to all enemies of socialism who hoped to exploit these excesses to turn the peasants against Soviet power. By eliminating deviations in the Party line in collective farm construction, the Bolshevik Party consolidated the successes of collective farm construction, which served as the foundation

for a new and powerful growth of the collective farm movement.

Without the organizing role of the socialist state and the socialist city, it was impossible to prepare the conditions for collective farm construction. Without their organizing role and systematic assistance, it was impossible to develop the collective farm movement and consolidate its successes.

The transition to collective farming does not diminish, but rather increases, the concerns and the leading and organizing role of the Communist Party and the socialist state. As long as the individual farmer predominated in the countryside, the Party, says Comrade Stalin, could limit its intervention in agricultural development to "individual acts of assistance, advice, or warning." On collective farms, the center of gravity of responsibility for agricultural development shifted from individual peasants to the collective farm board. The Communist Party and Soviet power, having convinced collective farmers of the advantages of the collective farm system and assumed responsibility for its fate, can no longer limit themselves to isolated acts of assistance and advice; they must exercise daily management of agriculture. They assume leadership, assume responsibility for the work, and must help collective farmers manage their farms based on scientific and technological advances. "And from this it follows that the collective farm system does not diminish, but rather increases, the concerns and responsibilities of the Party and government with regard to agricultural development."[344]

This is why the sabotage "theories" of the "withering away of the Soviets" in areas of total collectivization posed the greatest danger. These enemy theories were designed to weaken Soviet

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[344] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 224.

power, undermine its foundation—the Soviets—leave the collective farms to fend for themselves, and allow the remnants of the defeated kulaks to recover and wage a struggle against the collective farms from within, disrupt collectivization, and reverse the country's development toward capitalism.

The Party and Comrade Stalin mercilessly rebuffed the enemy "theory" of the "withering away of the Soviets" and exposed its sabotage. Comrade Stalin directed the Party and the people toward the further strengthening of the Soviet state, which became a prerequisite for building socialism in the USSR.

Aid to collective farms and the Party and Soviet government's concern for their strengthening proceeded along the following main lines: a) political assistance to collective farms by sending advanced workers to work on collective farms, by creating political departments within the Machine and Tractor Stations (MTS) at certain stages of collective farm development, and by strengthening local party organizations with Party workers; b) by providing collective farms with machinery, breeding stock, high-quality seeds, and credit; c) by strengthening the organizational and economic structure of collective farms by improving record-keeping, enhancing labor discipline, properly organizing labor, eliminating impersonal practices and equalization, distributing income based on workdays, etc.; d) by training and cultivating collective farm personnel, preparing agricultural specialists and intelligentsia for the village, etc.

Comrade Stalin, the Bolshevik Party emphasizes that the collective farm is a socialist *form* of economy. Form is of great importance, but it does not decide the matter. The whole point is what content is infused into this form—Bolshevik or non-Bolshevik. The content of collective farm work is determined by *who* leads the collective farms, *what policies* the leaders

pursue, and how these policies are implemented on the collective farm. Therefore, it is not only a matter of the collective farms themselves as a socialist form of organization, but above all, of "what content is poured into this form—it is a matter, first of all, of *who* stands at the head of the collective farms and *who* directs them"[345].

Guided by these instructions of Comrade Stalin, the Bolshevik Party politically strengthened the collective farms and, on this basis, ensured the organizational and economic strengthening of the collective farms, their further quantitative and qualitative growth.

Complete collectivization and the elimination of the kulaks as a class marked a victory of world-historical significance. The victory of the collective farm system meant that not only had the last exploiting class, the kulak class, been liquidated, but the causes that gave rise to exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man had been destroyed.

2. The transition from the first to the second phase of development of the Soviet socialist state and the development of the economic and organizational activities of the state.

The Bolshevik policy of socialist industrialization of the country and collectivization of peasant farms served as the foundation and defining condition for the construction of socialism in the USSR. The preconditions for the complete triumph of this policy were created throughout the first phase of the development of the Soviet socialist state. In particular, the first stage of industrialization of the country and the emergence of the mass collective farm movement, which ensured the transformation of the socialist sector from the

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[345] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 228.

leading to the predominant one, belong to the first phase of the development of the socialist state. By the end of this first phase of its development, the Soviet state, which had previously relied primarily on socialist industry, also began to rely on the strengthened socialist agricultural sector. The 16th Party Congress already indicated that the collective farm peasantry had become a true and solid support for Soviet power.

The second phase in the development of the Soviet socialist state was characterized by a reversal of its economic, organizational, and cultural-educational activities. During this period, the socialist state faced the enormous challenges of organizing a socialist economy throughout the country and eliminating the last vestiges of capitalist elements, as well as organizing a cultural revolution and establishing a fully modern army.

Laying the foundations of a socialist economy and establishing the undivided dominance of socialist economic forms in all spheres of the national economy was impossible without reconstructing all sectors of the national economy on the basis of new, modern technology. Without the technical reconstruction of the main sectors of the national economy, it would be impossible to satisfy the country's growing needs, to fully mount a full-scale socialist offensive against the capitalist elements of the city and countryside, and to achieve the goal of catching up with and surpassing the capitalist countries in technical and economic terms. Technology thus acquired decisive significance. To saturate the country of victorious socialism with technology, it was necessary to have a powerful machine-building industry, and this was persistently developed by the Soviet socialist state. But it was also necessary to end the disdainful attitude of Soviet economic managers toward technology, to put an end to the practice whereby communist economic managers believed that they could manage

production "in general" while technology should be left to "specialists." "Such an attitude toward technology, especially during the reconstruction period, doomed our country to backwardness and our rate of development to decline. In essence, such an attitude toward technology concealed and masked the hidden desire of some communist business leaders to slow down the rate of industrial development, to reduce it, and to create a 'calm environment' for themselves, shifting responsibility for production to 'specialists'"[346].

Comrade Stalin's speech on the tasks of business executives played a historic role in exposing this rotten concept and in turning Soviet business executives towards technology.

“We must,” said Comrade Stalin in February 1931, “become specialists ourselves, masters of the business, we must turn our face to technical knowledge – that is where life has pushed us...

It's time, it's high time, to turn our face to technology. It's time to discard the old slogan, the outdated slogan about non-interference in technology, and become specialists ourselves, experts in the field, become complete masters of our own economic affairs"[347].

Stalin's slogan, "In a period of reconstruction, technology decides everything," mobilized the party and the people to create a powerful industry equipped with the most advanced technology, eliminated the country's technology shortage, ended the indifference of economic leaders to technology, and directed the party and the Soviet state toward creating a new industrial and technical intelligentsia from among workers and

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[346] “History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short Course”, pp. 299–300.

[347] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 37.

peasants. This slogan was realized and put into practice in the second phase of the development of the socialist state.

The creation of a powerful socialist industry required a major change in industrial management. The principles of this new management, once the policy of socialist industrialization had triumphed and collective farm construction had been widely developed, were expressed in the six conditions formulated by Comrade Stalin at that time, outlined in his speech "New Situation—New Tasks of Economic Development." These *six conditions* of economic development were as follows:

1. Organized recruitment of labor. The elimination of unemployment in the city and poverty and hunger in the countryside destroyed the spontaneous flow of labor. The spontaneous influx of those willing to work at the factory ceased or almost ceased. "From this," Comrade Stalin pointed out, "it follows, firstly, that we can no longer rely on the spontaneous flow of labor. Therefore, we must move from the 'policy' of spontaneous labor to a policy of organized recruitment of workers for industry. But there is only one way to achieve this—the way of agreements between economic organizations and collective farms and collective farmers"[348].

Secondly, Comrade Stalin pointed out, it is necessary to immediately switch to the mechanization of difficult and labor-intensive work processes, since mechanization is that new and, moreover, decisive force, without which it is impossible to achieve high rates of development and the accepted scale of production.

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[348] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 53.

2. Comrade Stalin resolutely demanded the elimination of wage egalitarianism in enterprises and the proper organization of wages. Equalization undermines any incentive for low-skilled workers to improve their skills, pushes skilled workers to seek better working conditions, and creates labor turnover, which undermines production. This evil must be eradicated, the old wage system dismantled, and wage egalitarianism abolished. A wage system must be created that takes into account the differences between skilled and unskilled labor, between heavy and light labor.

“Marx and Lenin say that the difference between skilled and unskilled labor will exist even under socialism, even after the abolition of classes, that only under communism should this difference disappear, that, in view of this, “wages” even under socialism should be paid according to work, and not according to need”[349].

But this is not enough. To retain workers at enterprises, their living conditions also need to be improved. Comrade Stalin paid special attention to improving workers' supplies and housing conditions.

3. Comrade Stalin demanded the immediate elimination of the lack of personal responsibility that had taken root at a number of enterprises. This lack of personal responsibility implies a complete lack of accountability for mechanisms, machines, and tools, leading to workers being irresponsible for their work. The elimination of this lack of personal responsibility, a clear division of tasks and responsibilities, full accountability for tools and materials, strict accounting of each person's work, and consistent implementation of the socialist principle of distribution: "from each according to his ability, to each

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[349] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 57.

according to his work"—this is the most important condition for success.

4. The industrialization of the country required the creation of a second coal and metallurgical base, the creation of new industrial centers in all Soviet republics, and this, in turn, required a huge number of new specialists. “But we do not need *just any command* and engineering-technical forces,” said Comrade Stalin. “We need *command* and engineering-technical forces that are capable of understanding the policy of the working class of our country, capable of assimilating this policy and are ready to implement it conscientiously. And what does this mean? It means that our country has entered a phase of development when *the working class must create its own production and technical intelligentsia* , capable of defending its interests in production, as the interests of the ruling class”[350].

Soviet universities are training the cadres of this intelligentsia. But this is only one aspect of the matter, Comrade Stalin teaches. The other aspect is that the new industrial and technical intelligentsia is also recruited from practical workers at enterprises, from the cultural forces of the working class.

“The task is,” said Comrade Stalin, “not to push aside these proactive comrades from the lower ranks, but to more boldly promote them to command positions, to give them the opportunity to demonstrate their organizational abilities, to give them the opportunity to expand their knowledge and to create for them the appropriate environment, without sparing money for this”[351].

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350 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 66.

351 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 67–68.

5. After the capitalist elements were defeated and eliminated, and the policy of socialist industrialization of the country and collectivization of peasant farms prevailed, a significant portion of the most qualified old intelligentsia, who had previously sympathized with the saboteurs, turned toward Soviet power. Under these new conditions, Comrade Stalin said, it was necessary to change the attitude toward this section of the intelligentsia, to show it more attention and care, and to more boldly involve it in work.

6. The rapid development of industry is unthinkable without increased accumulation for capital construction. While previously accumulation had come from light industry, agriculture, and the budget, by the early 1930s these sources were clearly insufficient, especially since agriculture, which had entered a period of reconstruction, itself required substantial capital investment. In this regard, the question of ensuring that heavy industry, and above all machine-building, provided accumulation arose with particular urgency. "And what is required for this? The elimination of mismanagement, the mobilization of internal industrial resources, the introduction and strengthening of business accounting in all our enterprises, the systematic reduction of costs, and the strengthening of intra-industrial accumulation in all branches of industry without exception"[352].

Comrade Stalin's instructions were legally enshrined in the decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of March 17, 1933, on the procedure for seasonal work from collective farms to industry, in decrees on wage adjustments, and on the mandatory technical minimum (the decree of the Council of Labor and

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[352] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 76.

Defense of June 30, 1932). The decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of September 15, 1933, on factory apprenticeship schools and on improving the utilization of young specialists played a key role.

Armed with Stalin's directives, the Communist Party and the Soviet government directed economic managers to study the new situation, and they restructured their work in accordance with the new situation and Comrade Stalin's directives. To bring managers closer to their targets, the Supreme Council of the National Economy (VSNKh) was broken up into a number of industrial commissariats. Unwieldy industrial associations were broken up, collegial management of the associations was replaced by individual management, and members of the collegiums were sent to work at the factories and plants. The managers of the broken-down associations were given the opportunity to regularly visit the factories and plants and delve into all the details on the spot; they began to manage not "in general," but specifically. The training of new personnel advanced. During the first five-year plan, vocational schools alone trained approximately 800,000 workers, while universities, technical colleges, and technical schools trained over 180,000 engineers and technicians.

During this period, the Communist Party and the Soviet government accomplished a tremendous amount to revitalize and strengthen the work of the Soviets and to purge the state apparatus of degenerate, bureaucratic, and saboteur elements. Of particular importance in this regard were the decisions of the 17th Party Congress, which uncovered serious shortcomings in the functioning of the Soviet and economic apparatus, namely, bureaucratic management methods, a lack of oversight, bloated staffing levels, a functional structure of the apparatus, and so on. Eliminating these revealed

shortcomings and improving the work of the Soviets contributed to the successful development of socialist industry and the strengthening of state and collective farms.

Socialist industry, thanks to improved enterprise management and the growth of socialist agriculture, made further progress in its development. The first five-year industrial development plan was 93.7% fulfilled by the end of 1932, i.e., in four years and three months, with heavy industry achieving 108% of its planned output over the same period. Some shortfalls in the overall industrial production program were explained by the fact that, due to the deteriorating situation in the Far East, a number of factories had to be redirected to defense production. Overall industrial production in 1933 more than doubled compared to 1928 and almost quadrupled (291.9%) compared to 1913 levels. Capitalist elements were finally and irrevocably ousted from industry, and socialist industry became the sole form of industry in the USSR.

The share of industry in the country's gross national output rose from 48% in 1928 to 70% in 1932. New branches of industry, equipped with the most advanced technology, were created. The technical reconstruction of the national economy advanced rapidly. This meant that the most important task—establishing a foundation for new, modern technology for industry, transportation, and agriculture—was essentially accomplished, and the country's defense capability was strengthened.

In agriculture, new successes were achieved through the consistent implementation of the Leninist-Stalinist Party policy on collective farm development and the resolute fight against its distortions, as well as through the enormous assistance provided by the socialist state to collective farms. By 1931, more than 80% of all peasant farms in the main grain-producing regions were united in collective farms, while in

other regions, more than 50% of farms were united in collective farms. Two hundred thousand collective farms and 4 thousand state farms sowed two-thirds of the country's total cultivated area. 1932 saw a further increase in the number of collective farms, which by 1933 numbered 224,500. Collective and state farms together owned 84.5% of all grain-producing land in the USSR.

The difficulties of the reorganization period in agriculture were compounded by the fact that the growth of collective farm activists and collective farm personnel failed to keep pace with the quantitative growth of collective farms. A shortage of experienced and competent people, essential for collective farms, and a lack of experience in managing and running a large collective farm were also felt. "Due to these circumstances, serious shortcomings in collective farm work were initially revealed. It became clear that labor on collective farms was still poorly organized, and labor discipline was weak. On many collective farms, income was divided not by workdays, but by mouths. It often turned out that a lazy person received more grain than a diligent, honest collective farmer. Due to these shortcomings in collective farm management, collective farmers' interest in work diminished, there was a high rate of absenteeism even during the busiest season, some collective farm crops remained unharvested until the snow fell, and the harvest itself was carried out carelessly, resulting in enormous grain losses. The lack of personal responsibility in work and the lack of personal responsibility in machines and horses weakened collective farm work and reduced the income of collective farms"[353].

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[353] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, pp. 299–300.

The construction of collective farms unfolded amidst intense class struggle. The kulaks, defeated in open battle, changed their tactics in their struggle against the collective farms and Soviet power. The remnants of the defeated kulaks re-emerged as "friends" of Soviet power. Kulaks infiltrated the collective farms and attempted to destroy them from within by undermining labor discipline, confusing accounting, and engaging in sabotage and subversion.

To put an end to kulak sabotage and strengthen collective farms politically and organizationally, it was necessary to provide them with advice, personnel, and leadership. The Party and Soviet power provided this assistance. By a resolution of the January 1933 Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), political departments were established within the machine and tractor stations (MTS) serving collective farms, and 17,000 party workers were sent to work in these departments. These political departments carried out enormous work to purge the collective farms of saboteurs and kulak elements and to strengthen their organizational and economic structure. Under the leadership of the political departments and party organizations, industrial and labor discipline was strengthened on the collective farms, and collective farm activists grew.

In February 1933, the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers was held, at which Comrade Stalin expounded on the advantages of the collective farm system and demonstrated the importance of collective farms for further improving the material and cultural standards of collective farmers. Comrade Stalin set the goal of making all collective farms Bolshevik and the collective farmers prosperous. Comrade Stalin's speech became a campaign program for the collective farms.

The Soviet government provided significant assistance to collective farms in training personnel. The country's network of agricultural institutes was dramatically expanded, and higher party agricultural schools, schools for peasant youth, and other institutions were established. The rural intelligentsia in the villages grew significantly.

Collective and state farms were equipped with new machinery. As a result of measures taken by the Party and the Soviet government, by 1934, 281,000 tractors and 32,000 combines were already in operation in Soviet agriculture.

The Model Charter for an Agricultural Artel, developed with the personal participation and guidance of Comrade Stalin and adopted at the Second Congress of Shock Worker Collective Farmers in February 1935, played a significant role in the final strengthening of the collective farm system in the countryside. The state permanently assigned land to collective farms. This created conditions for the collective farms to be motivated to improve land management, carry out land reclamation activities, implement long-term crop rotations, and so on. The Charter for an Agricultural Artel was based on Stalin's principle of combining the public interests of collective farms with the personal interests of collective farmers. The Charter provided for the socialization of fixed production assets while preserving the collective farmers' subsidiary farming (homestead plots, non-commercial dairy cattle, poultry, etc.). The charter defined the principles of labor organization on the collective farm: the organization of permanent teams and the assignment of work areas to them, precise accounting of work by workdays, distribution of products according to the number of workdays, etc. The charter defined the foundations of democratic management of the artels and established the rights and responsibilities of collective farmers on the collective farm. The main provisions of the Model Charter of the

Agricultural Artel were enshrined in Stalin's Constitution of the USSR. The Charter of the Agricultural Artel became the law of life in the collective farm village. The permanent assignment of land to collective farms, the Charter of the Agricultural Artel, and the further development of the technical base of agriculture served as a solid foundation for the further development and strengthening of the collective farm system.

The success of socialist industrialization and the collectivization of peasant farms ensured a further rise in the material and cultural standards of the working masses. Not only were urban unemployment and rural impoverishment eliminated, but the standard of living also improved: real wages for blue-collar and white-collar workers rose sharply, and the prosperity of collective farm villages rapidly increased. A cultural revolution was underway.

By 1933, the foundations of socialism had been laid in the USSR. This was expressed primarily in the fact that the socialist economic system had come to dominate all spheres of the national economy: socialist industry constituted 99% of the country's total industrial output; collective and state farms owned 90% of the country's total cultivated land; and the country's trade turnover was entirely served by state and collective farm trade. Of the five socio-economic structures that existed at the beginning of the NEP—patriarchal, small-scale commodity, private capitalist, state capitalist, and socialist—the first, third, and fourth completely disappeared from the scene, the second was relegated to a secondary position, and the socialist system became the undisputed dominant and sole commanding force in the entire national economy. “The facts show,” Comrade Stalin declared at the 17th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), “that we have already built the foundation of a socialist society in the USSR and all that remains for us is to

crown it with superstructures—a task undoubtedly easier than building the foundation of a socialist society”[354].

With the construction of the foundations of a socialist economy, fundamental changes occurred in the class structure of society. The exploitative classes were eliminated, the nature of the working classes of Soviet society—the working class and the peasantry—changed, and the intelligentsia also changed, becoming a people's, socialist intelligentsia.

Changes have taken place in the area of national relations in the USSR: the mutual distrust between peoples that remained from capitalist society has been eliminated, and fraternal cooperation between peoples has emerged within the system of a single union state.

Laying the foundation of a socialist economy in the USSR involved establishing a new technical base for the entire national economy. This resulted in rapid growth in labor productivity, based on socialist relations and new technology, which laid the foundation for raising the material and cultural standards of workers.

The Second Five-Year Plan (1933–1937) ensured a further expansion of industry and agriculture. The policy of technical reconstruction, persistently pursued by the Party and the Soviet government, ensured the continued provision of new technology to all sectors of the national economy and a growing rise in industrial production. By the end of 1937, industry had grown more than sevenfold compared to its 1913 level.

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[354] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 325.

The collectivization of peasant farms was essentially complete. In 1937, collective farms' grain acreage accounted for 99% of all peasant crops. Grain and industrial crop production increased sharply compared to pre-war levels: grain—from 4 billion 800 million poods to 6 billion 800 million, raw cotton—from 44 million poods to 154 million, flax—from 19 million poods to 31 million, sugar beets—from 654 million poods to 1 billion 311 million, and oilseeds—from 129 million poods to 306 million. Only one branch of agriculture—livestock farming—still lagged behind the pre-war level of 1913.

The successes of industry and agriculture were a direct consequence of the country's socialist industrialization policy and the collectivization of peasant farms, as well as the technical reconstruction carried out by the Party and Soviet power. As a result of the Second Five-Year Plan, the technical reconstruction of industry and agriculture was completed. The USSR's national economy was abundantly equipped with the most advanced technology. To prevent this technology from becoming a pile of dead metal, it was necessary to train hundreds of thousands of trained workers capable of operating it and extracting the maximum from it. Meanwhile, the growth of personnel did not keep pace with the advancement of technology. Moreover, a significant portion of workers believed that technology would do its job on its own. If technology had previously been underestimated, it was now overestimated. Under these circumstances, it was necessary to shift workers' attention from an excessive preoccupation with technology to mastering it, to focusing on people, and to developing personnel.

In May 1935, in his speech at the graduation of Red Army academicians, Comrade Stalin summarized the country's industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, and the country's technical reconstruction. He advanced a new slogan

that emphasized people who had mastered technology and played a major role in mobilizing forces and resources for training personnel.

"We used to say that 'technology decides everything.' This slogan helped us in that we eliminated the technology shortage and created a vast technical base in all sectors to equip our people with first-class technology. This is very good. But it is far, far from enough. To set technology in motion and utilize it to its full potential, we need people who have mastered technology, we need personnel capable of mastering and using this technology according to all the rules of the art. Technology without people who have mastered it is dead. Technology, led by people who have mastered it, can and must work miracles..."

We must finally understand that of all the valuable capital available in the world, the most valuable and decisive capital is people, personnel. We must understand that under our current conditions, "personnel decides everything." If we have good and numerous personnel in industry, agriculture, transport, and the army, our country will be invincible. If we do not have such personnel, we will limp on both legs"[355].

Comrade Stalin's slogan brilliantly expressed the pressing tasks of socialist construction and relied on the material resources necessary for its implementation. Indeed, thanks to the country's industrialization, all sectors of the national economy were saturated with new technology. This generated the need to master the new equipment and created the opportunity to do so. Workers and peasants were unable to master the new technology during the recovery period, when this need had not yet matured and the technical resources were lacking.

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[355] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 490, 491.

With the foundation of a socialist economy laid in the USSR, the exploitation of man by man was finally and permanently eliminated. Under socialism, people work not for exploiters, but for themselves, for their people, for their society. They have a vested interest in increasing labor productivity and fully utilizing technology, for improving the living conditions of workers depends on this. Improving the material well-being of workers and raising their cultural level, in turn, is an important and necessary prerequisite for our workforce to master technology.

"Our proletarian revolution," said Comrade Stalin, "is the only revolution in the world that has managed to show the people not only its political results, but also its material results. Of all the workers' revolutions, we know of only one that somehow achieved power. That was the Paris Commune. But it did not last long. True, it attempted to break the shackles of capitalism, but it did not succeed in breaking them, much less in showing the people the beneficial material results of the revolution. Our revolution is the only one that not only broke the shackles of capitalism and gave the people freedom, but also succeeded in providing the people with the material conditions for a prosperous life."[356]

That's why Comrade Stalin's slogan—that cadres who have mastered technology decide everything—resonated deeply with the working people of our country. Workers and collective farmers responded to the leader's speech by intensifying their study of new technology. The number of workers mastering the technology began to grow. These new generations of workers, both male and female, who had mastered the new technology served as the force that shaped and propelled forward a new,

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[356] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 499.

higher stage of socialist competition: the Stakhanovite movement. A characteristic feature of this stage was its inextricable connection with new technology, developing on the basis of new technology, and on the basis of its mastery. This movement originated in the working class—the leading force of our society—but it quickly spread among the peasantry, which had embarked on the path of socialism and received abundant technology from the Soviet state through the machine and tractor stations.

Thus, the victory of socialism created the conditions that gave rise to a new level of labor productivity, superior to that of capitalism. The Stakhanovite movement represents a model of the high labor productivity that only socialism can provide and which capitalism cannot. "The significance of the Stakhanovite movement lies in the fact that it is a movement that breaks old technical standards as insufficient, surpasses in many cases the labor productivity of advanced capitalist countries, and thus opens up the practical possibility of further strengthening socialism in our country, the possibility of transforming our country into the most prosperous country"[357].

But this doesn't exhaust the significance of the Stakhanovite movement. As Comrade Stalin teaches, the significance of the Stakhanovite movement also lies in the fact that it prepares the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism. The significance of this moment is increasingly growing, as with the construction of socialism, the gradual transition from socialism to communism begins.

To build communism, it is necessary to develop the productive forces and increase labor productivity to such an extent that they will ensure a complete abundance of consumer goods, so

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[357] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 494–495.

that society can move from distribution according to the socialist principle: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his work” to distribution according to the communist principle: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs,” the needs of a culturally developed person.

It goes without saying that these tasks cannot be achieved without raising the cultural and technical level of the working class and eliminating the essential differences between mental and physical labor. The Stakhanovite movement, as Comrade Stalin points out, contains the seed of the future cultural and technical advancement of the working class. It opens the way to achieving the high productivity levels necessary to overcome the essential differences between mental and physical labor and to make the transition to communism. This is the supreme historical significance of socialist competition and its new form —the Stakhanovite movement—in the cause of communist construction.

With the victory of socialism in the USSR, the distinction between city and village and the distinction between mental and physical labor was eliminated. In the village, as in the city, socialism triumphed, and the exploitation of man by man was abolished. Agriculture was given a modern technical basis.

The socialist city helped the village (peasantry) defeat the kulaks and establish a free collective farm system. The city systematically supplies the collective farm village with new machinery. Friendly cooperation between the socialist city and the collective farm village has been established. Important differences remain between the city and the village, primarily related to the distinction between the two forms of socialist ownership: state (public) and cooperative-collective farm.

These differences will disappear only in the advanced phase of communism.

In the USSR, close cooperation between intellectual and manual workers is equally evident, as are their mutual assistance in the joint struggle to strengthen and develop socialism and build communism. Significant differences in cultural and technical skills remain between intellectual and manual workers. But these differences can only disappear under communism, through the rise of the workers' cultural and technical skills to those of engineers and technicians, and the rise of collective farmers to those of agronomists, livestock specialists, and other skilled intellectual workers.

Having ensured the construction of a socialist society, the Soviet state itself underwent significant changes. These changes, in terms of state functions, became acutely evident beginning in 1932, when the issue of protecting socialist property became acutely pressing, and the economic, organizational, cultural, and educational activities of the socialist state were fully expanded. The Soviet state entered the second phase of its development. Historic laws on the protection of socialist property were adopted. The punitive organs of the Soviet state and intelligence services significantly restructured their work. The role of the Soviet socialist state in the development of the socialist economy and culture grew enormously. The state apparatus directing economic, organizational, cultural, and educational activities expanded and restructured its work.

Due to the changing nature of the Soviet state's activities, which had already entered the Second Phase of its development, the question arose of changing its form and of consolidating the new content of state activity within appropriate state and legal forms. Accordingly, it was

necessary to complete the creation of a socialist superstructure corresponding to the socialist economy and the socialist base. As noted above, the task of crowning the socialist base with a socialist superstructure was set by Comrade Stalin as early as January 1934, at the 17th Party Congress.

On February 6, 1935, at the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the USSR adopted a special resolution establishing a Constitutional Commission to amend the Constitution. The resolution stated:

"1. Amend the Constitution of the USSR in the following direction:

a) further democratization of the electoral system in the sense of replacing not entirely equal elections with equal ones, multi-stage elections with direct ones, and open elections with closed ones;

b) clarification of the socio-economic basis of the Constitution in the sense of bringing the Constitution into line with the current balance of class forces in the USSR (the creation of a new socialist industry, the defeat of the kulaks, the victory of the collective farm system, the establishment of socialist property as the basis of Soviet society, etc.).

2. To propose that the Central Executive Committee of the USSR elect a Constitutional Commission, which shall be tasked with drafting a revised text of the Constitution on the basis specified in paragraph one and submitting it for approval to a session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

3. The next regular elections of the organs of Soviet power in the USSR shall be held on the basis of the new electoral system"[358].

On February 7, 1935, the first session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, pursuant to the resolution of the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the USSR, established a Constitutional Commission chaired by Comrade Stalin, which drafted a new Constitution. The resulting draft was submitted to nationwide discussion, which lasted five and a half months. In November 1936, the historic Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets convened, heard Comrade Stalin's report on the new Constitution, and unanimously approved and ratified the draft.

"The Land of Soviets thus received a new Constitution, a Constitution of the victory of socialism and workers' and peasants' democracy.

The Constitution thus enshrined the world-historical fact that the USSR had entered a new period of development, a period of completion of the construction of a socialist society and a gradual transition to a communist society, where the guiding principle of public life should be the communist principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs"[359].

The introduction of the new Constitution of the USSR necessitated a major restructuring of Soviet bodies in accordance with the new Constitution. The implementation of Stalin's Constitution marked a significant turning point in the

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[358] See I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 507.

[359] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short Course", pp. 330–331.

country's political life. This shift was spearheaded by the Bolshevik Party, whose leading role in the work of state bodies and throughout the country's socio-political life further increased. This political shift led to the further strengthening of the Soviet socialist state, increasing its authority and role in communist construction.

3. The economic role of the Soviet socialist state under socialism.

The economic role of the Soviet socialist state is determined by the fact that all state power in the USSR belongs to the people, the workers, and the means of production are public, socialist property. Moreover, nine - tenths of the productive assets are national property, i.e., state property. The enormous economic role of the Soviet state reflects both the characteristics and advantages of the socialist state itself and, more importantly, the characteristics and advantages of the socialist economic system. The characteristics and advantages of the socialist state have already been discussed previously. Here, we should focus on the characteristics and advantages of the socialist economic system.

In his works, I. V. Stalin exhaustively revealed and characterized the advantages of the Soviet socialist economic system over the capitalist economic system. At the 16th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Stalin demonstrated that under the capitalist economic system, both power and the instruments and means of production belong to the capitalists; production is subordinated to the principle of ensuring high capitalist profits, and the distribution of national income occurs in the interests of ensuring maximum profits for the exploiters; capitalist rationalization and rapid growth of production, aimed at ensuring high profits for capitalists, collide with the poverty and declining material security of millions of working people,

which inevitably creates the basis for crises of overproduction, the destruction of productive forces, rising unemployment, and mass poverty; the working class and toiling peasants work not for themselves, but for the class of exploiters.

The Soviet socialist economic system, as opposed to the capitalist system, means that power, the instruments, and the means of production belong to the working class and the toiling peasantry; that the development of production is subordinated to the principle of planned management and the systematic raising of the material and cultural level of the workers, and that the distribution of national income occurs in the interests of the systematic improvement of the material conditions of the workers and peasants and the expansion of socialist production in the city and village on the basis of the highest technology; that the systematic improvement of the material conditions of the workers, the maximum satisfaction of their continuously growing needs, is the source of the expansion of production and guarantees the workers against crises of overproduction, rising unemployment, and poverty; that, finally, the working class and the toiling peasantry are the masters of the country, working not for the capitalists, but for themselves, for their own toiling people.

"These," said Comrade Stalin, "are the advantages of the *Soviet* economic system over the *capitalist* system .

These are the advantages of the *socialist* organization of the economy over the *capitalist* organization "[360].

The advantages of the Soviet socialist economic system over the capitalist system stem from the fact that the socialist system is based on public ownership of the means of production and

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[360] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 322.

has its own laws of development, fundamentally different from those of a capitalist economy. The socialist economic system knows no anarchy of production, no crises, no unemployment, no parasitic classes squandering the products of social labor. It uncovers new sources and reserves for economic development unknown to capitalism. Inexhaustible reserves are found within the working class itself and the working masses in general, working for themselves and for their society and having every interest in the rapid development of the economy and culture. All this determines the *continuously ascending line of development* of socialist society and its unprecedentedly high rates of growth, in contrast to capitalist society, in which periodically recurring crises set back production.

The Communist Party and Soviet power, in organizing socialist construction, made full use of the opportunities hidden in the socialist economic system, all its advantages, and in an unprecedentedly short period of time carried out the country's transition from backwardness to progress.

The advantages of the Soviet socialist economic system were made possible by the Soviet state's adherence to the correct, scientifically grounded policies of the Bolshevik Party and, under the Party's leadership, its consistent implementation of these policies. In its practical economic management, the Soviet state is steadfastly guided by the Leninist-Stalinist theory of socialist construction and the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the art of managing socialist production. Having developed the mechanism for economic management under the Soviet system, Lenin and Stalin defined the role of all economic levers within the socialist state.

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In all its activities, the Soviet socialist state proceeds from the economic laws of socialism, which, like economic laws in any other society, are objective in nature and independent of the will of the people. The strength of the Soviet socialist state lies in the fact that its activities are based on the laws of social development discovered by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. It acts on the basis of its understanding of objective laws, constantly taking these laws into account in its management of economic and cultural development, and utilizes them in the interests of building communism.

As the working class's instrument in eliminating the old, capitalist foundation and establishing a socialist foundation, the Soviet state ensured the abolition of capitalist relations and the establishment of new, socialist relations. With the abolition of capitalism and the victory of socialism, the economic laws of capitalism lost their force and the laws of socialism came into effect. In all its economic and organizational activities, the Soviet state proceeds from the economic laws of socialism.

The Soviet socialist state *manages* the national economy through planning . The law of planned development of the socialist economy is legally reflected in the Constitution of the Soviet State, which states on this issue: "The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the state national economic plan in the interests of increasing public wealth, steadily raising the material and cultural standards of the working people, strengthening the independence of the USSR, and enhancing its defense capability."

State-planned management of the national economy in the USSR became possible due to the dominance of public, socialist ownership of the means of production. Only the dominance of public, nationwide state ownership transforms the national economy into a unified social organism and

directly links tens and hundreds of thousands of diverse enterprises (from the largest factories and plants to collective farms and commercial enterprises) into a single whole.

Planned, planned development of the national economy is an objective law of socialism, without which a social economy is unthinkable. A large-scale social economy can develop and prosper only on the basis of planned development. Otherwise, it will perish and collapse. This is one of the fundamental features of a socialist economy as opposed to a capitalist economy. Just as the spontaneity and anarchy of production characterize the operation of the laws of capitalist society, so the planned development of the national economy characterizes the socialist system. "There is the same difference here," notes Engels, "as between the destructive force of electricity in thunderstorm lightning and the tamed electricity in the telegraph apparatus and the arc lamp—the same difference as between a fire and fire acting in the service of man"[361].

One of the characteristics of the economic laws of socialism as new laws of societal development is that socialist society can develop only according to a conscious plan. The workers of a socialist society utilize the objective economic laws of this society and put them to work building communism, primarily through the Soviet socialist state, led by the Communist Party. In this case, the objective law of planned development of the socialist national economy is realized through the implementation of state economic plans, which reflect this law.

The law of socialist development, as Comrade Stalin teaches, is the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the workers of socialist society based on the continuous development and improvement of socialist production. The state plan reflects

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[361] F. Engels, Anti-Dühring, p. 263.

this law and, supported by the full might of the Soviet state, expresses the will of all society, all the people, to build communism. The plan, reflecting the material needs of society's development, determines the growth of economic and cultural sectors, establishes the necessary proportions between them, and serves the successful advance of Soviet society toward communism. The socialist plan, based on the labor force of millions of people, is of exceptionally vital, mobilizing significance in the construction of communism.

As Comrade Stalin points out, socialist planning faces three fundamental tasks, in accordance with the requirements of the law of planned economic development and other objective laws of socialism: first, the comprehensive development of heavy industry and its core—mechanical engineering—in order to ensure the independence and autonomy of the USSR's national economy and further strengthen the country's defense capability; second, the consolidation of the undivided dominance of the socialist economic system in order to close all channels for the emergence of capitalist elements; and third, the creation of reserves of material assets and labor force in order to prevent disproportions in the national economy. The solution of these tasks ensures a steady improvement in the material conditions and cultural level of the working masses.

The Soviet state systematically, in accordance with the laws of development of socialist society and the goals of building communism, manages the country's economic life—industry, agriculture, transport, as well as trade, finance, credit, and monetary circulation. The socialist state plans and organizes material supplies, distributes production and financial resources, ensures the rational distribution of productive forces across the country, trains personnel, distributes national income, sets production and consumption levels and prices in state trade, and creates necessary reserves.

Of paramount importance in economic management is the establishment of proportions in the national economy that will best facilitate the construction of communism. Proportions between individual branches of industry, between industry and agriculture, between the production of means of production and consumer goods, and between accumulation and consumption change during the course of socialist construction. By establishing these or other proportions, the Soviet state, in accordance with the objective laws of socialism, ensures the expanded reproduction of socialist relations, the economic independence of the Soviet Union from capitalist countries, and its defense capability.

Under capitalism, the proportions between sectors of the national economy are established spontaneously, as a result of fluctuations in market prices around the value of goods. The spontaneously developing market is the sole regulating force of the capitalist economy. This means that disproportions and anarchy of production are inevitable under capitalism. The Soviet socialist state, relying on socialist industry, socialist agriculture, transport, a monopoly on foreign trade, and a single state budget, manages the national economy as a single whole and systematically establishes national economic proportions in accordance with the laws of planned economic development, the material needs of socialist society, and the fundamental interests of building communism. All this accelerates the rate of development of the socialist national economy many times over that of the capitalist economy.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government devote great attention to the proper deployment of productive forces, taking into account the objectives of the most complete and appropriate use of the country's raw materials, fuel, and other natural resources, as well as the comprehensive development of the economies of all union and autonomous Soviet republics.

Soviet state economic plans always combine the interests of further strengthening the power of the socialist Motherland as a whole with the interests of each union and autonomous republic. Stalin's friendship among peoples is the guarantee of the prosperity and invincibility of the USSR. The Soviet socialist state, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, organizes comprehensive cooperation among nations in the construction of a communist society.

Planned state management of the socialist economy ensures a steady growth of production, increased labor productivity, an increase in the material well-being and cultural level of workers, and the strengthening of the defense of the Motherland.

The Bolshevik Party guided the Soviet socialist state toward the fruitful use of the great power of planning in the interests of the working people, for the construction of communism. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Party exposed and rejected the right-wing opportunist line of focusing on "bottlenecks" in the national economy, which aimed to maintain the country's economic backwardness and thwart the rapid pace of industrialization. The Party also exposed and rejected the dream-like "maximalist" plans that, in reality, led not to economic recovery but to its collapse, to the undermining of the bond between industry and agriculture, between the working class and the peasantry, and to the undermining of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Bolshevik Party advocates optimal plans for the development of the Soviet economy—plans that take into account all development possibilities and are based on the decisive factor—the creative initiative and energy of the working masses. Bolshevik plans ensure high rates of economic development. They are based not on the average

indicators already achieved in production, but on advanced production practices, on progressive standards for the use of equipment, raw materials, fuel, electricity, and other resources.

“Our plans are not forecast plans, not guess plans, but *directive plans* that *are binding* on the governing bodies and that *determine* the direction of our economic development in the *future* on the scale of the *entire* country”[362]. The socialist state, led by the Bolshevik Party, consistently and systematically organizes all work to implement the plan.

Comrade Stalin teaches that a plan is not merely a list of figures and assignments. The reality of the Soviet plan is the labor of millions of people. The most important aspect of the economic activity of the socialist state is the mobilization of Soviet people to fulfill and exceed plans. The Soviet state utilizes the initiative and experience of the masses to refine plans. No plan, Comrade Stalin points out, "can take into account all the possibilities hidden within our system and which are revealed only in the course of work, in the course of implementing the plan..."[363].

Soviet plans are being overfulfilled both nationally and in individual sectors of the economy. This does not mean that plan fulfillment always proceeds smoothly and without difficulties. Individual enterprises, and sometimes individual industries, underfulfill the plan in certain months and even quarters. Some industries, while meeting and even exceeding their plans, still fail to fully satisfy the ever-growing needs of the national economy and the needs of the people. But these difficulties are always overcome by the Soviet state, relying on

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[362] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 327.

[363] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 347.

the socialist system and the creative activity and consciousness of the masses.

An upward trend in development and plan overfulfillment became the law of the Soviet economy. Stalin's pre-war five-year plans were fulfilled ahead of schedule. The first five-year plan was completed in four years and three months. The second five-year plan was completed in the same timeframe. During Stalin's third five-year plan, interrupted by the war, the USSR's economy developed at a faster pace than planned. The fourth (first post-war) five-year plan was also fulfilled ahead of schedule—in four years and three months.

Socialist competition and workers' inventiveness, fostered by the support and organizing role of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, play a vital role in the successful implementation of the USSR's national economic development plans. By studying and synthesizing the creativity of the masses, the Party and state select and implement everything advanced and progressive.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government tirelessly strengthen and refine the planned principle of the Soviet economy. From the first days of Soviet power, Lenin and Stalin demanded a scientific organization of national economic planning. In the spring of 1918, Lenin emphasized the task of national economic planning as the most important task of the socialist state. He wrote: "The organization of accounting, control over the largest enterprises, the transformation of the entire state economic mechanism into a single large machine, an economic organism operating in such a way that hundreds of millions of people are guided by a single plan—this is the gigantic organizational task that has fallen on our shoulders"[364].

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[364] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., p. 68.

Lenin teaches: "Our party program cannot remain merely a party program. It must be transformed into a program for our economic development, otherwise it is useless even as a party program. It must be supplemented by a second party program, a plan for the reconstruction of the entire national economy"[365] . Lenin and Stalin at one time considered the GOELRO plan, the plan for the electrification of Soviet Russia, to be such a "second party program."

Lenin and Stalin recognized that, with the private sector still in existence, the Soviet socialist state could not fully plan the development of the entire national economy. It could only apply indirect planning methods to small-scale peasant farming, influencing it through tax policy, pricing policy, credit, and so on. Comrade Stalin repeatedly pointed this out. In 1928, when the country had already entered the reconstruction period, but small-scale farming still predominated in agriculture, and the kulaks produced a significant portion of the marketable grain, I.V. Stalin demonstrated the futility of attempts to attribute grain procurement difficulties to poor planning. He stated in a conversation with students at the Institute of Red Professors:

"It would be a mistake to downplay the role and importance of planning. But it would be an even greater mistake to exaggerate the role of planning, thinking that we have already reached the level of development where we can plan and regulate everything.

We must not forget that, in addition to the elements that are susceptible to our planned influence, there are other elements in our national economy that are not yet susceptible to

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[365] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 482.

planning; there are, finally, classes hostile to us that cannot be overcome by simple state planning”[366].

The displacement and subsequent liquidation of capitalist elements, the transformation of small-scale production along socialist lines, and the undivided dominance of the socialist economic system transformed the USSR's national economy into a socially homogeneous organism, all elements of which were subordinated to a single state plan. However, the state plan itself, from the very inception of the socialist sector, became the most important condition for this transformation. By implementing planned management of the national economy, the Soviet state, in the shortest historical period, restructured the country's economy along socialist lines, consolidated the dominance of the socialist economic system, and closed all channels and sources of capitalist elements.

