


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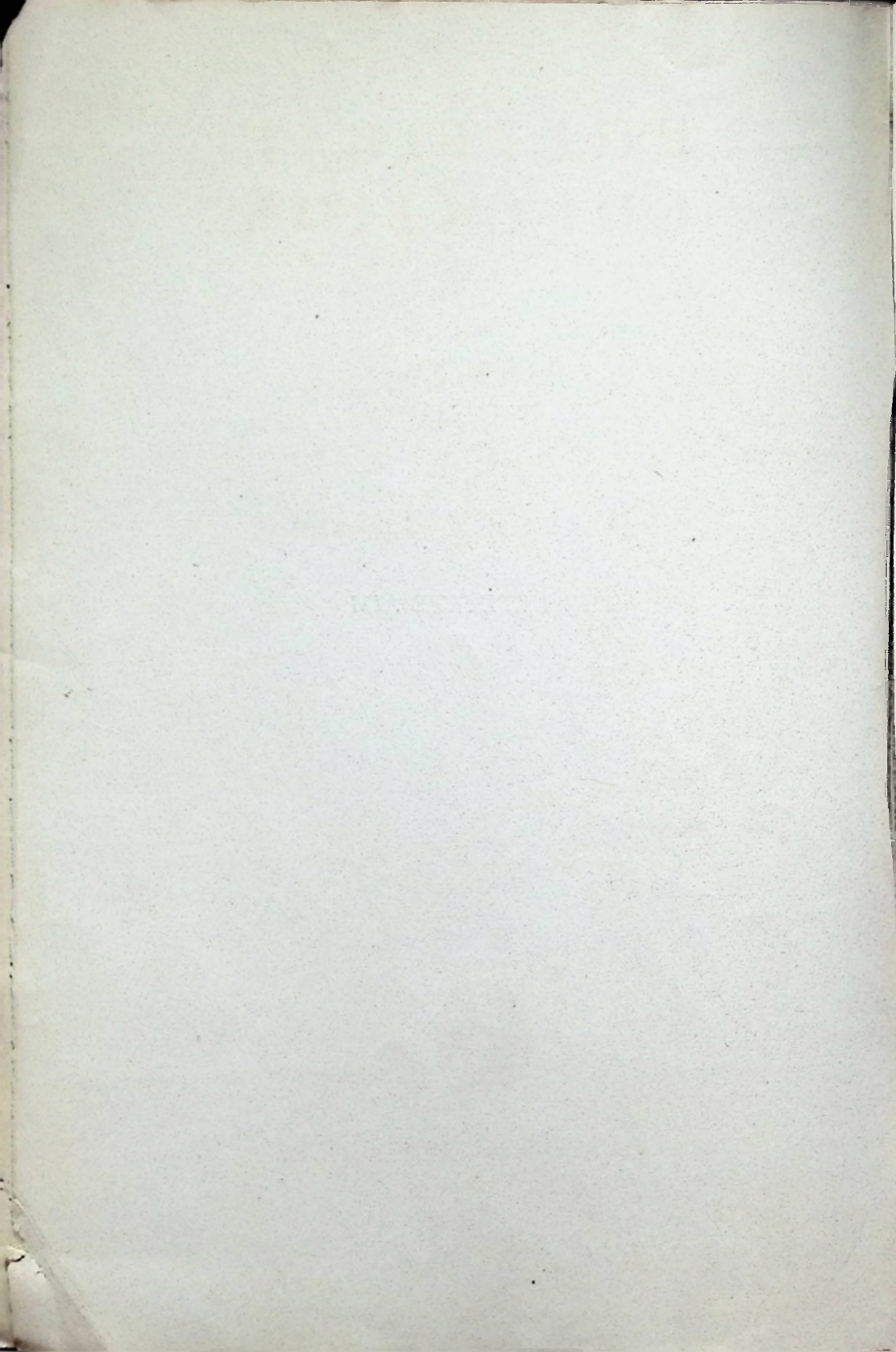
EDUCATION

**THE
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POLITICAL EDUCATION

PART TWO

THE ULTIMATE AIM



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PART II

THE ULTIMATE AIM

We are fighting for Communism.