The task of state planned management of the national economy of the USSR in the modern period is to ensure the creation of the material and technical basis of communism and the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

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Socialist society, as the first phase of communist society's development, takes a decisive step in eliminating social and class inequality and establishing social equality among people. However, socialist equality has nothing in common with petty-bourgeois egalitarianism, which involves leveling and equalizing the needs and personal lives of society's members.

"By equality," says Comrade Stalin, "Marxism understands not the equalization of personal needs and everyday life, but the

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[366] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, pp. 81–82.

abolition of classes, i.e., a) the equal liberation of all workers from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated, b) the equal abolition of private ownership of the means of production for all after they have been transferred to the ownership of the whole society, c) the equal obligation of all to work according to their abilities and the equal right of all workers to receive for this according to their labor (*socialist* society), d) the equal obligation of all to work according to their abilities and the equal right of all workers to receive for this according to their needs (*communist* society). Marxism proceeds from the fact that people's tastes and needs are not and cannot be identical and equal in quality or quantity either in the period of socialism or in the period of communism.

Here is the Marxist understanding of equality.

Marxism has not recognized and does not recognize any other equality"[367].

Lenin and Stalin approached communist society dialectically, viewing its development as a transition from a lower phase (socialism) to a higher phase (communism). They pointed out that the commonality of these two phases, representing stages in the development of the same socio-economic formation, does not negate the essential differences between them. The victory of socialism in the USSR particularly clearly and tangibly demonstrated the significant differences between socialism and communism in the degree of development of productive forces and the need for extensive and persistent work to transition from socialism to communism. Not pious wishes, but the powerful development of the productive forces of socialist society and the communist re-education of the

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[367] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 355.

workers will be the most important conditions for the transition to a mature, developed communist society.

Since the productive forces of socialist society do not yet produce the full abundance of social wealth necessary for distribution according to need, and the distinction between more skilled and less skilled labor, between hard and easy labor, remains, distribution under socialism can only be based on labor. The obligation to work honestly and the right to receive according to one's labor is the fundamental principle and the most important objective law of socialist society. Adherence to this principle is the fundamental condition for the transition from socialism to communism.

Why is the steadfast implementation of the socialist principle of “equal obligation of all to work according to their abilities and equal right to receive according to the quantity and quality of work” a condition for the transition from socialism to communism?

Firstly, because this principle is a direct development of the original principle of socialism: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat," expressing the fact that capitalist ownership of the means of production has been abolished and the exploitation of man by man has been abolished. The obligation of all to work honestly and the right to receive wages commensurate with the quantity and quality of their labor points, first and foremost, to labor as the foundation of society and the condition for its development.

It's no coincidence that the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" begins with the moment of *production* , with work according to one's ability: work is a condition of society's existence. This is why Comrade Stalin, examining the principle of "from each

according to his ability," points out that under both socialism and communism it expresses the *obligation* to work commensurate with one's abilities, for oneself and for society. The obligation to work is not relieved by the fact that under communism, work will become entirely conscious and voluntary.

Secondly, strict adherence to the socialist principle of "equal obligation for all to work according to their abilities and equal right to receive according to their work" is the most important means of educating and accustoming all people to conscientious work according to their abilities and creating a material incentive for each person to *increase productivity* , ultimately transforming work into a need and a habit. There is no other way to increase productivity and transform work into a need and a habit than by consistently implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to work.

Of course, the fact that labor is transformed into a matter of honor, glory, valor, and heroism plays a huge role in cultivating a communist attitude toward work, as does the attention and public esteem with which socialist society bestows its best workers. But this cultivation must be based on material incentives and material rewards for workers. Lenin repeatedly stated that excellence in work requires material preference and reward.

Third, strict adherence to the principle of socialism is the primary condition for overcoming the gap between skilled and unskilled labor. The difference in wages between skilled and unskilled workers serves as a powerful incentive to improve workers' skills, to raise each worker's cultural and technical level, and to overcome the significant differences between mental and physical labor that still exist under socialism. The socialist principle of distribution according to work thus serves

as an important lever for overcoming these differences between mental and physical labor and for raising labor productivity to the level necessary for the transition to communism. Thus, the socialist principle of distribution promotes the development of each individual's creative abilities and initiative, which is important both for the personal interests of each worker and for the interests of society as a whole.

Fourth, strict adherence to the socialist principle of distribution according to work creates an incentive for every worker to work at the institution, enterprise, or collective farm where they work, and eliminates any incentive for skilled workers to seek a "better position." This helps eliminate labor turnover. It is well known that labor turnover disrupts the organized work of a socialist enterprise.

Violating the socialist principle of distribution and adopting a petty-bourgeois system of equalization, whereby workers are paid regardless of the quantity and quality of their work, regardless of their qualifications, is detrimental to society. Equalization rewards slackers and makes it difficult to combat violations of labor discipline. It deprives workers of the prospect of advancement, destroying their incentive to improve their productivity and skills, and leads to a high turnover of skilled labor. All of this, taken together, undermines the fundamental pillar of socialism—honest, creative, constructive labor. This is why Comrade Stalin repeatedly emphasized the harm of equalization and its incompatibility with socialism.

In examining the forms of the collective farm movement, particularly the agricultural artel and commune, Comrade Stalin demonstrated in his report to the 17th Party Congress that the artel is the only correct form of collective farm movement at the present stage, as it correctly combines the personal and everyday interests of collective farmers with their

social interests and successfully adapts personal and everyday interests to social ones, thereby facilitating the education of collective farmers in the spirit of communism. This is why agricultural communes in the early 1930s were forced to adopt the Agricultural Artel Charter. Previously, agricultural communes had socialized not only the basic means of production but also the daily life of each commune member, and commune members did not have personal use of household land, cows, small livestock, poultry, etc.

The equalizing tendencies in agricultural communes were analogous to the petty-bourgeois views of leftist blockheads in industry, who refused to distinguish between skilled and unskilled labor and tried to establish "communes" in factories and plants so that workers would contribute their wages to a "common pot" and then divide them equally. Comrade Stalin condemned and ridiculed the equalization of needs and personal needs as a reactionary petty-bourgeois absurdity, worthy of "...some primitive sect of ascetics, but not of a socialist society organized in a Marxist manner..."[368].

Comrade Stalin demonstrated that not only under socialism but also under communism, people's tastes and needs will differ, and satisfying the needs of culturally developed people will not at all mean equalizing their tastes and needs in either quality or quantity. "It is time to understand," says I. V. Stalin, "that Marxism is the enemy of egalitarianism"[369].

The Soviet socialist state is guided by the directives of Lenin and Stalin on the fundamental principles of socialism in its economic and organizational activities. The socialist state

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[368] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 354.

[369] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 355.

persistently and steadfastly implements the socialist principle of the obligation for all to work according to their abilities and the right to receive wages according to their work, as well as the principle of material and moral rewards for good performance. The Soviet state suppresses any violation of this principle, taking measures of persuasion and coercion, including administrative and judicial ones, against those who violate it.

The share of national income that goes toward personal consumption is primarily embodied in wages for blue-collar and white-collar workers and in workday income for collective farmers. The wage tariff system in the USSR is based on socialist principles; it is designed to accurately account for the quantity and quality of each worker's labor and takes into account the differences between skilled and unskilled labor. Piecework wages in their various forms (direct piecework, piecework with bonuses, and piecework) and time-based wages are structured accordingly. Bonuses for specific performance indicators are widely used for workers receiving time-based wages. At the same time, wages take into account the difference between hard work and light work, and take into account working conditions, as a result of which workers, engineers, and technicians working underground receive higher wages than those working on the surface, those working in the workshop receive more than those working in the office, etc.

The wages of workers and employees and the income of collective farmers, received from workdays and from their household plots, do not cover the entire share of the national income of the USSR that goes to satisfy the personal needs of workers, employees and collective farmers, since these needs are served by society and the state in other forms: through social insurance, health care, cultural and educational institutions, etc.

The Soviet state also uses the wage system as a lever for concentrating the workforce and engineering and technical personnel in leading branches of industry, as well as for the planned distribution of the workforce across the regions of the country, differentiating wages for different regions of the country and different branches of industry.

On collective farms, collective farmers' labor is calculated in workdays. To better reflect not only the quantity of labor but also its quality, additional workdays were added for increased crop yields and livestock productivity in 1941. The February 1947 Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the April 19, 1948, Resolution of the Council of Ministers "On Measures to Improve Organization, Increase Productivity, and Regulate Remuneration on Collective Farms" established a system in which collective farmers' remuneration for all their labor is dependent on the final results of their work. This ensures that elements of equalization are completely eliminated, as remuneration is based on an accurate accounting of not only the quantity but also the quality of labor.

Thus, in collective farms, as in state-owned enterprises, the Soviet state introduces and consistently implements the socialist principle of distribution according to work. Consistent implementation of the principle of socialism promotes the development of society's productive forces, increases labor productivity, and is invaluable for the communist education of the masses and for transforming labor into a human need.

The socialist state combines the strict implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor and related measures of material incentives for those who work well with the use of social means of influence, and above all such as moral condemnation of violators of labor

discipline and the creation of an atmosphere of respect and honor for honest and most advanced workers.

Government awards (orders, medals, honorary titles, Stalin Prizes) are combined with the commitment of the Soviet public —workers' organizations and the Soviet press—to creating an atmosphere of respect and honor for leading industrial and cultural workers. All these measures contribute to accelerating the communist education of workers in socialist society and completely overcoming the vestiges of capitalism in the public consciousness.

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The planned development of the national economy, the principle of "equal obligation for all to work according to their abilities and equal right to receive according to the quantity and quality of their labor," like other laws of socialism, are born of the socialist mode of production. But socialist society not only gives rise to new economic laws, such as those just mentioned, but also utilizes some laws that were in force under capitalism and even before capitalism. This is the case, for example, with the law of value.

The economic condition that gives rise to the law of value is commodity production. As soon as the development of productive forces gave rise to the social division of labor, private property, exchange, and money, commodity production took shape. Commodity production reached a significant level of development in slave societies, and even more so in feudal societies. In capitalist societies, commodity production becomes universal, as a result of which everything, including the labor power of the worker, becomes a commodity.

During the transition from capitalism to socialism, small-scale rural production, as demonstrated above, entered into economic

relations with the socialist city through commodity exchange and trade. The Soviet state, relying on socialist industry, made every effort to develop state and cooperative-collective farm trade, seeking to displace and eliminate private capitalist elements from trade, so that trade between the socialist and small-scale commodity sectors would be fully served by Soviet trade. Demonstrating the importance of trade and the monetary system for the construction of socialism, Comrade Stalin said in 1925:

"The point is not that trade and the monetary system are methods of a 'capitalist economy'. The point is that the socialist elements of our economy, fighting against the capitalist elements, are mastering these methods and weapons of the bourgeoisie to overcome the capitalist elements, that they are successfully using them against capitalism, and are successfully using them to build the socialist foundation of our economy. The point is, therefore, that, thanks to the dialectic of our development, the functions and purpose of these instruments of the bourgeoisie are changing fundamentally , radically, changing in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism"[370].

The solution to the problems of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, the liquidation of capitalism, and the establishment of socialism in the USSR, as I. V. Stalin demonstrated, did not resolve the issue of using the commodity-money system to serve the socialist economy. Comrade Stalin repeatedly pointed out that the economic life of Soviet socialist society was unthinkable without the development of Soviet trade. "We have had cases," Comrade Stalin said at the 17th Party Congress, "when there were quite a

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[370] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, pp. 369–370.

few goods and products, but not only did they not reach the consumer, but they continued to languish for years in the bureaucratic recesses of the so-called commodity distribution network—away from the consumer. Understandably, under these conditions, industry and agriculture lost all incentive to expand production, the commodity distribution network became overstocked, and workers and peasants were left without goods and products. The result was economic disruption in the country, despite the availability of goods and products. In order for the economic life of the country to be in full swing, and for industry and agriculture to have an incentive to further increase their output, one more condition must be met, namely, an expanded trade turnover between the city and the village, between the districts and regions of the country, between the various branches of the national economy"[371].

The fundamental difference between commodity production under socialism and commodity production under capitalism is that commodity production under socialism develops on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, under conditions where neither the means of production nor labor power are commodities, and the exploitation of man by man is forever abolished. Commodity production under socialism occurs without capitalists or other exploiters, and commodity circulation is limited to personal consumption items.

Accordingly, Soviet trade is fundamentally different from capitalist trade. The fundamental difference between Soviet trade and capitalist trade is that it is state and cooperative-collective farm trade, that it is conducted without capitalists large or small, that it is conducted not for profit, but in the interests of best serving the needs of society. Soviet trade, in

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[371] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 340–341.

the hands of the Soviet socialist state, is a vital lever for the development of industry, agriculture, and transport, and for raising the living standards of workers.

That's why Lenin and Stalin, along with the Bolshevik Party, resolutely fought and continue to fight against the underestimation of the importance of Soviet trade. Comrade Stalin smashed the harmful leftist chatter that Soviet trade was a bygone era, that it was in line with the New Economic Policy (NEP), and that with the construction of socialism, it was necessary to abolish trade and money and move on to establishing direct product exchange.

"...Money," says Comrade Stalin, "is that instrument of the bourgeois economy which the Soviet government took into its hands and adapted to the interests of socialism in order to expand Soviet trade to the fullest extent and thereby prepare the conditions for direct product exchange... product exchange can only replace and result from an ideally organized Soviet trade, which we do not have even a trace of and which we will not have any time soon"[372].

Thus, direct product exchange and the disappearance of trade and money in a communist society can only be achieved through the comprehensive development of Soviet trade and the monetary system.

In all its activities in managing the socialist economy, the Soviet socialist state is guided by Comrade Stalin's theoretical principles and directives on the nature and role of trade and money, which serve the construction of communism. The Soviet state tirelessly strengthens the USSR's monetary system,

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[372] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 343.

increases the purchasing power of the Soviet ruble, and develops Soviet trade.

The preservation of commodity production under socialism determines the preservation of the law of value. However, as I. V. Stalin points out, the operation of the law of value under socialism is fundamentally different from its operation under capitalism.

Firstly, under capitalism, private ownership of the means of production prevails, labor power is a commodity, and all material and spiritual values become commodities. Under socialism, public ownership of the means of production prevails undividedly, as a result of which labor power, land, its mineral wealth, mines, quarries, factories, plants, railways, steamships, etc. are no longer commodities. Under capitalism, the universal nature of commodity production leads to value being the universal law of social production and distribution. Under socialism, commodity production serves only for personal consumption, and therefore the operation of the law of value is limited.

Secondly, under capitalism, the law of value operates as a spontaneous force and, due to the anarchy of production, leads to crises and reveals its destructive nature. The socialist state masters the law of value, limits its operation, and, relying on public property and the laws of the socialist economy, prevents its destructive effects, transforming it into a lever of state-controlled planning for the national economy.

Third, under capitalism, where private ownership of the means of production prevails, value inevitably transforms into surplus value, serving the bourgeoisie to increase profits and exploit and oppress workers. Under socialism, value is an instrument that serves the trade turnover of socialist society, implementing

the socialist principle of distribution according to labor and socialist economic methods (business accounting, reduction of unproductive expenses, etc.), and raising the living standards of workers. At the same time, value and money serve as a powerful means of socialist accumulation and expansion of the basic production assets of socialist society.

In the hands of the Soviet socialist state, value and money serve as a powerful tool for rational management of the economy, for control by the ruble, for increasing labor productivity and reducing the cost of production, for increasing the profitability of enterprises.

Let's take cost accounting as an example. The essence of cost accounting is that the Soviet socialist state grants operational independence to enterprises, grants them the rights of a legal entity, places material and monetary assets at their disposal, permits them to independently enter into economic relations with other enterprises, purchase and sell under contracts with other enterprises, and so on. The cost accounting method directly correlates enterprise expenses with revenues and actively encourages increased profitability by reducing unproductive expenses, conserving materials, fuel, and electricity, increasing labor productivity, and reducing production costs. This method best facilitates intra-industrial accumulation. In this regard, cost accounting represents, figuratively speaking, the application of the fundamental principle of socialism to production management. Cost accounting is organically linked to the socialist organization of labor and, in a certain sense, is a complement and further development of the principle of socialist labor organization and distribution according to work.

In order for cost accounting as a method of socialist management to produce the desired effect, it is necessary that it

penetrate all links and sections of the work of a cost-accounting enterprise, from the workshop to the section and team, so that strict control over the consumption of materials and the expenditure of electricity is carried out everywhere, so that the results of production in each section ultimately determine the income of individual workers associated with this section.

It is further necessary that economic accounting be based on such measures and means of management as the reduction of unproductive expenses, the strictest economy regime, rationalization of production, reduction of production costs, etc.

Cost accounting is inextricably linked to national economic planning and is a tool for the planned management of enterprises. Cost accounting is designed to ensure the fulfillment of the state plan at the lowest possible cost, with the greatest possible accumulation, in the interests of both the enterprise and its employees, as well as, above all, society. Under cost accounting, the enterprise is independent "while strictly adhering to production and financial discipline within established limits"[373].

Consequently, the enterprise's independence must be used to best fulfill the state plan, not to undermine it. The Soviet state resolutely suppresses any attempt by enterprise managers to spend funds outside the limits established by the state plan and Soviet laws.

This reveals the connection between economic accounting and the socialist principles of labor organization and distribution according to work, as well as national economic planning. The

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[373] See the Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of December 5, 1929 on the reorganization of industrial management.

state plan, the socialist principle of distribution according to work, and economic accounting stem from the nature of socialist production relations and express the nature of the new social system and the new type of state—socialist society and the Soviet socialist state.

The role of the Soviet socialist state in organizing and directing the country's economic life is not limited to directing the activities of the economic apparatus and the targeted use of economic levers and recognized objective economic laws. The Soviet socialist state is a
powerful *economic and political* force. These two aspects are inextricably and organically linked, constitute a unity, and are aspects of the functioning of a single state apparatus. Accordingly, not only the economic activity of the Soviet state, as the embodiment of Communist Party policy, functions as a *political* activity, but all political activity of this state as a whole, indirectly or directly, serves the development of a socialist *economy* and *culture* . The socialist state utilizes all its economic and political power in the interests of developing a socialist economy and culture, in the interests of building communism.

As the embodiment of the moral and political unity of the people and the instrument of the working masses in the struggle for communism, the Soviet socialist state acts as the organizer of workers for new labor feats. Through all its activities, it promotes the growth of initiative and the development of creativity among the masses. In this work of organizing the masses and educating them in communist principles, the Soviet state relies on numerous public organizations of workers, together with which, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, it mobilizes and organizes the people for the construction of communism. One of the greatest sources of strength, power, and invincibility of the

Soviet socialist state lies in its close and unbreakable ties with mass public organizations and the people.

4. Economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state during the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism.

Socialism and communism are two phases of development of the same socio-economic formation, directly opposed to the capitalist formation. Before the victory of the socialist revolution, Marxists naturally placed primary emphasis on the contrasts between these two formations. At that time, from the perspective of the urgent practical tasks of the revolutionary liberation movement, the differences between the phases of the communist formation were insignificant. But already on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution, Lenin, in his famous book, "State and Revolution," warned that over time, when the working class begins to build socialism and achieves it, it will see that the differences between the two phases of communism, despite their common foundations, are enormous.

Now that the Soviet people have built socialism and have begun to build communism, these differences are becoming ever clearer to them, showing the enormity and greatness of the tasks they have begun to solve.

With the victory of socialism, the economic, organizational, and cultural-educational functions of the Soviet socialist state reached their full development. The economic, organizational, and cultural-educational activities of the Soviet socialist state constitute a necessary condition for the construction of communism.

The construction of communism requires, first and foremost, the solution of the USSR's fundamental economic task: to overtake the major capitalist countries in economic terms, i.e.,

in per capita production. This task was set by Comrade Stalin back at the 18th Party Congress. A necessary prerequisite for the solution of this task is the development of the national economy, designed to guarantee our homeland against all contingencies. In his historic speech to voters on February 9, 1946, I. V. Stalin said: "We must ensure that our industry can produce annually up to 50 million tons of pig iron, up to 60 million tons of steel, up to 500 million tons of coal, up to 60 million tons of oil. Only under this condition can we consider that our homeland will be guaranteed against all contingencies. This will probably take three new five-year plans, if not more. But this can be done, and we must do it"[374].

The construction of communism will mean a new, enormous leap forward in the development of the productive forces of the Soviet Union, the achievement of high labor productivity, capable of providing such an abundance of consumer goods that it will make it possible to implement the basic principle of communism: “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”

Historical materialism teaches that the development of productive forces always begins with the improvement and development of the tools of labor. Under socialism, technological advances and the introduction of new machines enhance worker skills, raising the cultural and technical standards of the working masses. The Soviet state is guided by Comrade Stalin's directives on the crucial importance of the production of the means of production—heavy industry—for equipping the entire national economy with the latest technology, meeting the requirements of a large-scale socialist

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[374] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at pre-election meetings of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, pp. 22–23.

economy. Implementation of these directives by Comrade Stalin made it possible to quickly transform the Soviet Union into a powerful industrial and collective farming power, making a giant leap from backwardness to progress.

Now the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state were organizing a new, powerful surge in the USSR's productive forces, essential for the transition from socialism to communism. It is well known that the successful construction of socialism and the adoption of the new USSR Constitution meant that the country had entered a new phase of development—the completion of socialist construction and the gradual transition to communism. But the peaceful, creative work of the Soviet people was interrupted by the treacherous attack of Nazi Germany.

During the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet socialist economy continued to develop according to the laws of expanded socialist reproduction: industry boomed in the Volga region, the Urals, Siberia, and the Central Asian republics; crops expanded in territories not occupied by the Nazi invaders. All higher education institutions and art and cultural institutions continued to operate, and new ones were opened. However, naturally, during the Great Patriotic War, the economic and organizational activities of the Soviet state, like all its activities, were directly subordinated to one goal: defending the country and defeating the enemy. The country's economy during the war inevitably assumed a military character, and the economic management system itself could not help but assume a quasi-military character. In the occupied regions of the country, the enemy inflicted colossal damage on the economy, destroying industrial enterprises, transport, state farms, machine and tractor stations, and collective farms in Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic Soviet Republics, Moldova, and many

regions of the RSFSR. As a result of this destruction, the country suffered losses of 679 billion rubles.

Having resumed the peaceful construction interrupted by the war after the victorious end of the war, the Soviet socialist state and the Soviet people had to first heal the wounds inflicted by the war, restore the national economy, and then surpass the pre-war level of development. This was the task the fourth (first post-war) five-year plan was intended to accomplish.

During the first post-war five-year plan, the Soviet people were to make significant progress in creating the material and technical basis for communism. Consequently, during the five-year plan, work was to be undertaken on the comprehensive mechanization of production, the automation and chemicalization of industry, the further electrification of the country, and the transformation of nature. The material well-being and cultural level of the working people were to increase at an accelerating pace.

Guided by the Leninist-Stalinist theory of building communism and consistently implementing the policies of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet socialist state develops the productive forces of Soviet society, because the development of production is a decisive condition for creating an abundance of material goods, necessary for the transition to the communist principle of distribution. In this regard, the Soviet state is consistently guided by the fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism: that the development of production determines the nature of consumption, and that the solution of production problems is the primary condition for resolving all other problems. At the same time, the Soviet state recognizes that the development of the productive forces of socialist society is unthinkable without the communist education of the masses, without overcoming the vestiges of capitalism in their consciousness, and without

raising the material and cultural standards of the working masses, which is achieved through the development of production.

In its management of economic development during the gradual transition from socialism to communism, the Soviet socialist state proceeds from the premise that the path to communism lies through strengthening the foundations of socialism: through the development of both forms of socialist property, through the consistent implementation of the socialist principle of distribution based on the quantity and quality of labor, and through the strengthening of Soviet trade and the Soviet monetary system. Only the comprehensive strengthening of the foundations of socialism can pave the way for the future erasure of the boundaries between the two forms of socialist property and the transition to the communist principle of distribution: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR (1946–1950) based its objectives on these fundamental tenets of Marxist-Leninist theory and responded to the pressing challenges facing the country in the post-war period. The enormous work accomplished by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Socialist State in guiding economic and cultural development, coupled with the patriotic, political, and labor enthusiasm of the Soviet people, ensured the successful fulfillment, and, in the case of the most important tasks, the overfulfillment, of the Five-Year Plan. According to the Five-Year Plan, the volume of industrial output in 1950 was expected to increase by 48%, but it actually increased by 73% compared to the pre-war level of 1940. For the main types of industrial production, the increase in output compared to the pre-war level of 1940 was expressed in the following figures (in percentages):

	1940	1950
Cast iron	100	129
Steel	100	149
Rental	100	159
Coal	100	157
Oil	100	122
Electricity production	100	187
Mechanical engineering	100	230

The country's fixed production assets increased by 58% over the five-year period. Based on the latest technological advances, the technical level of the entire industry was further enhanced. The Soviet state equipped production with powerful modern technology, increased its mechanization and automation, widely disseminated the experience of production innovators, rationalizers, and inventors, and established progressive standards for the use of equipment, raw materials, and electricity.

During the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the machine tool inventory more than doubled compared to 1940, thanks to the addition of new, more productive machines. In 1950 alone, 400 new types and brands of machines and mechanisms were developed and

introduced into production. The electrical power per worker in industry increased by 1.5 times during the same period.

The pace of implementation of new, more advanced production methods is illustrated by the following example. In 1950, twice as many metal-cutting machines were converted to high-speed cutting as in 1949. As a result of the introduction and development of new technology, further improvements in worker skills, improved labor organization, and the continued development of the Stakhanovite movement, labor productivity in industry increased by 37% over five years.

Communism presupposes the electrification of production processes in industry and agriculture, as well as the electrification of transportation. The Communist Party and the Soviet government place exceptional emphasis on developing the USSR's energy base. The construction of the Kuibyshev and Stalingrad hydroelectric power stations on the Volga, the Kakhovka hydroelectric power station on the Dnieper, and hydroelectric power stations in the area of the Main Turkmen Canal (Amu Darya-Krasnovodsk) and on the Don will play a colossal role in creating the material and technical foundation of communism. The implementation of these great communist projects will ensure a new leap in the development of the country's productive forces and will mean a huge increase in electricity production, the commissioning of new industrial enterprises, the reconstruction of existing and the construction of new waterways, the expansion of cultivated areas, increased crop yields, and increased livestock productivity.

The great communist construction projects successfully carried out in the USSR have no equal in the world. The following comparative data gives some idea of the scale of these projects: the total capacity of new hydroelectric power plants on the Volga, Dnieper, and Don rivers, and in the area of the Main

Turkmen Canal, will exceed 4 million kilowatts. The most powerful hydroelectric power plants in the United States are the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River (with a capacity of 972,000 kW) and the Boulder Dam on the Colorado River (1,030,000 kW). The capacity of both of these hydroelectric power plants is equal to that of the Kuibyshev Dam alone. The Stalingrad and Kuibyshev hydroelectric power plants will exceed the capacity of 30 major US power plants. The annual electricity generation of the new Soviet hydroelectric power plants will be 18 times greater than the total output of all the hydroelectric power plants in England.

The canals being built in the USSR are equally grandiose. Suffice it to say that the Main Turkmen Canal will be 1,100 km long (the Suez Canal is 166 km, the Kiel Canal is 98 km, and the Panama Canal is 81.6 km).

The pace of construction is even more astonishing. New giants must be built and operational within five years. The Grand Coulee hydroelectric dam in the US has been under construction for nearly twenty years and is still not ready. Boulder Dam has been promoted for over 40 years, but it still isn't operating at full capacity.

The entire Soviet people participate in the construction of the great projects of communism, and all branches of the USSR's industry serve them. The Soviet state is required to perform a tremendous amount of organizational work to implement these great projects.

All this testifies to the further development of the economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state in the post-war period.

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The Communist Party and the Soviet government organized the victory of the collective farm system. As a result, the economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state were fully developed in the countryside as well. Collective farming is a large-scale socialist enterprise and cannot exist and develop without planned management by the Soviet state.

The development of socialist agriculture, like the development of industry, is determined and guided by the national economic plan. The Soviet socialist state determines the growth of agricultural output, the quantitative ratio of crops produced, crop yields, livestock growth, the rate of agricultural mechanization, and the mandatory system of agricultural practices. The state provides socialist agriculture with ongoing assistance in the form of machinery, chemical fertilizers, improved livestock breeds, etc.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government stand guard over the interests of collective farm production and resolutely suppress violations of the Charter of the agricultural artel, anti-collective farm and anti-state tendencies, which in some places manifest themselves in violations of labor discipline, the theft of collective farm property, the squandering of collective farm lands and other assets, and in the opposition of the interests of the collective farm and the state.

At the same time, the Communist Party and the Soviet government ensure that collective farms strictly adhere to the principle of combining the collective farm's public interests with the personal interests of collective farmers, and that the socialist principle of distribution based on the quantity and quality of labor is consistently implemented. Following the recommendation of the Soviet state, collective farmers have adopted the principle of additional pay for high productivity and accrue workdays based on performance, thus strengthening

workdays as a concrete embodiment of the socialist principle of distribution based on the quantity and quality of labor on collective farms. A Council for Collective Farm Affairs has been established under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, tasked with monitoring the implementation of Party and government decisions and submitting proposals to the USSR government on matters of collective farm development.

Large-scale socialist agriculture also requires new, socialist forms of labor. The primary form of labor organization on collective farms is the production brigade, staffed by a permanent staff of collective farmers. Brigade-based labor organization allows for the most productive use of the powerful, sophisticated equipment of machine and tractor stations and the means of production of the artels themselves, and leverages the advantages of collective forms of labor. The Soviet state strives to further strengthen the production brigade. The Party and government condemned the distortions in labor organization on collective farms, when some workers began to replace production brigades with separate units. In highly mechanized grain farming, where the main work is performed by MTS machines, the creation of separate units means a dissipation of the artel's resources and manpower, a return from advanced technology and collective forms of labor to outdated technology and backward farming practices that hinder the productive use of tractors, combines, and other complex machinery.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state are pursuing a policy of consolidating small collective farms that lack the capacity to effectively utilize modern technology and advances in agricultural science. Large collective farms utilize tractors, combines, and other sophisticated machinery more efficiently; they have the opportunity to conduct diversified farming based on proper crop rotation and the most advanced agricultural

technology. Large collective farms offer better conditions than small ones for the development of highly productive communal livestock farming, as they offer greater opportunities for introducing forage crop rotations, constructing improved facilities, mechanizing operations, and so on. Large collective farms offer greater opportunities for constructing collective farm power plants, carrying out large-scale irrigation and land reclamation work, and other work to expand the material and technical resources of the communal farm. Finally, large farms offer greater opportunities for developing and properly utilizing agricultural management specialists.

This in no way implies that we should relax our attention to small collective farms, embark on a path of discrediting and denigrating them, or on the forced amalgamation of small collective farms. Nothing could be more erroneous or harmful than such a view. The Bolshevik Party, the Soviet government, and Comrade Stalin emphasize the need to care for all collective farm production, the need for careful preparation of all measures for the consolidation of collective farms, and strict adherence to the principle of voluntariness when implementing collective farm mergers. At the same time, the Communist Party points out the impropriety of substituting collective farm consolidation with the resettlement of collective farmers and the far-fetched establishment of agro-towns, which emphasizes issues of living arrangements at the expense of production. In all their efforts to guide collective farm development, the Party and the Soviet government proceed from Comrade Stalin's repeated instructions that production plays a decisive role in the development of any social system. The consolidation of small collective farms represents a new step forward in improving collective farm production. The development of collective farm production lies at the basis of the development

of the culture and life of the collective farm village, and not vice versa.

Machine and tractor stations (MTSs) are the most important lever of state management of collective farms. Through MTSs, the Soviet state implements the mechanization of agriculture. Over the five-year period (1946–1950), 536,000 tractors (equal to 15-horsepower units) and 93,000 grain combines, including 39,000 self-propelled ones, were supplied to agriculture.

In 1950 alone, Soviet agriculture received over 180,000 tractors (equal to 15 horsepower), 46,000 combine harvesters, including 23,000 self-propelled ones, 82,000 trucks, and over 1.7 million trailed implements. Mechanization now encompasses not only tillage but also sowing and processing of both grain and industrial crops. Beet harvesters, flax combines, self-propelled hay mowers, potato planters, cotton harvesters, and other machines appeared in collective farm fields.

Even during the war years and especially in the post-war period, rural electrification made significant progress. In 1949 alone, almost 10 times more collective farms were electrified than in the pre-war year of 1940. There are now regions in which almost all collective farms are supplied with electricity. The capacity of rural power plants in 1950 was 2.8 times greater than in 1940.

The Party and Soviet government's directives on combating drought play a crucial role in agricultural development. The Party and government's directives on this matter were most fully expressed in the landmark October 1948 resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), "On the Plan for Protective Afforestation, the Introduction of Grassland Crop Rotations, and the Construction of Ponds and Reservoirs to

Ensure High and Sustainable Yields in the Steppe and Forest-Steppe Regions of the European USSR." The implementation of this ambitious Stalinist plan for transforming nature will lead to a gigantic leap forward in the development of socialist agriculture and livestock farming.

Struggling to implement this plan, collective farms, state farms, machine and tractor stations, forestry enterprises, and forest protection stations had planted and seeded protective forests on an area of 1,350 million hectares by the end of the first post-war five-year plan, including 760,000 hectares in 1950. In 1951, protective forests were planted and seeded on an area of 745,000 hectares.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government are committed to introducing the achievements of modern science and best practices into agricultural production. Of crucial importance in this regard is the 1950 resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) "On the Organization of the Promotion and Implementation of Scientific Achievements and Best Practices in Agriculture."

The Soviet socialist state, through its economic and organizational activities, ensured great success in agriculture in the post-war period. Gross agricultural output in 1950 as a whole exceeded the pre-war level of 1940, and the gross grain harvest in 1950 exceeded the 1940 level by 345 million poods. In 1949 and 1950, the yield of grain crops was 13% higher than in 1940. The sown area under industrial crops increased by 59% compared to 1940. The gross cotton harvest over the five-year period increased by 2.9 times, flax fiber - more than 2 times, sugar beet - 2.7 times, sunflower - by 70%. In 1951, the

gross grain harvest in the USSR amounted to 7.4 billion poods[375].

The three-year state plan for the development of public, collective, and state farm productive livestock farming is being successfully implemented. The number of productive livestock, which had declined sharply during the war, exceeded the pre-war level by 4% over the five-year period. And in 1951, the total livestock population in the USSR increased by almost 14 million head, including more than 1.6 million cattle, 2.6 million pigs, 8.5 million sheep and goats, and almost 1 million horses.

Public collective farm ownership is growing and strengthening. The indivisible assets of collective farms—the foundation of public wealth and a decisive factor in the development of the collective farm system—in 1950 increased by 1.6 times compared to 1940.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state, in guiding the collective farms, utilize the advantages of the collective farm system for the comprehensive expansion of agricultural production and, on this basis, achieve a steady increase in the material and cultural standard of living of the collective farmers.

The collective farm village is changing its appearance: new types of public buildings and collective farm workers' homes have appeared, libraries and reading rooms, clubs, cinemas, theaters, stadiums, rest homes, and so on are being created. The collective farm village is increasingly approaching the standard

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[375] See "On the results of the implementation of the state plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR in 1951. Report of the Central Statistical Administration under the Council of Ministers of the USSR", Gospolitizdat, 1952, p. 14.

of living of the socialist city. The remaining significant differences between city and village are gradually being eliminated. The collective farm peasantry, together with the working class, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, is successfully moving toward communism. The mechanization of agricultural production, the introduction of advanced agricultural technology, increased yields of all crops, and a rapid increase in livestock numbers with increased productivity, proper labor organization, and the communist education of collective farmers—these are the decisive conditions for achieving these goals.

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By organizing social production, the Soviet socialist state ensures rapid and continuous growth of the USSR's national income. National income in the Soviet Union is used to expand socialist production, to create necessary reserves, and to meet other national and public needs, as well as to satisfy the personal material and cultural needs of workers and systematically improve the people's well-being. In a socialist society, Comrade Stalin teaches, production serves to maximize the satisfaction of workers' needs, raising their material well-being and cultural level. This is the law of development of a socialist society.

During the pre-war five-year plans (1928–1940), the national income in the USSR increased from 25 billion rubles to 128.3 billion rubles (in 1926/27 prices). National income in 1950, the last year of the fourth five-year plan, increased by 64% compared to the national income of 1940, and in 1951 it increased by 12% compared to the national income of 1950.

In contrast to the capitalist system, where the bulk of national income goes not to workers and not to productive expenditures,

but to serving parasitic classes and preparing wars of conquest, in the Soviet Union, the entire national income belongs to the workers. For example, in 1950–1951, approximately three - quarters of the national income was received by workers in the USSR to satisfy their personal material and cultural needs, while the remainder remained at the disposal of the state, collective farms, and cooperative organizations for the expansion of socialist production and other public needs.

The Soviet socialist state places great emphasis on developing Soviet trade. For the first time in history, our country has created an organized market where goods are sold at prices set or regulated by the state. Goods placed into circulation at state prices ensure the stability of the Soviet currency. As national economic plans are successfully implemented, labor productivity increases, production costs decrease, and inventories and reserves accumulate, the Soviet socialist state systematically reduces prices on consumer goods. Consequently, the purchasing power of the Soviet ruble increases, real wages for blue-collar workers and employees rise, and the incomes of collective farm peasants increase.

The Soviet state systematically reduced prices on consumer goods year after year. As a result of the 1947 currency reform and the significant reduction in retail prices in 1948, the purchasing power of the ruble doubled, and real wages of blue-collar workers and employees more than doubled compared to 1947. The second reduction in retail prices, begun in 1948 and completed on March 1, 1949, led to a further increase in real wages of blue-collar workers and employees and the incomes of collective farmers. From the price reductions implemented on March 1, 1950, the Soviet people gained 110 billion rubles annually. On March 1, 1951, the fourth price reduction since the 1947 currency reform was implemented, giving the

population a gain of over 35 billion rubles annually. On April 1, 1952, the fifth price reduction was carried out, which gave the population of the USSR a gain of 28 billion rubles per year.

The incomes of Soviet workers, employees and collective farmers in 1950 in comparable prices increased by 62% compared to 1940. From various types of payments and benefits (benefits and social insurance payments, pensions, free and discounted vouchers to sanatoriums and rest homes, benefits for large families and single mothers, leave with pay, etc.) at the expense of the state, the population received 120 billion rubles in 1950, i.e. 3 times more than in 1940, and in 1951 it received these benefits and payments worth 125 billion rubles[376].

The Soviet socialist state spends enormous resources on further improving medical and sanitary-preventive services for the population, on the development of culture, science, and the arts. In 1951 alone, the number of beds in hospitals and maternity homes increased by almost 50,000, the number of places in sanatoriums and rest homes by 18,000, and the number of doctors increased by more than 6%. The USSR state budget for 1952 allocated 22.8 billion rubles for healthcare and physical education, and 4.5 billion rubles for benefits for large families and single mothers. In 1952, 60 billion rubles were allocated for public education. In 1952 alone, the number of students in higher education increased by 60,000, and the number of students in technical schools by 57,000.

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[376] See "On the results of the implementation of the state plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR in 1951. Report of the Central Statistical Administration under the Council of Ministers of the USSR", p. 24.

The opposite picture is observed in capitalist countries, where there is a catastrophic decline in the standard of living of workers, unemployment increases, prices rise uncontrollably, wages fall, and the absolute and relative impoverishment of workers intensifies.

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The construction of communism in the USSR is taking place amid a struggle between two camps on the international stage —the democratic, anti-imperialist camp, led by the USSR, and the imperialist, anti-democratic camp, led by the United States. Lenin and Stalin point to two tendencies in the capitalist world's attitude toward the socialist world: a tendency toward aggression against the USSR, toward an economic blockade, and a tendency toward businesslike trade relations with the USSR.

The Soviet state, based on the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the possibility of peaceful coexistence between the two systems, supports the tendency of capitalist countries to engage in business relations with the USSR. Business-to-business trade relations serve both the interests of the Soviet Union and those of business circles in capitalist countries.

By developing a socialist economy within a capitalist encirclement, the Soviet state exercises a monopoly on foreign trade, protecting the planned socialist economy from the corrupting influence of the decaying, predatory capitalist economy. Foreign trade provides the Soviet state with additional resources to accelerate the development of the socialist economy.

In contrast to the “cooperation” of capitalist countries under the American “Marshall Plan,” the essence of which is to strangle the economies of other countries and subordinate them to the

interests of American monopolies, the Soviet Union builds its relations with other countries on the principles of genuine equality and mutual benefit.

The Marshall Plan transformed European capitalist countries into raw material appendages and strategic bases for American imperialism, undermining industries competing with US industry, and leading to the militarization of these countries' economies. The implementation of the Marshall Plan led to the contraction and destruction of key industries in the Marshallized countries, exacerbated contradictions between capitalist countries, and made the economies of the capitalist world even more vulnerable to the impacts of the crisis.

The Soviet Union provides selfless assistance to the economic development of the People's Democracies. For the first time in history, a system of economic relations between independent countries has been established that ensures friendly cooperation between peoples and countries on the basis of complete equality. While the Soviet Union built socialism without state assistance from other countries and relied solely on its own economic strength and capabilities, the People's Democracies are moving toward socialism with the assistance of the powerful Soviet socialist state. In the post-war period, economic ties between the USSR and the People's Democracies have played a pivotal role in the foreign trade of the USSR and the People's Democracies. Almost two-thirds of the USSR's foreign trade turnover is with the People's Democracies.

The limited scope of the USSR's trade with capitalist countries is due to the discriminatory policies pursued against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies by the ruling circles of the United States, as well as Britain and some other bourgeois states acting under US dictation. However, with this aggressive policy, the capitalist countries cannot undermine the economic

might of the USSR and the People's Democracies; they merely damage their own economies. Economic cooperation between the USSR and the People's Democracies, based on the principles of equality, mutual assistance, and respect for the sovereignty of each country, serves to strengthen the anti-imperialist, democratic camp and the cause of peace.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, the peoples of the USSR are confidently moving toward communism. The economy of the Soviet Union is experiencing a new, powerful upswing, growing year after year.

In ensuring expanded socialist reproduction, the Communist Party and the Soviet State are carrying out extensive work to train qualified personnel for the national economy.

Once the correct political line has been established, Comrade Stalin teaches, the success of the undertaking depends on organizational work, and cadres become the decisive force in party and state leadership. To implement the correct political line, people and cadres are needed who understand the party's political line, perceive it as their own line, are prepared to implement it, and are able to carry it out in practice. As early as 1926, while substantiating the policy of socialist industrialization of the country, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the implementation of such a serious task as the industrialization of the country requires the training of new cadres of builders. "Now," said Comrade Stalin, "we have moved from the fronts of the civil war to the front of industry. Accordingly, we now need new command cadres for industry, good directors of factories and plants, good trust owners, efficient traders, sensible planners for the construction of

industry... Without such people, we cannot move forward even one step"[377].