The enemies and opponents of Communism have always argued that Communism is mere empty Utopia, an unrealisable thing, a fantasy, a dream, which will never be brought to life.

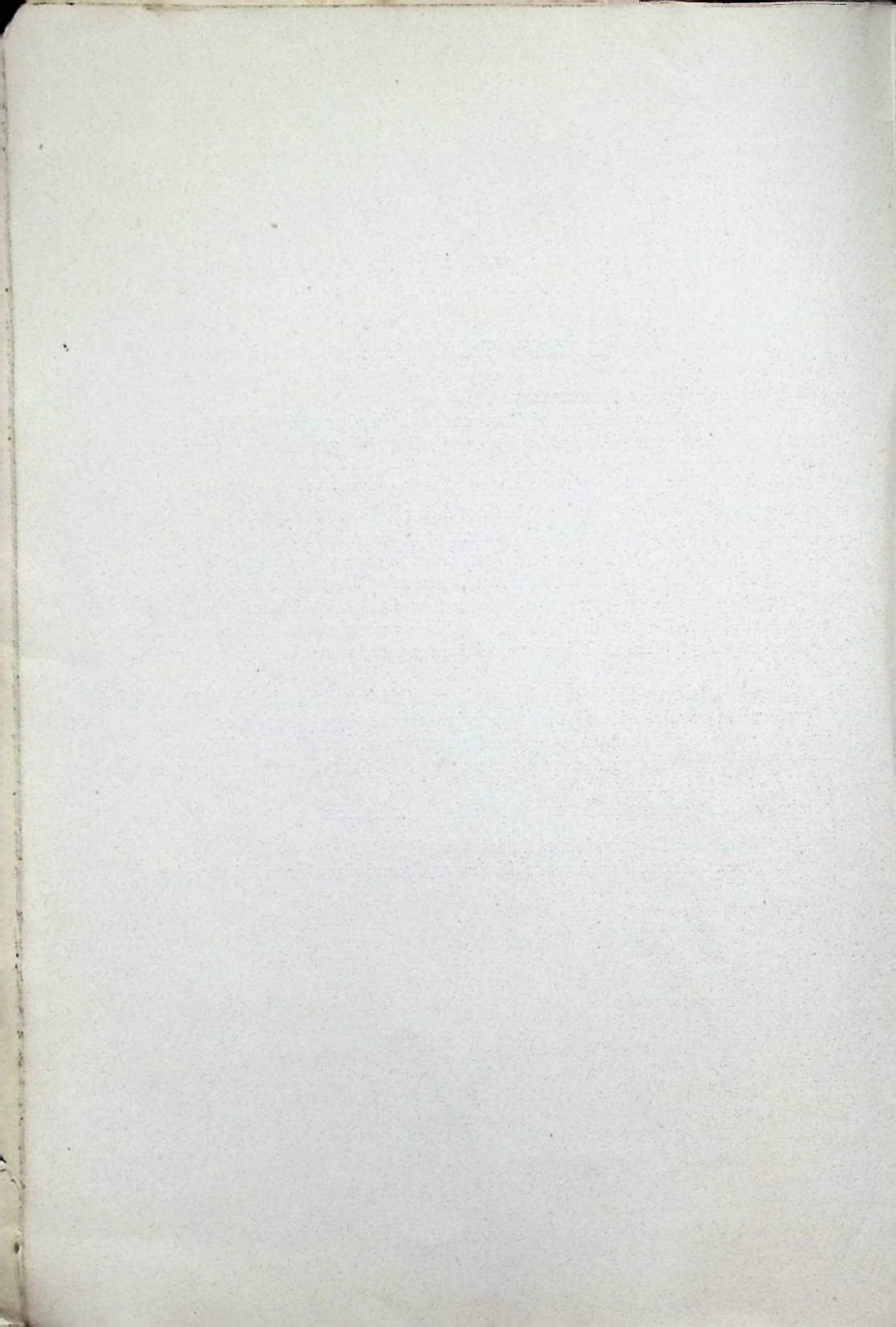
But the experience of the Soviet Union has brilliantly shown that the dreamers are those who imagined that capitalism will live for ever. Socialism, that is to say, the first stage of Communism, is becoming a reality, socialism is coming powerfully to life, socialism is impetuously reconstructing life. But capitalism can only dream about the return of its one-time strength.