The issue of training economic management personnel became particularly pressing with the intensification of the class struggle during the period of socialism's full-scale offensive against capitalist elements, and with the discovery of industrial sabotage in 1928–1929. It was during this period that Comrade Stalin fully raised the question of the Soviet socialist state creating its own socialist intelligentsia, emphasizing that the working class was in a unique position in this regard. While capitalists, as a wealthy class, could teach their children management skills and create their own intelligentsia, the working class, as a propertyless class exploited under capitalism, lacked such opportunities. They only gained this opportunity after coming to power.

In his report to the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets in 1936 and the Eighteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Comrade Stalin demonstrated that the Party and the Soviet state had created a completely new, Soviet intelligentsia, rooted in the working class and peasantry—a truly popular intelligentsia, prepared en masse to serve the people faithfully and truly. In a socialist state, the intelligentsia is of particular importance, for through it the Communist Party and the state direct all economic and cultural development.

The Soviet intelligentsia grows and matures during the construction of communist society. Every year, several hundred thousand young specialists enter manufacturing, transportation, agriculture, and trade from higher and specialized secondary educational institutions. Many hundreds

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[377] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 138–139.

of thousands of specialists are trained directly in production, among them production innovators, Stakhanovites, rationalizers, inventors, collective farm foremen, and so on.

The Soviet socialist state systematically trains skilled workers and employees for a wide range of sectors of the national economy. The labor reserve system annually provides hundreds of thousands of workers to industry. Thus, in 1951, 365,000 young workers who graduated from vocational, railway, mining, and factory training schools were sent to work in industry, construction, and transportation. Enterprises train new personnel and improve workers' skills through individual and team apprenticeships and coursework. In 1951, 7 million blue-collar and white-collar workers received advanced training and training in this manner.

The Soviet socialist state places great emphasis on training personnel for collective farms. Without systematic training provided by the socialist state, the collective farm system cannot develop successfully. The Soviet state expanded the network of agricultural universities and technical schools. In the post-war period, in accordance with the decisions of the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), one- and two-year state schools were established to train personnel for collective farms. The USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministries of Agriculture of the Union Republics, and local authorities organized courses for collective farm activists, team leaders, and team leaders to enhance their skills, as well as courses to train tractor drivers, combine operators, drivers, and foremen in various agricultural sectors.

The Soviet state strives for the development of advanced science, closely linked to the practice of communist construction, persistently implements scientific and

technological advances in production, and wages a decisive battle against inertia, routine, dogmatism, and outdated scientific views. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, planning the development of science, cultivate in Soviet scientists a creative approach to solving the practical problems of building communism, creating all the conditions for a contest of opinions and free criticism in the fields of science and technology. Comrade Stalin's theoretical works, including his brilliant work "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics," serve as an unrivaled model of a creative approach to science for all Soviet scientists.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state are tirelessly committed to equipping leadership cadres with Marxist-Leninist theory. Political education of workers and raising the qualifications and general cultural level of all builders of the new society constitute a necessary condition for the transition from socialism to communism.

The most important means of improving all economic, organizational, cultural, and educational activities of the Soviet state, and of enhancing the communist education of Soviet people, is criticism and self-criticism. The development of a socialist economy occurs through the struggle between the new, progressive, and the old, moribund. Criticism and self-criticism are the form of struggle between the new and progressive against the old and moribund in socialist society.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state fully support and promote criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism help to uncover shortcomings in work and identify ways to eliminate them, revealing reserves and existing opportunities for accelerating the pace of construction. Criticism and self-criticism are the best means of unleashing

the full strength and abilities of workers, a Bolshevik method of educating and training cadres.

Socialist competition is an expression of the practical, revolutionary self-criticism of the masses, based on the creative initiative of millions of workers. Thanks to the guiding and organizing efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, socialist competition has embraced all strata of Soviet society and become truly nationwide.

The leading role of the Communist Party is the primary and decisive condition for all successes in the economic, organizational, cultural, educational, and all other activities of the Soviet state. The Communist Party determines the policies of the socialist state and, through a system of transmission belts —trade unions, Soviets, cooperatives, and the Komsomol— brings these policies to the masses, mobilizing and organizing workers to implement them. The economic policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state is built on a scientific foundation, on a critical, revolutionary, and innovative approach to economic practice. This policy fearlessly discards everything backward, outmoded, holding back, or hindering development, and supports and develops everything progressive and truly communist.

The development of the economic and organizational activity of the Soviet socialist state during the period of gradual transition from socialism to communism is expressed not only in the *expansion of its scope* , but also in the further *improvement of its content*, *in raising its level* , in particular in improving planning, in the implementation of the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work", in improving the methods of socialist management, in the development of Soviet trade, credit, strengthening of the monetary system, etc.

The increasing specialization of production sectors, the complex nature of new construction, and the need for more complete utilization of local resources further enhanced the role of planning, without which the resolution of all these problems is unthinkable. Issues such as the introduction of new technology and the planning of quality indicators for production and circulation (ensuring the required product range and high quality, reducing costs, accelerating the turnover of working capital, etc.) assumed immeasurably greater prominence in post-war planning than during the pre-war five-year plans. The demands on trade planning increased, driven by the need to take into account the growing needs of the population and to provide a differentiated approach to the needs of the population in each region.

Progressive production standards and technical and economic standards for the use of tools, raw materials and supplies have acquired particular significance in planning at the present time, serving as a powerful incentive to increase labor productivity and the efficiency of using tools and supplies, and to reduce the cost of production.

The role of state planning on collective farms increased dramatically with the implementation of Stalin's plan for the transformation of nature and the introduction of grassland farming, the introduction of new types of equipment and the growing role of machine and tractor stations, livestock development planning, and so on. Intra-collective farm planning, which tailors the state plan to the conditions of a given collective farm and promotes the development of intra-collective farm democracy and the creative initiative of collective farmers, began to play a significant role in the life of collective farms. The socialist state systematically introduces the achievements of agricultural science into agricultural production.

These are some of the data characterizing the further growth of the *role of planning* and the increase in its level during the period of building communism.

During the gradual transition from socialism to communism, especially in the post-war period, the Soviet state's efforts to implement the socialist principle of distribution based on the quantity and quality of labor were further strengthened and developed. In industry, alongside quantitative indicators for increasing labor productivity, qualitative indicators became even more important: improving product quality, enhancing work culture, saving raw materials, materials, and energy, improving production technology, and more accurately recording these indicators to reward high-performing workers. Consequently, piecework payment methods were further developed, and the role of bonuses for outstanding performance increased. Management bonuses for exceeding plans, achieving savings and strengthening business accounting, and increasing enterprise profitability also gained increasing importance.

On collective farms, additional pay for increased crop yields and livestock productivity became more widespread, becoming an important factor in increasing labor productivity and reinforcing the value of the workday. Following the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1947, not only additional pay but also the basic pay of collective farmers was determined based on their final labor results.

The Soviet socialist state expanded its efforts to organize the masses for the construction of communism, not only through the consistent implementation of the principle of distribution based on the quantity and quality of labor and material incentives for leading workers for outstanding performance,

but also through the management of socialist competition and the communist education of the masses. During the Great Patriotic War and the post-war period, the nationwide patriotic upsurge of workers was reflected in letters from workers to Comrade Stalin and in the socialist commitments undertaken by collectives of republics, regions, districts, economic sectors, and enterprises to overfulfill state plans. Collective Stakhanovite labor, representing a new form of socialist competition, became widespread. The Soviet state and Soviet society undertook a tremendous effort to implement the advanced experience of the Stakhanovites and the achievements of science and technology in production. The scale of state activities expanded to train new personnel, enhance their technical and general cultural development, and provide communist education to workers.

All of the above testifies to the ongoing development and improvement of the economic, organizational, cultural, and educational activities of the Soviet socialist state. Accordingly, the work of state bodies and the entire economic apparatus is further improved. The Soviet apparatus of economic management and administration emerged at the beginning of the revolution, but was finally established at the beginning of the second phase of the Soviet state.

It would be an oversimplification to assume that the expansion of the scale and complexity of the economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state inevitably means a continuous increase in the number of sectoral ministries, various types of economic administrations, a swelling of the economic apparatus, and so on. Indeed, the development of economic and organizational activity has been accompanied by a consistent expansion of the economic and administrative apparatus, beginning with an increase in the number of ministries directly involved in organizing the national

economy, which now number over twenty, and culminating in an increase in the number of central departments and trusts. Once the system of a state economic apparatus managing socialist production has been established, the main thing is not expanding the apparatus, but improving the quality of its work, adapting its organizational structure to the task of optimally managing the economy at a given stage of development. The specific needs of socialist production may even now dictate the need to break up sectoral ministries or create new committees or ministries within the Council of Ministers. For example, after the war, state committees were created for construction and for the procurement of materials and equipment for the national economy. In 1950, the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry was divided into two ministries: the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and the Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metallurgy of the USSR. However, it is well known that after the war, a number of ministries were merged, and the government systematically pursued a policy of reducing and simplifying the administrative apparatus and the state apparatus in general.

Now that the Soviet state economic apparatus has been established and tested in managing industry, agriculture, finance, distribution, and so on, the most important thing is not the expansion of this apparatus, but rather *adapting its organization to the tasks of communist construction and improving its functioning—overcoming elements of bureaucracy, better managing the work of enterprises and institutions, strictly monitoring compliance with state laws and decisions of the Party and government, and properly deploying and utilizing workers* . Only continuous improvement of the apparatus through organizational measures, advanced training, a stronger sense of responsibility in each employee, resolutely promoting criticism and self-criticism, and promptly

eliminating identified deficiencies will ensure the further development of the state's economic and organizational activities.

The economic, organizational, and cultural-educational functions of the Soviet state are expanding ever more broadly as Stalin's plan for building communism is implemented. The leading role of the Bolshevik Party is the primary condition for the stability of the Soviet socialist state and the guarantee of the successful construction of communism in our country. All activities of the Party and the Soviet state in building communism are directed by the great Stalin.

There is no force in the world that could stop the Soviet people's unstoppable march toward communism, for the Soviet socialist system has given our people invincible strength. At the head of the Soviet people and the Soviet socialist state stands the party of Lenin and Stalin, the organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution and all the victories of the Soviet people.

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The experience of the Soviet socialist state, accumulated in the struggle to create a socialist economy, and its experience in guiding the development of a socialist economy and culture, is of enduring international significance. While the paths and methods of advancing toward socialism may differ in different countries depending on their socio-historical conditions, the fundamental laws of building socialism, and even more so the laws governing the functioning and development of socialist society, remain the same. In all countries, the socialist state will be the primary instrument for building socialism and communism. In all countries, the socialist state will exercise the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat inherent to

the Soviet state. Moreover, with the resolution of the tasks of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, these functions will change significantly, and the functions of economic, organizational, and cultural-educational activity will reach full development.

In all countries of the world, the construction of socialism will take place (and the experience of the people's democracies in Europe confirms this) in the context of a mixed economy, implementing a policy that in the USSR was called the NEP, in an atmosphere of continuous and acute class struggle. "Can capitalist countries, even the most developed of them, manage without the NEP during the transition from capitalism to socialism?" asked Comrade Stalin in his speech on the Comintern program. And he answered: "I think they cannot. To one degree or another, the New Economic Policy, with its market links and the use of these market links, is absolutely necessary for every capitalist country during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat"[378]. Socialist industrialization of the country and the co-operation of small-scale commodity production are the main methods of building socialism. Socialist industrialization of the country will become an urgent task after the transfer of power into the hands of the working class for all countries of Europe. Even in Germany and England, where the level of industrial development is high, there are regions that must industrialize: Bavaria in Germany, and some regions in England. Industry and transportation will require technical re-equipment, the balance of economic sectors will shift to meet the needs of socialist production, and so on.

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[378] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 145.

Socialist industrialization is currently underway in all the People's Democracies of Europe. Not only in Albania and Bulgaria, but also in industrially developed countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, and especially in Hungary and Romania, the development of socialist industry is a fundamental condition for building socialism. Industrialization in the European People's Democracies is taking place under immeasurably more favorable conditions than it did in the USSR, if only because the peoples of these countries rely on the invaluable and selfless assistance of the Soviet Union, on close cooperation with the socialist Soviet Union, and with each other. This enables the European People's Democracies to create the industrial basis for socialism and resolve the challenges of the transition from capitalism to socialism more quickly. Naturally, the development of industry and the entire economy of the European People's Democracies will proceed along the lines of ever-increasingly strengthening economic ties with the USSR and with each other.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Socialist State, in striving for the complete economic independence of the USSR, proceeded from the fact of the closed capitalist encirclement in which the Soviet Union found itself as the only socialist country at the time. At the 14th Party Congress, Comrade Stalin, in substantiating the general line of the Party as one of socialist industrialization of the Soviet Union, ensuring its economic independence, proceeded from the task of preventing the country from becoming an appendage of the global capitalist system. But even then, Comrade Stalin warned: "It will be a different matter when the revolution triumphs in Germany or France, or in both countries together, when socialist construction begins there on a higher technical basis. Then we will move from the policy of transforming our country into an independent economic unit to a policy of integrating our country into the general mainstream of socialist development . "[379]

The discussion centered on the Soviet Union—a vast country with inexhaustible raw materials and other material resources, sufficient to become a fully self-sufficient economic entity and build socialism in a single country. This fundamental principle remains fully valid in the modern era, with the obvious difference that the Soviet Union has now built socialism on the basis of the world's most advanced technology, secured complete independence from the capitalist world, and possesses enormous potential to assist other countries that have liberated themselves from the yoke of imperialism and embarked on the path of socialist development. Under these conditions, other countries that have already embarked on the socialist path of development, or that will eventually embark on this path, are and will continue to be integrated into the

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[379] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 299.

general mainstream of socialist construction. Close economic cooperation among democratic countries and the inclusion of people's democracies in the general mainstream of socialist construction serve as the basis for strengthening their independence and sovereignty.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the people's democratic countries are a new , higher type of international relations : they are built on the principles of mutual respect, trust, brotherhood, friendship and mutual assistance of peoples and states, in contrast to international relations in the capitalist world, where the principle of subordination of the weak to the strong prevails, where strong capitalist countries, like the United States, enslave weak countries.

The development of socialist industry, as irrefutably demonstrated by the experience of building socialism in the USSR and confirmed by the experience of building socialism in European people's democracies, is a necessary prerequisite for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The Lenin-Stalin plan for organizing peasant farms into cooperatives, implemented in the USSR, is the general path to socialism for people's democracies as well. Private ownership of land and the preservation of rent in a number of rural production associations still characterize many cooperative associations in people's democracies.

State-owned machine and tractor stations play a huge role in the development of collectivization of peasant farms in people's democracies. Thus, Bolshevik methods of industrialization and agricultural collectivization are the primary methods of building socialism in people's democracies as well.

State planning, the implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity and quality of labor in the

socialist sector of the national economy, the improvement of the material well-being and cultural level of workers, socialist methods of management (business accounting, austerity regime, reduction of unproductive expenses, the use of trade, credit, money, etc.) - all this characterizes the economic activity of the state in countries of people's democracy.

The people's democracies are currently in a transitional period from capitalism to socialism, and all these economic levers are being used there just as they were in the USSR during the NEP. These levers play a huge role in displacing capitalist elements from all spheres of the economy. When socialism is built in the people's democracies, these levers will play the same role there as they currently play in the USSR.

People's democratic states carry out enormous work to train intelligentsia cadres from workers and peasants for all sectors of the national economy and culture.

All of the above testifies not only to the vast scope of the economic and organizational activities of the people's democracies, but also to the fact that in these activities they rely on the colossal experience of the Soviet socialist state and its selfless, fraternal assistance. This, again, demonstrates the international significance of socialist construction in the USSR, and in particular the international significance of the economic and organizational activities of the Soviet socialist state.

Chapter Eight

Cultural and Educational Activities of the Soviet Socialist State.

The socialist state is the main instrument of the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into a communist society. The building of communism implies the creation of a new material and technical basis of society, the creationand development of a socialist economy with the entire socialist superstructure rising above it, the flourishing ofsocialist culture and the upbringing of a new, communist person. Thus, the construction of communism is a single, butmultifaceted process, and at different stages of the struggle for communism, one or the other sides of this singleprocess are brought to the fore.

The socialist state leads the entire course of building a communist society as a single process of creating a neweconomy and a new culture. In the Soviet socialist state, within the framework of one function, the economic,organizational , cultural and educational activities are inseparably merged . Inseparability of economic, organizational ,cultural and educational activities, as two sides of the same state function, stems from the nature of communistconstruction: as you know, the basis of the communist mode of production lies public ownership of the means ofproduction. The relations of production of a communist society are relations of comradely cooperation and mutualassistance of its members, who jointly own all the means of production. Communist society lives and developsaccording to plan; Communist society workers deliberately create history, in contrast to all previous socio-economicformations, when the development of society proceeded spontaneously.

The construction of a communist society is carried out *by the workers themselves* , who take state power into their ownhands, break the resistance of the exploiters, create the foundation of a socialist economy and eliminate the exploitingclasses and the exploitation of man by man, creating the conditions for further progress towards communism. Withoutinvolving millions of working people in the conscious and active construction of a new life, communism cannot becreated. Lenin more than once explained that with the hands of some Communists, with the hands of some membersof the Communist Party, you cannot create a new society.

The creation of new relations of production, their strengthening and development, in short, the creation of the basis ofa communist society, and even more so that the superstructure towering above it, can only be realized *consciously* , notspontaneously. Only consciously and systematically can you build friendly relations of cooperation and mutualassistance of people. Only by daily increasing the level of communist consciousness of people can they be involved incommunist construction. Only communist educating workers can be made the workers of a communist society.

All this means that building a communist society is, at the same time, a process of educating the working people in thespirit of communism. Of course, one cannot first bring up the “ pretty ” , “ clean ” people of a communist society, freefrom all bourgeois prejudices, and only then build a new world with these communist-educated people. In reality, thetask of building a new society and the communist education of the people is one task that has two sides, and this dualtask must be solved simultaneously. Vladimir I. Lenin said:

“The old utopian socialists imagined that socialism could be built with other people, that they would first bring uppretty, clean, well-trained people and would build socialism out of

them. We always laughed and said that it was a dollgame, that it was fun for young impas girls from socialism, but not a serious policy.

We want to build socialism from those people who have been brought up by capitalism, they have been corrupted,corrupted, but they are tempered to fight. There are proletarians who are hardened so that they are able to endure athousand times greater casualties than any army; there are tens of millions of oppressed peasants, dark, scattered, butcapable, if the proletariat leads skillful tactics, to unite around it in the struggle. And then there are experts of science,technology, everything is thoroughly imbued with the bourgeois conception of the world, there are military expertswho were brought up in a bourgeois environment - and well even if the bourgeois and then the landlords, in cane, inserfdom. As for the national economy, all agronomists, engineers, teachers -they were all taken from the possessingclass; not from the air they fell! The poor proletarian from the machine tool and the peasant from the plow could notpass the university either under Tsar Nicholas or under the republican president Wilson. Science and technology - forthe rich, for the haves; capitalism givesculture only for a minority. And we must build socialism from this culture. Wehave no other material. We want to build socialism immediately from the material that capitalism left us with yesterdayfor today, now, and not from those people who will be prepared in greenhouses if we play around with this funk. Wehave bourgeois specialists, and nothing else. We do not have other bricks, we have nothing to build. Socialism musttriumph, and we, socialists and communists, must in fact prove that we are able to build socialism from these bricks,from this material, build a socialist society from proletarians who used culture in insignificant quantities, and frombourgeois specialists.

And if you do not build a communist society from this material, then you are empty phrase-mongers , talkers"[380].

Communist education of workers and their involvement in communist construction are unthinkable without raising thecultural level of the people, without eliminating illiteracy, without mastering the masses of science and technology,carrying out a cultural revolution, creating and developing a new, socialist culture.

Already under capitalism, the productive forces demanded that production workers — wage workers possessed aminimum of culture, were sufficiently cultured to properly handle machines. This minimum of literacy and culture wasone of the conditions facilitating socialist education, proletarian hardening and the revolutionary organization of theworking class.

Having won political domination, the working class moves forward the development of the material and technical baseof society, carries out the technical reconstruction of all sectors of the national economy in accordance with therequirements of advanced science and technology, converts agricultural production to a new social and technical base,and in connection with all this expanding scale transforms nature.

The working class cannot solve all these ambitious economic and political tasks without raising the cultural level of thewhole people, without a cultural revolution, nor can it work on the communist education of the working people andtheir involvement in building a new society, managing the country without raising the cultural level of the masses . Yes,finally, the very process of communist construction is designed for the daily improvement of the material well-beingand cultural level of the people, which is the law of development of communism.

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[380] V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 29, ed. 4, pp. 51–52.

All this indicates that the communist education of the working people and the rise of the cultural level of the masses,on the one hand, and the development of the socialist economy , on the other, are inextricably linked and constituteone function of the socialist state.

1. Development of cultural and educational activities of the socialist state.

The cultural and educational activities of the Soviet socialist state developed and became more complex simultaneously with the development of its economic and organizational activities. In the first phase of the Soviet socialist state's development, when economic and organizational activities were limited primarily to the restoration of industry and agriculture and the preparation of conditions for the elimination of capitalist elements, the preconditions for a cultural revolution and the mass development of communist consciousness were only just being created. The most important tasks in the field of cultural and educational work during this period were: the elimination of illiteracy and semi-literacy, the organization of schools and the entire public education system on a new basis, the creation of a diversified system of cultural and educational institutions, and the implementation of political education of workers with the aim of organizing the masses to suppress the resistance of the kulaks and capitalist elements in general, to combat bureaucracy, and to involve the masses in the governance of the country. The socialist state cultivated and developed the shoots of a new, communist attitude towards work among the working class and widely explained to the peasantry, based on the experience of the first collective and state farms, the advantages of large-scale socialist agriculture.

The Soviet socialist state recruited veteran specialists to develop the economy and culture of Soviet society, systematically combating the bourgeois habits of these old specialists and decisively suppressing the sabotage of certain groups of bourgeois specialists. In this regard, the Bolshevik Party was guided by the following directive from Lenin:

"The task now is practically to turn those who were raised against us by capitalism into our service, to watch them every day, to place workers' commissars over them in an environment of communist organization, to suppress counter-revolutionary attempts every day and at the same time to learn from them"[381].

While using old, bourgeois specialists, the Soviet state at the same time persistently and systematically prepared the preconditions for the creation of a workers' and peasants' socialist intelligentsia.

In its policy on literature and art, the Soviet state proceeded from the fundamental Marxist principle that in a class society there can be no neutral art, and that the class nature of art manifests itself in forms infinitely more diverse than in politics. Following the socialist revolution, the working class steadily strengthened and expanded its leadership on all sectors of the ideological front, including in literature and art. The Communist Party and Soviet power, while combating anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary elements among writers and artists, treated all wavering elements with care and tact, ensuring all conditions for their rapid re-education in the communist spirit. The Party and Soviet power did not bind themselves to any particular trend in artistic form or style, ensuring free competition among various currents in *this* field.

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[381] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, 4th ed., p. 55.

The Bolshevik Party and Soviet state attached particular importance to Marxist artistic criticism, considering it one of the main means of educating workers. The resolution of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) of June 18, 1925, “On the Party’s Policy in the Field of Fiction,” stated:

"Without ever surrendering the communist position for a moment, without retreating one iota from proletarian ideology, revealing the objective class meaning of various literary works, communist criticism must mercilessly combat counterrevolutionary manifestations in literature, expose the liberalism of the Smena-Vekh movement, etc., and at the same time demonstrate the greatest tact, caution, and tolerance toward all those literary strata that can and will join the proletariat. Communist criticism must banish the tone of literary command from its practice. Only then will this criticism have profound educational value when it relies on its *ideological* superiority. Marxist criticism must resolutely expel from its midst any pretentious, semi-literate, and self-satisfied communist arrogance. Marxist criticism must set itself the slogan - to learn and must rebuff all waste paper and improvisation in its own environment”[382].

The Party and Soviet power did everything necessary to ensure that, on the basis of the general cultural upsurge of the working people, they raised writers and artists imbued with the lofty ideas of Marxism-Leninism, who consistently defended the principles of the Soviet system and communist ideology, who were conduits for the ideological influence of the working class and its party among writers and artists, and who, through their

[382] Resolution of the Central Committee of the RCP(b) of June 18, 1925 on the party’s policy in the field of fiction.

artistic works, educated the people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, in the spirit of communism.

The policy of the Bolshevik Party in the field of cultural development and the cultural and educational activities of the Soviet socialist state in the first phase of its development prepared all the conditions for the development of a cultural revolution and the flourishing of socialist culture, for the mass generation of communist consciousness.

In the second phase of the development of the Soviet socialist state, based on the victory of socialism, the cultural and educational activities of the socialist state were fully developed. A massive effort to re-educate the working masses of the city and countryside in the spirit of communism was launched. A cultural revolution took place in the country: universal seven-year education was introduced, the network of secondary and higher educational institutions and research institutes was greatly expanded, and a large Soviet socialist intelligentsia was created. The cultural level of the working class and all working people in the city and countryside, their communist consciousness, discipline, and organization, rose dramatically. The process of communist re-education of the peasantry, based on the collective farm system, was fully underway, and a comprehensive offensive against the vestiges of capitalism in the people's consciousness was launched.

During this period, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state ensured the creation of such powerful means of ideological influence as Soviet socialist literature, painting, theatre, cinema, music, and launched cultural and educational activities in all areas, preparing to overcome the significant differences between mental and physical labor and creating the preconditions for the acquisition of an abundance of not only material but also spiritual goods.

The Soviet state exercises leadership over the process of cultural construction and the work of communist education through union, union-republican and republican ministries and committees under the Council of Ministers, primarily through the ministries of education, higher education, cinematography, health, the committees for arts affairs, for cultural and educational institutions, the administration for publishing and printing, etc. At the local level, leadership over cultural construction is exercised through local Councils of Workers' Deputies and their relevant departments.

But it is not only through these organs that the Soviet state directs the development of culture and the communist education of the masses. All organs of Soviet power, including economic, military, punitive, and other bodies, to varying degrees, carry out the cultural and educational activities of the socialist state. For example, economic ministries and institutions are engaged, to a certain extent, in training the personnel they need and upgrading their skills, actively promoting the growth of communist forms of labor, and educating workers in the spirit of socialist state discipline, Soviet patriotism, and communism. All elements of the Soviet state, the entire system of the dictatorship of the working class, contribute to raising the cultural level of the people and the growth of communist consciousness among the masses.

2. The Soviet socialist state as an instrument of cultural revolution.

The cultural revolution in the USSR unfolded on the basis of the successes of socialist construction and the rise in the material and cultural level of the people, achieved during the first phase of the development of the socialist state.

The elimination of illiteracy and the implementation of universal education were the most significant problems, the solution to which largely determined the involvement of workers in the country's governance and the building of communism. Resolving this problem was an essential prerequisite for truly raising the people's cultural level. In Tsarist Russia, according to the 1897 census, literate people constituted only 24% of the total population, and the overwhelming majority of the peasant population was illiterate or semiliterate. The Communist Party and the Soviet government, trade unions, and the Komsomol took extraordinary measures to eradicate illiteracy. By 1926, the literacy rate had risen to 51.1% of the population, and by 1940, the task of eradicating illiteracy had been fully accomplished.

However, literacy alone is not enough to build a socialist culture. “It is not enough to eliminate illiteracy; we also need to build a Soviet economy, and literacy alone won’t get us very far,” said Lenin. “We need a tremendous increase in culture.”[383] An increase in culture is necessary both for the political education of the masses and for the development of a socialist economy and the strengthening of the Soviet state. “...Political education,” Lenin teaches, “demands an increase in culture at all costs. We must ensure that the ability to read and write serves to increase culture, so that the peasant has the opportunity to apply this ability to read and write to the improvement of his economy and his state . ”[384]

Along with the eradication of illiteracy, one of the decisive prerequisites for the cultural revolution was school reform, the implementation of polytechnic education, and the introduction

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[383] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 33, 4th ed., pp. 51–52.

[384] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 33, ed. 4, pp. 51–52.

of universal compulsory education. The Bolshevik Party, Lenin, and Stalin assigned a crucial role to the school in raising the cultural level of the masses. School is the primary means of educating and nurturing children, adolescents, and young adults. The introduction of universal compulsory education, first at primary and seven-year levels, and then at secondary level, is one of the key conditions for eliminating the significant differences between mental and physical labor. Therefore, the Soviet government's decision to introduce universal compulsory primary education in rural areas and seven-year education in cities and industrial towns, adopted on August 14, 1930, and the decision to introduce compulsory seven-year education not only in the city but also in the countryside, implemented since 1949, are of historical significance. These are the first and decisive steps preparing the transition to universal compulsory secondary education.

To ensure universal compulsory primary education, the Soviet socialist state, during Stalin's pre-war five-year plans, launched a massive school construction program and took measures to supply schools with all necessary teaching equipment and materials. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the Soviet government, and Comrade Stalin personally ensured that Soviet schools were fully supplied with high-quality textbooks in sufficient quantities, and that teaching aids were up to date with modern science.

Of great importance for the creation of history textbooks and the development of Marxist social science were the comments of Comrades Stalin, Kirov, and Zhdanov on the synopses of textbooks on the history of the USSR and modern history, as well as the resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the teaching of civil history in USSR schools of May 16, 1934, and January 26, 1936. The

creation of high-quality textbooks on civil history and the development of historical science in the USSR were facilitated by the Bolshevik Party's exposure of the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, liquidationist views of the Pokrovsky "school" on historical science. The Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) pointed out that " *the decisive condition for the solid assimilation of the history course by students is the observance of the historical-chronological sequence in the presentation of historical events, with the obligatory consolidation in the students' memory of the most important historical phenomena, historical figures, and chronological dates. Only such a history course can provide the necessary accessibility, clarity and concreteness of historical material for students, on the basis of which only a correct analysis and correct generalization of historical events is possible, leading the student to a Marxist understanding of history* "[385].

By strengthening the school's material and educational resources, the Soviet state ensured teacher training and improved their living conditions, guided by Lenin's directive that in Soviet society, teachers should be elevated to heights unprecedented in capitalist society. The Soviet government established hundreds of teacher training and pedagogical institutes. In 1950, 1,600,000 teachers worked in primary and secondary schools across the Soviet Union, up from 230,000 before the revolution. Throughout its existence, the Soviet government repeatedly increased teachers' salaries, established pensions for years of service, introduced personal titles for teachers, and the honorary title of "Honored School Teacher." The Soviet government placed considerable emphasis on improving the financial situation of rural teachers, who play a

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[385] Collection “Towards the Study of History”, p. 18.

particularly important role in raising the cultural level of collective farm villages.

The Soviet school, the Bolshevik Party teaches, must prepare comprehensively developed, conscious, and active builders of communism, "linking theory with practice and mastering technique"[386]. In this respect, the Soviet school is fundamentally different from the old, bourgeois school, which in words stood "aside from politics" and whose leaders pursued the principle of separating school from life in order to prepare "servants necessary for capitalism" (Lenin).

The Soviet school leaders are guided by the program of the Bolshevik Party, according to which “the school must be not only a conductor of the principles of communism in general, but also a conductor of the ideological, organizational, and educational influence of the proletariat on the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian strata of the working masses in order to educate a generation capable of finally establishing communism”[387].

Consistently linking school to the life and policies of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet socialist state waged a struggle against the "theories" that were "leftist" in words and reactionary in practice, positing the dissolution of school into life and the "withering away of school." The Soviet state created a strict school regime, enhanced the role of the teacher in school, took steps to stabilize curricula and textbooks, and

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386 “Resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR on Schools”, Partizdat, 1936, p. 8.

387 “The All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in resolutions and decisions of congresses, conferences and plenary sessions of the Central Committee”, part I, p. 288.

defined the place and role of public organizations (primarily the Pioneers and Komsomol) in the education of schoolchildren.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government strive to ensure that Soviet schools provide a good mastery of the fundamentals of the sciences—physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, geography, the native language and foreign languages, etc. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of September 5, 1931, on primary and secondary schools states: “Any attempt to separate the polytechnicization of schools from the systematic and solid assimilation of the sciences, especially physics, chemistry, and mathematics, the teaching of which must be based on strictly defined and carefully developed programs and curricula and conducted according to strictly established schedules, represents a gross distortion of the idea of a polytechnic school. “One can become a communist only when one has enriched one’s memory with knowledge of all the riches that humanity has produced” (Lenin)”[388].

Thus, by developing and strengthening the Soviet school, the Bolshevik Party and Soviet power are waging a struggle on two fronts: first, against attempts to preserve the old, bourgeois, verbal school, based on the separation of theoretical instruction from practice, in particular against the de facto rejection of the polytechnicization of the school; second, against leftist concepts of the "withering away of the school," which lead to a decline in the role of the teacher and the destruction of the school.

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[388] “Resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Council of People’s Commissars of the USSR on Schools”, pp. 8–9.

The Soviet state, guided by the instructions of Lenin and Stalin, considered the development of the Soviet polytechnic school one of the essential moments of the cultural revolution. Comrade Stalin wrote in his "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks): "As a result of the introduction of universal compulsory education and the new school construction, a powerful upsurge in the cultural level of the masses unfolded. A massive school construction project unfolded throughout the country. The number of students in primary and secondary schools increased from 8 million in 1914 to 28 million in 1936–37. The number of students in higher education institutions increased from 112,000 in 1914 to 542,000 in 1936–37."

It was a cultural revolution"[389].

The cultural and educational activities of the Soviet socialist state are expanding every year. In 1950, 37 million people were enrolled in primary, junior high, secondary, technical schools, and courses. In just one year, from 1950 to 1951, the number of seven-year and secondary schools increased by almost 5,000, and the number of students in grades 5–10 in these schools increased by 2.5 million.

In 1951, 1,384 thousand people were studying in technical schools and other secondary specialized educational institutions, 86 thousand people more than in 1950.

In 1951, the number of students in all forms of education in the USSR was 57 million.

One of the most important results of the cultural revolution is the creation of a new, Soviet socialist intelligentsia. Comrade

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[389] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short Course", pp. 325–326.

Stalin's report to the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) painted a magnificent picture of the unfolding of the cultural revolution in the country. Comrade Stalin declared: "As a result of this enormous cultural work, a large, new, Soviet intelligentsia has emerged and developed, emerging from the ranks of the working class, the peasantry, and Soviet employees, flesh and blood of our people —an intelligentsia that knows no yoke of exploitation, hates exploiters, and is ready to serve the peoples of the USSR faithfully and truly."

I think that the birth of this new, popular, socialist intelligentsia is one of the most important results of the cultural revolution in our country"[390].

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The question of the *intelligentsia* and its role in public life is of enormous theoretical and practical interest. Lenin and Stalin teach that the intelligentsia is not a class, but a stratum, a social group that plays a special role in the social organization of labor. The intelligentsia is a social group to which, given the existing opposition between mental and physical labor, mental labor is assigned. The intelligentsia emerged as a distinct social group with the emergence of classes, with the emergence of the opposition between city and village, between mental and physical labor. It remains a distinct social group even under socialism, when the opposition between mental and physical labor is abolished, but differences in the level of cultural and technical development between people engaged in mental and physical labor persist. The intelligentsia will cease to be a social group only in the higher phase of communism, when the

[390] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 589.

essential differences between mental and physical labor disappear and only minor differences between them remain.

The intelligentsia originates in slave-owning societies, develops further under feudalism, and becomes widespread under capitalism, when the social and technical division of labor becomes particularly ramified, when large industrial centers are created and cities with multi-million populations emerge, when science and technology achieve enormous development.

Not constituting a distinct class, the intelligentsia is not a classless or above-class group. It serves the ruling class and is closely aligned with it. No ruling class can exercise its rule without its intelligentsia. Under feudalism, there was a noble intelligentsia; under capitalism, there is a bourgeois intelligentsia. In the Soviet Union, a new intelligentsia was created, worker-peasant in origin and socialist in essence.

From the fact that the class nature of the intelligentsia is ultimately determined by the nature of the ruling class it serves, it does not follow that the intelligentsia in an antagonistic society is homogeneous. The heterogeneity of the intelligentsia is determined by many factors, including such factors as origin (under capitalism, among the intelligentsia, along with people from the propertied classes - landowners, capitalists, kulaks, etc. - there are also people from among petty officials, workers, peasants, although the latter did not play, as Comrade Stalin says, a decisive role), the degree of qualification and, in accordance with this, a relatively greater or lesser degree of remoteness from the masses, the type of activity (for example, directly serving the process of exploitation and oppression of workers - an engineer in production, or serving the needs of the ruling class, connected with the needs of the society it leads - teachers, doctors), etc. Due to all these

circumstances, the bourgeois intelligentsia consists of two main groups: the top (the most qualified and most closely connected with the bourgeoisie) and the more numerous, but less qualified, occupying the middle and lower rungs of the career ladder. This second and most numerous group of the intelligentsia (primary and secondary school teachers, doctors, artists, painters, etc.) cannot help but feel ambivalent about capitalism. On the one hand, it owes its emergence and existence to the rise and development of the capitalist mode of production. On the other hand, capitalism offers no guarantees of a secure existence due to its inherent crises, wars, inflation, unemployment, etc. All of this determines the critical attitude of this group of intellectuals toward capitalism. This ambivalence toward capitalism is somewhat reminiscent of the ambivalence toward capitalism of the petty bourgeoisie, which constitutes an intermediate class in society. Hence, a certain commonality of psychology between the petty bourgeoisie and the bulk of the bourgeois intelligentsia of middle and lower qualifications. Given this characteristic of this group of intellectuals, one can speak of its "petty bourgeoisness," albeit in a certain restrictive sense. Thus, the bourgeois intelligentsia is divided into two main groups: the top, which is directly adjacent to the bourgeoisie and in a certain respect merges with it, and the “petty bourgeois”, which in its relationship to capitalism cannot help but have the features of the above-mentioned duality.

In the past, from among the old intelligentsia emerged a few or even dozens of revolutionary figures who forever linked their fate with the fate of the workers' movement and dedicated themselves to selfless service to the people.

The deepening general crisis of capitalism, especially in the period following World War II, has greatly contributed to the intelligentsia's growing critical attitude toward capitalism.

Those intellectuals who sincerely love science and culture and possess the integrity and courage to do so are forced to acknowledge that capitalism today is incompatible with science and poses the greatest threat to the very existence of civilization. Logic leads them to the conclusion that only socialism can save civilization and bring the blessings of culture to the people. The great example of the Soviet people, the example of the creative labor of the Soviet intelligentsia, encourages the best of the intelligentsia in capitalist countries to embrace communism. The Communist Parties of France and Italy number many thousands of intellectuals, while supporters and sympathizers among the intelligentsia throughout the capitalist world number in the hundreds of thousands. Sympathy for socialism and for the USSR, the beacon of communism, is growing among a wide range of intellectuals—from world-renowned scientists and writers (Langevin, Joliot-Curie, Dreiser, Thomas Mann, Kellermann) to ordinary engineers, teachers, doctors, and other intellectual workers. This reflects the world-historical successes of communism and is a consequence of the shift in the balance of power on an international scale in favor of socialism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which created the first breach in the system of global imperialism, took place under unfavorable conditions in this regard. Very few people devoted to socialism existed within the circles of the old Russian intelligentsia. The Russian working class seized power without a sufficient number of its own intelligentsia. But without an intelligentsia, the country could not be governed. Consequently, the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR was faced with the full challenge of utilizing the old intelligentsia, involving it in the construction of a new society, and winning it over to the side of the people, to the side of Soviet power. In its attitude toward the socialist revolution and the people, the old

Russian intelligentsia became stratified. Comrade Stalin characterized this process of stratification within the old intelligentsia as follows:

“The most influential and qualified part of the Old Intelligentsia broke away from the rest of the intelligentsia in the first days of the October Revolution, declared war on Soviet power, and became saboteurs.

"It suffered the deserved punishment for this, was defeated and dispersed by the organs of Soviet power. Subsequently, the majority of those who survived were recruited by the enemies of our country as saboteurs and spies, thereby erasing themselves from the ranks of the intelligentsia. Another part of the old intelligentsia, less qualified but more numerous, continued to mark time for a long time, waiting for "better times," but then, apparently, threw up their hands and decided to join the service, decided to get along with the Soviet power... A third part of the old intelligentsia, mainly its rank and file, having even less qualifications than the previous part, joined the people and followed the Soviet power. They needed to finish their education, and they actually began to finish their education in our universities"[391].

Thus proceeded the painful process of differentiation and disintegration of the old intelligentsia, ultimately leading to the overwhelming majority of it being drawn into socialist construction. But the working class could not limit itself to utilizing and re-educating the old intelligentsia. The tasks of raising the cultural level of all workers, creating a new material and technical basis for society, and developing socialist Soviet nations, literature, and art demanded the creation of a new, Soviet intelligentsia, larger and more skilled than the old. The

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[391] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 607–608.

process of creating a new intelligentsia proceeded in parallel with the re-education of the old. Hundreds of thousands of young workers and peasants educated at Soviet universities swelled the ranks of the intelligentsia and, as Comrade Stalin says, infused the intelligentsia that had gone to serve Soviet power with new blood, fundamentally changing its appearance. The remnants of the old intelligentsia were completely absorbed into the new, popular, socialist intelligentsia. On the eve of World War II, 80–90% of the Soviet intelligentsia consisted of workers and peasants who had received their education under Soviet rule and were selflessly devoted to socialism.

The following facts demonstrate the scale of state efforts to create a socialist intelligentsia. While in 1914 there were 91 higher education institutions in our country, with 112,000 students enrolled, by 1951 there were 887 higher education institutions (including correspondence courses), with 1,356,000 students enrolled. In 1950 alone, various sectors of the country's economy and culture trained 500,000 specialists, and universities and technical schools accepted approximately 800,000 people. The total number of intellectuals in the USSR currently constitutes approximately one-fifth of the country's population, and this stratum of the intelligentsia continues to grow.

The Soviet intelligentsia as a new, socialist intelligentsia is characterized by the following main features:

1. The people of the Soviet Union created and nurtured their intelligentsia during the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the construction of socialism, to ensure the construction of a new economy and a new culture and to strengthen the power of the socialist state. By its origins, its position in society, the content of its activities, and its

worldview, the Soviet intelligentsia is popular, socialist, and selflessly devoted to the Soviet people that gave birth to it, the Soviet system, and the Bolshevik Party. This is precisely why the people trust their intelligentsia, love it, and entrust it with the leadership of state, economic, cultural, and social activities in the country. For the first time in history, the Soviet Union created a large army of intelligentsia, joining the ranks of workers and peasants to build communism and fight imperialism. This is the fundamental difference between the Soviet intelligentsia and the old, pre-revolutionary intelligentsia, which served the landlords and capitalists and contributed to the strengthening of the bourgeois-landlord social order. While the old, bourgeois intelligentsia served the bourgeoisie in exploiting the people, the Soviet intelligentsia helps liberate the people from capitalist slavery and helps raise their material and cultural standards. While the old, bourgeois intelligentsia handed over its knowledge to the exploiters, served as a tool for spreading bourgeois ideology among the working people, and isolated itself from the people, the Soviet intelligentsia brings knowledge and culture to the people, helping the Bolshevik Party fulfill its task of communist education of the masses and overcoming the vestiges of capitalism in the people's consciousness.

2. The Soviet intelligentsia differs significantly from the older, pre-revolutionary intelligentsia in the nature of its activities. The economic backwardness of Tsarist Russia and the country's agrarian nature resulted in a small technical intelligentsia. During the country's industrialization, the Soviet state was forced to create a powerful stratum of engineering and technical intelligentsia. By collectivizing peasant farms, the Soviet state trained a large number of agronomists. The proportion of engineering and technical personnel and agronomists within the intelligentsia increased dramatically. At

the same time, as we have seen above, the number of teachers, who play a special role in raising the people's cultural level and implementing the cultural revolution, increased enormously. The number of figures in science and culture, particularly researchers, literary and artistic workers, employees of cultural and educational institutions, and so on, has increased exponentially. Intelligentsia groups have emerged in the Soviet Union that were either completely absent or not included within the intelligentsia under Tsarist Russia. Under the Soviet system, the leading group of the intelligentsia consists of cadres of the party and state apparatus, whose activities play a significant role in determining the direction of development in all sectors of the economy and culture. The army of the Soviet intelligentsia also includes employees of the punitive organs, intelligence, admirals, generals, officers, and all technically trained personnel of the Soviet Army and Navy. The Soviet intelligentsia includes many hundreds of thousands of leading workers in industry, transportation, collective and state farms, from collective farm chairmen and team leaders, shop and section foremen, to Stakhanovite production innovators and collective farm experimentalists who advance science and technology. Such a cadre of intelligentsia was not and could not exist in capitalist society. The existence of such a stratum within the Soviet intelligentsia serves as further evidence of its inseparable connection with the people, demonstrating that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the masses rise to the level of the intelligentsia through a variety of means.

The bourgeoisie, using the intelligentsia, has kept its bulk in thrall, distrusts it, and has recruited only its elite, effectively merging with the bourgeoisie, to govern the bourgeois state. The working class and the Soviet socialist state are elevating the intelligentsia's importance to extraordinary heights and

involving the entire intelligentsia, along with all working people, in the governance of the country.

3. While under capitalism class contradictions and conflicts intensify, the distinction between city and village, between mental and physical labor deepens, and, correspondingly, the process of separating the intelligentsia from the people intensifies, in the Soviet Union the opposite process is taking place: the moral and political unity of the Soviet people is being strengthened; the former distinction between mental and physical labor has been overcome, and the essential differences between them are gradually being overcome; accordingly, the boundaries separating the intelligentsia from the workers and peasants have begun to decline and be erased.

The workers and peasants of the USSR are daily raising their cultural level, firmly and confidently following the path indicated by Stalin: to ensure that all workers and peasants become cultured and educated[392]. The development of the cultural revolution in the Soviet Union leads to the entire people becoming intelligent.

4. The bourgeois intelligentsia, voluntarily or involuntarily, is guided in all its activities by the policies of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state. The Soviet socialist intelligentsia is guided in its activities by the interests of the working people, the policies of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, and the communist worldview. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of November 14, 1938, states:

"All of our cadres constitute a vast army of Soviet intelligentsia. The Soviet intelligentsia is rooted in the working

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[392] See I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 609.

class and peasantry. It is a completely new intelligentsia, the likes of which are unmatched in any other country in the world.

"No state could or can manage without its intelligentsia, much less a socialist state of workers and peasants. Our intelligentsia, which has grown during the years of Soviet power, constitutes the cadres of the state apparatus, through whom the working class conducts its domestic and foreign policy. These are yesterday's workers and peasants and the sons of workers and peasants who have risen to command posts. The intelligentsia is of particular importance in a country like ours, where the state directs all sectors of the economy and culture, including agriculture, and where every government worker, in order to carry out his work consciously and successfully, must understand the policy of the state and its tasks both within and outside the country"[393].

The aforementioned characteristics of the Soviet socialist intelligentsia testify to the new nature of this intelligentsia and its new role in public life. They further demonstrate that the quantitative and qualitative growth of the Soviet intelligentsia, based on the cultural upsurge of the entire people, is a law of communist construction. The blurring of the boundaries between the intelligentsia and the working class does not mean either a reduction in the intelligentsia's knowledge to that of workers or a decrease in its numbers. On the contrary, the comprehensive development of the intelligentsia and the further enhancement of its ideological and theoretical level and skill are the most important conditions for eliminating the remaining significant differences between mental and physical labor. Only the comprehensive development of the Soviet

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[393] "On the organization of party propaganda in connection with the release of the "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)", Gospolitizdat, 1944, p. 11.

intelligentsia will pave the way for the elevation of all workers and peasants to the level of the intelligentsia.

This is why the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state devote special attention to the ideological and political education of the intelligentsia. In a number of his speeches, and especially in his report to the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Comrade Stalin, addressing the question of the intelligentsia, emphasizes the need for a caring attitude toward the intelligentsia and demands a decisive fight against any manifestations of disdainful attitudes toward the Soviet intelligentsia. Comrade Stalin and the Communist Party emphasize the education of the intelligentsia in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In its work with the intelligentsia, the Party is constantly guided by the following directives of Comrade Stalin:

"It must be recognized as an axiom that the higher the political level and Marxist-Leninist consciousness of workers in any branch of state and party work, the higher and more fruitful the work itself, the more effective the results. Conversely, the lower the political level and Marxist-Leninist consciousness of workers, the more likely are breakdowns and failures in work, the more likely are the workers themselves to become petty and degenerate into penny-pinching operators, the more likely are they to degenerate. It can be said with confidence that if we were able to ideologically prepare our cadres in all branches of work and temper them politically to such an extent that they could freely navigate the domestic and international situation, if we were able to make them fully mature Marxist-Leninists, capable of resolving issues of national leadership without serious errors, then we would have every reason to consider nine-tenths of all our problems already resolved."

And further:

"There is no need for a medical specialist to also be a specialist in physics or botany, and vice versa. But there is one branch of science, knowledge of which must be obligatory for Bolsheviks of all branches of science - this is the Marxist-Leninist science of society, of the laws of development of society, of the laws of development of the proletarian revolution, of the laws of development of socialist construction, of the victory of communism"[394].

An indicator of the enormous attention the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin personally devoted to the communist education and ideological training of the Soviet intelligentsia is the fact that the "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," authored by the great Stalin, was addressed primarily to the intelligentsia and formed the basis of all the Party's propaganda work. The attention paid to the Soviet intelligentsia is also demonstrated by the decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on ideological issues and the discussions conducted under the Party's guidance in the fields of philosophy, biology, physiology, linguistics, and other fields, which played a crucial role in the ideological training of the Soviet intelligentsia and in the triumph of progressive trends in science and art.

The implementation of universal, compulsory seven-year education and the growth of the Soviet intelligentsia are crucial moments in the cultural revolution. At the same time, these are the paths that pave the way for the elimination of the significant differences between mental and physical labor. However, universal, compulsory education and the creation of an intelligentsia are not the only ways to raise the country's

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394 I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 598.

cultural level. The Soviet socialist state implements a comprehensive cultural uplift of the people through various methods and means. Thus, in the USSR's industry, the replenishment of the working class is carried out in an organized manner—through the labor reserve system. Vocational schools ensure not only the technical literacy of young workers and their mastery of a specific profession, but also a certain basic level of general knowledge and culture. Young people joining the working class, having graduated from vocational schools, have everything they need to independently obtain a secondary education through the system of evening schools and technical schools, and to improve their general and technical skills. Thousands of Soviet workers who became prominent figures in the country, and many representatives of the innovative intelligentsia, like N. Rossiysky, began their careers in vocational schools. Today, vocational schools and industrial training schools are the main source of recruitment for the Soviet Union's working class.

The Soviet socialist state introduced a system of mandatory technical minimum training for workers of all specialties, developed a wide network of various courses to improve the technical and general educational level of workers, organized the transfer of Stakhanovite experience through socialist competition, etc. As a result of such measures, there are already many factories in the Soviet Union in which the majority of workers have a secondary education and all workers and employees are studying.

In the collective farm villages, on state farms and machine and tractor stations, workers successfully master technology and cultural achievements. Collective farmers study the minimum agricultural technology and strive to implement advanced Michurin-era science in production. Hundreds of thousands of leading collective farmers enrich biological science through

their labor and innovation. The numerous rural intelligentsia actively assists collective farmers in raising their general educational level and mastering agricultural technology. The massive undertaking to implement Stalin's plan to transform the natural environment of the arid steppe zone of the Soviet Union, to implement the 15-year plan for afforestation, the creation of reservoirs, canals, and irrigation, to introduce the grassland system in agriculture, etc., required the training of hundreds of thousands of specialists in this field and served as a powerful impetus for the further advancement of the culture of the entire collective farm peasantry.

The rise in the material and cultural standards of the working class and peasantry, achieved on the basis of the socialist economic system, is a powerful source of growth for new contingents of socialist intelligentsia from below (Stakhanovites in industry and transport, leaders in socialist agriculture, etc.). A characteristic feature of these contingents of the intelligentsia is that, raising productive labor to a new level of development, they combine physical labor with mental labor, improving and advancing technology, technology, agricultural technology, etc. It is these contingents of the intelligentsia that, above all, provide us with an example of the combination of physical and mental labor that is inherent in communism.

Of course, one cannot classify all Stakhanovites and leading agricultural workers as members of the intelligentsia. Currently, not all Stakhanovites have risen to the level of the intelligentsia, but only a subset, those most advanced in their cultural development. The great significance of the Stakhanovite movement lies primarily in its achievement of the level of labor productivity and the cultural and technical upsurge of the working class and peasantry necessary for the transition from socialism to communism. In his speech at the

first All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites in November 1935, Comrade Stalin said that Stakhanovites are "workers, men and women, cultured and technically savvy people, setting examples of precision and accuracy in their work, able to appreciate the time factor in work, and having learned to count time not only in minutes but also in seconds. Most of them have completed the so-called technical minimum and continue to expand their technical education." "They are free from the conservatism and stagnation of some engineers, technicians and business executives; they move forward boldly, breaking outdated technical standards and creating new, higher ones; they amend the design capacities and business plans drawn up by the leaders of our industry; they continually supplement and correct engineers and technicians; they often teach and push them forward, for these are people who have fully mastered the technology of their business and know how to squeeze the maximum out of the technology that can be squeezed out of it. Today, the Stakhanovites are still few in number, but who can doubt that tomorrow there will be ten times more of them? Is it not clear that the Stakhanovites are innovators in our industry, that the Stakhanovite movement represents the future of our industry, that it contains the seed of the future cultural and technical rise of the working class, that it opens for us the path along which alone we can achieve those highest indicators of labor productivity that are necessary for the transition from socialism to communism..."[395].

These words were spoken by Comrade Stalin when the Stakhanovite movement was just beginning. Seventeen years have passed since then. During these years, the material and cultural level of the Soviet people, as well as their communist consciousness, have risen to new heights. The Stakhanovite

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[395] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 496.

movement, from industry to agriculture, has grown into a nationwide force. The scientific hardliners and conservatives have long been defeated, and the Stakhanovites of industry and agriculture, together with engineering and technical workers, agronomists, and Soviet scientists, are jointly addressing the challenges of further economic development and the introduction of advanced science into production. Building on the cultural and technical advancement of the working class and collective farm peasantry, ever larger groups of workers and peasants are rising to the level of the intelligentsia. The Soviet Union is successfully addressing the significant differences between mental and physical labor.

3. The Soviet state as an instrument for building socialist culture.

The Soviet socialist state, as the instrument for building a new, communist society, directs the creation of a new, socialist culture. Socialist culture is created by the working masses through a critical acquisition of the material and spiritual values accumulated by humanity throughout the course of society's development.

Taken as a whole, culture always appears in a historically defined form, since its most important elements—people's industrial and technical skills, their cultural level, the nature of literature, art, science, etc.—are historically conditioned. Culture's content changes with each new period of social development and has its own specific characteristics in each historical era. Each society, corresponding to its productive forces, base, and superstructure, has its own culture.

In a class society, culture is class-specific and is primarily the culture of the ruling class, which commands material and spiritual production and leaves its imprint on the entire character of culture. As long as national differences exist,

culture can only exist in a national form, and in a class society, a culture that is national in form is primarily the culture of the ruling class.

These are the fundamental principles that must be considered when defining culture. In doing so, the following two points should be kept in mind.

Firstly, the fact that the culture of a class society, national in form, is the culture of the ruling class does not mean that the oppressed classes do not create elements of their own culture. In contrast to the culture of the ruling class, the oppressed classes create elements of their own culture, and above all, elements of a superstructural culture that reflect the contradictions corroding class society and the economic position of the oppressed class. This includes the political, ethical, and other views of the oppressed class, its organizations, etc.

"In every national culture," says Lenin, "there are *elements* , even if undeveloped, of democratic and socialist culture, for in *every* nation there is a working and exploited mass, whose living conditions inevitably give rise to democratic and socialist ideology. But in every nation there is also a bourgeois culture (and in the majority, a Black Hundred and clerical one) - and not only in the form of 'elements', but in the form of the *dominant* culture. Therefore, 'national culture' in general (we are talking about bourgeois society. - D. Ch .) *is* the culture of the landowners, priests, and bourgeoisie"[396].

Secondly, the very culture of the ruling class, such as the bourgeoisie, contains elements that are not eliminated with the abolition of bourgeois rule and its destruction as a class, but are

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[396] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 20, ed. 4, p. 8.

instead adopted by the new, revolutionary class that has asserted its dominance for the construction of a new society and a new culture. This applies not only to material values (primarily tools and consumer goods), the achievements of the natural sciences, technology, and so on, but also to the realm of superstructural forms, since the social ideas and theories of the rising bourgeoisie served as the material from which the ideologists of the working class extracted the rational kernel for the formation of their ideology.

Based on these two points, it is necessary to recognize that the transition from the old culture to the new, socialist one presupposes, on the one hand, the continuation and development of the advanced traditions of the democratic elements of the culture of the oppressed classes of the past (with all, of course, the qualitative difference between the socialist culture of the proletariat and the democratic elements of the culture of the oppressed masses in the past), on the other hand, the creation of a socialist culture is unthinkable without a critical mastery and reworking of the old culture.

"Proletarian culture," Lenin teaches, "is not something that has sprung up out of nowhere, nor is it an invention of people who call themselves specialists in proletarian culture. That is sheer nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the natural development of those reserves of knowledge that humanity has developed under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, and bureaucratic society"[397].

Viewing Marxism as a consistently scientific theory, opposed to all previous theories of social development, Lenin stated:

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[397] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 262.

"Marxism has earned its world-historical significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat by the fact that it has by no means rejected the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois era, but, on the contrary, has assimilated and reworked everything that was valuable in the more than two thousand years of development of human thought and culture. Only further work on this basis and in this direction, inspired by the practical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat as its final struggle against all exploitation, can be recognized as the development of a truly proletarian culture"[398].

The Soviet socialist state and the Communist Party are guided by the directives of Lenin and Stalin, organizing workers to create and develop a socialist culture for Soviet society. The Soviet state organized a mass movement of workers to acquire literacy and the knowledge accumulated by humanity, thereby creating a vast network of cultural and educational institutions. It registered all ancient monuments and cultural treasures and took measures to protect them, launched efforts to familiarize workers with cultural monuments of the past, and placed them at the service of the cultural upliftment of the masses. The Decree of the Soviet Government on the Preservation of Artistic Treasures and Ancient Monuments was signed by Lenin on September 19, 1918, during the most difficult year of the socialist revolution, when Soviet Russia was caught in the fire of civil war and foreign intervention. The Soviet state took every measure to bring literature and art closer to the people and the revolution. It created conditions for the comprehensive development of science in the Soviet Union, for the connection of science with life, with practice, with socialist construction.

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[398] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 292.

In its cultural and educational work, the socialist state proceeds from the premise that a socialist culture can be created through a critical mastery of the old cultural heritage only if all workers who were oppressed and crushed under capitalism are drawn into the struggle to create a new culture, and if the construction of a socialist culture is viewed as an integral part of the proletariat's general class struggle against capitalism and for socialism. In other words, a socialist culture can be created only if cultural construction is part of the common proletarian cause, an integral part of the communist revolution.

Thanks to the tireless care of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, the USSR currently boasts over 350,000 libraries holding over 700 million books. Trade unions alone operate over 8,000 cultural centers and clubs. Thousands of cinemas operate throughout the country. The number of theater and music institutions has grown enormously. From 1918 to 1950, 971,000 book titles were published in the Soviet Union, with a circulation of over 12.5 billion copies. More than 7,700 newspapers and 1,400 magazines are published in the country. The newspaper circulation in 1950 exceeded 33.5 million copies. These are just some of the statistics demonstrating how workers in the Soviet Union enjoy all the cultural achievements.

In the process of creating socialist culture, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state had to endure a stubborn struggle against numerous enemies of the working class and its culture. Moreover, the enemies of proletarian socialist culture often masqueraded as "friends" of proletarian culture, as was the case, for example, with Proletkult, which was filled with elements socially alien to the working class, propagandists of decadent bourgeois culture: decadence, futurism, idealist philosophy, particularly Machism, and the like. Bukharinites,

Trotskyists, and other enemies of the people opposed Proletkult to the Soviet state and Leninist-Stalinist cultural policies.

Lenin and Stalin denounced the Proletkultists as bearers of bourgeois views, petty-bourgeois anarchy, and disorganization. Lenin and Stalin saw the reactionary and harmful nature of the Proletkultists' views in the fact that they: a) rejected the entire old cultural heritage, all the achievements of the previous culture, proposing to build a new, "proletarian" culture from scratch; b) recommended creating a proletarian culture "laboratorically" in Proletkult organizations, outside the revolutionary struggle and creative activity of the masses; c) were guided by a reactionary, idealistic, Machian philosophy, opposing it to the only scientific philosophy of dialectical materialism; d) opposed Proletkult to the Communist Party and the Soviet state, becoming a center of attraction for anti-popular forces fighting against Soviet power and its policies.

Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Bolshevik Party exposed the Proletkultists and defeated them. The Party and the Soviet government rejected as “theoretically incorrect and practically harmful any attempts to invent their own special culture, to isolate themselves in their own separate organizations, to delimit the areas of work of the People’s Commissariat of Education and Proletkult, or to establish the “autonomy” of Proletkult within the institutions of the People’s Commissariat of Education, etc. On the contrary, the congress (the quote is taken from the draft resolution that the Central Committee of the RCP(b), on Lenin’s instructions, submitted to the All-Russian Congress of Proletkult in 1920 – D. Ch .) imposes the unconditional duty of all Proletkult organizations to consider themselves entirely as auxiliary organs of the network of institutions of the People’s Commissariat of Education and to carry out their tasks, as part of the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, under the general leadership of the

Soviet government (especially the People's Commissariat of Education) and the Russian Communist Party"[399].

In accordance with this resolution, approved by the Central Committee of the RCP(b), and the directive letter of the Central Committee of the RCP(b), the "proletkults" were reorganized into departments of public education agencies, reinforced with communist cadres, and ultimately dissolved into the public education agencies. Lenin's directive formed the basis for all work on building Soviet culture:

"1. In the Soviet workers' and peasants' republic, the entire organization of the work of education, both in the political and educational sphere in general, and especially in the sphere of art, must be imbued with the spirit of the class struggle of the proletariat for the successful realization of the goals of its dictatorship, i.e., for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for the abolition of classes, for the elimination of all exploitation of man by man.

2. Therefore, the proletariat, both in the person of its vanguard, the Communist Party, and in the person of the entire mass of all kinds of proletarian organizations in general, must take the most active and most important part in the entire work of public education.

3. The entire experience of modern history and, in particular, the more than half-century-long revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries of the world since the appearance of the Communist Manifesto have proven beyond doubt that only the Marxist worldview is the correct expression of the interests, point of view and culture of the revolutionary proletariat"[400].

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[399] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., p. 292.

[400] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, 4th ed., pp. 291–292.

Let us consider how, on the basis of these fundamental principles, which formed the basis of the Soviet state's policy in the field of culture, Soviet literature, art and science developed.

During the transition from capitalism to socialism, as is well known, class struggle in all areas of public life assumes particularly acute forms. The working class, as the ruling class of society, waging a comprehensive class struggle against forces hostile to the proletarian revolution, is interested in strengthening the existing government, the Soviet system, and in creating a new society and a new culture.

In the cultural sphere, fighting hostile ideology, the working class strives to separate the intelligentsia from the bourgeoisie and place it at the service of socialist construction. Relying on the Soviet state, the working class tirelessly strengthens and expands its leadership on all sectors of the ideological front, including literature and art.

While fighting for the ideological hegemony of proletarian writers, the Party simultaneously combated "a frivolous and dismissive attitude toward the old cultural heritage, as well as toward literary specialists." It fought against the nihilistic, leftist attitude toward writers and artists who, while not proletarian in their ideology, collaborated with the Soviet government or, overcoming hesitations, moved toward such collaboration. The Communist Party and Soviet government persistently cultivated new contingents of writers and artists from among workers and peasants and educated them in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, as conscious purveyors of communist ideology in literature and art.

During the NEP years, when the influence of currents alien to the proletariat was particularly strong and proletarian cadres in

literature and art were weak, the Communist Party assisted in the creation and strengthening of special proletarian organizations (RAPP, etc.) among artists. These organizations, at a certain point, played a significant role in the struggle for socialist art. However, vulgarizers of Marxism, covert enemies of the people, infiltrated their leadership, attempting to transform RAPP, etc., into sectarian groups akin to Proletkult and use them to fight against Soviet culture.

Leninism teaches that leadership in the field of literature and art in a socialist state belongs not to individual organizations, but to the working class as a whole, and that the working class exercises its leadership through the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

In its artistic policy, the Bolshevik Party proceeded and continues to proceed from the premise that integrating literature and art with life, with the struggle of the masses, and truthfulness in art will inevitably lead artists and writers to communism. The entire course of socialist construction has confirmed the profound wisdom and correctness of the Leninist-Stalinist policy in literature and art. During the process of building socialism, non-party writers and artists turned toward socialism. At the same time, proletarian literature and art have grown immeasurably. All this has led to the need to replace outdated forms of organizing the artistic intelligentsia with new organizational forms.

The example of literary and artistic workers demonstrates the power of I. V. Stalin's historical instructions that in the Soviet Union "non-party members are now separated from the bourgeoisie by a barrier called the Soviet social system. This same barrier unites non-party members with communists into a single common collective of *Soviet people* . Living in a common collective, they fought together to strengthen the

might of our country, together fought and shed blood on the fronts in the name of the freedom and greatness of our Motherland, together forged and forged victory over the enemies of our country. The difference between them is only that some are members of the party and others are not. But this difference is formal. The important thing is that both are working on a common cause. Therefore, a bloc of communists and non-party members is a natural and vital matter"[401].

On April 23, 1932, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a historic decision on the restructuring of literary and artistic organizations. It noted the fundamental changes that had occurred on the literary and artistic front, associated with the enormous growth of Soviet art and the unification of the entire artistic intelligentsia around the platform of Soviet power and socialist construction. The decision stated:

"At the present time, when the cadres of proletarian literature and art have matured, and new writers and artists have emerged from factories, plants, and collective farms, the framework of existing proletarian literary and artistic organizations (VOAPP, RAPP, RAMP, etc.) is becoming narrow and is hindering the serious scope of artistic creativity. This circumstance creates the danger that these organizations will transform from a means of maximally mobilizing Soviet writers and artists around the tasks of socialist construction into a means of cultivating clique-like insularity, detaching them from the political tasks of the day and from significant groups of writers and artists sympathetic to socialist construction.

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[401] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at pre-election meetings of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, pp. 23–24.

Hence the need for a corresponding restructuring of literary and artistic organizations and expansion of the base of their work"[402].

In accordance with this decision, the RAPP and other similar organizations were liquidated and the Union of Soviet Writers, the Union of Soviet Composers, etc., with communist factions within them, were created.

Subversive Trotskyite-Bukharinite elements attempted to disrupt the urgent task of restructuring literary and artistic organizations and delay the rapid development of Soviet literature and art, hindering the strengthening of the connection between the work of all artists and the practice of socialist construction. But these subversive elements were exposed and defeated. In 1934, the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers took place, at which the Communist Party's line on literature was expressed in the keynote addresses of A. M. Gorky and A. A. Zhdanov and enshrined in the Charter of the Union of Soviet Writers.

Three fundamental principles formed the basis of the Charter of the Union of Soviet Writers. These principles define the ideological and creative paths of literary development.

Firstly, the close, direct connection of literature with the politics of the Communist Party and Soviet power, the deep study of concrete reality by writers and their active participation in socialist construction as a decisive condition for the growth of fiction, its mastery, ideological and political richness and practical effectiveness.

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[402] "Party Decisions on the Press", Gospolitizdat, 1941, pp. 153–154.

Secondly, the principle of socialist realism as a guiding creative principle, developed under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and I. V. Stalin personally, was based on a critical examination of the literary legacy of the past, the study and generalization of the experience of victorious socialist construction and the growth of socialist culture, especially the growth of Soviet literature. "Socialist realism," states the Charter of the Union of Soviet Writers, "being the fundamental method of Soviet fiction and literary criticism, demands of the artist a truthful, historically concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, the truthfulness and historical concreteness of the artistic depiction of reality must be combined with the task of ideologically reshaping and educating workers in the spirit of socialism."

Thirdly, the diversity of forms, styles, genres, and creative techniques in general is the result of strict adherence to the principles of socialist realism, as well as the victory of socialism, which has provided exceptional opportunities for the development and flourishing of literature, art, science, and culture in general. "The victory of socialism," states the Charter of the Union of Soviet Writers, "the unprecedented explosive growth of productive forces in human history, the growing process of abolishing classes, the abolition of any possibility of exploiting man by man, and the abolition of the antithesis between city and country, and finally, the unprecedented advances in science, technology, and culture—all create boundless opportunities for the qualitative and quantitative growth of creative forces and the flourishing of all forms of art and literature."

In accordance with these fundamental principles, the organizational structure of the Union of Soviet Writers was determined as a unified organization of Soviet writers. The great proletarian writer A. M. Gorky played a crucial role in

the creation of the Union of Soviet Writers, and the entire restructuring of literary and artistic organizations took place under the direct supervision of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and I. V. Stalin personally.

Unions of creative workers in music, painting, architecture, and other fields were established following the model of the Union of Soviet Writers. New organizations of creative workers in literature and art emerged during the period when the Soviet state, following the liquidation of the exploiting classes, entered the second phase of its development. These organizations play a crucial role in the development of literature and art along the path of socialist realism. They contribute to the further advancement of Soviet literature and art and enhance their role in the communist education of the working people.

The Soviet state creates all the conditions for the comprehensive development of the Soviet literary and artistic community, the development and strengthening of amateur organizations of writers and artists, and the improvement of their work. The decisions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on ideological issues adopted in the post-war period constituted a new contribution to socialist aesthetics. Developing Lenin's position on the party spirit of literature and fighting for Bolshevik party spirit and the communist ideology of all forms of art, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and I.V. Stalin draw the particular attention of the Soviet public to the following.

Soviet literature and art must be truthful, depicting the lives of Soviet people and their struggle for communism in all its complexity, without losing sight of the prospects for progress toward communism. Soviet artists must promptly notice the new and progressive elements emerging in life, artistically

depict them and thereby promote them, uncover, expose, and condemn the obsolete, and help the Party and the people overcome and eliminate these obsolete elements.

The Party and Comrade Stalin insist that works of art must depict all aspects of Soviet life—from production to everyday life—and fully reveal the new, beautiful qualities of Soviet people born of the revolution, while mercilessly castigating the ugly traits still present in some individuals. Comrade Stalin teaches that satirical writing must have its place in the work of Soviet writers.

Soviet literature and art must be closely connected to the lives of the masses and to the practice of communist construction. Works of literature and art must be relatable and understandable to the people and satisfy the growing spiritual needs and aesthetic tastes of Soviet citizens.

The literature and art of the Soviet Union are called upon to educate Soviet citizens, especially the youth, in a spirit of devotion to socialism and the people. Therefore, they must be guided by what constitutes the vital foundation of the Soviet system—the policies of the Bolshevik Party.

"The Soviet system cannot tolerate the education of youth in a spirit of indifference to Soviet politics, in a spirit of indifference and lack of ideas.

The strength of Soviet literature, the most advanced literature in the world, lies in the fact that it is a literature that does not have and cannot have any other interests than the interests of the people, the interests of the state"[403].

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[403] "On the magazines 'Zvezda' and 'Leningrad'." From the resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of August 14, 1946, Gospolitizdat, 1952, p. 6.

Truthfulness and nationality, an inseparable connection with the policy of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, based on the laws of social development and expressing the interests of the Soviet people, form the basis of the ideology of Soviet literature and art.

A characteristic feature of the ideology of Soviet literature and art is its optimistic, life-affirming nature, reflecting the depth and diversity of folk art, the strength and invincibility of the people who seized power and built a new society. This is precisely why Soviet art cultivates people who are cheerful, confident in their work, unafraid of difficulties, and capable of overcoming any obstacles on the path to the great goal—communism.

The ideological spirit of Soviet literature and art manifests itself in the criticism and exposure of decaying bourgeois culture, in the promotion of the superiority of the Soviet social system over the capitalist system, and in the truthful depiction of the high moral qualities of the Soviet people. Soviet multinational socialist art helps the Communist Party and the Soviet state educate the people, cultivates and develops Soviet national pride, and educates the masses in the spirit of noble Soviet patriotism and internationalism.

The communist ethos of literature and art demands that relationships between writers and artists be based not on personal friendships or philistine interests, but on the interests of the communist education of Soviet citizens and the development of literature and art. Writers, artists, and critics must always and in everything be guided by the interests of the people and the socialist state, recognizing their responsibility to the people, the Communist Party, and the state, which have created unprecedentedly favorable conditions for creativity and

spare nothing for the flourishing of highly artistic and highly ideological literature and art.

These are the fundamental principles defining the ideology of Soviet literature and art, guiding their development and flourishing during the gradual transition from socialism to communism. All artistic organizations in the Soviet Union are guided by these principles. The fact that these principles underlie the work of Soviet writers and artists does not at all mean there is no need to actively fight for their implementation. This struggle is necessary, firstly, because understanding the importance of these principles does not necessarily mean the ability to implement them in creativity. Soviet artists still experience ideological breakdowns and serious shortcomings in individual works of art, creative failures, even though these works were created by authors who perfectly understood and subjectively strove to implement the Communist Party's artistic guidelines. This struggle is necessary, secondly, because the vestiges of capitalism in the public consciousness are, as is well known, very tenacious and make themselves felt in artistic creation.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), through its decisions on ideological issues in the post-war period, exposed serious shortcomings in the work of literary and artistic organizations. The Party exposed tendencies and morals alien to Soviet art and the Soviet system, which in some cases had permeated Soviet literature and art. The resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of August 14, 1946, noted the serious political errors committed by the magazines Zvezda and Leningrad and decisively condemned the preaching of rotten lack of ideas, vulgarity, pessimism, and apoliticality by certain writers, who constituted the scum of literature. The Communist Party and Soviet society rebuffed manifestations of

aristocratic aestheticism, formalism, and gimmickry in literature and art, which were alien to the people, as phenomena alien to the character and spirit of Soviet literature and art. The Bolshevik press and Soviet public exposed the bearers of rootless cosmopolitanism, who denied the continuity of advanced traditions in the development of literature and art of the people and who pandered to the corrupt bourgeois culture of the Anglo-Saxon and other imperialist countries.

The Communist Party put an end to the relapses of rapist sentiment, which consisted of opposing non-party writers to communist writers, of opposing Soviet art to the classical art of the past, of ignoring the fact that Bolshevik party spirit in art today is revealed in the Stalinist principle of the ideological nature of Soviet art.

The Bolshevik Party and Soviet society, waging a decisive struggle against manifestations of bourgeois influences in literature and art, penetrating to us from capitalist countries, ensure the development of Soviet literature along the paths of socialist realism, along the paths of high ideology, which constitute the most important conditions for the flourishing of Soviet art.

In defining the ideological and artistic direction of the development of literature and art, the Bolshevik Party and Soviet power not only created a high standard of living for writers and artists, in accordance with the socialist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work," but also surrounded them with attention and care, instilling in the entire nation a profound love for Soviet writers and artists. The highest expression of gratitude on the part of the people and the Soviet socialist state to creative workers in the fields of literature and art for the highly ideological and artistic works they create is the awarding of writers and artists

with orders and medals of the USSR and the annual conferral of Stalin Prizes on the authors of their best works.

Encouraged by the Communist Party, the Soviet government, and the entire people, Soviet literature and art became a powerful social force, actively participating in the construction of communism and educating Soviet people as active and conscious fighters for a communist society. Soviet art also plays a significant international role. One indicator of the enormous role of Soviet art in international affairs, its avant-garde role in the international art arena, is the struggle of Soviet art and Soviet literary and artistic organizations for world peace. The voice of Soviet art, the voice of Soviet writers and artists, resonates throughout the world, and is heeded by all advocates of peace in every country of the globe.

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The construction of socialism and communism is unthinkable without the development of science. The socialist revolution, which established the dominance of public property, created the conditions for turning all scientific, technological, and cultural achievements into public property. At the very beginning of the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin wrote:

"The victorious proletariat has opened up a land that has now become the property of the people, and it will be able to organize new production and consumption on socialist principles. Previously, the entire human mind, all its genius, created only to provide some with all the benefits of technology and culture, while depriving others of the most essential things—education and development. Now, all the wonders of technology, all the achievements of culture will become the property of the people, and from now on, never

again will the human mind and genius be turned into means of violence, into means of exploitation"[404].

Lenin's prediction was fully realized. In the Soviet Union, science truly became a national treasure, a powerful national force, used to develop the productive forces of socialist society and transform nature in the interests of the working people.

The Soviet socialist state played a decisive role in the development of Soviet science and in establishing its organic connection with communist construction. Immediately after the victory of the socialist revolution, after the establishment of Soviet power, Lenin, Stalin, and the Bolshevik Party took urgent measures to protect the equipment of the Academy of Sciences, research institutes, and universities, and to provide scientific workers with the means to live. During the most critical moments of the revolution, when, in a desperate struggle against economic ruin, famine, and the invasion of the invaders, the young Soviet Republic strained every ounce of its strength for victory, the great Lenin never lost sight of the lives and work of the country's greatest scientists. The greatest cultural master, Alexei Maximovich Gorky, was appointed head of the State Commission for Assistance to Scientists and Cultural Figures.

The Soviet government's attention and assistance to the greatest scientists of our time—I. P. Pavlov and I. V. Michurin—are striking examples of the concern of the Soviet government, Lenin, and Stalin for science and its leading figures in the early years of Soviet power. The great Lenin took a personal interest in the living and working conditions of I. P. Pavlov. In January 1921, he signed a Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR, which stated:

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[404] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, ed. 4, p. 436.

“Taking into account the absolutely exceptional scientific achievements of Academician I. P. Pavlov, which are of enormous importance for workers throughout the world, the Council of People’s Commissars has decided:

1. To form, on the basis of the Petrograd Soviet’s submission, a special commission... which shall be tasked with creating, as soon as possible, the most favorable conditions for ensuring the scientific work of Academician Pavlov and his staff.

2. To commission the State Publishing House to print a deluxe edition of the scientific work prepared by Academician Pavlov, which summarizes the results of his scientific work over the past 20 years, in the best printing house of the republic, and to retain the right of ownership of this work for Academician I. P. Pavlov both in Russia and abroad.

3. Instruct the workers' supply committee to provide Academician Pavlov and his wife with a special ration equal in caloric content to two academic rations.

4. To instruct the Petrograd Soviet to provide Professor Pavlov and his wife with lifelong use of the apartment they occupy and to furnish it and Academician Pavlov’s laboratory with maximum conveniences.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)"[405].

On the orders of Lenin and Stalin, an institute equipped with the latest science and technology was built in the village of Koltushi, now the village of Pavlovo, for the scientific work of Academician Pavlov and his staff.

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[405] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 32, ed. 4, p. 48.

Lenin and Stalin showed a profound interest in the work of I. V. Michurin. On February 18, 1922, the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR sent a telegram request to the Tambov Provincial Executive Committee: "Experiments in obtaining new cultivated plants are of enormous national importance. Urgently send a report on Michurin's experiments and work in Kozlovsky District for presentation to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade Lenin. Confirm the execution of this telegram"[406].

The Soviet government transformed the fruit nursery founded by I. V. Michurin into a major scientific institution with a large staff of researchers. On October 3, 1931, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the USSR and the RSFSR and the V. I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences decided to use the Michurin fruit nursery as a base for the establishment of institutions of all-Union significance: a production training center (now reorganized into a state farm-orchard covering over 3,500 hectares), the Central Scientific Research Institute of Northern Fruit Growing (now the Scientific Research Institute of Fruit and Berry Farming), and the Selection and Genetic Station for Fruit and Berry Crops (now the I. V. Michurin Central Genetic Laboratory).

In 1934, in connection with the eightieth birthday of I. V. Michurin and the sixtieth anniversary of his work, I. V. Stalin sent a congratulatory telegram with the following content:

" *To Comrade Michurin, Ivan Vladimirovich* .

I sincerely greet you, Ivan Vladimirovich, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of your fruitful work for the benefit of our great homeland.

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406 See I. V. Michurin, Works, Vol. I, 1948, p. 61.

I wish you health and new successes in transforming fruit growing.

I shake your hand firmly.

I. Stalin "[407].

The Soviet socialist state's efforts to develop science and restructure scientific institutions in the interests of building socialism intensified particularly after the end of the Civil War, with the transition to peaceful socialist construction. The USSR Academy of Sciences was relocated to Moscow to establish permanent contact between the Soviet government and the People's Commissariats with the Academy's scientific leadership. The network of research institutes, bases, expeditions, and branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences was significantly expanded. Furthermore, a vast network of sectoral research institutes was created, operating under the direct supervision of people's commissariats (ministries) and closely linked to industrial enterprises, transportation, state farms, and collective farms. During the years of Soviet power, republican Academies of Sciences were established in the union republics. All research organizations and institutions were equipped with the most modern equipment. The Soviet state raised the living standards of scientists to levels they could not have dreamed of under capitalism.

The Soviet state placed particular emphasis on training scientists who emerged from the people and were devoted to them. Numerous graduate and doctoral programs were established at all major research institutions. Thousands of researchers in the social sciences were trained through the Communist Academy under the Central Executive Committee

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[407] See I. V. Michurin, Works, Vol. I, p. 87.

of the USSR, the Institutes of Red Professors, and the Academy of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). In 1950, over 21,000 graduate students were preparing for scientific work at higher education institutions and research institutes, and in 1951, over 24,000.

Today, the Soviet Union boasts the most sophisticated and numerous research organizations and the largest army of scientists. In 1950, 150,000 scientists worked in the USSR's higher education institutions and research institutes, including 10,000 doctors of science, 40,000 candidates of science, and associate professors. This army of scientists draws on the experience, achievements, and discoveries of hundreds of thousands of leading industrial and agricultural workers, whose creative work nurtures and advances Soviet science.

The Bolshevik Party and Soviet power ideologically guide the development of Soviet science. During the transition from capitalism to socialism, a fierce class struggle raged on the scientific front, as on every other front. Forces alien and hostile to Soviet power and the people—from old bourgeois specialists who retained ties with the bourgeoisie and embraced sabotage, to Trotskyite-Bukharin traitors and fiends—sought to divorce science from life, from the practice of socialist construction, and instilled anti-scientific, bourgeois views in science: Machism and mechanism in physics; vitalism, Weismannism-Morganism in biology; Pereverzevism, formalism, Rappism, and the like in literature; idealism and mechanism in philosophy and political economy; the anti-Marxist concept of the so-called Pokrovsky "school" in historical science, and so on.

The Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin and Stalin, exposed and defeated all these reactionary, anti-scientific tendencies and

movements and ensured the restructuring of science based on the Marxist-Leninist worldview. Through the works of Lenin and Stalin and the decisions of the Party and the Soviet government adopted under their leadership, social science in the USSR was elevated to extraordinary heights. The works of Soviet historians, philosophers, economists, and scholars in other fields of social science were fertilized by the ideas of Lenin and Stalin.

Soviet scientists working in the natural sciences, as well as those working in the social sciences, overwhelmingly strive to consciously follow the principles of dialectical materialism in their scientific work. The most striking example of the conscious application of dialectical materialism to explaining natural phenomena, with the goal of transforming them, is, as is well known, the Michurin school of thought in biology, currently led by Academician T. D. Lysenko.

The close connection between Soviet natural science and production, the practice of communist construction, and the experience of Stakhanovite workers in industry and agriculture, on the one hand, and the conscious application of the dialectical materialist worldview by Soviet scientists in their scientific work, on the other, opens up boundless opportunities for the development of Soviet science. In the Soviet Union, truly advanced science is developing and strengthening, pointing the way and prospects for the development of all global science.

The characteristics and significance of advanced science were exhaustively characterized by I. V. Stalin. Advanced science, Stalin teaches, is inextricably linked with life, practice, and the struggle of the masses. Soviet science is closely linked to the practice of communist construction. It responds to pressing challenges that arose during the all-conquering movement of

the Soviet Union's masses toward communism. Soviet science is advanced precisely because it addresses questions that are essential for society's forward movement, along the path of developing productive forces and raising the material and cultural standards of the masses. Soviet science successfully addresses a wide range of issues related to the creation of the great projects of communism, the further improvement of production technology, and the transformation of nature in the interests of the people. In short, Soviet science strives to ensure an abundance of material and spiritual wealth for the working people. Soviet science is an advanced science, which, as I. V. Stalin said, "does not isolate itself from the people, does not keep itself away from the people, but is ready to serve the people, is ready to transfer to the people all the achievements of science, which serves the people not under duress, but voluntarily, willingly"[408].

"The data of science," teaches I. V. Stalin, "have always been verified by practice, by experience. Science that has severed ties with practice, with experience—what kind of science is it? If science were as some of our conservative comrades portray it, it would have perished for humanity long ago. Science is called science precisely because it does not recognize fetishes, is not afraid to raise a hand against the obsolete, the old, and listens sensitively to the voice of experience and practice. If things were otherwise, we would have no science at all, there would be no astronomy, say, and we would still be making do with the outdated system of Ptolemy; we would have no biology, and we would still be consoled by the legend of the

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[408] "Speech by Comrade Stalin at a reception in the Kremlin for employees of the Higher School on May 17, 1938," p. 3.

creation of man; we would have no chemistry, and we would still be making do with the prophecies of the alchemists"[409].

Furthermore, Soviet science is a leading science because it ensures a close alliance between old and young scientists, is constantly fertilized by an influx of fresh young forces, and relies on the powerful upsurge of culture throughout the nation. Soviet science is a leading science because it "does not allow its old and recognized leaders to complacently withdraw into the shell of priests of science, into the shell of monopolists of science, which understands the meaning, significance, and omnipotence of the alliance of old and young scientists, which voluntarily and willingly opens all the doors of science to the young forces of our country and gives them the opportunity to conquer the heights of science, which recognizes that the future belongs to the youth of science"[410].

Soviet science is also advanced because it is free of rigidity, dogmatism, and slavish adherence to outdated traditions. It is characterized by innovation and daring in posing new, creative questions. This does not mean that Soviet science shuns the advanced traditions of the past. Soviet scientists not only take pride in the names of Lomonosov and Lobachevsky, Butlerov and Mendeleev, Sechenov and Mechnikov, and many others, but also draw on materialistic traditions and the scientific discoveries of these luminaries, further developing Soviet science. Soviet scientists are far from dogmatism or any canonization of scientific data. They boldly reject incorrect or outdated propositions and formulas of great scientists. For example, the Michurinists criticized some of Timiryazev and

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409 I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 502.

410 "Speech by Comrade Stalin at a reception in the Kremlin for employees of the Higher School on May 17, 1938," pp. 3–4.