Socialists declare that they know a better road to socialism than that along which the Communists are leading the working class. Their road is better, they say, because it is a peaceful one, without revolutions and convulsions.

We shall discover below whether it is possible to get socialism without a proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, whom these opinions of the Socialists about a peaceful transition to socialism really serve, and whom they hope to deceive by them; and in what way the victory of Communism is attained.

The present part is divided into the following chapters:

1. *What are Communism and Socialism?*
2. *How the transition from capitalism to Communism is carried through.*



I

WHAT ARE COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM?

Classes and Class Struggle

In March, 1921, Lenin spoke at the Transport Workers Congress in Moscow. When Lenin got up to speak he laid special stress upon one slogan, about which later on in his speech he said the following:

Just now as I came into your hall I saw a poster with the inscription: "There will be no end to the kingdom of the workers and the peasants." And when I read that strange poster which, truth to say, was not hanging in the usual place, but somewhere in a corner, as though maybe, someone had guessed that the poster was not quite right, and had put it out of the way—when I read this strange poster I thought: "Well, and even about such relatively elementary and fundamental things as this, misunderstanding and incorrect ideas exist among us."

For in fact, if there were to be no end to the kingdom of the workers and peasants, that would mean that there would never be socialism, since socialism means the abolition of classes, and so long as there are workers and peasants, there will be different classes, and consequently there cannot be complete socialism.

So socialism is society without classes.
What are classes?

"Classes," in the words of Lenin, "are such groups of persons as enable one group to appropriate to itself the labour of another, thanks to a difference in their position in a definite scale of social economy."

If one group of persons appropriate to themselves all the land and thanks to that exploit another group which is bound to that land, then we have on the one hand a *landlord class* and on the other a *peasant class*.

If one group in society owns all the factories, mines, railroads, etc., and another works in these enterprises, selling its labour power, then we have on the one hand a *capitalist class*, and on the other a *proletarian class*.

The chief sign of the difference between classes consists in the relationship to the *means of production*, in the part which this or that group plays in social production.

What is the relationship of the capitalist to the means of production? He is their owner. What is the relationship of the proletarian to the means of production in capitalist society? He suffers from exploitation as a consequence of the fact that the means of production are the private property of the capitalist.

The intellectuals and priests of the bourgeoisie try as hard as they can to convince the workers and toilers that classes have always existed and will always exist. Is this so? No, it is not so.

There was a time when human society had no classes. Many thousands

of years ago there was everywhere a society without classes, so-called primitive communist society, founded upon family or clan relationship.

In the next stage of development the *first form of class society, the slave system, arises*, in which the chief classes are the slave-owners and slaves. The slave-owners not only owned all the instruments of production, but also human slaves. At that time according to law these human beings were recognised as being simply things which were wholly in the possession of the slave-owners. Slaves were bought and sold just like cattle. *The slave-owning class was the ruling class* in this society. For many centuries a class struggle went on between the slaves on the one hand and the slave-owners on the other.

Then the serf system, the *feudal system*, took the place of the slave system. In serfdom the chief classes were the landlords (feudal lords) and the serfs. Since they were the owners of the land to which the peasants were bound, the landlords had a right to the labour of the peasants, the right to sell them, the right to their income, to compel them to perform innumerable heavy feudal duties, etc. *For many centuries the class struggle was carried on between serfs and landlords.*

As trade and industry developed a new class arose, *a class of capitalists*. This class achieved power by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the feudal landlords. Bourgeois revolutions broke out all over the world from the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century. In some countries they came earlier, in others later. In England the bourgeois revolution began as far back as 1640. In France in 1789, in Germany in 1848, in Japan in 1868. Capitalist society built up on the exploitation of the class of wage-labourers represents a new period in the class struggle, when *the ruling class is the class of capitalists and the class of proletarians carries on a fight for its overthrow.*

So the whole history of society is the path of the consistent change of one social system for another. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," Marx and Engels wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*.