Williams's propositions, while embracing and developing the core content of their teachings, a point well substantiated by Academician T.D. Lysenko in his article on Williams. Soviet science is an advanced science because its people, "understanding the power and significance of the traditions established in science and skillfully using them in the interests of science, still do not want to be slaves to these traditions"; Soviet science has the courage "to break old traditions, norms, attitudes, when they become obsolete, when they turn into a brake on forward movement..." Soviet science "knows how to create new traditions, new norms, new attitudes"[411].

Soviet science is also advanced because it is intolerant of anti-scientific concepts. Unfortunately, manifestations of anti-scientific idealistic and metaphysical errors are still encountered among individual Soviet scientists, even during the construction of socialism and the complete defeat of bourgeois concepts that circulated among scientists during the transition from capitalism to socialism. The defeat of the idealistic Morganist-Weismannist school in biology, anti-Pavlovian idealistic tendencies in physiology, the exposure of the followers of the idealistic concepts of the Copenhagen School in physics and the "theory" of resonance in chemistry, the struggle against objectivism and cosmopolitanism, and the exposure of idealism and metaphysics in linguistics—all this testifies to the fact that advanced Soviet science within the country must overcome various hostile influences penetrating Soviet scientific circles. Moreover, Soviet science must wage this struggle internationally against the pernicious reactionary ideas being instilled in science by Jeans and Eddingtons, Russells and Deweys, racists, and obscurantists of various

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411 "Speech by Comrade Stalin at a reception in the Kremlin for employees of the Higher School on May 17, 1938," p. 4.

stripes. The fight against the anti-scientific views instilled in science by reactionaries and intolerance to them are the law of scientific development and are particularly characteristic of Soviet science, as the most advanced and truthful, the most ideological and creative science.

Soviet science is also a leading science because the Soviet system ensures freedom of criticism, the exchange of opinions, and the contest of opinions, without which, as I. V. Stalin taught, no science can thrive or develop. The Communist Party and Soviet power resolutely suppress any attempt to restrict the contest of opinions in science or to impede freedom of scientific criticism. They do not permit the imposition of a bureaucratic, Arakcheyev-style regime in scientific institutions, alien to Soviet principles. The Party and Soviet state strongly encourage and develop creative debate in all areas of scientific knowledge, directing the creative thought of scientists toward overcoming conservative or outdated views, toward the development and enrichment of advanced scientific principles, and toward the triumph of these principles.

Under the guiding influence of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and I. V. Stalin personally, discussions in the fields of philosophy, biology, music, linguistics, physiology, and others were conducted over the past five years. I. V. Stalin's participation in the discussion of linguistic issues and his brilliant work, "Marxism and Questions of Linguistics," were an event of historical significance, giving a powerful impetus to the creative development of all branches of Soviet science.

These are the most important characteristics of Soviet science as the most advanced and ideological science ever seen in history. The most striking example of such a science is Marxist-Leninist social science, of which Lenin and Stalin

were the unrivaled creators and masters. The ideas of Lenin and Stalin fertilize and guide the development of all branches of science in the Soviet Union and advanced science throughout the world.

Soviet scientists, from the most prominent to the most rank-and-file academics, strive to emulate Lenin and Stalin in all their work. Hundreds of thousands of industrial innovators learn from Lenin and Stalin, developing science from below, rising from practitioners to scientists and blazing new, uncharted paths in science and technology. All workers of our vast Motherland strive to emulate Lenin and Stalin, integrating science into production and transforming society and nature, relying on the data of advanced Soviet science.

In the USSR, the construction of a communist society based on advanced science has been underway and is being successfully carried out across the entire front. Physics, chemistry, and related applied sciences support the country's great communist construction projects, the process of electrifying the entire national economy, and contribute to production processes, the radical improvement of existing technology, and the creation of new technology.

The entire complex of technical sciences in the USSR serves industry, transportation, agriculture, and the construction of industrial and domestic facilities, as well as the development of new equipment and technology, and contributes to the creation of the material and technical basis of communist society. In particular, technical sciences address issues related to the implementation of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production processes.

In the Soviet Union, biological sciences, in close collaboration with physical, mathematical, technical, geological, and other

sciences, are developing principles for transforming nature in the interests of building communism and creating an abundance of material wealth in the country, without which communism is unthinkable. Marxist-Leninist social science, enriched and developed by the works of I.V. Stalin and his disciples, and by the decisions and directives of the Bolshevik Party, serves as a guide for all workers in socialist society building communism, and for all supporters of peace, democracy, and socialism throughout the world.

As an instrument of developing the socialist economy and culture, an instrument of communist construction, Soviet science serves to strengthen the USSR's defensive might. Soviet scientists, like all Soviet people, vigilantly monitor the machinations of warmongers—Churchills, Trumans, Achesons, Attlees, and Co. — and through their creativity help strengthen the might of the Soviet Army and its military equipment.

Soviet science selflessly serves its people and the well-being of workers in all countries. Ardent and inspiring Soviet patriotism and noble socialist humanism characterize the work of Soviet scientists. One of the hallmarks of the humanism of Soviet science and Soviet scientists is the fact that their entire work is subordinated to the task of strengthening peace among nations, furthering the country's economic and cultural development in the interests of the working masses, raising the material and cultural standards of the entire nation, and building communism. Through their work, Soviet scientists assist people's democracies, promoting the development of their economies and culture in the interests of the workers of these countries. Soviet scientists lead the movement of scientists from all countries in the struggle for peace, which has grown into a powerful force.

The comprehensive development of science in the USSR is clear proof that communism opens boundless horizons for the flourishing of science and creative endeavor. Communism and science are inseparable.

The Soviet state creates all the conditions for the development of science and places science at the service of the workers, at the service of communist construction.

4. The Soviet state as an instrument of communist education of the masses.

The Soviet socialist state is the primary instrument of communist construction. It involves all workers in the construction of a new society.

The Soviet state organizes the working masses to implement the national economic plan and oversees the fulfillment of the plan by all organizations, enterprises, and institutions. The Soviet socialist state provides for and implements a systematic improvement in the standard of living and culture of the working people, creating conditions for the comprehensive development of Soviet culture, national in form and socialist in content. While granting all its citizens significant rights —the right to work, education, rest, and other rights, the right to vote, and democratic freedoms—the Soviet state does not limit itself to these rights, but creates all the material conditions to ensure all workers have the opportunity to exercise these rights, involves all workers in government, and trains them to govern the country.

At the same time, the Soviet state educates workers in the spirit of consciously fulfilling their *duties* to society and the socialist state. Soviet society and the Bolshevik Party, Lenin says, must declare war on the traditions and habits inherited from the old world, based on exploitation, violence, and lies, and must

educate Soviet people in the spirit of observing the rules and norms of communist society. Lenin placed particular emphasis on developing a *communist attitude toward work* . For Soviet people living in the great Stalinist era of victorious socialism, these instructions from Lenin are of particular significance. Lenin's articles addressing these issues are studied by the entire Soviet intelligentsia and all progressive workers.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin wrote, "is not only violence against the exploiters, nor even primarily violence. The economic basis of this revolutionary violence, the guarantee of its viability and success, is that the proletariat represents and implements a higher type of social organization of labor than capitalism. This is the essence. This is the source of strength and the guarantee of the inevitable, complete victory of communism."

"The feudal organization of social labor was maintained by the discipline of the stick, with the workers in extreme ignorance and oppression, robbed and abused by a handful of landowners. The capitalist organization of social labor was maintained by the discipline of hunger, and the vast mass of workers, despite all the progress of bourgeois culture and bourgeois democracy, remained in the most advanced, civilized, and democratic republics a ignorant and oppressed mass of wage slaves or oppressed peasants, robbed and abused by a handful of capitalists. The communist organization of social labor, toward which socialism is the first step, is maintained, and will continue to be maintained, increasingly by the free and conscious discipline of the workers themselves, who have overthrown the yoke of both landowners and capitalists"[412].

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[412] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, 4th ed., pp. 386–387.

This new, communist discipline, Lenin said, is not born of pious wishes or something that falls from the sky. It grows out of the material conditions of life of the working class, and only out of them. The most important condition determining the emergence of proletarian, socialist discipline is large-scale mechanized production, created by capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, large-scale mechanized production is further perfected and spreads to agriculture. Without this foundation, a new labor discipline is impossible. The bearer and conductor of large-scale, socialized, socialist production and its organizer in agriculture is the working class, "created, organized, united, trained, enlightened, and tempered by large-scale capitalism"[413].

Only the working class is capable of organizing and leading socialist construction; only it is capable, by re-educating itself, of leading the re-education of all other strata of the working people in the spirit of communism. With the growth of socialism, the general cultural level, communist consciousness, and organization of the working class rise, which guarantees the strengthening of its leading role in Soviet society and contributes to the rise of the general cultural level and communist consciousness of all working people.

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie create conditions when “for the first time after centuries of labor for others, forced labor for exploiters, there is the possibility of *working for oneself* , and, moreover, work based on all the achievements of modern technology and culture”[414].

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[413] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, 4th ed., p. 387.

[414] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, 4th ed., p. 368.

Working for themselves, workers in a socialist society take good care of socialized tools, use raw materials, fuel, and auxiliary materials sparingly, and persistently increase labor productivity, enriching society.

“Communism begins,” writes Lenin, “where there appears selfless concern on the part of *ordinary workers* , overcoming hard labor, for increasing labor productivity, for protecting every *pood of grain*, *coal*, *iron* and other products that go not to the workers personally and not to their ‘nearbys’, but to ‘distant ones’, that is, to the whole of society as a whole, tens and hundreds of millions of people, united first in one socialist state, then in the Union of Soviet Republics”[415].

The communist approach to labor, Lenin explains, presupposes a concern for increasing the productivity of all workers in socialist society, the desire of advanced workers to share their experience with others and to help those lagging behind, in order to achieve a general upswing. This is one of the fundamental characteristics of socialist competition .

Exposing the apologists of capitalism who extolled bourgeois competition, Lenin demonstrated that competition on any large scale fostered enterprise, energy, and bold initiative only under conditions of small-scale commodity production. But even then, it crippled and maimed people, instilling in them the psychology of property owners and bourgeois individualists, accustoming them to seeing competitors as enemies who must be suppressed, stifled, and destroyed in order to survive and prosper. Under monopoly capitalism, however, competition "means an unheard-of brutal suppression of the enterprise,

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[415] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 29, 4th ed., p. 394.

energy, and bold initiative of the masses of the population, its vast majority, ninety-nine out of every hundred workers"[416].

Socialist competition, as opposed to bourgeois competition, not only cultivates in people the spirit of creativity, initiative and initiative, not only instills in workers the skills of working in a team and for a team, on the basis of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, but is also a form of cooperation among the *millions of masses of workers* .

“Socialism,” said Lenin, “not only does not extinguish competition, but, on the contrary, for the first time creates the possibility of using it truly *widely* , truly on a *mass scale*, of drawing the majority of workers into the arena of such work, where they can prove themselves, develop their abilities, discover talents, which are an untapped spring among the people and which capitalism crushed, suppressed, strangled in thousands and millions.

Our task now that the socialist government is in power is to organize competition”[417].

The best evidence of the brilliant foresight of the great Lenin, who almost on the day after the victory of the socialist revolution, when the first shoots of a new attitude to labor were just emerging, assessed their world-historical significance and oriented the party and Soviet power toward their support and development, is the transformation of socialist competition in our days into a powerful nationwide force, into the greatest source of power and invincibility of the Soviet socialist state.

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[416] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, 4th ed., p. 367.

[417] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, 4th ed., p. 367.

Communist labor discipline is the *conscientious and conscious discipline* of the workers . It presupposes, says Lenin, a well-organized organization and centralized leadership. It must be truly ironclad for the workers to finally defeat capitalism. "...Unconditional centralization and the strictest discipline of the proletariat are one of the fundamental conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie,"[418] Lenin taught.

Such discipline presupposes not only the suppression of exploiters' resistance but also coercion against those elements and groups of workers who, contrary to the overwhelming majority of Soviet workers, violate labor discipline, undermine the conscious discipline of the working class, and hinder the education of the remaining workers in the spirit of socialist discipline. However, socialist labor discipline is built not on coercion, but on persuasion. And before coercing an undisciplined minority, it is necessary for the majority of workers themselves to demand that the minority adhere to the rules of communist labor and community life. This is the essence of proletarian democracy.

Lenin was particularly intolerant of malicious violators of labor and state discipline and of those who plundered socialist property. Lenin called for a life-and-death war on crooks, parasites, and hooligans. "The rich and the crooks are two sides of the same coin, the two main categories of *parasites* nurtured by capitalism, the main enemies of socialism. These enemies must be placed under the special surveillance of the entire population; they must be dealt with mercilessly at the slightest violation of the rules and laws of socialist society. Any

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[418] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, ed. 4, p. 8.

weakness, any hesitation, any sentimentality in this regard would be the greatest crime against socialism"[419].

Lenin called for the utmost protection of socialist property and the full force of the law and the state to deal with its plunderers. Lenin taught that a socialist state was necessary not only for the persuasion and education of all workers in a socialist society, but also for the application of coercive measures against individuals who violated the rules of socialist society. Without this, Lenin said, it was impossible to ensure truly iron discipline and self-discipline among workers, just as it was impossible to ensure this without raising the level of communist consciousness. "We must learn to combine the stormy, spring-flooded, overflowing democracy of the working masses at meetings with *iron* discipline during work, with *unquestioning obedience* to the will of one person, the Soviet leader, during work"[420].

These are Lenin's most important provisions on the question of the role of the Soviet state in the development of socialist competition and in the education of communist labor discipline among workers in the conditions of the transition period from capitalism to socialism.

I. V. Stalin further developed the great Lenin's instructions on developing a communist attitude toward labor and socialist competition as the most effective way to foster communist consciousness on a mass scale. Stalin demonstrated that, under conditions of full-scale socialist construction, and especially during the transition from socialism to communism, socialist competition becomes a truly national cause, encompassing not

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[419] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 26, 4th ed., p. 372.

[420] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 27, 4th ed., p. 241.

only the overwhelming majority of the working class but also the millions of collective farm peasants and intellectuals. The foundation for the growth of socialist competition and its transformation into a nationwide force lies in the existence of a socialist state and socialist ownership of the means of production, the transformation of labor from forced labor for exploiters into free labor for oneself and society, and the growth of the material well-being and cultural level of the masses as a result of building socialism and successfully advancing toward communism.

"...Competition," teaches I. V. Stalin, "is the *communist method of building socialism* on the basis of the maximum activity of the millions of working masses. In fact, competition is the lever by which the working class is called upon to transform the entire economic and cultural life of the country on the basis of socialism"[421].

Socialist competition, as a communist method of building a new society, is characterized, firstly, by a practical, revolutionary self-criticism that mercilessly exposes everything stagnant, backward, and conservative, unmasking the specific bearers of obsolete ideas, and sweeping away all obstacles that arise in the path of a progressive popular movement and hinder the unleashing of the energy and creative initiative of the masses. Secondly, socialist competition is characterized by the creative initiative of the masses, which reveals the inexhaustible reserves hidden within the Soviet socialist system and directs these reserves toward accelerating communist construction.

"Socialist competition," teaches I. V. Stalin, "is an expression of the practical revolutionary *self-criticism* of the masses,

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[421] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 109.

based on the creative *initiative* of millions of workers. Anyone who, consciously or unconsciously, hinders this self-criticism and this creative initiative of the masses must be cast out of the way as a brake on our great cause"[422].

Developing Lenin's remarks on the contrast between socialist competition and the competition that prevails in capitalist society, I. V. Stalin shows that competition is guided by the principles of defeat and death of some, victory and dominance of others, while the principle of socialist competition is comradely assistance to those lagging behind in order to achieve a general upswing.

"Competition says: f*inish off the laggards* to establish your dominance.

Socialist competition says: some work poorly, others well, others better – *catch up with the best* and achieve a general rise "[423].

In revealing the historical significance of socialist competition, I. V. Stalin particularly emphasizes the fact that it leads to a fundamental change in the psychology of the masses, in their views on labor. In capitalist society, as in all other exploitative societies, the ruling classes regard labor as something contemptible, degrading to human dignity. Workers, groaning under the burden of grueling labor in capitalist enterprises—labor that enriches their oppressors—cannot regard personal success in labor as deserving the public approval of their fellow class members. Under the Soviet system, a fundamental change in attitudes toward labor occurs, which is particularly clearly reflected in socialist competition. "The most remarkable thing

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[422] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 109–110.

[423] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 110.

about competition is that it produces a radical revolution in people's views on work," says I. V. Stalin, "for it transforms work from a shameful and heavy burden, as it was considered before, into a matter of *honor* , a matter of *glory* , a matter of valor and heroism "[424].

Under the leadership of I. V. Stalin, socialist competition in the USSR, after laying the foundation of a socialist economy, rose to a new, higher level and gave rise to the Stakhanovite movement.

The Stakhanovite movement represents a new stage in the development of socialist competition. It developed on the basis of the technical reconstruction of the country's industry, transportation, and agriculture, and on the workers' mastery of new technology. The Stakhanovite movement decisively breaks with outdated technical norms; it is profoundly revolutionary in its very essence. Finally, the Stakhanovite movement embodies the beginnings of a cultural and technical upsurge in the working class and peasantry, thereby opening new horizons for achieving the labor productivity indicators necessary for the transition from socialism to communism.

In the seventeen years since the emergence of the Stakhanovite movement, socialist competition has achieved astonishing success. Not only has it rapidly spread across the country and now encompasses every factory, plant, state farm, and collective farm in the Soviet Union, but as socialist competition develops, qualitative shifts are continually occurring and new forms are emerging. Currently, the goal is for not only production teams, sections, shifts, and workshops, but also entire factories, state farms, and collective farms to adopt the highest forms of socialist competition. Training in advanced

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[424] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 315.

labor methods has expanded to the entire mass of workers and collective farmers. Stakhanovites are moving from mastering one profession to mastering several, combining the full use of technology with the rational use of labor time with a focus on saving materials, energy, and so forth. A high level of production culture is being combined with the introduction of the business accounting method.

Engineers and technicians in industry, and agronomists on collective and state farms, began to play an active role in the development of the Stakhanovite movement. Socialist competition and its highest form, the Stakhanovite movement, today serve as a powerful lever for the communist education of Soviet people.

The Soviet state and the Bolshevik Party shall in every possible way promote the development of socialist competition in all its forms and shall combat the distortions of competition in those cases where such distortions take place (the substitution of competition for competition; the mechanical transfer of competition to institutions in which communist consciousness and communist labor appear in other forms—schools, hospitals, etc.).

The Soviet socialist state takes up the initiative and drive of the working masses and provides the material and technical means and conditions for new, more advanced forms of labor organization, for the implementation of rationalization proposals and inventions introduced by production innovators.

The Soviet state strictly and consistently adheres to the principle of socialism —an equal obligation for all to work honestly and an equal right to receive remuneration in accordance with the quality and quantity of labor expended. The Soviet socialist state implements the principle that

excellence is unthinkable without the preference accorded by society to the best workers, both in the form of material rewards and moral and political encouragement, linked to the honor and respect accorded to labor heroes in Soviet society.

The entire system of Soviet labor organization, distribution, and remuneration, as well as the entire system of social measures in the Soviet Union, are designed to stimulate innovation in labor, mutual assistance, and comradely cooperation in production. The system of awarding medals and orders of the USSR, as well as the bonus system—from piecework wages to the awarding of Stalin Prizes to innovators in production, inventors, scientists, artists, and so on—is also guided by this principle.

The Soviet state strictly ensures that economic managers strictly adhere to Soviet laws and create all the necessary conditions for the development of socialist competition and the Stakhanovite movement. The Communist Party, the Soviet state, and trade unions devote special attention to raising the material and cultural standards of workers. Improving the material and cultural standards of living of workers is the most important source of new communist forms of labor and the most important condition for educating the masses in the spirit of communism.

The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state carried out enormous work on the communist education of workers through state cultural and educational institutions (libraries and reading rooms, cultural centers, reading huts, theaters, museums, etc.) and mass organizations of workers (trade unions, clubs, physical education, scientific and technical societies, etc.).

The Soviet state instills a communist attitude toward labor, respect for the laws of the socialist state, and concern for the

preservation of socialist property primarily through its leadership of the development of the socialist economy and culture, involving the masses in communist construction. This demonstrates the inextricable link between cultural and educational activities and economic and organizational activities, and that the economic and organizational activities of the socialist state are political in nature.

Fostering Soviet patriotism, a communist attitude toward work, concern for the preservation and development of socialist property, respect for the rules of socialist community life, and so forth is impossible without conducting broad mass political events and without the working class utilizing the entire superstructure of socialist society for the purposes of communist education and communist forging. This is all the more important to note because strict adherence to Soviet laws and state discipline, concern for the protection and development of public property, and a communist attitude toward work are the most important, but not the only, indicators of the communist consciousness of the masses. The Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state implement communist education of workers across all areas, including adherence to the rules of communist community life not only in production but also in everyday life, cultivating in Soviet people a high level of ideological commitment and perseverance in achieving their goals, developing Soviet patriotism and internationalism, and cultivating selfless devotion to the Motherland and a readiness to defend it to the last drop of blood.

The socio-political educational activities of the Soviet state are carried out by all its organs. Therefore, the constant concern of the Party and government for improving the performance of the state apparatus itself, bringing it closer to the masses, and increasing the role of educational aspects in its work is of paramount importance. Since the *primary function* of a

socialist state is to lead, organize, and educate the masses, all organs of state power, without exception, play an educational role in one way or another. Even the military and punitive organs of socialist state power, in addition to their intended purpose—the use of force and coercion—play a tremendous educational role.

As for the Soviet Army, whose strength lies primarily in the consciousness, organization, discipline, and other high moral qualities of its soldiers and commanders, its educational role is obvious. Political education and training are given a prominent place in the Soviet Army. By nurturing its soldiers and commanders, the Soviet Army has nurtured hundreds of thousands of proactive, strong-willed, and dedicated cultural workers for all sectors of the national economy and culture.

The Soviet court, as Lenin pointed out, being a punitive organ, promotes the education of workers in the spirit of observing the rules of communist labor and communist community life. The Soviet state takes measures to ensure that those who have committed crimes and are sentenced to punishment are placed in conditions of creative, productive labor and undergo communist re-education.

Thanks to the constant and persistent educational work carried out by the punitive organs of the Soviet state, many former criminals became honest Soviet citizens, conscious and active builders of communism.

Under the Soviet system, coercion exercised by the organs of Soviet power plays an educational role in relation to individuals who violate the norms and laws of the socialist state, because this coercion expresses the will of the people.

The educational value of the activities of all organs of the socialist state is all the more significant the closer these organs

are to the working people, the more attentive and caring they are to the needs and demands of the masses, and the more sensitively the state apparatus' workers respond to the demands and wishes of the working people. The struggle against a callous, bureaucratic attitude toward the demands of the working people stems from the very essence of Soviet power as the power of the masses, expressing their will and interests. This is why the Bolshevik Party vigilantly ensures that shortcomings in the work of the state apparatus are quickly and decisively eliminated, that the slightest manifestations of bureaucracy in the work of its individual units are ruthlessly suppressed, and that the apparatus's ties with the masses continually grow and strengthen.

A crucial condition, without which neither improving the functioning of the state apparatus nor educating the masses in the spirit of communism is conceivable, is the involvement of the masses in the governance of the state. The Soviet state seeks to involve the masses in the governance of the country by creating a large Soviet active base around the organs of power, by ensuring the universal participation of all workers in the implementation of Soviet state policies, and by exercising grassroots control over the work of state bodies. Election campaigns for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and local Soviets of Workers' Deputies play a special role in this process, as do mass political campaigns related to the explanation, discussion, and implementation of the decisions of the Party and the Soviet government, and by mass participation in trade unions, collective farms, and other public organizations of workers.

Unlike bourgeois states, the Soviet state does not suppress workers' public organizations, but rather promotes their development in every possible way, involving the entire

population in active political life, in the construction of communism, and in the governance of the state. Soviet public organizations involve all workers in one form or another of public activity, and sometimes even several times.

By becoming involved in the governance of *their* socialist state, workers become accustomed to prioritizing the interests of the socialist state and to adopting a statesmanlike approach to resolving issues large and small in all areas of the economy, culture, and everyday life, as well as national defense and foreign policy. This statesmanlike approach is equally evident during elections to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, when Soviet citizens carefully weigh each candidate to ensure they send the best of their country's sons and daughters to the Soviets, as well as at production meetings, when workers discuss how best to fulfill the state plan. This statesmanlike approach is also evident in the workers' active participation in defense volunteer societies and in all measures to strengthen the country's defense capabilities, as well as in their zealous support of the USSR's peaceful foreign policy and their fight for peace. The Soviet state and the entire Soviet public, by their very nature, are designed to involve, in various ways, all workers of socialist society without exception in the management of the country, to develop in them management skills and a state socialist approach to resolving all issues.

Close cooperation between Soviet government bodies and mass public organizations of working people is the most important condition for success in solving both the economic and cultural and educational tasks of building communism. Trade unions, cooperatives, Komsomol organizations, all kinds of associations and voluntary societies, and all means of ideological influence—the Soviet press, radio, literature, art, etc.—are guided by the policies of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, which express the fundamental interests of the

people. Explaining the policies of the Bolshevik Party, mobilizing the masses to implement them, and educating the masses in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and communism are the most important tasks of Soviet society. The strength of the Soviet state and the source of its greatest successes in the communist education of the masses lies in the fact that in all its activities it relies on numerous public organizations that unite the millions of masses of workers, developing and organizing their initiative, and that it, like all Soviet public organizations, is guided by the Bolshevik Party, which directs the activities of all organizations, state and public, toward one goal – communism.

Chapter Nine

Soviet Democracy – the Highest Type of Democracy.

The Soviet socialist state is the embodiment of a new, higher type of democracy—socialist democracy. The political form, the state system, and the entire content of the Soviet socialist state and its activities ensure the flourishing of genuine democracy.

The enemies of peace, democracy and socialism, the enemies of the Soviet system – from the bigwigs of the banking world to the right-wing socialists and the army of certified and uncertified hired scribblers – day after day vilely and stupidly slander the USSR, repeating the supposed undemocratic nature of the Soviet social system, its supposed totalitarian character, and in every way extolling the "freedom" and "democracy" that supposedly reign in the bourgeois world.

But all these streams of lies and slander cannot hide the truth about the Soviet system and Soviet democracy from the workers of capitalist countries. This truth is increasingly finding its way into the minds and hearts of workers in capitalist countries. And this is natural, since the historical facts testifying to the innumerable advantages of Soviet socialist democracy cannot be either denied or silenced.

1. Bourgeois democracy and its degeneration. Lenin and Stalin's criticism of bourgeois democracy.

Soviet socialist democracy replaced bourgeois democracy. The bourgeois-parliamentary system, bourgeois democracy, represented a political and legal superstructure over the capitalist base in the era of its pre-imperialist development.

Compared to the monarchy, a class system that grew out of the feudal mode of production, the bourgeois-parliamentary republic represented a major step forward in the development of society. It played a vital role in the consolidation and development of the capitalist mode of production. The foundation of production relations in capitalist society is capitalist ownership of the means of production. Unlike slaves and serfs, workers—hired laborers—are free from personal dependence, but they are also "free" from the means of production and, therefore, to avoid starvation, are forced to sell their labor power to the capitalist. Under capitalist conditions, alongside capitalist property, private property of peasants and artisans freed from serfdom, based on personal labor, is preserved and has been widespread for a long time.

The task of a bourgeois revolution is usually to adapt the political superstructure to the needs of the bourgeois base, which has replaced the feudal base. The establishment of a bourgeois-democratic republic under such conditions is historically progressive. Speaking of the first Russian revolution, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, Comrade Stalin said: "The demand for a bourgeois-democratic republic under the conditions of tsarism and bourgeois society, say, in 1905 in Russia, was a completely understandable, correct, and revolutionary demand, for a bourgeois republic then signified a step forward . "[425]

The establishment of a bourgeois-democratic republic creates the most favorable political conditions for the development of a capitalist basis, for the consolidation and expansion of capitalist property, which rests on the exploitation of wage laborers free from personal dependence. Formal and legal

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[425] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 540.

equality of citizens under a bourgeois-parliamentary system is one of the conditions for the fuller and stronger economic coercion of the bourgeoisie, which concentrates in its hands the decisive means of production and the country's primary wealth. This is why, wherever bourgeois democracy was most fully realized in the era of pre-monopoly capitalism (England, the United States, and, to some extent, France), the *omnipotence of the bourgeoisie* was most fully manifested, exercising undivided control over all spheres of public life and exercising its dictatorship in the form of bourgeois parliamentarism. Even when implemented most fully, bourgeois democracy remains a formal, limited, narrow, class-based democracy—a democracy for the rich—and is characterized by the absence of democracy for the poor, for the exploited. It is adapted to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Exposing the lies of the apologists of capitalism who chattered about "democracy in general," Lenin wrote:

"If we do not mock common sense and history, then it is clear that one cannot speak of 'pure democracy' while different *classes* exist , but can only speak of *class* democracy...

"'Pure democracy' is a false phrase of a liberal who is fooling the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy, which replaces feudalism, and proletarian democracy, which replaces bourgeois democracy"[426].

Democracy cannot be contrasted with dictatorship. Every democracy is also a dictatorship. Democracy, as a historical type of state, is a form of rule by one class over others, a

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[426] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, ed. 4, pp. 221–222.

special form of dictatorship of the ruling class. Lenin brilliantly demonstrates this using the example of bourgeois democracy.

Compared with the medieval feudal monarchy, the bourgeois republic, parliament, universal suffrage, and so on—in a word, bourgeois democracy represented enormous progress. However, while progressive compared with the Middle Ages, bourgeois democracy presupposes a glaring contradiction between the *formal* legal equality proclaimed by capitalist democracy and the *economic inequality* between exploiters and exploited.

To speak of "pure" democracy, of democracy in general, of freedom and equality, when the means of production and state power are in the hands of landowners and capitalists, when printing houses, the press, radio, cinema, theaters, schools, and the best venues for holding meetings and rallies are concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie, when the exploited classes are not only economically oppressed but also subjected daily and hourly to the comprehensive influence of the bourgeoisie's mendacious propaganda that shapes "public opinion"—this is to mock the workers and the exploited, and freedom and equality. Only vile lackeys of imperialism, such as today's right-wing socialists, can praise bourgeois democracy.

With the concentration of the means of production in the hands of the bourgeoisie, with the concentration of the most important means of ideological influence on the masses in the hands of the exploiters, with the concentration of state power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, etc., democracy becomes a democracy for the rich, for the bourgeoisie, for the exploiting minority of society. Bourgeois democracy cannot function otherwise than as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, over all working people.

"The experience of parliamentarism in France and America," wrote Comrade Stalin in 1918, "has clearly shown that the seemingly democratic power that is born as a result of universal suffrage is, in fact, a coalition with financial capital, very distant and alien to genuine democracy. In France, this country of bourgeois democracy, deputies are elected by the entire people, and ministers are supplied by the Bank of Lyon. In America, elections are universal, but the protégés of the billionaire Rockefeller end up in power"[427].

By formally and verbally proclaiming universal and equal suffrage in constitutions, the bourgeoisie achieves the de facto exclusion of the working masses from democracy and does not allow them to participate in governing the state, using for this purpose: a) the actual advantages resulting from the fact that it owns the decisive means of production and the most important means of ideological influence on the masses; b) the entire might of the police-bureaucratic apparatus of state power, which is a machine for suppressing the working people; c) the use of violence and the outright renunciation of the "democratic freedoms" it itself proclaimed whenever, in the opinion of the bourgeoisie, the situation demands it; d) all means and opportunities to curtail, limit, and distort the democratic rights formally proclaimed in the constitution.

At the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets, I. V. Stalin subjected bourgeois constitutions to a scathing critique. “Another group of constitutions,” he said, “willingly accepts and even advertises democratic principles, but makes such reservations and limitations that democratic rights and freedoms are completely mutilated. They speak of equal voting rights for all citizens, but immediately limit them to residency,

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427 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 4, p. 36.

educational, and even property qualifications. They speak of equal rights for citizens, but immediately stipulate that this does not apply to women, or applies to them only partially. And so on and so forth."[428]

Revealing the *formal* nature of democratic rights and freedoms under capitalism, showing that these rights and freedoms merely conceal the exploitation of workers who are effectively disenfranchised, Lenin noted that even from a formal perspective, democracy under capitalism is narrow, curtailed, and false. Ridiculing Kautsky's chatter about the supposed protection of minority rights by the parliamentary system—chatter that is now so readily repeated by Messrs. Morrison, Attlee, and the like—Lenin demonstrated that the ruling bourgeois party provides protection of minority rights only to another bourgeois party. Let us say for ourselves: the party of Messrs. Attlee and Morrison protects the rights of Mr. Churchill's party. "...The proletariat, however, in every serious , profound , *fundamental* question, instead of 'minority protection,' gets martial law or pogroms"[429].

How relevant these words of Lenin are today! Attlee, Morrison, Phillips, and others in power in England defended the rights and privileges of the exploiting classes and bourgeois parties. However, they did not protect the rights of workers; on the contrary, they persecuted communists and revolutionary workers in every possible way, making every effort to expel them from the trade unions, contrary to the will of the working masses who elected them to leadership positions.

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[428] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 517.

[429] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th edition, p. 225.

In France, the "socialist" minister Mock carefully guarded the rights of de Gaulle's fascist party, protected the meetings held by this party, but shot at communist demonstrations, sent troops against striking workers, violating the French constitution, which gives workers the right to strike.

The bourgeois court, formally standing guard over democracy, the rule of law, and the rights of citizens, is in fact a punitive organ of the bourgeoisie, an executor of its will. During the 1948 US presidential election and the 1950 House of Representatives elections, Progressive Party candidates were illegally excluded from the ballot in several states, and the judiciary sanctioned these illegal actions by the authorities. How many times in US history have individual measures of a progressive nature been declared unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court, preventing their implementation? Conversely, reactionary laws such as the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran Act, which deprive trade unions of their legal rights and effectively violate the Constitution, are upheld by the US Supreme Court as "constitutional." The bourgeois court in the US supports discrimination against Black people and acquits reactionaries who murder Black people. As a punitive organ of the bourgeois state, the court protects the interests of the exploiting classes. The jury is composed of wealthy individuals, owners of large movable and immovable property, and other representatives of the exploiting classes, while manual laborers, farm laborers, blacks, and representatives of other racial and national minorities, all those suspected of sympathizing with advanced, progressive ideas, are deliberately excluded from the court.

The restriction of workers' rights by the Taft-Hartley, McCarran, and other "laws," in violation of bourgeois "liberties" when they are deemed dangerous to the bourgeoisie, becomes more frequent the more developed bourgeois

democracy becomes. This is not a paradox, but a real contradiction of capitalism heading toward its demise. Lenin pointed out:

"Marxists have always said that the more developed and the 'purer' democracy, the more naked, sharper, and more merciless becomes the class struggle, the 'purer' becomes the oppression of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Dreyfus affair in republican France, the bloody reprisals against strikers by mercenary detachments armed by capitalists in the free and democratic republic of America - these and thousands of similar facts reveal the truth that the bourgeoisie vainly tries to hide, namely, that in the most democratic republics, terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie actually reign, manifesting themselves openly every time the exploiters begin to think that the power of capital is wavering"[430].

Bourgeois democracy, " *in every profound political disagreement* dangerous to the bourgeoisie, "[431] is used to foster fascism, to prepare pogroms and civil war against the proletariat. This is the "law" of bourgeois democracy. This was demonstrated by the historical experience of the dominance of the German Social Democrats, who paved the way for Hitler's rise to power. This is now demonstrated by the vile persecution of communists in the United States and the Marshallized countries, carried out by "democratic" and even "socialist" parties of the bourgeoisie.

Even in its heyday, the era of pre-monopoly capitalism, bourgeois democracy was a limited, false democracy for an

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[430] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 439.

[431] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 225.

exploiting minority. It rested on limiting the rights of the exploited majority and was directed against that majority.

Bourgeois democracy has become even more curtailed and mendacious in the era of imperialism, when the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries has become reactionary *across the board* . The grossly parasitic nature of monopoly capitalism and the omnipotence of the financial oligarchy, on the one hand, and the powerful growth of the revolutionary labor movement, the growth of mass workers' organizations, and the mounting revolutionary crisis on the domestic, proletarian front, on the other, are causing a profound crisis in bourgeois parliamentarism. The imperialist bourgeoisie is embarking on a direct rejection of the democratic freedoms it once touted, and is taking the path of fascism.

Right-wing socialists play a particularly vile role in the elimination of bourgeois freedoms. Lenin and Stalin brilliantly exposed the connection between opportunism in the global labor movement and imperialism, with the creation of a labor aristocracy—an upper crust of the working class bribed by the bourgeoisie through the monstrous exploitation of workers in colonial and dependent countries, and through the intensified exploitation of the rest of the working class in a given country. It is especially advantageous for the bourgeoisie to have the attack on democratic freedoms carried out not by itself, but by its hidden agents—right-wing socialists who lead mass workers' organizations and falsely call themselves not only democrats but also socialists.

World history since the First World War and the October Socialist Revolution testifies to the fact that right-wing socialists everywhere paved the way for reaction to fascism. This was the case in Finland after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, in Hungary, Italy,

Austria, Germany, and elsewhere in the 1920s and 1930s, and in France on the eve of World War II. This is the case today in England, the United States, West Germany, France, and other countries, where right-wing socialists are advocates of extreme repressive measures against supporters of democracy, peace, and socialism. Right-wing socialists today—all these Attles, Moches, Greens, Schumachers, Saragat, Trygve Li, and Co.—are the staunchest bulwark of imperialist reaction in all its forms, including fascism.

If, in the era of pre-monopoly capitalism, reformist parties were apologists for bourgeois democracy, then in the era of imperialism, right-wing socialists are apologists for bourgeois violence and coercion; they present the renunciation of democratic freedoms as progress. With the zeal of imperialism's most vile lackeys, right-wing socialists persecute communists, democrats, and peace advocates in general.

Thus, in the era of imperialism, all bourgeois parties—from fascists, Ku Klux Klansmen, and die-hard conservatives to right-wing socialists—are increasingly uniting around a common platform of eliminating democratic freedoms and implementing police repression and terror against genuine democratic forces and elements. *Only determined resistance to the forces of reaction, only the active struggle of democratic forces led by communists, a resistance based on the democratic sympathies of the masses and their commitment to peace and democracy, as well as the steadily growing activism of the masses in the struggle for peace and democratic freedoms, prevent the imperialist bourgeoisie from finally eliminating the remnants of democratic freedoms won by the masses .*

The incompatibility of imperialism with genuine democracy also stems from the fact that it is unthinkable without the enslavement of the workers in the colonies and dependent

countries by the bourgeoisie of large capitalist countries. Comrade Stalin says that imperialism cannot exist without exploitation and the forcible retention of colonies within a "single whole." It is unthinkable without the oppression of peoples, races, and nationalities, and unthinkable without the vile trampling of the rights of oppressed peoples. In the colonial empires of England, the United States, Holland, France, Belgium, and elsewhere, hundreds of millions of colonial inhabitants are not only socially oppressed but also politically disenfranchised, and in a number of countries, reduced to the status of slaves. Moreover, even within these states themselves, people of other races and nationalities are usually deprived of democratic rights. Suffice it to recall the discrimination against Blacks in the United States.

Finally, imperialism is the antithesis of any democracy also because it is unthinkable without the struggle to redistribute the world, without wars, which inevitably ensue whenever the balance of power between capitalist countries is disrupted as a result of uneven economic development. In the era of imperialism, the militaristic-bureaucratic state apparatus in capitalist countries inevitably swells monstrously, the dominance of the military is established, and the economy and socio-political life are restructured along military or quasi-military lines.

These are the circumstances that, taken together, determined the turn toward reaction across the entire political spectrum in the era of imperialism. The specifics of this turn are most illustrative in the case of two countries that are leading in the modern capitalist world, and whose bourgeoisie still boasts and glorifies the "freedoms" and "democracies" that supposedly exist in these countries. These countries are the United States and England. In both of these countries, bourgeois democracy reached its peak in the mid-19th century, and this is partly why

the omnipotence of finance capital in the era of imperialism reached its extreme forms in both countries. The examples of the United States and England demonstrate that bourgeois democracy is the political framework that ensured the rapid growth of the financial oligarchy, the monstrous growth of bribery, and the direct dependence of bourgeois parliaments and governments on monopolistic capitalist associations. Today, while the US and England formally retain constitutions created during the era of pre-monopoly capitalism, democratic freedoms, even in their bourgeois sense, have been effectively eliminated. This is achieved in various ways.

First, by creating a whole series of restrictions and exclusions from the democratic freedoms formally recognized by the Constitution. In the United States, for example, there are up to 50 restrictions on workers' rights: residency requirements, literacy requirements, property qualifications, poll taxes, discrimination against Blacks, etc. In 18 of 48 states, workers' voting rights are limited by literacy requirements; in seven states, voters are required to pay a poll tax; in 29 states, soldiers and sailors are disenfranchised. Through various restrictions, in seven southern states alone, approximately 11 million working Blacks and poor whites are disenfranchised. Nationwide, approximately 20 million people are disenfranchised under various pretexts. Racial discrimination has taken particularly monstrous forms in the United States. Ninety percent of adult blacks are not registered to vote, and the remaining 10% of the black population is generally prevented from voting by threats, beatings, and lynchings.

In “democratic” England, tens of millions of the colonies’ population are not only disenfranchised, but also reduced to the status of slaves.

Secondly, in bourgeois countries, and above all in the United States, new laws have been passed that violate the most basic rights of citizens: laws on the verification of loyalty of government employees, the Taft-Hartley Act, the fascist McCarran Act, etc.

Thirdly, in the USA, England and other bourgeois countries, the bourgeois-parliamentary system is being transformed into a police-militaristic bureaucratic state with uncontrolled military power and police surveillance, according to the fascist model, of the behavior and “way of thinking” of citizens.

Fourth, there is an unprecedented rise in corruption, bribery, and venality within the government apparatus and among members of parliament from bourgeois and right-wing socialist parties, as well as the complicity of ministers and members of parliament in stock market manipulation, scams, and gangster crimes. In November 1950, a scandal erupted in the French parliament involving the "socialist" minister Jules Mock, who was convicted of criminal offenses but saved from trial by a majority vote. In December 1950, news of President Truman's ties to gangsters (through Truman's brother-in-law) made headlines worldwide. Former Labor ministers and Conservative Party figures in England are implicated in similar schemes, and so on. Vote buying during elections, fraudulent vote counting, and so on are occurring on a colossal scale.

Fifthly, the promotion to leadership positions in the state apparatus, the army, and bourgeois and right-wing socialist parties of the most trusted agents of the magnates of financial capital, who unquestioningly carry out the will of their masters.

Sixth, the use of repressive measures and terror against workers, and especially against progressive organizations, with no regard for the constitution or bourgeois legality in general.

The attempts by the British Labour government and American ruling circles to disrupt the Second World Peace Congress are particularly telling in this regard. Messrs. Attlee and Bevin acted on the orders of their American masters so slavishly and brutally that they even earned a friendly rebuke from the warmonger Winston Churchill, who reproached his Labour friends for their rudeness.

Police repression, intimidation, and the organization of fascist pogroms have now become widespread in the United States.