Every class society is a society of class struggle. The growth of productive forces brings forward at each fresh stage in development a new class as the commanding force. Feudalism hinders the development of industry, so the class of the industrial *bourgeoisie* strives to overthrow feudalism and establish *capitalism*. Capitalism at the highest stage of its development becomes a hindrance to the further growth of productive forces. Another system is needed for their further development—*socialism*. *The proletariat* is the class which gives birth to this new system.

The replacement of one social system by another, that is the replacing of the rule of one class by the rule of another, is only achieved by means of the violent overthrow of the ruling class, by means of *revolution*. It is impossible for the working class to come to power in any other way than by the method of revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie, *by the method of proletarian revolution.*

What Is Communist Society?

Why does the proletariat carry through its revolution?

Why does it need a proletarian dictatorship? In order to establish its power for ever? No, not for that. The working class fights for *Communism*. It needs the conquest of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to guarantee the victory of socialism and finally of complete Communism.

What is Communism? How will communist society be constructed?

With the disappearance of classes and class struggle *association and co-operation* will lie at the basis of the relations between people. Society as a whole will comprise a single *labour collective*, which will work on the basis of correct organisation and suitable distribution of labour, on the basis of *comradely discipline*.

These new forms of social relationship will make the existence of a state and its apparatus of compulsion superfluous. As a consequence of this the organs of state power must disappear. *Every state is the organisation of the rule of one class over another*. The state arose with the rise of classes in order



LENIN

to guarantee the power of the ruling class. This ruling class operates with police, warships, an army—all the organs of compulsion—with schools, theatres, the press—all the organs of conviction and education. The state is the product of class society. There will be no classes at all in communist society, so under Communism there will be no state either.

The programme of the Communist International says that state power, "being the personification of class rule, dies out as classes die out. With it gradually die out each and every form of compulsion."

But how will classes disappear? Surely classes cannot disappear of their own accord? It is clear that the resistance of the classes which are being liquidated has to be broken in a stern struggle.

The transition stage to Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the period of root and branch reconstruction of the whole of economy and the liquidation of the exploiting classes, and finally, on the basis of the new economic relationships, the liquidation of classes as such and of all class distinctions and relics of class society.

Human energy, which in capitalist society is expended in the class struggle and exhausted in heavy labour and the hard struggle for existence, under Communism will be wholly directed towards the development of science and technique, towards the subordination of the powers of nature to humanity. Under capitalism all the achievements of science and technique become the property of the capitalists and are only made use of by them in so far as they are profitable to the bourgeoisie, for their own enrichment and for the intensification of the exploitation of the workers. Under Communism the achievements of science and technique become the possession of all society, they will be immediately and widely applied to life. Production will be carried out on the basis of a single plan. And all that vast mass of human energy which under capitalism is thrown away in competition, in the anarchy of production, in wasteful crises, in the furious conflicts of people, on armies, on armaments, on wars, on destruction, will go to the development of production, to cultural construction, to aims which are of use for the whole of human society.

Under Communism, as the programme of the Communist International says: "Humanity for the first time in history takes its fate into its own hands."

Culture in Communist Society

In Communist society, in accordance with the immense growth of technique, productivity of labour will also grow rapidly. Moreover, in so far as the toilers will be working for themselves, for society as a whole, and not for parasitic property owners as under capitalism, to that extent labour will cease to be involuntary, it will begin to show real miracles of productivity. Labour will become a simple healthy need, a vital necessity to every human being. Labour will become really free and creative and will be wholly consecrated to the general interests of human society. Lenin said:

As opposed to capitalist productivity of labour, Communism is a higher productivity of the labour of voluntary, conscious, united workers, making use of advanced technique.