These are some of the essential circumstances that indicate that bourgeois democracy, even from its formal side, has degenerated and become a screen masking the fascism of the political system.

It's no coincidence, then, that during election campaigns in England and the United States, working masses, discouraged from participating by a system of restrictive measures, are increasingly becoming aware that the dominant bourgeois parties—the Democrats and Republicans in the United States, or the Labour Party and Conservatives in England—are equally hostile to the people. Many voters, who have not yet embarked on the path of active struggle for democracy and socialism but are disillusioned with the policies of the leading bourgeois parties, avoid participating in elections. As a result, voter turnout in bourgeois countries, particularly in the United States and England, is low. In the 1950 congressional elections in the United States, less than half of all voters participated.

In December 1950, a TASS telegram from New York reported the following facts about these elections: "According to American press reports, during the last elections held in the United States in November of this year, more than 45 million eligible voters evaded voting. Only about 40 million people

participated in the voting. During the elections, there were widespread cases of fraud, as well as discrimination against the 'colored' population. About 10 million blacks were deprived of the right to vote through various machinations - the establishment of property qualifications, poll taxes, etc. In Socorro and Bernalillo counties, the Journal newspaper notes, 'many residents were afraid to take part in the voting at all because very soon after voters left the polling stations, it became known for whom they cast their ballots.'" The TASS telegram continued:

"Besides outright blackmail, other fraudulent practices were used during the elections. For example, in St. Louis, Missouri, 150 people who showed up at the polling station discovered that their names had been removed from the voter rolls for unknown reasons. In New York, Ohio, and other states, citizens who showed up at the polling stations learned that someone had already voted for them.

The Philadelphia newspaper The Bulletin reported that in two Lancaster County districts, "ballots were exhausted when about two - thirds of registered voters showed up to vote. In Mannheim, 1,000 ballots were printed, and 1,144 voters showed up."

The newspaper notes that the ballots were stolen by "unknown persons" and later found on the outskirts of the city. Hundreds of voters in the same areas were still waiting their turn to cast their ballots when the polling stations closed . "[432]

The most important thing, of course, is that the gulf between the exploiters and the exploited has become even deeper in the era of imperialism, and the imperialist reactionary bourgeoisie,

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[432] Pravda, December 19, 1950.

using its economic power, fully exercises its domination, its dictatorship, in the crudest form.

Lenin particularly often turned to the example of the bourgeois-parliamentary republic in the United States to expose the dictatorial nature of state power, its direct and unconditional dependence on a handful of magnates of finance capital. Using the example of one of the vaunted "freedoms" of bourgeois democracy, "freedom of the press," Lenin demonstrated that "this freedom is a deception, as long as the best printing houses and the largest stocks of paper are seized by the capitalists and as long as the power of capital over the press remains, which manifests itself throughout the world all the more vividly, the more sharply, the more cynically, the more developed democracy and the republican system are, as, for example, in America"[433].

Lenin irrefutably demonstrated that in the United States, "freedom of the press" was merely the freedom of bankers to bribe the press, the "freedom" to fabricate and falsify so-called public opinion. The subsequent development of the capitalist press in the United States fully confirmed the depth and truth of this Leninist observation. O. Seldes's book, "A Thousand Americans," reports that at least 90% of the entire American press obeys the political directives of billionaire corporations.

The book "Your Newspaper," published in New York by Macmillan, admits that as a result of the control of capitalist monopolies over radio in the United States, "by the end of 1946 there was hardly a single independent voice left on the airwaves."

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[433] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 438.

The book Monopolies Today, published in the United States of America, reports: “The power of finance capital over the press in the United States is becoming stronger as time goes on. ‘The capitalist press – the prostituted press,’ as it has long been called in labor and progressive circles, is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few large concerns, whose policies generally reflect the will of billionaire corporations”[434].

Owned by financial capital magnates, the three largest agencies in the United States—the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service—effectively control the collection of information and its dissemination throughout the country.

It's common knowledge that the press of the most hardened reactionaries of the pro-fascist variety—Hearst, Scripps-Howard, McCormick—controls over half of all newspapers published in the United States. These are some statistics on "freedom of the press" in the United States.

But even this state of democratic "freedoms" does not satisfy the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie inevitably combines its democracy with brutal and direct violence.

Using the example of US imperialism – the most powerful and richest predator – Lenin showed that the bourgeoisie of imperialist countries responds with civil war and pogroms to the struggle of the proletariat, which strives to achieve real freedoms and a real improvement in its situation.

Lenin used the example of US imperialism to demonstrate that the reactionary domestic policy of the bourgeoisie was combined with a reactionary, predatory foreign policy. The

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[434] “Monopolies Today”, Foreign Literature Publishing House, 1951, p. 112.

United States of North America, Lenin wrote, had become "one of the leading countries in the depth of the gulf between a handful of insolent billionaires, choking in filth and luxury, on the one hand, and millions of workers, eternally living on the brink of poverty, on the other. The American people, who gave the world an example of revolutionary war against feudal slavery, found themselves in the latest, capitalist, wage slavery at the hands of a handful of billionaires, playing the role of hired executioner, who, to please the rich scum, strangled the Philippines in 1898, under the pretext of "liberating" them, and in 1918 strangled the Russian Socialist Republic, under the pretext of "defending" it from the Germans"[435].

Lenin mercilessly castigated American billionaires, these modern-day slave owners, who had opened "a particularly tragic page in the bloody history of bloody imperialism"[436]. Since Lenin wrote these words, American imperialists, boasting of their "democracy," have tainted themselves with a series of new crimes. They have organized a campaign against democratic freedoms within their own country, pushing anti-labor laws through Congress, organizing the persecution of all progressive figures and the pogroms of communist organizations, unleashing a frenzied attack on the living standards of the working class in order to increase the incomes of the magnates of finance capital, etc.

The US imperialists have planted reactionary regimes in Greece and South Korea, are carrying out a predatory intervention in Korea, are organizing the strangulation of the peoples of Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines and other colonial and semi-colonial countries, are supporting reaction in

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[435] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 45.

[436] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 44.

all countries, and are preparing a criminal war against the USSR and the people's democracies.

Such is the meaning and goals of the vaunted "democracy" in the United States, which in reality represents a form of dictatorship by the most predatory and expansionist bourgeoisie in the modern capitalist world. Such is the inexorable logic of capitalism's development in an era of its general crisis and decline, which is causing a profound crisis of bourgeois democracy. In the United States, which plays a leading role in the anti-democratic camp of imperialist countries and has become the center of international reaction, the class meaning and dictatorial nature of bourgeois democracy are most clearly revealed.

By revealing the false nature of bourgeois democracy, exposing the bloody crimes of English, French, German and Japanese imperialism, showing that US imperialism was beginning to overtake its competitors not only in the scale of robbery but also in the number of bloody crimes, Lenin at the same time emphasized the democratic traditions of the American people.

“The American people,” he wrote, “have a revolutionary tradition, which has been embraced by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who have repeatedly expressed their full sympathy with us, the Bolsheviks. This tradition is the war for liberation against the British in the 18th century, then the civil war in the 19th century”[437].

Building on this tradition, revolutionary workers, and especially communists, in the United States have persistently fought and continue to fight for the unification of all

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[437] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 51.

democratic forces in the country. Their struggle is particularly important now that American imperialism has emerged as the backbone of international reaction, its primary force. This struggle is not without its consequences. The number of active supporters of peace, democracy, and socialism is growing in America. A new mass progressive party has emerged in the United States, opposing military-police and fascist methods of domination. As for the American people themselves, by voting against the most reactionary party of American imperialism—the Republican Party—in the 1948 presidential election and the 1950 congressional elections, they thereby demonstrated their opposition to reaction and the war.

As we see, in our days, when the crisis of this democracy has deepened and its disintegration is proceeding at an unprecedented rate, when open violence is increasingly disguised by words about "pure" democracy, Lenin's criticism of bourgeois democracy is even more significant than after the First World War.

2. The opposition between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy.

In contrast to the false, curtailed, formal bourgeois democracy, which is a democracy for the rich and their servants, proletarian democracy is a democracy for the overwhelming majority of the population, a democracy for the workers, peasants and intelligentsia.

"Democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat," says Comrade Stalin, "is *proletarian* democracy , the democracy of the exploited majority, based on the limitation of the rights of the exploiting minority and directed against this minority"[438].

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[438] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, pp. 115–116.

The primary condition for establishing proletarian democracy is the destruction of the old, exploitative, bureaucratic apparatus of state power, adapted to the suppression of workers, and the expropriation of the basic means of production from the exploiters. This, Lenin teaches, constitutes the actual basis for genuine democracy for the people. Without the transfer of power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat, the confiscation of land from the landowners, large-scale industry and banks from the capitalists, and without the transfer of the best printing presses, buildings, theaters, schools, cinemas, radio, etc., into the hands of the working people, talk of democracy for the people remains empty chatter, designed to fool the workers and peasants.

The world-historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution lies in the fact that, for the first time in history, it smashed the old state machine, established Soviet power, and transferred the basic means of production to a workers' state. Thus, for the first time in history, the benefits of democracy became *effectively* accessible to workers, and were used by workers, the toiling peasantry, and the intelligentsia in their own interests, against those of the exploiters. This is the path that all supporters of genuine democracy, those who wish to see it in practice and not in words, must take. "This will replace 'popular,' 'pure' democracy with a 'dictatorship of one class,'" screamed the traitors of the working class—the Scheidemanns, the Kautskys, and the Renners—and now the traitors of the workers and servants of the bourgeoisie—Attlee and Schumacher, Green and Morrison—are screaming the same thing.

"Not true," Lenin replied. "This will be a replacement of democracy for the rich with democracy for the poor. It will be a replacement of freedom of assembly and the press for the minority, the exploiters, with freedom of assembly and the

press for the *majority* of the population, the workers. This will be a gigantic, world-historic expansion of democracy, transforming it from a lie into truth, liberating humanity from the shackles of capital, *which distorts* and curtails all, even the most 'democratic' and republican, *bourgeois* democracy"[439].

The Soviet proletarian state, replacing the bourgeois one, immediately and fully granted and effectively guaranteed civil rights to all workers, regardless of gender, race, religion, or nationality. Having built socialism, the Soviet state ensured its citizens the equality that bourgeois democracy had always and everywhere promised, but had never and nowhere delivered.

In contrast to the bourgeois state, which *pushes* the masses away from participation in government, the Soviet state " attracts the masses, namely the *exploited* masses, to government"[440].

By its structure, Soviet power is adapted to bringing the masses closer to the administrative apparatus. All this testifies to the fact that "proletarian democracy is a *million times more* democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic"[441].

But proletarian democracy is the democracy of one class, the proletariat, which constitutes a minority of the population in Russia, cried the bourgeois sycophants. Not true, replied Lenin. Workers, farm laborers, and the rural semi-proletariat constitute the majority of the population of the Russian

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[439] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 348.

[440] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 226.

[441] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th edition, p. 227.

Federation (he was talking about 1918 – D.Ch.). And it was precisely representatives of this majority population who were first given the opportunity to enjoy democratic freedoms and participate in governing the country without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. “Is there,” Lenin asked, “even one country in the world, among the most democratic bourgeois countries, in which the *average* , *mass* worker, the average, mass farm *laborer* , or the village semi-proletarian in general (i.e., the representative of the oppressed masses, the vast majority of the population) enjoys even approximately such *freedom* to hold meetings in the best buildings, such *freedom* to have the largest printing houses and the best paper warehouses for the expression of his ideas, for the protection of his interests, such freedom to put forward precisely people of his class to govern the state and to “organize” the state, as in Soviet Russia”[442]. And he answered that there are no such bourgeois countries and cannot be.

But the point isn't even that the proletariat and semi-proletarian elements constitute the majority of the population. Lenin explains that proletarian democracy is based on granting political rights to all working people and on involving them *all* in the governance of the country. Lenin demonstrated that the system of proletarian democracy is based on the close cooperation of two classes—the proletariat and the peasantry—while the proletariat retains the leading role. Therefore, Kautsky and Co.'s attempts to present Soviet democracy as a democracy designed for the workers alone were false and ridiculous.

"But Soviet power means limiting the rights of the bourgeoisie and the exploiting classes in general," the lackeys of the

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[442] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 228.

bourgeoisie shouted and continue to shout. Exactly! This time you've guessed it, defenders of capitalism! Soviet, proletarian democracy is the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the unlimited power of the proletariat, based on force and directed against the bourgeoisie. *The entire system of proletarian democracy is designed to ensure the actual and full enjoyment of democratic freedoms by workers, to use these freedoms in their interests, against the interests of the bourgeoisie, against the interests of the exploiting minority* . The bourgeoisie and other exploiters are furiously resisting and will continue to resist, now that they have been defeated and deprived of their economic and political privileges.

"The historical truth is," wrote Lenin, "that the *rule* in every profound revolution is the *long , stubborn* , desperate resistance of the exploiters, who maintain for a number of years large actual advantages over the exploited. Never - except in the sweet fantasy of the sweet fool Kautsky - will the exploiters submit to the decision of the majority of the exploited without first testing their advantage in a final, desperate battle, in a series of battles"[443].

It is impossible to suppress the resistance of the bourgeoisie and ensure genuine democracy for the working class and all working people without the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is why the Soviet state is " democratic *in a new way* (for the proletarians and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie)"[444]. This is the fundamental difference between the Soviet state and the bourgeois state in the USA, England, and other capitalist countries, which are democratic for the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" lackeys

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[443] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 28, 4th ed., p. 233.

[444] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 384.

and *dictatorial against the working class and the working people in general* .

Winston Churchill, as a minister of His Majesty's Government, organized campaigns against the Soviet people in 1918–1920. As Prime Minister, in 1944 he ordered General Scobie, commander of the British Expeditionary Force in Greece, to fire on Greek democrats to prevent the establishment of Greek people's power. The whole world is familiar with the bloody crimes of British imperialism in India, Burma, Malaya, China, and other countries—crimes that British imperialists committed under the guise of fine words about "progress," "civilization," and "democracy." The Conservative Party, together with the Liberal Party and with the support of the leaders of the Labour Party, suppressed the heroic strike of English miners in 1926, and is now carrying out an attack on the rights of the working class.

The American bourgeoisie, through its agents—all these Trumans, Dullesses, Marshalls, and paid agents in the labor movement—all these Greens and Co.—discriminates against Blacks, intimidates honest Democrats, organizes police persecution of Communists, and prepares war against the USSR and the people's democracies. These facts are irrefutable. They demonstrate more clearly than words what the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie is and against whom it uses violence. All this testifies to the fact that bourgeois democracy is violence directed against its own people and the peoples of other countries.

Proletarian democracy is directed against exploiters. This is the opposite of proletarian democracy from bourgeois democracy.

In a society divided into opposing classes, democracy cannot but be class-based, cannot but be a form of domination by one

class over another. This is what Lenin and Stalin taught, and it is confirmed by the life of modern society at every step. Proletarian democracy uses violence only against the enemies of the people.

“In general, it must be said that the method of violence and violent actions is not the method of communists,” wrote Pravda, the central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. “On the contrary, history shows that it is precisely the enemies of communism and all kinds of foreign intelligence agents who practice the method of violence and violent actions. We don’t have to look far for examples. Quite recently, in a short period of time, the Prime Minister of Iran, the Prime Minister of Lebanon, and the King of Transjordan were killed. All these murders were committed with the aim of forcibly changing the regime in these countries. Who killed them? Perhaps communists, supporters of the Cominform? Isn’t it ridiculous to even ask such a question? Perhaps Mr. Morrison, as someone more knowledgeable, could help us sort this matter out?”[445]

In 1917, the workers and peasants of Russia seized power. The bourgeoisie of all countries cried out that the workers and peasants had acted "undemocratically." However, life proved otherwise. Liberated from the oppression of the bourgeoisie and the bondage of the landowners, the workers and peasants of the former Russian Empire, for the first time in history, began to control their own destiny. On the foundation of proletarian democracy, the inexhaustible forces of the masses were unleashed, their creative initiative unleashed, enabling the creation of a new society free of exploitation and exploiters.

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[445] Pravda, August 1, 1951, “Regarding Mr. Morrison’s statement. Pravda’s response.”

The workers and peasants of our country, having created a new type of democracy—proletarian democracy—demonstrated and proved in practice that the people can control their own destiny without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. The working people of the countries of people's democracy have followed the path opened by the Soviet people.

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During the first period of World War II, Nazi Germany either completely eliminated national statehood in the European countries it occupied, annexing them to Germany and extending the rule of the fascist state (such was the fate of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria), or maintained the semblance of national independence by installing puppet, quisling governments and, through them, implementing a brutal fascist dictatorship (France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Greece, and Yugoslavia). Those countries allied with Germany that were not occupied by Germany (Hungary, Romania, Italy, and others) were under fascist regimes and essentially deprived of independence, differing little from the countries where the Nazis exercised dominance through quislings.

As a result of the Soviet Army's swift and victorious offensive, which broke the back of the fascist beast and liberated the peoples of Europe from Hitler's yoke, fascist rule in the satellite countries of Nazi Germany was shattered, as was the entire Hitlerite state machine and system of governance established in the regions and countries occupied and forcibly incorporated into Germany. Hitler's "New Order" in Europe collapsed and crumbled to dust. The historical credit for the defeat of Nazi Germany and the liquidation of the fascist "New Order" belongs to the Soviet people and the Soviet Army. In carrying out its great liberation mission, the Soviet Army relied

on the popular, anti-fascist liberation movement that had unfolded in the countries occupied by Germany and on the cooperation of all freedom-loving peoples. As a result of the defeat of fascism, a system of people's democracy emerged in a number of countries in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

The emergence of a people's democratic system in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe became possible thanks to the defeat of Hitler's fascist state order in Europe by the Soviet Army, which relied on the anti-fascist movement of the peoples of these countries. The presence of the Soviet Army prevented the bourgeoisie of these countries, supported by the imperialist bourgeoisie of the United States and England, from forcibly restoring the bourgeois state machine. The working class and the working masses it led were given the opportunity to take the fate of their countries into their own hands and create a new state system—a people's democratic system. Assessing this process, Comrade Stalin stated in his order of May 1, 1946:

"The defeat and elimination of the main centers of fascism and global aggression led to profound changes in the political life of the peoples of the world, to a widespread growth of the democratic movement among the peoples. Taught by the experience of war, the masses understood that the fate of states cannot be entrusted to reactionary rulers pursuing narrow, caste-based, selfish, anti-popular goals. This is precisely why the peoples, no longer wishing to live in the old way, are taking the fate of their states into their own hands, establishing democratic orders, and waging an active struggle against the forces of reaction, against the instigators of a new war"[446].

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[446] Order of the Minister of Armed Forces of the USSR dated May 1, 1946, Gospolitizdat, 1946, p. 6.

Thus, the dismantling of the old bourgeois state, accomplished, admittedly, under specific historical conditions and in specific forms, and the transfer of power into the hands of the working people, led by the working class, were the first conditions for establishing a regime of people's democracy. The second condition, which secured the people's victory, was the undermining of the economic power of the exploiting classes.

As a result of agrarian reform in the people's democracies, the landlord class, a bastion of reaction and militarism, was destroyed. The confiscation of property belonging to war criminals, fascists, and other agents of Hitler's imperialism led to the creation of a large state sector—the economic foundation of the people's democratic state. The subsequent nationalization of banks, large-scale industry, and transportation resulted in the socialist sector gaining undivided dominance in industry.

The most important publishing houses and printing presses, radio broadcasting, the majority of print media, etc., passed into the hands of the people's democratic state. As a result of all these measures, the political, economic, and material basis for genuine people's democracy in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe was ensured.

The most important indicators of the truly popular character of democracy in Albania, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia are the following well-known facts. All mass organizations of the working class and the working masses in general have grown enormously, as has the democratic press. Tens of millions of citizens of European people's democracies are united in cooperative, professional, sports, youth, and other organizations. One of the mass organizations of workers in the people's democracies is the Societies for Friendship with the Soviet Union.

The popular character of democracy is clearly demonstrated by the elections of supreme and local authorities in countries of people's democracy.

In Albania, the National Assembly elections held on May 28, 1950, saw a 99.43% turnout, with 98.18% of those voting for the Democratic Front. The Bulgarian People's Assembly and District People's Council elections held on December 18, 1949, saw a 98.8% turnout, with 97.59% voting for the Fatherland Front. In Romania, the People's Council elections held on December 3, 1950, saw a 95.27% turnout, with 96.31% of those voting for the People's Democratic Front.

Democracy in people's democracies is a class democracy. It is directed against the remnants of reaction and fascism, and currently, in European people's democracies, against the exploiting classes in general. The system of people's democracy ensures the suppression of the resistance of the exploiting classes and the implementation of other functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It ensures the solution of all the tasks posed by the construction of communist society. The state in people's democracies, like any socialist state, is democratic in a new way—for the working class and the working masses in general—and dictatorial in a new way—against the bourgeoisie and all exploitative elements.

The system of people's democracy has proven to be a widespread form of government, ensuring for the working class and the working masses in general a radical break with imperialism and a transition to the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

A people's democracy, like Soviets, is not always a form of proletarian dictatorship, but whenever the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party play a leading role, it ultimately leads to

the implementation of the functions of a proletarian dictatorship. In the People's Republic of China, the foundation of the people's democracy is the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, with the working class playing a leading role. At the same time, the Chinese working class pursues a policy of alliance with the national bourgeoisie, as it collaborates with the people in the struggle against imperialism and its Kuomintang agents and supports measures to eliminate feudalism and democratize the country. This collaboration between the working class and the national bourgeoisie aims not only to combat American imperialism, implement agrarian reform, and eliminate feudalism, but also to restore the economy and develop the country's productive forces. Resolving positive tasks, naturally, is more difficult and will require considerable time. But this means that the dictatorship of people's democracy in the People's Republic of China is not yet a form of dictatorship of the proletariat. It represents a variety of democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, with the distinctive feature that it is a power that is primarily anti-imperialist, a power transitional to China's socialist development, as brilliantly foreseen by I. V. Stalin[447].

Only after feudalism is abolished, the country's economy is restored, and the relative importance of industry, the working class, and the state sector has significantly increased will the people's democracy regime fulfill the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the suppression of bourgeois resistance. It is important to emphasize that the dictatorship of people's democracy has already not only achieved tremendous political gains for the working people, but has also ensured the working class and peasantry a *decisive role* in the country's entire socio-political life. The foundation of the dictatorship of

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[447] See I. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. 8, pp. 365–366.

people's democracy in China, as stated above, is the alliance of the working class and peasantry, with the working class playing the leading role.

The dictatorship of people's democracy has achieved tremendous economic gains for the working class and all working people in China: a stable currency, increased real wages, and the creation of a state-owned industrial sector, owned by the people themselves. The peasantry is being freed from feudal obligations, land rents have been reduced across the board, and agrarian reform is being successfully implemented, undermining the foundations of landlordism and transferring land to the peasants.

The dictatorship of people's democracy, led by the working class of the People's Republic of China and its glorious Communist Party, ensures the protection of the rights and interests of workers, and carries out all measures for the restoration and development of the economy in such a way as to ensure a further increase in the standard of living of the masses, an increase in the role of the working class in the economic and political life of the country, and a steady increase in the share of the state sector, which will serve in the future as the basis for the socialist transformation of the country's economy, and accordingly, all other aspects of public life.

Given all the above circumstances, the dictatorship of people's democracy in China, as a variety of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, should be classified as a people's democracy. Under China's unique circumstances, it ensures a truly popular democracy for workers, peasants, and intellectuals. While creating the political foundations for genuine democracy for the people, the dictatorship of people's democracy still lags behind the

dictatorship of the proletariat in terms of material guarantees of democratic rights, since a significant portion of public wealth remains in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. However, the existence of a public sector and the leading role of the working class in state and public life provide maximum material and political guarantees for workers, enabling them to utilize all the rights and opportunities afforded by the victory of the people's democratic revolution.

People's democracy in the People's Republic of China was born from the violent dismantling of the state apparatus. Having overthrown the rotten bourgeois-landlord regime of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang clique, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, created a new state and a new People's Liberation Army. This new state involves all working people in governing the country. This means that in the future, when the transition to the tasks of socialist transformation of society begins, there will be no need to dismantle the people's democratic state. The dictatorship of people's democracy will fulfill the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat just as successfully as it currently fulfills the tasks of suppressing the Kuomintang counterrevolution, bringing the anti-imperialist struggle and the anti-feudal revolution to an end. The dictatorship of people's democracy in China protects the interests of the masses and ensures economic and cultural advancement. It attracts the national bourgeoisie to cooperation in order to resolve these problems and suppresses attempts by any of its representatives to violate the people's revolutionary legitimacy of the state of people's democracy.

Thus, the birth and development of the people's democracies confirmed the world-historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its experience, summarized in the works of Lenin and Stalin, and confirmed the fundamental

conclusion that real democracy is impossible without the collapse of the bourgeois state machine, without the transfer of power into the hands of the workers and the creation of a new state, without material support for the democratic rights of the workers.

3. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the flourishing of socialist democracy.

Proletarian, genuinely people's democracy is the decisive political condition for the construction of socialism. The victory of socialism in the USSR marked a new, enormous step in the development of proletarian democracy, leading to the further democratization of the electoral system and, consequently, to a major turnaround in the country's political life, the flourishing of socialist democracy.

The Stalin Constitution legally enshrined the victory of socialism in the USSR. In contrast to all bourgeois constitutions, which were based on capitalist ownership and reflected and enshrined the foundations of capitalism in law, the socialist constitution is based on public ownership of the instruments and means of production, rests on the foundations of socialism, and reflects and enshrines them in law.

The main basis of the Constitution of the USSR, Comrade Stalin showed, “consists of the principles of socialism, its fundamental pillars, already won and implemented: socialist ownership of land, forests, factories, plants and other instruments and means of production; the elimination of exploitation and exploiting classes; the elimination of the poverty of the majority and the luxury of the minority; the elimination of unemployment; work as the duty and debt of honor of every able-bodied citizen according to the formula: ‘he who does not work, neither shall he eat’. The right to work,

i.e. the right of every citizen to receive guaranteed work; the right to rest; the right to education; etc., etc. The draft of the new Constitution is based on these and similar pillars of socialism. It reflects them, it enshrines them in legislation"[448].

This means that, in contrast to bourgeois democracy, based on capitalist property, the basis of Soviet socialist democracy is public, socialist property and a socialist economic system.

This means, further, that, in contrast to all varieties of bourgeois democracy, which are designed to preserve antagonistic classes, wealth, privileges, and state power in the hands of exploiters, the fundamental feature of Soviet socialist democracy today is the absence of antagonistic classes. Soviet society consists of two friendly classes—the workers and the peasants—who wield power, with state leadership exercised by the working class as the advanced class of society. In contrast to capitalist countries, torn apart by conflicts and contradictions between the antagonistic classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—Soviet society rests on the close cooperation of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, on the moral and political unity of the entire people. Relations between workers in Soviet socialist society are relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance between people free from exploitation.

The elimination of the exploiting classes in the USSR and the transformation of all Soviet workers into active and conscious builders of communist society rendered the function of military suppression within the country redundant. Consequently, the army, punitive organs, and intelligence, as mentioned above, no longer focused their efforts inward, but outward, against external enemies. For the first time in history, the system of fully developed socialist democracy provided an example of

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[448] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 515–516.

democracy that was not a system of domestic domination based on violence.

The dictatorship of the working class in the USSR, under the conditions of victorious socialism, is an expression of the state leadership of the working class over society as a whole. Since the task of limiting the rights of the exploiting minority and its violent suppression is resolved by the elimination of the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man. This does not mean that socialist democracy can exist entirely without coercion. Generally speaking, genuine democracy is unthinkable without elements of coercion. Lenin and Stalin brilliantly revealed the unity of persuasion and coercion in the system of Soviet democracy. They demonstrated that persuasion is the primary method of working with the masses. However, this does not preclude the use of coercion against the minority after convincing the majority.

The use of coercion against a minority, after the majority has been convinced and has made a specific decision and begun implementing it, is a prerequisite for true democracy, which presupposes organization, discipline, and self-discipline. This applies to the work of all mass organizations and to work with the masses in general. This applies even more so to state organizations, which are unthinkable without the use of coercion against individuals who, in one form or another, deviate from revolutionary legality and violate the will of the people. In such cases, coercion is exercised by the state-organized people themselves. But the primary and fundamental method of all Soviet public and state organizations is persuasion, the method of activating the masses and involving them in governing the country. Moreover, coercion itself, under conditions of socialist democracy, has not only a disciplinary but also an educational value.

Socialist society provides true equality of citizens due to the fact that capitalist ownership of the means of production has been liquidated, exploitative classes and the exploitation of man by man have been destroyed.

Socialist ownership of the means of production, the abolition of exploitative classes, and the liberation of workers from exploitation, equal rights to work, equal obligations to work, and equal rights to receive remuneration for work—all of which constitute the essence of socialism—represent the greatest achievements of the working people. This is the core foundation of Soviet democracy and ensures not the formal, hypocritical "equality" and "democracy" proclaimed under capitalism, but the genuine, complete, and comprehensive equality of citizens of a socialist society and their freedom from all oppression.

What kind of freedom for the exploited worker and his equality with the capitalist can we talk about in capitalist countries, for example, in the United States or England? What kind of equality can we talk about between an unemployed person dying of hunger and a billionaire like Morgan, DuPont, Mellon, and others, unless we mock common sense and the very concepts of equality and democracy? Under capitalism, we can only talk about a formal, false, and hypocritical "equality," masking the oppression and exploitation of the working class and the working masses in general. There, we can only talk about "equality" and "democracy," which are forms of domination of the rich over the poor, a dictatorship of the exploiters over the exploited.

The historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution lies in its abolition of glaring inequality—the division of people into exploiters and exploited—and the construction of socialism and the abolition of the exploiting

classes. The socialist revolution and the victory of socialism in the USSR ensured the right to guaranteed employment for all workers, forever ending the greatest scourge of the working people—unemployment and poverty. In the Soviet Union, for the first time in history, workers, peasants, and intellectuals began to work not for capitalists and landowners, but for themselves, for society as a whole. As a result, labor was transformed from a forced labor into liberated labor, becoming a matter of honor and glory, a matter of valor and heroism. On the foundation of socialism, the well-being of the masses steadily increased, becoming increasingly prosperous and cultured.

The victory of the socialist system in all areas of the national economy led to the elimination of economic crises, unemployment, ruin, and poverty. Socialism created all the conditions for a prosperous and culturally enriched life for all members of Soviet society. In Soviet socialist society, for the first time in the world, the right to work and the right to receive remuneration commensurate with the quality and quantity of labor expended were enshrined in the state constitution and effectively implemented, as well as occupational safety and health at work. Soviet society provided for workers during illness, organized free treatment and medical care, and guaranteed material security in old age.

In capitalist countries, a sick worker is usually simply thrown out onto the street, as are elderly workers, not to mention the elderly, all facing the threat of starvation. In the Soviet Union, under socialist democracy, comprehensive care for the health and well-being of citizens is ensured. The Soviet state spends enormous sums on healthcare. Expenditures on healthcare and education, taking into account everything the state and trade unions do, far exceed the country's military expenditures. But in capitalist countries, where the ruling circles care not for the

interests of the people but for maximum profit, for increasing their own income, even through a new war, the exact opposite is observed: military spending increases, while spending on education and healthcare decreases. In the United States in 1949, military spending was 26 times higher than spending on healthcare and education combined. Since then, US military spending has increased even further, both absolutely and relatively.

The following data provides some idea of the scale of the measures taken to protect the health of Soviet citizens, and to protect and organize their recreation. In 1952, 22.8 billion rubles were allocated from the USSR state budget for the needs of health care and physical education. In 1952, 37.5 billion rubles were allocated from the state budget for social security and social insurance. Expenditures on socio-cultural events in 1952 amounted to 124 billion 800 million rubles. Defense expenditures of the Soviet Union according to the 1952 state budget constituted 23.9% of all budget expenditures, as opposed to 32.5% in the pre-war 1940, while in the USA, military expenditures are 76 times higher than in the pre-war 1939; in the last year alone, they have tripled and constitute more than 80% of the state budget. England, France and many other capitalist countries, under pressure from the United States, are also increasing their spending on armaments.

The growth of the material well-being of the masses is one of the sources of raising their cultural level, the comprehensive development of Soviet people, the flourishing of their talents, the increase of their political activity, and the flourishing of Soviet democracy.

Every Soviet citizen received the right to education, enshrined in Stalin's Constitution of the socialist state. The rise in the cultural level of the masses, ultimately aimed at making all

workers educated and completely overcoming the significant differences between mental and physical labor, is a law of socialist society. The guaranteed right of workers to education again reveals one of the advantages of socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy.

It's well known that under capitalism, the exploitation and impoverishment of the masses precludes their ability to improve their cultural level and enjoy the benefits of education. In the United States, the richest capitalist country, according to official figures, approximately 7 million children are unable to attend school. Higher education in the United States is primarily obtained by members of the ruling classes. Those from working-class backgrounds, farmers, and the intelligentsia, even if they occasionally manage to attend higher education institutions, are unable to complete them due to lack of funds.

Only the rich can receive an education in a bourgeois democracy.

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In most bourgeois countries, women do not enjoy the right to vote or be elected. In England, women still have to fight for the right to receive equal pay for equal work. The oppression of women by capitalist exploitation and their inferior status in the family in bourgeois countries are combined with the diminished role of women in public life.

One of the most important achievements of socialist democracy is the equality of women with men in rights.

In 1919 Lenin wrote:

“In two years, Soviet power in one of the most backward countries of Europe did more for the liberation of women, for

their equality with the ‘stronger’ sex, than all the advanced, enlightened, ‘democratic’ republics of the whole world together had done in 130 years”[449].

I. V. Stalin's works provide a comprehensive and complete teaching on the role of women in revolution and communist construction. In 1925, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"Not a single great movement of the oppressed in human history has taken place without the participation of working women. Working women, the most oppressed of all the oppressed, have never remained and could not remain on the sidelines of the liberation movement. The slave liberation movement, as is well known, produced hundreds and thousands of great martyrs and heroines. Tens of thousands of working women stood in the ranks of the fighters for the liberation of the serfs. It is not surprising that the revolutionary movement of the working class, the most powerful of all the liberation movements of the oppressed masses, attracted millions of working women to its banner"[450].

In the revolutionary workers' movement, Comrade Stalin demonstrates, women play a particularly important role. Without enlisting women in the revolutionary cause, it is impossible to achieve victory and establish a working-class state.

"Working women, both female and male, are the greatest reserve of the working class. This reserve represents a good half of the population. Whether the female reserve is for the working class or against it determines the fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of the proletarian revolution,

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[449] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 30, ed. 4, p. 100.

[450] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 48.

the victory or defeat of proletarian power. Therefore, the first task of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party, is to wage a decisive struggle for the liberation of women, female and male workers, from the influence of the bourgeoisie, for the political education and organization of female and male workers under the banner of the proletariat . "[451]

The powerful female reserve of the socialist revolution must be drawn into the active struggle for communism, and from this reserve of the working class must be forged a true army of the working class, operating against the bourgeoisie. "To forge from the female labor reserve an army of working women and peasant women, operating side by side with the great army of the proletariat—this is the second and decisive task of the working class"[452].

The Bolshevik Party is guided by these directives of Comrade Stalin. While implementing the socialist industrialization of the country and the collectivization of peasant farms, the Party and Soviet power involved tens of millions of working women in the construction of a socialist economy and culture. The Soviet government organized labor protection for women in industry and agriculture, created tens of thousands of crèches and kindergartens for children whose mothers were employed in industry, and provided enormous assistance to mothers with many children.

Noting the enormous role of women, Comrade Stalin particularly emphasized the role of women on collective farms. Collective farms created the opportunity for peasant women to

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451 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, pp. 48–49.

452 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 49.

be on an equal footing with men, which determined the commitment of collective farm women to the collective farm system and made them a great force in collective farm development.

“The women’s question on collective farms,” said I. V. Stalin, “is a big question, comrades. I know that many of you underestimate women and even ridicule them... The point here is not only that women make up half the population. The point is, above all, that the collective farm movement has promoted a number of remarkable and capable women to leadership positions. Look at the congress, at its composition, and you will see that women have long since advanced from the backward to the advanced. Women on collective farms are a great force. To keep this force hidden is to commit a crime. Our duty is to promote women on collective farms and to put this force to work”[453].

Women in the USSR have become a great force not only in industry and agriculture, where women make up more than half of the workforce at many enterprises, state farms, and collective farms, but also among scientists and cultural figures. Women constitute approximately half of the national economic specialists with a higher education. Over a million Soviet women teach in schools, raising children in the spirit of communism. More than a million women work in healthcare. More than four hundred thousand women work as engineers and technicians. Tens of thousands of women work in science and art, with 579 of them awarded Stalin Prizes. 730,000 women have been awarded orders and medals of the USSR,

[453] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 251.

and 2,170 women have been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor[454].

Women have not only risen to leadership positions in all spheres of the national economy and culture, but also govern the country alongside men. There are 280 women deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of the third convocation, and 2,209 in the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics. Approximately half a million women serve as deputies in local Soviets. Over 40% of people's judges and people's assessors are women. Millions of women participate in election campaigns as campaigners. Women play an exceptionally important role in all mass workers' organizations.

The great role of Soviet women was evident not only during the years of peaceful construction but also during the Great Patriotic War. Women and Soviet youth performed enormous, intense, and difficult work in the rear during the war. "The unparalleled labor feats of Soviet women and our glorious youth, who bore the brunt of the work in factories and plants, on collective and state farms, will forever go down in history," said I. V. Stalin. "In the name of the honor and independence of the Motherland, Soviet women, young men, and girls display valor and heroism on the labor front. They have proven themselves worthy of their fathers and sons, husbands and brothers, who defended the Motherland from the Nazi fiends . "[455]

After the Great Patriotic War, Soviet women, alongside and alongside men, actively participated in building a communist society in our country. The enormous role of Soviet women in

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[454] See Pravda, March 3, 1952.

[455] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 160.

the country's socio-political life is demonstrated by their leading role in the Soviet people's struggle for peace. Soviet women lead the international movement of women fighting for peace and democratic freedoms.

Women cannot and do not want to remain on the sidelines of the common cause of all progressive humanity. Millions more women are joining the ranks of those fighting for peace and democracy. In 1952, the International Democratic Federation united 135 million women in 64 countries. Women from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are at the vanguard of the international women's democratic peace movement.

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The great achievement of socialist democracy is the establishment of true equality of nationalities and races in the USSR, the establishment of trust and friendship between them.

Capitalist democracy is always accompanied by the oppression of other peoples, racial and national discrimination. “Bourgeois constitutions,” notes I. V. Stalin, “tacitly proceed from the premise that nations and races cannot be equal, that there are nations with full rights and nations with inferior rights, that, in addition, there is a third category of nations or races, for example, in the colonies, which have even fewer rights than the inferior nations. This means that all these constitutions are fundamentally nationalistic, i.e., constitutions of dominant nations”[456]. Capitalism cannot provide a real solution to the national question. The bourgeoisie of an oppressed nation usually tries to resolve the national question by separating the colonial countries from the metropolises, by separating the oppressed nationalities and creating independent, mono-

[456] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 516.

national states. But even single-ethnic states under imperialism inevitably become dependent on more powerful imperialist states. This, for example, was the fate of Italy, France, and other Western European states after World War II, which, due to the betrayal of their national bourgeoisie and bourgeois governments, became dependent on the United States. In multinational states, inequality, discord, and hostility between peoples are inevitable, making multinational states unstable under capitalism. The national question can only be fully resolved on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, as evidenced by the experience of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

The Soviet state resolved the national question through proletarian, socialist internationalism. Having abolished national oppression, the socialist revolution ensured the independent development of political life, economy, and culture for all the peoples of the Soviet Union based on close cooperation and mutual assistance. The great Russian people acted as the organizer of this fraternal cooperation among nations, showing other peoples of Russia and the world the path to liberation from the imperialist yoke, leading the struggle of the workers of the Russian Empire for their own liberation, providing them with selfless assistance in this struggle, and uniting them into a close and united family of Soviet peoples.

The complete resolution of the national question in the USSR was determined by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. The undivided dominance of the socialist economic system and public ownership of the instruments and means of production, the elimination of the exploiting classes that cultivated mutual mistrust among nations and fueled nationalist passions, served

as the foundation for the complete victory of Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

The leading force in the struggle to resolve the national question in the USSR was the working class, a faithful bearer of the principles of internationalism and an enemy of all enslavement and oppression. I. V. Stalin, characterizing the draft Constitution of the USSR, said that this draft, in contrast to the nationalist constitutions of bourgeois countries, was profoundly international. "It proceeds from the premise that all nations and races are equal. It proceeds from the premise that differences in skin color or language, cultural level or level of state development, as well as any other difference between nations and races, cannot serve as grounds for justifying national inequality. It proceeds from the premise that all nations and races, regardless of their past and present status, regardless of their strength or weakness, must enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, state and cultural life of society"[457].

Having established genuine equality of nations and races in all spheres of public life, the Soviet socialist state resolutely suppresses any attempts to infringe on the rights of any nationality, nor any slightest tendency to incite national hatred, which sometimes manifests itself among individual backward Soviet citizens who have not fully freed themselves from the remnants of bourgeois-nationalist prejudices. Equality of citizens, regardless of their race or nationality, is an immutable law in the USSR. The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union has become one of the driving forces behind the development of Soviet socialist society. Friendship, solidarity, mutual trust, and mutual assistance among the peoples of the

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[457] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 516–517.

Soviet Union reveal one of the fundamental characteristics of socialist democracy.

In contrast to bourgeois democracy, which verbally recognizes freedom of conscience in its constitutions but in practice, in most cases, privileges certain religions and invariably infringes on the rights of atheists, the USSR Constitution recognizes freedom of conscience and the freedom to engage in anti-religious propaganda for all citizens. By ensuring the right of believers to practice their religious rites, socialist democracy creates all the conditions for the dissemination of scientific knowledge, raising the cultural level of the masses, and developing a scientific, materialistic worldview. Numerous organizations and societies operating under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party—trade unions, the Komsomol, the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, the Soviet press, and so on—promote the cultural growth of workers and their liberation from superstition and religious prejudice.

All of the above demonstrates that Soviet socialist democracy is free from the reservations and limitations that capitalist states impose at every step and that characterize bourgeois constitutions and bourgeois democracy. In the Soviet Union, all citizens are truly equal before the law. "It is not property status, not national origin, not gender, not official position, but the personal abilities and personal work of each citizen that determine his position in society"[458].

Consistent Soviet democracy finds its expression in the most democratic electoral system, which is based on universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot.

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[458] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 517.

"Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, as well as to all Soviets of Workers' Deputies, are universal . This means that all citizens of the USSR who have reached the age of 18, regardless of race, nationality, religion, educational qualifications, residence, social origin, property status, and past activities, have the right to participate in the elections of deputies and be elected, with the exception of the insane and persons convicted by a court of deprivation of voting rights.

Elections of deputies are *equal*. This means that every citizen has one vote and all citizens participate in elections on an equal basis.

Elections of deputies are *direct* . This means that elections to all Councils of Workers' Deputies, from the rural and city Council of Workers' Deputies, right up to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, are carried out by citizens directly through direct elections"[459].

A clear indicator of the advantages of Soviet democracy over bourgeois pseudo-democracy are the elections themselves in the USSR, their popular nature. Here are the figures for elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and local Councils of Workers' Deputies based on the Stalin Constitution of the USSR.