Under Communism trades and professions to which the workers are bound for life, will disappear. People will be so highly developed or, as it is said, have such a polytechnical education, that they will be able freely to go from one kind of work to another, for example to work at machines in a

factory, and to work in a scientific institution. Work at the machine will become inseparable from work in a laboratory. Scientific work and work at the bench will become a single process, will supplement and be a continuation one of the other. The difference between mental and physical labour will disappear. The worker in an industrial enterprise will not only control levers, put mechanism into motion, and supervise its work, but he will also introduce organisational improvements, inventions, technical perfections and so on.

Science, art and technique will grow up on a huge scale. Humanity will enter the sphere of great discoveries, inventions and creative achievements.

Labour will acquire the form of comradeship, productive emulation in the interests of society as a whole. Creative enthusiasm in the struggle for new achievements, for harnessing the forces of nature, will become the chief motive force of the collective life of society and of individual personalities.

The vast development of science and culture and its conversion into the possession of the widest masses will sweep away the last relics of superstition, of religious prejudices, and hereditary survivals of the old life. Along with the disappearance of private property crimes against private property will also disappear and consequently prisons and punishments for crimes against private property will disappear. Unemployment, prostitution, theft and other such phenomena inevitable under capitalism, will become impossible in any form.

On the basis of the great growth of mechanisation and electrification of agriculture, the contradiction between town and country will disappear, the cultural backwardness of the country will disappear.

Powerful electrical stations will direct electrical energy into the factories of agricultural production. Meteorology, agronomy, the science of the earth's crust, chemistry, will attain such developments that there will no longer be any bad and good soils, cultivable and non-cultivable lands, droughts, or other natural hindrances to the development of agriculture.

Work in the field itself, in the market garden, in the orchard, on the dairy farm, will become identical with industrial work, that is to say, it will be the directing of power stations, machinery, etc.

The utilisation of rivers, waterfalls, canals and irrigation works for the creation of electrical energy will allow the founding of new industrial centres in districts where to-day the silence of the countryside reigns.

Simultaneously, the great cities will entirely change their appearance, the great cities where, as Engels said, "people are suffocating in their own excrement." The cities will be covered with gardens, parks and boulevards, the very construction of towns, streets and squares will be such as to contribute to the development of healthy people. They will be, in fact, garden cities. Great areas of the most beautiful parts of the world will be set aside for rest and recreation.

At the same time the widespread development of the most perfected means of transport will allow the whole of the world's population to live in accordance with the convenience of each person, his cultural needs and his inclinations. This will all lead to the complete liquidation of the opposition between town and country.

Every kind of inequality in society will disappear completely, both in production and in the relationships between the sexes. Home life will be completely reconstructed, so that woman will cease to be a domestic slave, who has to cook, to wash, to darn socks and so on. Social dining-rooms, factory kitchens, workshops, children's institutions of one kind and another will completely replace individual labour and the individual care of women in this sphere. The idea of the "housewife" will disappear from people's consciousness.

Inequality between nations will also disappear. The backward peoples as a result of the help and support of the advanced ones will quickly overtake them in their development, both in economic and cultural respects. National differences will disappear. National cultures will merge into a single human culture with one language for all humanity.

From Each According to His Capacity, to Each According to His Needs

In Communist society everyone will give society what he is capable of giving, and get back from it what he needs.

The high development of machine technique in all sections of social economy will permit the production of both industrial and agricultural products in such quantities as will fully satisfy all the demands of man.

"Communism means from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs."

Capitalist economy is commodity economy. The production worked up in the factory goes on the market, and in this way becomes a commodity. In Communist society there will be no market and production will be distributed according to a strict plan. Once products are no longer sold but distributed, this makes the existence of money superfluous. Products will go for distribution into social storehouses, warehouses, distribution points whence they will go to the consumer. Each will be able to take as many products as he needs.

Is there any foundation for fearing that one person will hoard a huge amount and somebody else will get nothing? No, there is no need to fear this. In Communist society, as a consequence of the unheard-of development of productive forces, there will be so many products that it will be easily possible to satisfy all the demands of people, however great they may be. And once all these will be fully satisfied, who is likely to get a desire simply to "hoard" more than he needs? And even if he did hoard, it would be of no use whatever to him, for there would be nobody to sell his products to.