ELECTIONS TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

	Number of voters	Participated in the voting

[459] "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short Course", pp. 329–330.

		in absolute figures	as a percentage of the number of voters
Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 12, 1937	94 138 159	91 113 153	96.8
Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 10, 1946	101 717 686	101,450,936	99.7
Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on March 12, 1950	111 116 373	111 090 010	99.98

ELECTIONS TO LOCAL COUNCILS IN DECEMBER 1939
total for the USSR:

	Voted	As a percentage of the number of voters
Regional councils	73 843 265	99.02
District councils	65 020 362	98.72

City councils	30,312,000	98.04

In 1939, a total of 93,547,797 citizens were registered on the voter lists across the Soviet Union, of whom 92,812,237 (99.21%) took part in the voting. 1,281,008 deputies were elected to all local councils, including:

The communists	402,398 people (31.41%)
Non-party	878,610 people (68.59%)
Women	422,279 people (32.96%)

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS OF DECEMBER 21, 1947TO THE LOCAL COUNCILS OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES OF THE RSFSR

	Total number of voters	Took part in the elections	
		in absolute figures	as a percentage of the number of voters
To the regional councils	7,070,459	7,063,103	99.90
To the regional councils	46,500,068	46 465 321	99.92
To the District Councils	367,974	367 274	99.81
To the district councils	39,891,090	39,864,083	99.93

To the City Councils	22,414,786	22,389,285	99.89
To district councils in cities	13 315 416	13,300,657	99.89
To village and town councils	36,757,886	36,709,431	99.87

	The number of votes cast for candidates of the Communist and non-party bloc	% of the number of voters who took part in the voting
To the regional councils	7,027,803	99.50
To the regional councils	46,137,965	99.29
To the District Councils	365 751	99.59
To the district councils	39,545,836	99.20
To the City Councils	22,092,060	98.67
To district councils in cities	13,125,270	98.68
To village and town councils	36,226,200	98.68

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS OF DECEMBER 17, 1950 TO THE LOCAL COUNCILS OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES OF THE RSFSR

	Total number of voters	The number of voters who took part in the voting	
		in absolute figures	as a percentage of the number of voters who took part in the voting
To the regional councils	7,262,140	7,258,914	99.96
To the regional councils	50,414,567	50 397 230	99.97
To the District Councils	428 683	428 413	99.94
To the district councils	40 974 835	40 961 975	99.97
To the City Councils	26,599,261	26,585,746	99.95
To district councils in cities	15,129,863	15,123,455	99.96
To village and town councils	37,418,697	37,406,890	99.97

	The number of voters who voted for candidates from the Communist and non-party bloc	% of the number of voters who took part in the voting
To the regional councils	7,238,028	99.71
To the regional councils	50 193 231	99.60
To the District Councils	427 305	99.74
To the district councils	40 721 286	99.41
To the City Councils	26,395,626	99.28
To district councils in cities	15,030,688	99.39
To village and town councils	37 030 246	99.00

On February 18, 1951, elections to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR were held. Of the 64,832,312 voters in all electoral districts of the RSFSR, 64,821,824 took part in the vote, or 99.98 percent of the total number of registered voters. Across

all electoral districts, 64,665,587 voters cast ballots for candidates from the Communist and Non-Party Bloc, representing 99.76 percent of the total number of voters participating in the vote.

The participation of workers in election campaigns for the Councils of Workers' Deputies testifies to the exceptional political activity of the masses of the people in the USSR, who enjoy all the benefits of socialist democracy.

The Constitution of the USSR—the Constitution of victorious socialism—proclaims the inviolable rights of citizens of Soviet society. It guarantees freedom of speech, press, assembly and rallies, and the right to associate in public organizations, unions, and societies. The Constitution of the USSR guarantees the inviolability of the person, home, and correspondence, as well as the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of workers, for scientific work, or for the national liberation struggle.

Soviet democracy ensures the comprehensive development of Soviet society and provides all opportunities for the work of mass organizations and workers' societies. Mass public organizations unite all citizens of Soviet society. Trade unions unite all workers in industry, transport, trade, the government apparatus, state farms and machine-tractor stations, educational institutions, healthcare, science, art, and culture. Cooperative organizations unite almost the entire Soviet peasantry. The Komsomol, physical education organizations, and various voluntary societies encompass tens of millions of Soviet citizens, primarily young people. Every adult Soviet citizen actively participates in the work of one or more public organizations. All public organizations have their own press, clubs, and other facilities. The leading core of all organizations, both public and state, the guiding and directing force of the

entire Soviet people is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, uniting the most active and conscientious citizens from the ranks of the working class and other strata of the working people, representing the vanguard of workers in their struggle to develop the socialist system and build communism. The Soviet public creates all the conditions for the full development of the initiative and self-activity of the working masses, for their direct and immediate involvement in the construction of communism and the governance of the country.

The comprehensive activity of Soviet citizens and the participation of the masses themselves in governing the country became possible because Soviet socialist democracy not only proclaims the rights of citizens but also provides and guarantees their implementation with the necessary material means. In this regard, socialist democracy is again the direct opposite of bourgeois democracy. Comrade Stalin, characterizing the draft Soviet Constitution, said:

"Bourgeois constitutions usually limit themselves to establishing the formal rights of citizens, without concern for the conditions for exercising these rights, the possibility of their exercise, or the means of their exercise. They speak of the equality of citizens, but forget that there can be no real equality between master and worker, between landowner and peasant, if the former possess wealth and political influence in society, while the latter lack both, if the former are exploiters and the latter are exploited. Or again: they speak of freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, but forget that all these freedoms can become empty words for the working class if it is deprived of the opportunity to have at its disposal suitable meeting places, good printing presses, sufficient quantities of printing paper, etc.

The distinctive feature of the draft new Constitution is that it does not limit itself to establishing the formal rights of citizens, but shifts the focus to the question of guarantees for these rights, to the question of the means of exercising these rights. It not only proclaims the equality of citizens' rights, but also ensures this by legislatively enshrining the fact of the liquidation of the regime of exploitation, the fact of the liberation of citizens from all exploitation. It not only proclaims the right to work, but also ensures it by legislatively enshrining the fact of the absence of crises in Soviet society, the fact of the elimination of unemployment. It not only proclaims democratic freedoms, but also provides them through legislation with certain material means. It is clear, therefore, that the democracy of the draft new Constitution is not "ordinary" and "generally recognized" democracy in general, but *socialist* democracy "[460].

The socialist system and socialist democracy constitute the economic and political foundation of the joyful and happy lives of Soviet people. Socialism, which has become a part of the everyday life of our country's workers, is the foundation for the steady growth of the material well-being and cultural level of Soviet citizens, and the basis for ensuring their inalienable democratic rights. This determines the Soviet people's devotion to the socialist social system, their awareness of their social duty, and their high level of Soviet patriotism.

Soviet socialist democracy, strengthened by the victory of socialism, is unthinkable without the organized struggle of Soviet people for the further development of the socialist system. The rights of Soviet citizens, granted to them by

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460 I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 517–518.

socialist democracy and enshrined in the Stalin Constitution, are inseparable from the duties of Soviet citizens.

As demonstrated earlier, the economic foundation of Soviet democracy is public ownership of the means of production. Vigilantly protecting socialist property and promoting its further consolidation and development in every possible way means promoting the further development of socialist democracy. Protecting public socialist property is the primary duty of Soviet people.

Free, creative labor is the foundation of Soviet people's well-being and the primary condition for Soviet society's advancement toward communism. The right to happy and joyful work, to work for oneself and for society as a whole, is a historic achievement of the Soviet people. The obligation to work honestly and selflessly constitutes the other side of this right.

All laws of a socialist society are aimed at protecting socialism and the interests of the people. Enforcing the laws of the socialist state and ensuring their observance by all citizens is the most important duty of Soviet citizens.

Socialism brings freedom and independence to peoples and is the foundation of peaceful and good-neighborly relations between nations. Struggling for peace throughout the world, Soviet people tirelessly strengthen the defensive might of the socialist country. The sacred duty of Soviet people is to defend the socialist homeland.

In his "Short Course on the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," Comrade Stalin demonstrated the inseparable connection between the rights and responsibilities of Soviet citizens. After describing the

historical significance of the achievements of socialism and the democratic rights enshrined in Stalin's Constitution, he stated:

“The new Constitution at the same time imposes serious obligations on all citizens of the USSR: to obey the laws, maintain labor discipline, honestly fulfill their public duty, respect the rules of socialist community life, protect and strengthen public socialist property, and defend the socialist fatherland.

“The defense of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR”[461].

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A people liberated from imperialist oppression and exploitation and taking control of their destiny becomes a great, invincible force. The inexhaustible creative initiative of the liberated masses begins to flow.

Soviet socialist democracy is an expression of this creative initiative of the liberated people and one of the most important conditions for its further development. The creativity of Soviet people is evident in all spheres of public life, and nationwide socialist democracy is acquiring a comprehensive character. In state-owned industry and transport, with the consistent implementation of the principle of one-man management and centralism and strict state and industrial discipline, broad industrial and economic democracy has developed: at meetings of workers and employees, at production conferences, at Stakhanovite meetings, at business meetings, etc., workers, engineers, and technicians discuss production plans and assignments, issues of introducing new technology and

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[461] “History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course”, p. 330.

improving production technology, reducing production costs and increasing labor productivity, accelerating the turnover of working capital, improving production standards, and other issues. Industrial and transport workers not only feel like masters of the country but also resolve all issues in a businesslike manner. Trade unions involve workers in economic management. The nationwide scope of socialist competition is an indicator of the involvement of workers in the construction of communism, in governing the country on the principles of full-fledged socialist democracy.

In a collective farm village, all economic life is based on the principles of intra-collective farm democracy, the basic principles of which are enshrined in the Charter of the agricultural artel. The general meeting of collective farmers decides the fundamental issues of the artel's life: it approves economic plans, distributes income in accordance with the Charter, manages all material resources, elects the board, the collective farm chairman, and the audit commission, and regularly hears their reports on their work. The Communist Party and the Soviet government vigilantly monitor strict adherence to collective farm democracy and strictly and decisively suppress any violations of the democratic principles of collective farm management. When violations of the Charter of the agricultural artel were discovered, in particular violations of the democratic principles of collective farm management—the election of the board and chairmen of collective farms, their accountability to meetings of collective farmers—then a special resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) proposed: “to restore the statutory democratic procedure, violated in many collective farms, for convening general meetings of collective farmers to discuss and resolve issues of the collective farm, the election of

boards and chairmen of collective farms by general meetings, the accountability of boards and chairmen of collective farms to collective farmers and the work of audit commissions. To prohibit, under strict liability, district party committees, district councils and land bodies from appointing or removing chairmen of collective farms outside of general meetings of collective farmers"[462].

The February plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in 1947, in its decisions on agriculture, once again confirmed that "such shortcomings as the substitution of persistent systematic organizational work in collective farms and the training of personnel by administration, frequent changes of collective farm chairmen, and the violation of intra-collective farm democracy cannot be tolerated"[463].

The socio-political activism of Soviet workers is manifested in their participation in mass organizations and workers' societies, their support of Soviet bodies through the activities of standing committees at local Soviets, and many other organizational forms of involving workers in the work of the Soviets. Workers actively participate in election campaigns and in discussions of all issues concerning the country's economic, cultural, and political life in the Soviet press, which serves workers and their organizations.

Being all-encompassing, Soviet socialist democracy ensures the involvement of all working people in the governance of the country. Naturally, the people govern the country through their representatives—they elect their best sons and daughters as

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462 Pravda, September 20, 1946.

463 Pravda, February 28, 1947.

deputies to the Soviets and nominate them for leadership positions in the state apparatus. Those elected by the people are trusted by the people who elected them and carry out their will.

In capitalist countries, parliamentary and local elections take place in an atmosphere of fierce class struggle, under enormous pressure from capitalists and landowners to ensure the election of people who are pleasing to the exploiters and hostile to the people. The entire system of bourgeois parliamentarism is designed to make the deputy, after the elections, independent of the people, a servant of the bourgeoisie. Comrade Stalin characterized the relationship between deputies and voters in capitalist countries as follows: "While elections are underway, deputies play games with the voters, fawn on them, swear allegiance, and make a raft of promises... As soon as the elections are over and the candidates become deputies, the relationship changes radically... For four or five years, that is, right up until the next elections, the deputy feels completely free, independent of the people, of his constituents. He can go from one camp to another, he can turn from the right road to the wrong one, he can even get entangled in some machinations of a not entirely necessary nature, he can tumble around as he pleases - he is independent"[464].

A completely opposite picture is observed in the country of socialism. "Here," Comrade Stalin points out, "elections are held in an atmosphere of cooperation between workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, in an atmosphere of mutual trust, in an atmosphere, I would say, of mutual friendship, because we have no capitalists, no landowners, no exploitation,

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[464] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at pre-election meetings of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, p. 6.

and no one, in fact, to put pressure on the people in order to distort their will"[465].

In the Soviet Union, a candidate for parliament, once elected, is a servant of the people. In our country, elected representatives must consistently implement the will of the people who elected them. Voters can monitor their work at any time; they can recall them if they are not working well for the good of society. But Soviet democracy ensures more than just popular control over the parliamentarians and state officials entrusted with implementing the will of the people. It ensures the direct, immediate, and decisive participation of the masses in governing the country. This is the source of strength and the innumerable advantages of Soviet socialist democracy over bourgeois democracy.

Soviet democracy is one of the most important conditions for the development of new driving forces in the development of socialist society: criticism and self-criticism, moral and political unity of society, friendship among the peoples of the USSR, and Soviet patriotism.

Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism make it possible to uncover shortcomings in work and promptly identify ways to correct them. It ensures the Bolshevik forging and communist education of cadres, engages millions of working people in resolving issues of national and state significance, and involves the masses in governing the country.

Soviet socialist democracy creates all the conditions for activating the masses, for developing criticism and self-criticism at all levels of the working-class dictatorship, and for

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[465] I. V. Stalin, Speeches at pre-election meetings of voters of the Stalin Electoral District of Moscow on December 11, 1937 and February 9, 1946, p. 5.

critical examination of the entire work of the state apparatus from below, by the millions of workers and peasants. The Soviet people are alien to pomp and circumstance, intoxication with success, complacency, and carelessness. Soviet democracy encourages practical revolutionary self-criticism and thereby facilitates the acceleration of the construction of communism. Soviet democracy does not tolerate demagoguery and idle talk, the admission of mistakes in words and the unwillingness or inability to correct them in practice. It ensures that criticism is carried out in practice, one example of which is socialist competition.

The victory of socialism and the elimination of the exploiting classes in the USSR led to the transformation of our country's citizens into active and conscious builders of communism, establishing the moral and political unity of Soviet society. Soviet socialist democracy reflected this fact, ensuring true equality of rights for all strata of our country's working people. The Stalin Constitution of the USSR established the complete equality of workers, peasants, and intellectuals in all spheres of the country's economic, political, social, and cultural life. Equal rights and responsibilities of workers, peasants, and intellectuals not only reflect the moral and political unity of the people but also serve as a crucial condition for the further strengthening and development of this unity. Equal rights and responsibilities of all Soviet people strengthens friendship among them, comradely cooperation, and mutual assistance among workers, peasants, and intellectuals. Thus, Soviet democracy is one of the conditions for the development of such a driving force of socialist society as the moral and political unity of Soviet society.

Equality in rights for workers of all races and nationalities in the USSR—the internationalism of Soviet socialist democracy—is an important condition that determines the flourishing of

friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and their close cooperation in the struggle for communism.

The great achievements of socialism and the genuinely popular democracy of socialist society define the Soviet people's selfless devotion to the socialist social and political system, as well as their noble Soviet patriotism. Consistent socialist democracy is one of the sources of Soviet national pride and one of the most important conditions for the flourishing of life-giving Soviet socialist patriotism.

This reveals the organic connection between Soviet democracy and the driving forces of socialist society, indicating that Soviet socialist democracy is one of the essential conditions for their operation and a powerful factor stimulating the development of Soviet society along the path to communism.

Chapter Ten

The Bolshevik Party—the Leading Force of the Soviet State.

The Soviet state turned out to be able to fulfill its historical role because its guiding and leading force is the Lenin -Stalin party . Not every party that calls itself a worker can lead the masses to storm imperialism, create a socialist stateand become its leading force. Only the Marxist-Leninist party, the party of a new type, is capable of fulfilling andfulfilling such a role.

The great organizers and leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin, developed the doctrine of a new type ofproletarian party. They showed that the reformist parties of the Second International , which in the pre-revolutionaryperiod represented the dominant force in the labor movement, were an appendage of parliamentary factions and wereunable to lead the preparation of the proletariat for the assault imperialism in a new, revolutionary era. The role of theorganizer of the revolutionary army of the proletariat, taught by Lenin and Stalin, can be performed only by a party freefrom compromise with the bourgeoisie, irreconcilable to opportunism, revolutionary in relation to the bourgeoisie andits state power, courageous enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced in orderto understand the difficult conditions of a revolutionary situation and flexible enough to circumvent all the pitfalls onthe way to the goal[466].

Developing the Leninist doctrine of a new type of party, Comrade Stalin shows that the Communist Party must be thevanguard of the working class, armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism., knowledge of the laws ofsocial

[466] See I. V. Stalin, Vol., Vol. 6, p. 170.

development, knowledge of the laws of revolution. It must go ahead of the working class and be closelyconnected with it, lead it, act as a political leader, raising the masses to an understanding of the class interests of theproletariat. The party should be an organized detachment of the working class, representing not only the sum, but alsothe system of party organizations, built on the principle of democratic centralism. The absence of factions andgroupings, the iron discipline, equally obligatory for all party members, ensuring the unity of the will, are characteristicof the revolutionary Marxist party. The intransigence towards opportunism, the decisive purification of their ranks fromthe defilement of opportunism by ruthlessly fighting it is the law of development of such a party.

The Communist Party, Comrade Stalin teaches, must be a rallying point for the best elements of the working class, itmust have direct links with non-party organizations of the proletariat, it must be the best school for working out theleaders of the working class who are able to lead all forms of its organization. The party should be the *highest form ofclass organization of the proletariat* , centralizing the leadership of the entire struggle of the proletariat thanks to itsexperience and authority. The Communist Party must be the embodiment of the connection between the vanguard ofthe working class and the millions of working people.

Only the proletarian party, possessing these features, is able to lead the working class to storm capitalism, lead themass struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and become an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its leading and guiding force. It is this party of the new type that is the Bolshevik party, created and fostered by Lenin andStalin. Following the model of the Bolshevik Party, communist parties were created and built in other countries.

1. The system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Bolshevik Party.

The proletariat needs a revolutionary party primarily as a combat headquarters for a successful seizure of power. But even more, as Lenin and Stalin explain, the working class needs it to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, to strengthen and expand it in the interests of the victory of socialism and communism.

What does it mean to maintain and expand the dictatorship of the proletariat? "It means," says Comrade Stalin, "instilling in the millions of proletarian masses the spirit of discipline and organization; it means creating in the proletarian masses a bond and a stronghold against the corrosive influences of the petty-bourgeois elements and petty-bourgeois habits; it means strengthening the organizational work of the proletarians in re-educating and remaking the petty-bourgeois strata; it means helping the proletarian masses to educate themselves as a force capable of abolishing classes and preparing the conditions for organizing socialist production"[467].

Only a party, the most complete and consistent expression of the conscious and organized principle of the working class, the highest form of its organization, and the teacher and leader of the masses, can unite the working class and unite non-proletarian strata of the working people around it, create a spirit of organization and discipline among the masses, organize the workers' and peasants' struggle against capitalist elements, involve the masses in the construction of socialism,

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[467] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, pp. 180–181.

and steadily raise their level of communist consciousness. V. I. Lenin pointed out:

"The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is the most terrible force. Without a party that is iron and seasoned in struggle, without a party that enjoys the confidence of all honest people in a given class, without a party that is able to monitor the mood of the masses and influence it, it is impossible to wage such a struggle successfully"[468].

The establishment of the dictatorship of the working class radically changed the position and tasks of the Marxist party. Within the country, from a party of revolution, it became a party of construction, a party of the creation of new forms of economy and culture. “Earlier,” writes Comrade Stalin, “it recruited the best forces of the workers to storm the old order; now it recruits them to improve food supplies, transportation, and the basic branches of industry. Previously, it attracted the revolutionary elements of the peasantry to overthrow the landowners; now it recruits them to improve agriculture, to strengthen the alliance between the working elements of the peasantry and the proletariat in power. Previously, it recruited the best elements of the backward nationalities to fight capital; now it recruits them to improve the lives of the working elements of these nationalities on the basis of collaboration with the Russian proletariat. Previously, it destroyed the army, the old generals’ army; now it must create a new workers’ and peasants’ army, necessary to defend the gains of the revolution from external enemies”[469].

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[468] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 31, ed. 4, p. 27.

[469] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 107.

In solving the problems of building and organizing a new society, the Bolshevik Party, Comrade Stalin concludes, must mobilize the working class and unite the workers around it to suppress the resistance of the exploiters and the subsequent liquidation of all exploiting classes.

An equally radical change in the Bolshevik Party's position occurred on an international scale. The powerful breakthrough of the imperialist front by the Russian detachment of the international proletariat, which propelled the Russian working class to the vanguard of the world communist movement, threatened the existence of imperialism and facilitated the international proletariat's struggle against capital, creating the conditions for the Bolshevik Party to transform from a national force into a primarily international one. "The tasks of the international proletariat," wrote Comrade Stalin in 1921, "henceforth boil down to expanding the Russian breakthrough, assisting the vanguard that has advanced, and preventing the enemy from encircling and tearing the bold vanguard away from its base. The tasks of international imperialism, on the contrary, boil down to eliminating, absolutely eliminating, the Russian breakthrough. That is why our party, if it wants to retain power, is obliged to carry out "the maximum feasible in one (its own – I. Sm .) country for the development, support, and awakening of the revolution in *all countries* " (see Lenin's "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky"). That is why our party has been transformed since October 1917 from a national force into an international force, into a party of revolution on an *international* scale"[470].

This was the fundamental change in the Bolshevik Party's position brought about by the victory of the October Socialist

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[470] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 106.

Revolution. The Bolshevik Party became the ruling party, the instrument of the dictatorship of the working class, its guiding and leading force.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin and Stalin repeatedly stated, is not limited to violence against the exploiters, although without violence there is no dictatorship. The highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry, with *the working class playing the leading role in this alliance*. The dictatorship of the proletariat, as a special form of alliance between the working class and the peasantry, is unthinkable without the leading role of the working class, which exercises its leadership through the Communist Party, which alone leads the state and does not and cannot share leadership with other parties.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin and Stalin teach, is not limited to the apparatus of state power—the administrative apparatus, the apparatus of accounting, planning, management of economic activity and cultural development, the punitive organs and intelligence, the military apparatus, and, finally, the apparatus of diplomacy and foreign trade. The dictatorship of the proletariat, by its very nature, is designed primarily to organize and involve the masses in communist construction and state administration; it represents an entire system of mass social organizations, united and led by the Communist Party.

These workers' organizations act as transmission belts from the party to the masses, and the number and nature of these organizations change significantly as the dictatorship of the proletariat consolidates and develops. In his 1926 work "On the Questions of Leninism," I. V. Stalin identified the most important of these organizations, along with the Soviets, such as trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative organizations (at

that time, cooperatives united not only peasants but also workers and employees through consumer cooperatives), women's delegate assemblies, sports organizations, voluntary societies, and so on.

A special place, says Comrade Stalin, is occupied by the press, which, admittedly, "is not a mass apparatus, a mass organization, but nevertheless it establishes an elusive link between the Party and the working class—a link which in its strength is equal to any mass transmission apparatus. They say that the press is the sixth power. I do not know what kind of power it is, but that it has strength, great specific weight—that is indisputable. The press is the most powerful weapon, with the help of which the Party speaks daily, hourly, to the working class in its own language, the language it needs"[471].

During the struggle for socialism, due to changing historical conditions, some of the driving forces fell away (for example, women's delegate assemblies) because their tasks had been accomplished, and under the new conditions, other mass organizations successfully fulfilled their functions. Others grew enormously and, naturally, modified the nature of their activities and even their structure (for example, cooperative organizations), while new ones emerged (the All-Union Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge, the Union of Soviet Writers, etc.). The emergence of the latter was primarily due to the fact that a large Soviet intelligentsia had emerged in the USSR.

Without transmission belts, the Communist Party cannot fulfill its role as the guiding and leading force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The transmission apparatuses and transmission belts from the Party to the masses are varied. They may change

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[471] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, pp. 203–204.

at different stages of the struggle for socialism. But there are fundamental drives from the Party to the masses that develop and strengthen at all stages of the existence of the socialist state and, together with the Party as the guiding force, form the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What are these "drives" or "levers" in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat? What are these organizations without which the dictatorship of the working class cannot be realized?

"These are, firstly, the workers' *trade unions* , with their branches at the centre and in the localities in the form of a whole series of industrial, cultural, educational and other organizations. They unite workers of all professions. This is a non-party organization. Trade unions can be called the universal organization of the working class, which rules our country. They are a school of communism. They select from their ranks the best people for leadership work in all branches of management. They provide a link between the advanced and the backward within the working class. They connect the working masses with the vanguard of the working class"[472] .

Trade unions, as mass organizations of the working class and white-collar workers, encompassing virtually every member, link the party with the working class along production lines . They directly involve workers in production management, organize the creative initiative of the working masses, guide the development of socialist competition and the Stakhanovite movement, and educate workers in communist principles. Trade unions strive to improve the material well-being and cultural level of their members, and fight for strict adherence to

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[472] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 33.

Soviet laws governing working conditions, wage organization, social security, labor discipline in the workplace, and so on.

The next "conduit" from the party to the masses are the " *Soviets* with their numerous ramifications at the center and in the localities in the form of administrative, economic, military, cultural, and other state organizations, plus the countless number of self-organized mass associations of workers that surround these organizations and connect them with the population. The Soviets are the mass organization of all workers in the city and village. This is a non-party organization. The Soviets are the direct expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All and any measures to strengthen the dictatorship and build socialism are carried out through the Soviets. State leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat is carried out through the Soviets. The Soviets connect the millions of masses of workers with the vanguard of the proletariat"[473].

The Soviets maintain the Bolshevik Party's connection with the millions of working class, peasants, and intelligentsia—with all the working people of our country—primarily through state power . The Soviets of Workers' Deputies constitute the political foundation of the USSR. Soviet power is the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The third link between the party and the masses is " *cooperation* of all kinds with all its ramifications. This is a mass organization of workers, a non-party organization that unites them, first of all, as consumers, and also, over time, as producers (agricultural cooperatives). It acquires particular significance after the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the period of extensive construction. It

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[473] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 33.

facilitates the connection between the vanguard of the proletariat and the masses of the peasantry and creates the possibility of drawing the latter into the mainstream of socialist construction"[474].

Cooperation, Comrade Stalin teaches, as a mass organization unites mainly peasants and connects them with the Bolshevik Party primarily along *economic* lines, *along the line of involving the peasantry in socialist construction* .

Finally, the Komsomol is a permanent transmission belt from the party to the masses, and one of enormous importance. "It is a mass organization of working-class and peasant youth, a non-party organization, but affiliated with the party. Its task is to assist the party in educating the younger generation in the spirit of socialism. It provides youth reserves for all other mass organizations of the proletariat in all branches of government. The Youth League acquired particular significance after the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the period of extensive cultural and educational work of the proletariat"[475].

The special role of all these organizations in the system of the dictatorship of the working class is that they link the Communist Party with all the working masses of Soviet society —with the workers and peasants (trade unions and cooperatives), with the millions of Soviet youth (the Komsomol), and that they constitute the political foundation of the Soviet system (the Soviets). All other mass organizations of workers are connected to these main conduits from the Party to the masses.

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[474] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 33–34.

[475] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 34.

The Bolshevik Party leads all mass organizations of the working people. “Its strength lies in the fact that it absorbs all the best people of the proletariat from all its mass organizations. Its purpose is to *unite* the work of all mass organizations of the proletariat without exception and *direct* their actions toward a single goal, the goal of the emancipation of the proletariat. And to unite and direct them toward a single goal is absolutely necessary, for without this the unity of the proletariat’s struggle is impossible, for without this the leadership of the proletarian masses in their struggle for power, in their struggle to build socialism, is impossible. But only the vanguard of the proletariat, its party, is capable of uniting and directing the work of the mass organizations of the proletariat. Only the party of the proletariat, only the Communist Party, is capable of fulfilling this role of the main leader in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat”[476].

Thus, the Communist Party is the primary, guiding, and leading force in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Party leadership ensures that parochial, shop-floor, and departmental interests and tendencies that may manifest themselves in individual workers and entire organizations are overcome. The Party centralizes the leadership of all public organizations and directs the activities of the state and all mass organizations toward a single goal—the construction of a complete communist society in our country. At the same time, the Party does not replace any organization, but through them, it implements its policies, organizes, and mobilizes the masses for the construction of communism. By improving the work of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies and public organizations, taking into account the specific characteristics and methods of work of each, the Party ensures that all of them act in the spirit

[476] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 34–35.

of its decisions and directives. The Party clearly distinguishes between the party and state responsibilities of communists, stands guard over both party discipline and state socialist legality, and demands that its members be a model of the strictest, unwavering observance of socialist state discipline.

Directing all economic, organizational, and cultural-educational work of the socialist state and mass organizations toward a single goal—communism—the Bolshevik Party is guided by the Leninist-Stalinist principle of the inseparability of economic and political tasks, and the inseparability of organizational, economic, and cultural-educational work. The Party acts as the organizer, director, and leader of the Soviet people in the struggle for communism, their teacher and educator, raising the millions of working people to their level. Emphasizing this aspect of the Party's work, Lenin said:

"By educating the workers' party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of taking power and *leading the entire people* to socialism, directing and organizing the new system, being the teacher, the leader, the guide of all workers and exploited people in the matter of organizing their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie"[477].

Lenin and Stalin persistently fought the enemies of the Communist Party, who distorted the essence of the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, downplaying the importance of "drives," "levers," and the role of the Party as the guiding force of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party exposed and defeated counterrevolutionaries: the Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Cadets, and other enemies of the working class, who sought to liquidate the dictatorship of the

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[477] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 25, 4th ed., p. 376.

proletariat under the slogan "Soviets without Communists." The Party crushed the anti-Leninist group known as the "Workers' Opposition," which revived anarcho-syndicalist and Menshevik views, rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the Party, and sought to dissolve the Party and the Soviet state into trade unions. The Party routed the right-wing restorers of capitalism, who engaged in subversive activities and sought to pit trade unions against the Bolshevik Party, pushing them toward trade unionism. They also sought to pit the Soviets against the Party in an effort to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism in the USSR. Under the leadership of I. V. Stalin, the Party exposed and thwarted all attempts by enemies of the people—right-wing restorers of capitalism, Trotskyists, and bourgeois nationalists—to weaken the Party from within, undermine the Party's influence among the masses, and diminish and nullify the Party's leading role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

I. V. Stalin teaches us to proceed from the fact that "...the leadership of the party is the most important thing in the dictatorship of the proletariat, if we have in mind any kind of stable and complete dictatorship..."[478] I. V. Stalin irrefutably proved, and the experience of socialist construction in the USSR confirmed, that the preservation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat is possible only under the condition of the leadership of a single party, a party of a new type. Stalin's leadership ensured the steady strengthening of the party, the growth of its authority in the eyes of the working people, the strengthening of its leading and guiding role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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[478] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 47.

At the same time, Stalin exposed and crushed the attempts of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, and other enemies of the people to replace the party's leadership with decrees and command, and he exposed the Trotskyists' sabotage of the "dictatorship of the party." Lenin and Stalin repeatedly pointed out that in the Soviet Union, there existed not a dictatorship of the party, but a dictatorship of the working class, that communist party leadership was *ensured by persuasion of the masses* , and that persuasion was the primary method of communist influence on the masses. Lenin and Stalin taught that the Communist Party exercised the dictatorship of the proletariat not directly, but through the Soviets, with the assistance of trade unions, the Komsomol, and other mass organizations. Without these channels, Lenin and Stalin pointed out, any lasting dictatorship of the proletariat was impossible. Improving the functioning of these channels further strengthens the party's ties with the masses, further enhances the party's leadership, and strengthens the dictatorship of the working class as a whole.

That is why the struggle against the enemies of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, both those who denied the leading role of the party and those who ignored the role of mass organizations and replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the party, was a necessary condition for strengthening the socialist state.

The Bolshevik Party is the leader of the socialist state. It determines its policies. The source of the strength of Bolshevik policy lies in its rigorous scientific analysis of the specific conditions and real needs of society's material life, its responsiveness to the interests of the working masses, and its foundation in a penetrating Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historical situation and the uncovering of the objective laws of social development. Every shift in the Bolshevik Party's policy is always based on a precise study of objective processes and

on changes in the balance of class forces within the country and internationally.

Marxist-Leninist theory allows the party to scientifically foresee the course of events, without which successful leadership is impossible. To lead means, above all, to foresee. At the same time, the policy of the Bolshevik Party always relies on the new, irresistible forces of the present day, to whom the future belongs. The Bolshevik Party looks not backward, but forward, acts not in defiance of the laws of social development, but in full accordance with them, and organizes and mobilizes irresistible progressive forces to combat and defeat the forces of reaction.

The strength of Bolshevik policy lies, further, in the fact that it always expresses the fundamental interests of the working class, the toiling peasantry, and the intelligentsia. The New Economic Policy, the policy of socialist industrialization of the country and collectivization of peasant farms, the Party's policy on the national question, the policy of the struggle for peace, and so on—at every stage of historical development, the policies of the Communist Party fully corresponded to the vital interests of the working people. Only the consistent implementation of Bolshevik Party policy ensured the construction of socialism, the abolition of the exploiting classes, the rise in the material and cultural standards of the population, the strengthening of friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union, made the lives of Soviet people joyful and happy, and created the conditions for the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

But, says Comrade Stalin, it is not only a matter of the policy being correct and expressing the interests of the working people; it is essential that the masses grasp it and become convinced in practice of the correctness of this policy, that they

understand their vital interest in the triumph of the policy of the Communist Party and give it their full support.

“What does it mean to *lead* if the party’s policy is correct and the correct relations between the vanguard and the class are not violated?

To lead under such conditions means to be able to convince the masses of the correctness of the party's policy, to put forward and implement slogans that will lead the masses to the party's positions and make it easier for them to recognize from their own experience the correctness of the party's policy, to raise the masses to the level of party consciousness and thus ensure the support of the masses, their readiness for a decisive struggle"[479]. All the work of the communist party is aimed at making its policy clear to all party members, in order to make this policy the property of the masses through the transmission belts from the party to the masses.

The people have always been the creators of history, since the social process of production carried out by workers forms the basis of social development, and the struggle of oppressed classes for their liberation was the essence of the progressive development of society. In the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under socialism, the creative role of the masses increases immeasurably. Under socialism, workers, who constitute the most important productive force of any society, take their destiny into their own hands, revealing all their creative potential and talents, shackled under capitalism, and developing unprecedented energy and initiative in building a new life. By consciously implementing the policy of the Bolshevik Party, which expresses the interests of the masses, the workers of socialist society become, in the full sense of the

[479] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, pp. 51–52.

word, the masters and creators of their own lives. In his speech at the Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers, Comrade Stalin said:

"The times are gone when leaders were considered the sole creators of history, while workers and peasants were disregarded. The destinies of peoples and states are now decided not only by leaders, but, first and foremost, by the millions of working people. Workers and peasants, who quietly build factories and plants, mines and railways, collective and state farms, creating all the blessings of life, feeding and clothing the entire world—these are the true heroes and creators of the new life"[480].

And if now in capitalist countries the ruling imperialist circles are forced to some extent to take into account the opinion of the "ordinary" people, the masses, then this reflects the great role of the socialist revolution and the victory of socialism in the USSR, the liberating role of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army in the Second World War, which revealed to the workers of capitalist countries the enormous strength of the "ordinary" people, liberated from the chains of capital and taking power into their own hands.

The policy of the Bolshevik Party , which in the Land of Soviets became the policy of the millions of masses of workers building communism, is the greatest material force transforming the world.

The essence of Bolshevik policy extends beyond its conformity with the laws of social development and its embodiment in the activities of the millions of working people. The policy of the Bolshevik Party, the leading force of the socialist state, is state

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[480] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 255.

policy and relies on the full power of the socialist state and its economic foundation—public socialist property, both state and cooperative-collective. The Bolshevik Party, as the ruling party, organizes all economic activity through the Soviet socialist state and directs the construction of communism in the Soviet Union, spearheads efforts to improve the people's standard of living and develop socialist culture, and strengthens the country's defense. Bolshevik policy thus functions as the policy of the socialist state, as the basis for the economic, political, and cultural activities of all public organizations and the entire people. Bolshevik policy is the *vital foundation of Soviet society* .

The party of Lenin and Stalin always regarded the development of a correct line as the first and foremost condition for success. However, its implementation must be supported by organizational efforts. Once a correct policy has been developed, success depends on organizational work. It is essential that state and public organizations persistently fight for this policy and mobilize the masses to implement it.

The Bolshevik Party, as the advanced, organized, and disciplined vanguard of the working class and the highest form of its class organization, ensures the implementation of its policies through the Soviets and all other workers' organizations, raising the level of organizational leadership to that of political leadership. The development of a political line and the organizational support for its implementation constitute two inextricably linked aspects of Bolshevik leadership. Bolshevik leadership is the primary condition ensuring the socialist content of the activities of the Soviets, state enterprises, collective farms, and cooperative associations in general, as well as all public organizations. The Bolshevik Party, its policies, and its political and organizational leadership constitute the guiding and directing force of the

socialist state and the entire Soviet people, the lifeblood of Soviet society.

How does the Bolshevik Party exercise its leadership role in the system of the dictatorship of the working class?

a) In all its work, the Party proceeds from Lenin's fundamental instruction, "that no policy can be carried out without expressing it in appointments and transfers"[481], and that, consequently, organizational questions themselves inevitably acquire political significance. The Party nominates its most worthy and authoritative figures for leadership positions in government bodies. "...The Communist Party tries to promote its candidates, its best workers, devoted to the cause of the proletariat and ready to serve the proletariat faithfully and truly, to the main posts of state work in our country," says Comrade Stalin . " And it succeeds in this in the overwhelming majority of cases, since the workers and peasants trust the Party. It is no accident that the heads of our government bodies are communists, that they, these leaders, enjoy enormous authority in the country"[482].

Not only in the Soviets but also in all other mass workers' organizations, leadership positions are generally occupied by Communists, voluntarily elected by their members. This reflects the boundless trust of non-party members in the Bolshevik Party and its unquestionable authority, on the one hand, and the personal authority of Communists, who are the finest representatives of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, on the other. This does not mean that non-party members are not appointed to leadership positions in the Soviet

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[481] V. I. Lenin, Works, vol. 30, ed. 4, p. 413.

[482] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 101.

state. The Bolshevik Party and Soviet power value and promote to leadership positions all capable, proactive, enterprising workers devoted to the Party and the people—both Communists and non-Party, non-Party Bolsheviks. The strength of the Bolsheviks, the strength of Communists, Comrade Stalin teaches, lies in their ability to surround the Party with millions of non-party activists.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state devote enormous attention to the training of workers for all sectors of the national economy and culture and their communist education. The greatest achievement of the Party and the Soviet state was the creation of a large Soviet intelligentsia devoted to the people. The Bolshevik Party, as the ruling party, is guided in all its practical work by Stalin's directives on the proper selection and development of cadres, the promotion of new people and their skillful use, the proper placement of cadres and the organization of their performance review, and the Bolshevik tempering and proper education of cadres. These aspects of activity are of paramount importance in the art of Bolshevik leadership. Comrade Stalin teaches:

“Choosing the right personnel means:

Firstly, value personnel as the golden fund of the party and the state, cherish them, and have respect for them.

Secondly, know the personnel, carefully study the strengths and weaknesses of each personnel worker, know in which position the employee’s abilities can most easily be developed.

Thirdly, carefully cultivate personnel, help each growing employee move up, spare no time to patiently “tinker” with such employees and accelerate their growth.

Fourthly, promptly and boldly promote new, young personnel, not allowing them to stagnate in their old positions, not allowing them to become stale.

Fifthly, to distribute workers among their posts in such a way that each worker feels in place, so that each worker can give to our common cause the maximum of what he is generally capable of giving according to his personal qualities, so that the general direction of work on the distribution of personnel fully corresponds to the requirements of the political line in the name of which this distribution is being carried out"[483].

b) All fundamental questions of the economic, political and cultural life of the country, questions of defense and foreign policy of the Soviet state, all fundamental questions of the activities of mass organizations and state bodies are examined by the Communist Party, which gives its guiding instructions in all areas of work. Characterizing the leading role of the Bolshevik Party in relation to the Soviet state, Comrade Stalin said: "... when developing a plan of work for various government bodies, whether in the area of industry and agriculture, or in the area of trade and cultural development, the Party gives general guiding instructions determining the nature and direction of the work of these bodies during the period of validity of these plans"[484].

The Party's directives also play a guiding role for all mass workers' organizations. These directives determine the direction and nature of the activities of mass organizations; they express the policy of the Bolshevik Party and the system of measures that ensure its implementation. In this sense, "the

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[483] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 595–596.

[484] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, p. 102.

dictatorship of the proletariat," says Comrade Stalin, "consists of the Party's guiding directives, plus the implementation of these directives by the mass organizations of the proletariat, plus their implementation by the population"[485].

c) Finally, the Party organizes an inspection of the work of all mass organizations and government bodies, identifying errors and shortcomings in their work, helping to eliminate them promptly and improve the work of state bodies and public organizations in order to more fully implement the Party's policies and involve the masses in the construction of communism. Characterizing the relationship between the Party and the state from this perspective, Comrade Stalin said: "...the Party inspects the work of the governing bodies, the work of the government bodies, correcting the errors and shortcomings that are inevitable, helping them to implement government decisions and trying to ensure the support of the masses, and not a single important decision is taken by them without the appropriate instructions of the Party"[486].

In his report to the 17th Party Congress, Comrade Stalin emphasized that the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) is constantly guided by "Lenin's brilliant idea that the most important thing in organizational work is the *selection of people* and the *verification of their execution* "[487]. Whether the apparatus is working honestly, in a Bolshevik manner, or is spinning in vain, can only be determined in a timely manner through a well-organized verification of execution. Such a verification of execution, like

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[485] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 39.

[486] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 10, pp. 101–102.

[487] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 369.

a powerful searchlight, illuminates the state of the apparatus's work at any time. "It can be said with confidence," Comrade Stalin continues, "that nine-tenths of our shortcomings and breakthroughs are explained by the lack of a properly organized verification of execution"[488].

In order for the verification of execution to achieve its goal, Comrade Stalin teaches, it must satisfy two conditions: firstly, the verification of execution must be systematic in nature, and secondly, authoritative people, preferably the leaders of the organizations themselves, must be at the head of the verification of execution in all levels of party, soviet and economic organizations.

However, checking of execution is not limited to checking from above, checking by the leaders. "Some comrades think," says Comrade Stalin, "that people can only be checked from above, when leaders check those they lead based on the results of their work. This is incorrect. Checking from above is, of course, necessary as one of the effective measures for checking people and checking the fulfillment of assignments. But checking from above is far from exhaustive. There is another kind of checking, checking from below, when the masses, when those they lead, check the leaders, note their mistakes, and point out ways to correct them. This kind of checking is one of the most effective ways of checking people"[489].

I. V. Stalin is credited with revealing the enormous importance of *criticism and self-criticism* in the development of the Bolshevik Party, in resolving contradictions and

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[488] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 373.

[489] I. V. Stalin, On the Shortcomings of Party Work and Measures for the Elimination of Trotskyist and Other Double-Dealers, p. 29.

overcoming difficulties under socialism, in the communist education of workers, and in mobilizing the creative initiative of the masses for the cause of building communism. Characterizing the importance of self-criticism for the Party, showing that it is a fundamental condition for the Party's development, Comrade Stalin said:

"I think, comrades, that we need self-criticism like we need air or water. I think that without it, without self-criticism, our Party could not move forward, it could not expose our sores, it could not eliminate our shortcomings. And we have many shortcomings. This must be acknowledged openly and honestly.

"The slogan of self-criticism cannot be considered a new slogan. It lies at the very foundation of the Bolshevik Party. It lies at the foundation of the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If our country is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the dictatorship is led by one party, the Communist Party, which does not and cannot share power with other parties, then is it not clear that we ourselves must expose and correct our mistakes if we want to move forward? Is it not clear that there is no one else to expose and correct them? Is it not clear, comrades, that self-criticism must be one of the most important forces driving our development forward?"[490]

The importance of self-criticism, Comrade Stalin teaches, lies primarily in the fact that it helps to reveal shortcomings in work and eliminate these shortcomings, improving day by day all the work of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet state and all public organizations.

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[490] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 11, p. 29.

The importance of self-criticism lies, further, in that it ensures proper training and Bolshevik forging of cadres, accustoming workers to prudence and vigilance, making them more sensitive and responsive to the demands of the masses. Self-criticism is a special, Bolshevik method of cadre development.

The significance of self-criticism lies, finally, in the fact, Comrade Stalin points out, in that it helps the Party unleash the creative initiative of the masses, unleashes their strengths and abilities, and is one of the most important means of developing their skills for governing the country. Self-criticism is a powerful means of stimulating the initiative of workers, facilitating their education in the spirit of communism, and is one of the conditions for involving the masses in governing the country. Self-criticism is a natural law and one of the driving forces of the development of socialist society.

In demonstrating the distinctive features of the Leninist method, which is not a simple restoration but a concretization and further development of Marx's revolutionary and critical method and his materialist dialectic, Comrade Stalin reveals the significance of self-criticism as the most important feature of the Leninist method. The Leninist method, Comrade Stalin teaches, demands self-criticism from proletarian parties, training and education from their own mistakes, "for only in this way can real cadres and real leaders of the party be trained."[491]

Speaking about the conditions that ensure the preservation and strengthening of the leading role of the Communist Party in the system of the dictatorship of the working class, Comrade Stalin repeatedly noted the exceptional importance of activating all party members and consistently implementing the principle of

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[491] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 82.

collegiality in the work of the party's leading bodies. Answering the German writer Emil Ludwig, who asked whether decisions were made collegially or individually in the USSR, Comrade Stalin said: “No, it is impossible to decide individually. Individual decisions are always, or almost always, one-sided decisions. In every collegium, in every collective, there are people whose opinions must be taken into account. In every collegium, in every collective, there are people who can express incorrect opinions. Based on the experience of three revolutions, we know that out of approximately 100 individual decisions that are not checked and not corrected collectively, 90 decisions are one-sided”[492].

Guided by the directives of Lenin and Stalin, the Party seeks the active participation of all communists elected to leading Party bodies in the activities of these bodies, develops internal Party democracy, and mobilizes the entire membership and candidate body. Only in this way can flawless decisions be made and Party members, and subsequently all workers, mobilized to implement them.

The principle of collegial leadership is not at all contradicted by the fact that in some government organizations, especially in economic and military organizations, where the personal responsibility of the leader is particularly important, the principle of one-man command is practiced. In these cases, party leadership and party control ensure the use of collective experience in decision-making and implementation.

The working class exercises its leadership role through the party, and the party through its leaders. The Bolshevik Party, as a party of a new type, gives birth to a new type of leader, combining theoretical power with the practical organizational

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[492] I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 107.

experience of the proletarian movement. The characteristics of the Bolshevik Party are most fully embodied in the work of its organizers and leaders, V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin, proletarian leaders of a new type. The lives of Lenin and Stalin are inseparably fused with the history of the Bolshevik Party. The great poet of our era, V. V. Mayakovsky, beautifully expressed this:

We say – Lenin,

we mean the party,

we say - the party,

we mean Lenin.

Stalin, Lenin's great comrade-in-arms and the continuer of his immortal work, is Lenin today. He loves the Party and the people as much, is as loyal to them and as truthful as Lenin, is as principled and implacable toward the enemies of the Party and the people as Lenin, is as wise and deliberate in resolving complex issues, and is as bold in implementing necessary sharp turns as Lenin. He is also connected to the masses, generalizing the creative experience of the masses, seizing and developing their initiative, learning from the masses and teaching them, like Lenin. Clarity of purpose, unwavering will, firmness and persistence in achieving goals, revolutionary scope and Bolshevik efficiency, a broad perspective and concrete leadership characterize Stalin, as they did Lenin.

Stalin is a supreme genius who raised Leninism to a new level. Stalin is the leader and teacher of the party and the people, who developed the art of Bolshevik leadership and armed the party with it, a remarkable strategist of the communist revolution, the leader of the Soviet state and a supreme military commander, the inspirer and organizer of the construction of communism,

the standard-bearer of the struggle of all peoples for world peace.

Together with Lenin, Comrade Stalin created the party of Leninism, leading the party and the working class in their struggle for power and the creation of the world's first Soviet socialist multinational state. After Lenin's death, the Bolshevik Party, under Comrade Stalin's leadership, led the people to socialism and is now successfully leading them to communism. This is why Soviet people, and all supporters of democracy and socialism in other countries, when they speak of the Bolshevik Party, mean Stalin; when they speak of Stalin, they mean the Bolsheviks, the Soviet socialist state, and the entire Soviet people.

One of the distinctive features of the Bolshevik Party is that it serves as a remarkable school for training leaders of the working class and the entire Soviet people. The great leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people, Stalin, rallied and nurtured the party's core leadership, which, together with him and under his leadership, defended Leninism and led the Soviet people to socialism. A supreme genius of communism, with a vision far beyond that of other Bolshevik Party leaders, Comrade Stalin tirelessly emphasized the need to utilize collective experience in the exercise of leadership, emphasizing the importance of the party's core leadership and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Characterizing the role of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Comrade Stalin said:

“Our leading body, the Central Committee of our party, which directs all our Soviet and party organizations, has about 70 members. Among these 70 members of the Central Committee are our best industrialists, our best cooperators, our best suppliers, our best military men, our best propagandists, our

best agitators, our best experts on state farms, our best experts on collective farms, our best experts on individual peasant farming, our best experts on the nations of the Soviet Union and on national policy. In this Areopagus is concentrated the wisdom of our party"[493].

A brilliant successor to Lenin's work, Comrade Stalin embodies the wisdom of the Communist Party and the people. This is the greatness of Comrade Stalin—father, teacher, leader of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet people, and the global communist movement.

2. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the growing leadership role of the Bolshevik Party.

The victory of the socialist system in all spheres of the Soviet Union's national economy signifies the creation of a new, socialist economy, free from the exploitation of man by man, crises and unemployment, poverty and ruin for workers, and offering citizens every opportunity for a prosperous and culturally enriched life. With the economic foundation of socialism established, the state system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR was placed on a solid foundation.

As a result of the complete victory of socialism, the class structure of Soviet society changed. In the USSR, the exploitative classes were eliminated, and the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia underwent significant changes. The proletariat in the USSR was transformed into an entirely new class—a working class liberated from exploitation, establishing socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, standing at the head of state power, and guiding Soviet society along the path to communism. The Soviet

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493 I. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 107.

peasantry, freed from the exploitation of landowners, capitalists, and kulaks, built its life on collective labor and advanced technology, based on collective, socialist property. The intelligentsia also changed, both in its composition and in the nature of its activities. It became a truly popular, socialist intelligentsia. As a result of these changes, moral and political unity among the peoples of the USSR was established and strengthened, friendship among the peoples of the USSR was consolidated, and Soviet patriotism developed.

The world-historical fact of the victory of socialism in the USSR—the entry of the Soviet Union into the period of completion of the construction of a socialist society and the gradual transition to a communist society—was legislatively enshrined in the Stalin Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1936.

The Communist Party led the turnaround in the country's political life associated with the implementation of the new Constitution. Under Stalin's leadership, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) took steps to further implement the principle of democratic centralism, to broadly develop criticism and self-criticism within the party, and to comprehensively activate the party masses. The restructuring of party organizations and the consistent implementation of intra-party democracy increased the party's fighting capacity. Under the party's leadership, the work of trade unions, Komsomol, and other mass workers' organizations was restructured, resulting in the further development of democracy within these organizations. On this basis, the party improved its leadership of all mass organizations, which led to a further strengthening of the party's ties with the masses, a further rallying of the people around the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, and,

consequently, to the further strengthening of the dictatorship of the working class in the USSR.

A striking embodiment of the Bolshevik Party's unbreakable bond with the people, and the unanimous recognition of its role as the nation's leader, are the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and the elections to local Councils of Workers' Deputies.

The scope of the party's political and organizational work in connection with elections and the enormous increase in mass political activity during elections are particularly indicative. Millions of campaigners, members of electoral commissions, proxies, and other activists participate in election campaigns in the USSR, engaging every single voter in the elections.

Of paramount importance is the close cooperation between the Communist Party and the non-party masses during elections. The Lenin-Stalin Party based its electoral policy on the idea of an electoral bloc of communists and non-party members. The Party goes into elections in alliance with non-party members. This is an entirely unheard-of and impossible phenomenon in the practice of election campaigns in bourgeois countries. In the Soviet Union, a bloc of communists and non-party members proved entirely natural, because there are no longer any hostile classes in the USSR.

The expansion of the social base of Soviet power as a result of the victory of socialism and the transformation of the dictatorship of the working class into an even more flexible system of state leadership of society are inseparable from the further strengthening of the Bolshevik Party as the leading force of the dictatorship of the working class.

Guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, creatively develops it, constantly honing its powerful ideological weapon. It is enough to cite I. V. Stalin's creation of a comprehensive and complete theory of the socialist state.

The Soviet state could not have been successfully built, developed and strengthened if the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin had not generalized the experience of state building and developed the theory of the socialist state.

Marxist-Leninist theory and Comrade Stalin's guiding principles on the dictatorship of the proletariat helped the communist parties of the people's democracies develop the question of the people's democratic regime and its characteristics. The communist and workers' parties of the people's democracies would not have been able to build the people's democratic state so successfully had they not relied on the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist state, the experience of state building in the USSR, and the guiding principles of I.V. Stalin.

While honing and continually refining its ideological weapon —Marxism-Leninism—the Party also developed its organizational weapons, designed to ensure the implementation of the scientifically grounded policies of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin and Stalin, who created the Party's doctrine, also developed the Party's organizational principles.

The organizational principles of party building, as is well known, find their expression in the Party Charter, which, on the basis of these principles, determines the methods of practical activity of party organizations, the forms of building the party and the rules of its internal life.

The Bolshevik Party is capable of fulfilling its world-historic role because its program, tactics, policies, and organizational principles are built on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Democratic centralism, conscious discipline, unity of will and action incompatible with the existence of factions and groups, careful individual selection of new members, the protection and purging of petty-bourgeois and opportunist elements, a ruthless struggle against opportunism, concern for raising the activity of party members, and the development of internal party democracy—these are the organizational principles of party building. These organizational principles constitute the unshakable foundation of the Bolshevik Party as a party of a new type. As for the organizational forms and methods of the party's work, they can and should change depending on the specific historical situation.

Forms of party building change and develop depending on socio-historical conditions. The 10th Congress of the RCP(b), in its resolution on issues of party building, noted that there is not and cannot be a single form of party organization suitable for all stages of the revolutionary process, just as there are not and cannot be identical methods of party work. The 10th Congress emphasized that the form of organization and methods of work are entirely determined by the characteristics of a given historical situation and the tasks that directly arise from this situation. With changing objective conditions, any organizational form and method of work can transform from a form of development of the party organization into a fetter on that development; and, conversely, an organizational form that has become unsuitable under changed conditions may again prove necessary and the only appropriate one when the corresponding objective conditions are restored.

Therefore, with each major change in the social situation and the emergence of new challenges, the Bolshevik Party

established organizational forms that, based on the unshakable organizational principles of the Bolshevik Party, ensured the best possible resolution of the political challenges facing it. As is well known, amendments to the Party Charter were introduced at the beginning of the New Economic Policy (NEP), during the transition from the recovery period to the reconstruction period, after the foundation of the socialist economy had been laid, and finally, after the adoption and implementation of the Stalin Constitution.

The development of the organizational foundations of the party and changes in the forms of organization and methods of its work in accordance with the new tasks put forward by life have always served as an important condition for improving the political and organizational leadership of the party and increasing its combat effectiveness.

The ideological unity, cohesion, and organization of the Bolshevik Party are inseparable from the struggle against opportunism and the purgative work the Party carried out to further strengthen itself. "Having routed the enemies of the people and purged the Party and Soviet organizations of degenerates, the Party became even more united in its political and organizational work; it became even more united around its Central Committee,"[494] said Comrade Stalin at the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

The Party's authority in the eyes of the working people has grown unprecedentedly. At every stage of the struggle for communism, the Bolshevik Party, led by Comrade Stalin, has been attentive to the voice of the masses, to their revolutionary instincts. It has studied and continues to study the experience of the masses, not only teaching them, but also learning from

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[494] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., p. 592.

them. The trust of the masses was won by sound policies, the Party's devotion to the people, its connection with the people, and its willingness and ability to convince them of the correctness of its slogans and policies. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the workers and peasants of our country seized power, defeated the White Guards and interventionists, created and strengthened the Soviet state, eliminated the exploiting classes, built socialism in the USSR, and achieved a historic victory in World War II.

One of the indicators of the growing authority of the Bolshevik Party is the growth in the number of its members and the strengthening of the mass organizations it led. In 1924, after Lenin's Conscription, when about 250 thousand workers joined the party, it numbered 735,881 party members; trade unions united 5 million people (in industry - 92% of workers, in agriculture - 3%); consumer cooperatives united about 7 million people, agricultural - about one and a half million people (the proportion of collective farms was then very small); the Komsomol numbered 570,000 people. All these mass organizations grew colossally during the struggle for socialism and as a result of the construction of socialism in our country. At present, the party has over 6 million communists; trade unions unite over 28 million people; collective farms unite basically the entire mass of peasant households; the Komsomol has over 9 million people in its ranks. These figures testify to the gigantic growth of all organizations of the system of the dictatorship of the working class, and to the unprecedented unification of the people around the Bolshevik Party.

The Communist Party's forms of communication with the masses have become more diverse, and the masses' increased cultural level places greater demands on the Party's ideological work. The gradual transition from socialism to communism has

elevated the tasks of communist education of the masses, overcoming the vestiges of capitalism in people's consciousness, and emphasizing the role of communist consciousness in the struggle for communism. All this has greatly increased the importance of the Party's ideological means of influencing the masses. The role of the Soviet periodical press, radio, literature, cinema, theater, music, science, and art has grown immeasurably.

The Soviet press, which has grown to enormous proportions (the newspaper circulation alone exceeds 33.5 million copies), is the Party's most powerful and incisive weapon in the struggle to mobilize the masses to address economic and political challenges, to develop socialist competition and criticism and self-criticism, to combat the vestiges of capitalism in the public consciousness, and to organize the offensive against the corrupt, reactionary imperialist ideology. The Soviet press connects the Party with the people in all areas and serves as a powerful means of strengthening the mass organizations of workers. A crucial role is played by the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, the newspaper Pravda, which ideologically guides the work of all organs of the Soviet press and serves as the platform from which the Party speaks to the masses.

The elimination of the kulaks as a class, the collectivization of peasant farms, and the unification of the entire Soviet people around common interests in the struggle for communism eliminated the danger of a rift between workers and peasants and the danger of a split in the party. The Bolshevik Party, the vanguard of the working class, is the vanguard of all working people, active and conscious builders of communism in the USSR. This did not resolve the question of the working class's leading role in relation to the peasantry.

The working class, as the creator of the highest form of socialist property—public property (primarily in socialist industry)—and the exponent of the leading role of the socialist city and urban culture in relation to the countryside, and finally, as a class that, due to the peculiarities of its historical development, is the most organized and communist-conscious, continues to be the leading force in Soviet society, determining the nature of the socialist state. The working class remains the ruling class, and the Bolshevik Party remains the vanguard of the working class, its advanced and conscious element. Therefore, maintaining a strong working-class core within the Communist Party remains essential. But as the Soviet peasantry and intelligentsia drew closer to the working class, uniting with it into a single, close-knit family of workers in a socialist society, and the remaining differences between them faded and faded, many representatives of the collective farm peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia, in their communist consciousness and devotion to the Soviet socialist state and the Communist Party, rose fully to the level of the most advanced representatives of the working class, the Party simultaneously became the vanguard of the working people of the Soviet country. The Bolshevik Party united around itself a powerful core of non-party Bolsheviks. The masses' trust in the Party grew unprecedentedly.

The Soviet people, boundlessly devoted to their party and their leader, Comrade Stalin, legally enshrined the party's leading role in the country's Basic Law. The USSR Constitution states: "...the most active and conscientious citizens from the ranks of the working class and other strata of the working people unite in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system and represents the leading

core of all working people's organizations, both public and state" (Article 126).

Under the conditions of victorious socialism, the Bolshevik Party is the *only* party in the country, since the destruction of the exploiting classes and the unification of the Soviet people eliminated the very possibility of the existence of several parties.

Comrade Stalin, exposing the bourgeois would-be critics of the Soviet Constitution, who were dissatisfied with the preservation of the leading role of the Communist Party and "lamented" the absence of a multi-party system in the USSR, emphasized that the preservation of the regime of the dictatorship of the working class, as well as the preservation of the leading position of the Communist Party in the USSR, is an advantage of our new Constitution.

"As for the freedom of various political parties," he said, "we hold somewhat different views here. A party is part of a class, its vanguard. Several parties, and therefore freedom of parties, can exist only in a society where there are antagonistic classes whose interests are hostile and irreconcilable, where there are, say, capitalists and workers, landowners and peasants, kulaks and the poor, etc. But in the USSR there are no longer such classes as capitalists, landowners, kulaks, etc. In the USSR there are only two classes, workers and peasants, whose interests are not only not hostile, but, on the contrary, friendly. Consequently, in the USSR there is no basis for the existence of several parties, and, therefore, for the freedom of these parties. In the USSR there is basis only for one party, the Communist Party. In the USSR there can exist only one party – the Communist Party, which boldly and to the end defends the interests of the workers and peasants. And that it does not

defend the interests of these classes poorly, there can hardly be any doubt"[495].

The working masses of the Soviet Union were convinced by their own experience of the correctness of the Bolshevik Party's policies. The Second World War was the greatest test of the people's strength, the strength of the social and political system, and the might of the army. The Soviet people, the Soviet social and political system, and the Soviet Army withstood this test with honor. The Soviet people and the Soviet Army won immortal glory, and the socialist social and political system demonstrated its superiority over the capitalist system during the war, as it had previously proven and is now confirming with even greater force in the context of peaceful construction. The war was the greatest test of the correctness of the Bolshevik Party's policies. The war demonstrated that the general line of the Party, developed by Comrade Stalin—the line of socialist industrialization of the country and collectivization of peasant farms, designed to achieve a revolutionary leap from backwardness to progress, the victory of socialism—was the only correct line, ensuring the victory of the Soviet people over the forces of fascism in the war. During the Great Patriotic War, the Party emerged as the inspirer and organizer of the nationwide struggle against the fascist invaders. The Party's organizational work united and directed all the efforts of the Soviet people toward a common goal, subordinating all our forces and resources to the cause of defeating the enemy. During the war, the Party became even more closely connected to the people and became even more closely linked to the broad masses of working people.

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[495] I. V. Stalin, Questions of Leninism, 11th ed., pp. 523–524.

This is the source of strength of our state"[496].

Immediately after victory over the enemy, I. V. Stalin launched a grandiose program of ambitious work to build a communist society. The Party spearheaded the productive and political initiatives of the masses, who resumed the victorious march toward communism interrupted by the war. The inexhaustible creative spirit and patriotic deeds of the Soviet people, led by the Bolshevik Party, uncovered new reserves in socialist industry and agriculture.

The introduction of new technology into production, the mechanization of labor-intensive work, and the creation of a technical basis for communism are being successfully carried out.

The workers of socialist fields have exceeded the yield and gross grain harvest of the pre-war 1940 year and, striving for further increases in yield, are working hard to achieve the goal set by the Party and the Soviet state—to fully develop livestock farming. Under the Party's leadership, the technical equipment of agriculture is rapidly expanding. With the abolition of human exploitation in the USSR, the distinction between city and village has been eliminated. Now, all the conditions are being created to eliminate the remaining significant differences between them.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government, constantly concerned about the needs of the workers, used the new powerful rise in industry and agriculture to further raise the material and cultural level of the Soviet people.

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[496] I. V. Stalin, On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, p. 119.

In guiding the country's entire economic, political, and cultural life, the Party creatively applies and develops Marxist-Leninist theory in all areas. *The Stalinist Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) is the theoretical center guiding the development of Soviet science, art, and culture* . Through its directives, the Party directs the development of public education and higher education in the country, determines the overall organization of scientific research, and the development of individual branches of science. To appreciate this aspect of the Party's work, it is sufficient to recall the Party's guiding and directing role in the struggle against anti-Michurinists in biological science and its concern for the creation of a truly advanced dialectical-materialist natural science. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union tirelessly directs the development of natural science, particularly technical science, toward resolving scientific problems posed by the practice of communist construction and the needs of the country's defense, opening up boundless scope for the creative initiative of Soviet scientists.

The Party and the Soviet state carry out state planning for the development of Soviet science, strive for collective work and comradely cooperation of Soviet scientists both in individual specialties and between scientists from various fields of knowledge, a harmonious combination of the activities of a group of scientists with the most appropriate use of the knowledge and talents of each individual scientific worker.

Soviet science boldly looks to the future, discovering boundless possibilities for harnessing our country's incalculable wealth to strengthen its strength and power. The Party and government have placed Soviet science at the service of the people, organizing workers to fight for the transformation of nature based on cutting-edge science. The Soviet people are successfully implementing the Party and government decree on

the plan for shelterbelt afforestation, the introduction of grassland crop rotations, and the construction of ponds and reservoirs to ensure sustainable high yields. Nuclear energy is being harnessed in the USSR to further the rapid growth of the country's productive forces.

The Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin personally tirelessly teach that "no science can develop and succeed without a struggle of opinions, without freedom of criticism"[497], and they create all the conditions for free scientific creativity and for the development of self-criticism in all fields of science. Comrade Stalin's brilliant works enrich the treasury of Marxism-Leninism and serve as a remarkable example of a creative approach to science for all Soviet scientists.

The Communist Party guides the development of Soviet literature and art along the path of socialist realism, ensuring the conditions for the creation of profoundly ideological and highly artistic works imbued with the spirit of love for the Soviet people and the socialist Motherland, and the spirit of life-giving Soviet patriotism. The development of Soviet socialist multinational culture is based on the policies of the Bolshevik Party. Propaganda and explanation of the wise Bolshevik policy through artistic means, educating the masses in a spirit of love for the Party and a willingness to fight selflessly for the interests of the people and the Soviet socialist state constitute the essence of artistic ideologies and are the most important conditions for the fruitful development of Soviet literature and art.

One of the most important tasks of communist construction is the communist education of Soviet people. The Party leads the socialist competition that has embraced all strata of Soviet

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[497] I. V. Stalin, Marxism and Questions of Linguistics, p. 31.

society's working people and transformed into a powerful nationwide movement. It embraces and develops any patriotic initiative among workers, and promotes the spread of new, higher forms of socialist competition among the people.

Leading the workers' entire struggle for communism, the Party instills in Soviet people the lofty political and moral qualities that constitute the fundamental traits of the Bolsheviks, members of the great party of Lenin and Stalin: selfless devotion to the people and the Party, Soviet patriotism, steadfastness and endurance in the face of difficulties, persistence in achieving goals, consistent Marxist-Leninist principles and irreconcilability in the struggle against the enemies of the Party and the people, and a readiness to devote all one's strength, and if necessary, one's life, for the interests of the socialist Motherland. The Bolshevik Party instills in Soviet people a communist attitude toward public property and labor and tirelessly instills the rules of communist community life in their everyday lives. It educates workers of all nationalities in the USSR in the spirit of mutual respect, cooperation, and friendship, and strengthens the international ties of the peoples of the Soviet Union with the working people of the people's democracies, and with the working class and workers of capitalist countries. The Bolshevik Party teaches the peoples of the Soviet Union to be faithful to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, the cause of the fraternal union of the proletarians of all countries.

For Soviet people, Communism is not only a goal but also a practical task of today. In the USSR, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the guidance of Comrade Stalin, the majestic edifice of communist society is already being erected and growing at an ever-increasing pace. With each new success, new opportunities and new horizons open up before the Soviet people.

The heroic example of the Soviet people inspires millions of workers in the people's democracies who have followed the path blazed by the peoples of the Soviet Union to fight for socialism. Millions of people oppressed and exploited in capitalist and colonial countries are rising up to fight against oppression and exploitation, for peace, democracy, and socialism. The powerful anti-imperialist camp, led by the Soviet Union, is growing stronger; its strength is constantly growing, surpassing that of the imperialist camp, the camp of warmongers.

In a frenzy of rage, American reactionaries, the bosses and leaders of the imperialist camp, and their accomplices—from Labor leaders to the fascist Tito—are preparing a new war to forcibly shift the balance of power in their favor and establish the dominance of US imperialism. Under these circumstances, the Bolshevik Party, the leading force of the socialist state and the Soviet people, calls on the Soviet people to increase their vigilance, tirelessly strengthen the defense capability of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces, which stand guard over the peaceful construction of communism, and urges them to persistently fight for peace throughout the world.

In this regard, the Bolshevik Party's importance as an international force grows even greater. Its importance is enhanced primarily because the Party is the leader of communist construction, the success of which inevitably weakens and undermines the position of imperialism on all fronts. The Bolshevik Party's international significance further increases because communist parties in other countries draw not only on the Bolshevik experience of the struggle for power but, as we see in the people's democracies, also on the experience of building socialism.

The Bolshevik Party and its leader, the great Stalin, are not only the mind, will, conscience, honor, and pride of the Soviet people, but also the stronghold and hope, love, and pride of the workers of all countries of the world, fighting under the leadership of their communist parties for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

3. The international significance of the Bolshevik Party's experience in leading a socialist state.

The history of the Bolshevik Party, its experience of fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its experience of leading a socialist state in the construction of socialism and communism are of enduring international significance. Bolshevism, Lenin said, is a tactical model for all.

A decisive factor in the success of the world communist movement was the fact that communist and workers' parties fought and continue to fight under the great, invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and that the leadership of communist parties persistently strives for their Bolshevization. Learning from the Bolshevik Party and accumulating their own experience, communist parties in other countries, initially emerging from leftist elements that broke away from reformist, social democratic parties, developed, transformed, and ideologically rearmed themselves in the Marxist-Leninist spirit. They grew and strengthened as Marxist-Leninist parties, as organized, vanguard, and conscious detachments of the working class in their countries, as parties of a new type, capable of leading the working class and the broad masses in the assault on imperialism. The historical merit in the military forging and Bolshevization of the communist parties belongs to the Communist International, in which the leading role was played by the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and which was directly led by Lenin and Stalin.

The Communist International nurtured a constellation of remarkable communist party leaders. Under the leadership of the Communist International, the communist parties of capitalist countries grew, strengthened, and underwent the Bolshevik school of discipline. In the new historical circumstances, when the previous organizational forms of international cooperation among communist parties became obsolete, leading the Communist International to dissolve itself, these parties proved sufficiently strong and mature to independently lead the liberation struggles of the working class and workers in their countries, the struggle for the national independence of their peoples, for democracy and socialism, and against fascism and imperialist reaction.

The ideological ties between the Communist Parties were fully preserved and further strengthened in the new historical situation, while the authority of the Bolshevik Party and the guiding significance of its experience in the eyes of Communists of all countries grew even greater. The new situation and the new stage in the development of the international workers' movement necessitated a new form of communication between the Communist Parties—the creation of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties, which further strengthened the ties between the Communist Parties and the use of the experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Georgi Dimitrov, leader of the Bulgarian Communists and a prominent figure in the international workers' movement, said at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) in December 1948: "Before our Party's eyes is the example of the great Bolshevik Party, from whose experience we learn, whose Central Committee and its brilliant leader, Comrade Stalin, have repeatedly rendered it invaluable assistance with their advice and guidance." Our party, which actively participates in the Information Bureau of

Communist and Workers' Parties, is proud to be part of the great family of communists from all over the world, headed by the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the brilliant leader of all progressive humanity, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin."

G. M. Dimitrov's words express the thoughts and feelings of communists of all countries; they speak of the significance of the experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) for the work of communist and workers' parties. This is also reflected in the numerous greetings Comrade Stalin received from communist parties of all countries on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

For the communist parties of the people's democracies, the Bolshevik Party's experience of leading the people and the state during the construction and triumph of socialism is of exceptional importance. What does this experience demonstrate, what does it teach? Comrade Stalin answered this question with unrivaled clarity and depth in his works, especially in his "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)."

The experience of the Bolshevik Party, says Comrade Stalin, teaches that without a revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party of a new type, without winning the masses of the working class to the Communist Party and isolating the compromising parties, which are agents of imperialism, without uniting and organizing the working class by the Communist Party, it is impossible to win and consolidate the dictatorship of the working class. The presence in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe of seasoned communist parties that had succeeded in overcoming the split within the working class by isolating right-wing elements in socialist parties, purging the socialist parties of imperialist agents, and renewing their

membership paved the way for socialists to join communist and workers' parties in some countries and for communist and workers' parties to unite with renewed socialist parties in others. Having achieved a situation where the overwhelming majority of workers followed the communist and workers' parties, the communists of the people's democracies were able to ensure the leading role of the working class in all the socio-political life of these countries. In accepting revolutionary elements of socialist parties into their ranks or uniting with renewed socialist parties, the communist parties did not compromise any of the ideological, theoretical, political and organizational principles of the new type of party; they carried out this unification on the basis of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and never for a moment ceased their struggle against right-wing socialists and other agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The growth of communist parties and their authority, the unification of the communist parties of the people's democracies with the left wing of the social democratic parties, which recognized the dictatorship of the proletariat and expressed a readiness to be guided by the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, created all the necessary conditions for the consolidation and organization of the forces of the working class and the unification of all workers around it, for the creation and strengthening of an alliance of the working class with the peasantry, with the leading role of the working class in this alliance, for the establishment and strengthening of the dictatorship of the working class.

The struggle for working-class unity, crowned with success in the people's democracies, is now taking place with exceptional intensity in capitalist countries. Resolving this task requires the complete defeat of the right-wing socialists—the worst

enemies of working-class unity, peace, democracy, and socialism.

The history of the Bolshevik Party and the experience of its struggle for socialism, as Comrade Stalin has shown, teach us that the party of the working class can fulfill its role as the leader of the working class, the organizer and leader of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, provided that it has mastered Marxist-Leninist theory, is able to distinguish between its letter and its essence, has learned to generalize the new experience of the revolutionary movement and, if necessary, based on the essence of the theory, replace some of its propositions and conclusions, if they have become outdated, with new propositions and conclusions corresponding to the new historical situation.

Having entered the transition period from capitalism to socialism and begun to address the tasks already accomplished by the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union, the communist and workers' parties of the European People's Democracies draw fundamentally, fundamentally, and essentially from the experience of the Bolshevik Party's struggle for socialism. At the same time, new historical conditions, the new balance of forces between socialism and imperialism in the international arena, and, most importantly, the existence of the Soviet Union and its invaluable assistance to the People's Democracies, have created the opportunity to implement the dictatorship of the working class in these countries in the form of a people's democracy.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist theory and creatively applying it in their activities, the communist and workers' parties of the people's democracies are successfully leading their peoples along the path of building socialism.

There is no doubt that this new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat has enormous theoretical and practical political significance for communist and workers' parties, and its experience must be studied and illuminated by Marxist-Leninist theory.

The history of the Bolshevik Party in the post-October period and its experience of fighting for socialism in the USSR testify that the dictatorship of the working class, its development and strengthening, are impossible without the leadership of a single party, the Communist Party. The working class exercises its rule over the bourgeoisie and its leadership of the working people through its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party. Only one party, the Communist Party, a party of a new type, is capable of expressing the interests of the working class, uniting and organizing it, and implementing its dictatorship. Lenin demonstrated that a revolutionary Marxist party cannot share its leading role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat with any other party, although it can cooperate with other parties to implement the dictatorship. Just as the working class, in alliance with the peasantry and non-proletarian strata of the working people, does not share power with anyone in exercising its dictatorship.

The experience of the dictatorship of the working class in the USSR demonstrated that all petty-bourgeois parties and groups that opposed the Communist Party and its policies inevitably slid into the camp of counterrevolution and became appendages of foreign bourgeois intelligence services, parties of spies, saboteurs, murderers, and traitors to the Motherland. The experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe confirmed that petty-bourgeois parties and groups that opposed the Communist parties and their policies sought to impose themselves on the people as "leaders" in order to implement bourgeois policies

and replace the regime of people's democracy with a bourgeois regime. This was the case with the parties and groups of Petkov and Lulchev in Bulgaria, Mikołajczyk in Poland, Pfeiffer in Hungary, and others. The leaders of these parties and groups turned out to be direct agents of Anglo-American imperialism.

In people's democracies, unlike the Soviet Union, during the transition from capitalism to socialism, other parties besides the Marxist Workers' Party are preserved and operate within the framework of the constitution, provided they loyally adhere to the legality of the people's democratic state. Preserving and strengthening the leading role of communist parties in people's democracies is the fundamental condition for consolidating and developing the dictatorship of the proletariat and successfully advancing socialist construction in these countries.

An important condition for strengthening the leading role of communist parties in the countries of people's democracy, and a huge victory for these parties and all workers, was overcoming the split in the mass organizations of workers and the creation of united trade unions, united cooperative, youth, sports and other organizations.

Mass democratic organizations such as the homeland or national front play a huge role in the socio-political life of the people's democracies of Central and South-Eastern Europe, the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In the People's Republic of China, the People's Democratic Front is organized through the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which exercises the powers and functions of the People's Congress until the convening of the Chinese People's Congress. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is composed of representatives of the

working class, peasants, servicemen of the People's Revolutionary Army, intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, ethnic minorities, overseas Chinese, and all patriotic democratic elements. It is based on the alliance of the working class and peasantry, with the working class playing the leading role. The soul and recognized leader of the People's Democratic Front of China is the Chinese Communist Party, tested in years of struggle for the fundamental interests of the Chinese people, led by its leader, Mao Zedong.

In some people's democracies in Central and Southeastern Europe, such as Bulgaria, the popular front, once a bloc or coalition of political parties, was transformed into a unified socio-political organization with a shared, essentially socialist program, mandatory common discipline, and the recognized leadership of the Communist Party. Strengthening the Fatherland Front as a mass socio-political organization led by communists is one of the most pressing tasks of the communist parties in people's democracies and is intended to enhance their leadership role. At the same time, as the experience of the Bulgarian People's Democratic Republic demonstrates, some parties within the Fatherland Front are ceasing to exist and dissolving themselves, deeming their continued independent existence inadvisable.

The camp of imperialist reaction, led by the United States, is attempting to exploit the existence of non-communist parties in the People's Democracies to infiltrate them, as well as mass workers' organizations, and to pit these parties and public organizations against the communist parties, turning them into bulwarks of the struggle for the restoration of the capitalist system, thereby attempting to transform the People's Democracies into colonies of Anglo-American imperialism. Strengthening the leadership role of Marxist workers' parties and increasing political vigilance is one of the most important

conditions for exposing and thwarting the insidious machinations of the imperialists.

Comrade Stalin teaches that "without an irreconcilable struggle against the opportunists in its own ranks, without the defeat of the capitulators in its own midst, the party of the working class cannot maintain the unity and discipline of its ranks, cannot fulfill its role as organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution, cannot fulfill its role as builder of a new, socialist society"[498].

The Bolshevik Party grew, developed, and strengthened itself in the struggle against opportunist elements within its ranks. It's no coincidence that the Trotskyists, Bukharinists, and nationalist deviationists ended up the same way as the petty-bourgeois Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary parties: becoming intelligence agents for the imperialist countries.

This lesson is vitally important for the communist and workers' parties, which are the guiding force of the states and peoples of the people's democracies. It must not be overlooked that these parties have grown exponentially in a very short period of time, and that tens of thousands of former members of socialist parties have joined the ranks of the communist and workers' parties of the people's democracies. These people are sincerely and honestly trying to master Bolshevism, but they inevitably brought with them certain bourgeois prejudices and traditions instilled in the socialist parties by the opportunist leadership.

The Anglo-American imperialists planted their agents in all popular front parties and mass workers' organizations, including, of course, the communist parties. The Anglo-

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498 "History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Brief Course", p. 343.

American imperialists succeeded in promoting their intelligence officers and agents to the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which resulted in the establishment of a Gestapo-fascist regime in Yugoslavia. The trials of the gangs of László Rajk in Hungary and Trajço Kostov in Bulgaria testify to the frenzied conspiratorial activity the Anglo-American imperialists unleashed, with the help of Tito's spy clique, to plant their agents.

All these facts point to the intense class struggle in the people's democracies, the pressure exerted by capitalist elements on the workers' parties and state apparatuses in the people's democracies, and demonstrate the importance of the struggle for purity in the party ranks and for the party's Marxist-Leninist course for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and the successful construction of socialism. Above all, the struggle is unfolding for the implementation of the main line of communist parties—the line of socialist construction and the closest possible ties with the Soviet Union. Anglo-American imperialists and capitalist elements in the people's democracies are striving to tear these countries away from the democratic, anti-imperialist camp led by the Soviet Union, and to this end, they are using the poisoned weapon of bourgeois nationalism.

It can be said that bourgeois nationalism, whose political platform demands that the people's democracies separate from the anti-imperialist camp, the USSR, and the world communist movement, while ignoring the experience of socialist construction in the USSR, constitutes the main danger in the people's democracies. This platform unites nationalists and cosmopolitans, along with all reactionary forces supported and organized by Anglo-American imperialists. The fight against opportunism in the communist and workers' parties of the people's democracies is, first and foremost, a fight against bourgeois nationalism for proletarian internationalism and

close friendship with the socialist Soviet Union. However, the struggle for the general line of the communist parties and against opportunists also takes place in other directions. Opportunism, as is well known, manifests itself in the people's democracies through neglect of the class struggle within the country, through underestimation of the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party, through reliance on the unfolding of socialist construction, and so on.

The most important condition for strengthening communist parties and improving their qualitative composition is purging their ranks of opportunists, random and unstable elements, and spies of class enemies. People's democracies are experiencing a period of transition from capitalism to socialism. The communist parties of these countries are using the experience of mass vetting of party members, which proved effective during the first period of Soviet power in the USSR. However, as the development and strengthening of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) has shown, and as confirmed by the experience of communist parties in people's democracies, the most important thing is a strict and careful individual selection process for admission to the party, a demand for the strict preservation of its working core, a thorough study of the professional and political qualities of party members, and a testing of their actions, not just by words. Adherence to these conditions ensures that communist and workers' parties are not penetrated by random, ingratiating elements and direct agents of imperialism.

Communist and workers' parties strengthen themselves by organizing the systematic study of Marxist-Leninist theory, the history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), as well as the history of their own party and the world communist movement.

The communist and workers' parties of the people's democracies are built and developed on the organizational principles developed by Leninism. The experience of the Bolshevik Party in organizational development and its internal life, accumulated in the post-October period when it became the ruling party, is of exceptional importance for their activities today. Currently, while the exploiting classes have not yet been eliminated in these countries, communist parties, drawing on the experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), have established various conditions for joining the party (based on social categories). Party composition is being regulated to ensure a strong working-class core and the absolute predominance of workers and peasants over other social categories.

As the history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and its experience leading the Soviet state teaches, the training of Marxist-literate, dedicated, and experienced cadres—members of the party, state, and economic apparatus, the ideological front, and so on—is particularly crucial to the successful construction of socialism. In the people's democracies, extensive work has been undertaken to train cadres. The entire experience of the Bolshevik Party in selecting, developing, placing, and monitoring cadres is being utilized to achieve success in resolving this exceptionally important task.

The experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) teaches that criticism and self-criticism are of the utmost importance in the life of the party.

The Party cannot fulfill its role as the leader of the working class and the socialist state if it becomes arrogant, stops noticing the shortcomings of its work, is afraid to admit its mistakes and does not correct them in time.

“The Party,” says Comrade Stalin, “is invincible if it is not afraid of criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and shortcomings of its work, if it teaches and educates cadres on the mistakes of Party work, if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time.

“A party perishes if it hides its mistakes, glosses over painful issues, covers up its shortcomings with a false parade of prosperity, does not tolerate criticism and self-criticism, becomes imbued with a sense of complacency, gives in to a sense of narcissism and begins to rest on its laurels”[499].

Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, honest recognition and timely correction of one's mistakes, always necessary for a proletarian party, are especially important when the party becomes ruling and its responsibility to the people increases many times over.

The communist and workers' parties of the people's democracies rely in their theoretical and practical activities on the rich experience of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and successfully use the method of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

Finally, the history of the Bolshevik Party, as shown by Comrade Stalin, teaches that without broad connections with the masses, without constantly strengthening its connections with mass organizations, without the ability to listen to the voice of the masses and understand their needs, without the readiness not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them, the party of the working class cannot lead the masses and

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[499] “History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Short Course”, p. 345.

involve them in socialist construction, cannot be a teacher, a leader and a leader of the masses.

The communist and workers' parties of the people's democracies are carefully studying the experience of the Bolshevik Party in leading mass organizations that are part of the system of the dictatorship of the working class, and are mastering the Bolshevik art of making the party's policy understandable and dear to the people and the ability to mobilize and organize the masses to implement this policy.

Of course, this doesn't exhaust the entire range of questions illuminating the enormous significance of the Bolshevik Party's experience for communist and workers' parties of all countries. But what has been said is sufficient to demonstrate the immense international significance of the Bolshevik Party's experience.

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The great Lenin, on the eve of the October Socialist Revolution, said that the Bolshevik Party is the mind, honor, and conscience of our era. The Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin and Stalin, earned this characterization for its heroic struggle to overthrow tsarism and capitalism. It earned this appraisal even more for its heroic struggle for socialism after becoming the ruling party. It is only natural that the eyes, thoughts, and feelings of communists and all supporters of peace, democracy, and socialism in all countries turned to the Bolshevik Party and its leader, I. V. Stalin. The heroic deeds of the Bolsheviks are immortal, and their glory is immortal. The communist and workers' parties and peoples of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are following the path blazed

by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people. Other nations of the world will inevitably embark on this path; along this path, under the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, the workers of all countries will come to the worldwide victory of communism.