A person will not need more products than his own necessities demand. Moreover, the level of consciousness of people will be so high that there will be no traces left of greed, a shameful inheritance from capitalism.

Communism will finish once and for all with such relics of capitalist society as greed, acquisitiveness, miserliness, avarice, egoism. These are all the fruits of property-owning habits to which capitalism has given birth.

From this it is clear that under Communism people will be of quite a different kind than what they are under capitalism.

Comrade Stalin in a conversation with the first American Workers' Delegation in 1927 gave this answer to the question:

Can you outline briefly the characteristics of the society of the future which Communism is trying to create?

The general characteristics of communist society are briefly given in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Briefly the anatomy of communist society may be described as follows: It is a society in which (a) there will be no private ownership of the means of production, but social, collective ownership; (b) there will be no classes or state, but workers in industry and agriculture managing their economic affairs as a free association of toilers; (c) national economy, organised according to plan, will be based on the highest technique, in both industry and agriculture; (d) there will be no contradiction between town and country, between industry and agriculture; (e) the products will be distributed according to the principle of the old French communists: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs"; (f) science and art will enjoy conditions conducive to their highest development; (g) the individual, freed from bread-and-butter cares, and of the necessity of cringing to the "powerful of the earth," will become really free, etc., etc. (*Leninism*, Vol. II, pp. 70-1.)



STALIN

The Lower Stage of Communism Is Socialism

But Communism will not reach such a high stage all at once. An earlier period will precede it, when society is still not fully free from various survivals of capitalist society. *This lower stage of Communism is called socialism.*

Socialism differs from fully completed Communism first of all by its level

of development of productive forces, and its forms of the distribution of the products of industrial and agricultural production.

Industry and agriculture under socialism still do not reach such a height as will allow the full satisfaction of the needs of the whole population independently of how much each individual worker gives of his individual labour to society.

One of the survivals of capitalism which will be for a time preserved under socialism also, is the old and still not outlived attitude to labour which is brought over from capitalist society. In this stage slackening and covetousness are still possible among backward groups of toilers.

Labour has not yet become a first vital need for every human being; it only becomes that under complete Communism. So under socialism the system of distribution of products naturally has features in which the best examples of labour are encouraged and the worst condemned. Under socialism it is not yet possible to give to everyone according to his "needs," as it will be under Communism. *Under socialism everyone receives that amount of products which corresponds to the amount and quality of the labour he has expended, which corresponds to his knowledge, capacities, special qualifications, conscientiousness, capacity for work, and so on.* But the slacker, the idler, will get nothing at all. "He who does not work, neither shall he eat"—that is the law of socialism.

So socialism does not mean full equality. In fact, under socialism, if everyone receives according to the quality of labour expended, then inequality will naturally still be preserved at this stage, since among those engaged in physical labour some will be healthier than others, some better able to work than others, some be more skilled than others, and so some will earn more than others. Some will not have families, others will, and so on. The material condition of the former will be better than of the latter.

Under socialism the measurement of labour and consumption will still be preserved. Lenin wrote that until the higher stage of Communism comes it is essential to have "the strictest control by society and the state over the measure of labour and the measure of consumption."

Socialist society, especially at first, will still retain to a certain extent features of the former society, relics of class differences, relics of old habits and attitudes, although there will no longer be classes under socialism.

This will happen because there will still be among the people in socialist society a number of former small property-owners, former well-to-do farmer-exploiters, "kulaks," former traders, and not simply proletarians. Those who have left a bourgeois environment will resist a socialist reconstruction of society.

Moreover, it is necessary to overcome the resistance of the petty property owning survivals in town and country, the immense force of habit and conservatism of the mass of millions of small owners and cultivators. This is a particularly difficult task. The socialist re-education of the town and village petty-bourgeoisie means the re-education of scores and hundreds of millions of peasants and artisans. The small-property character of these sections makes them hesitating and wavering, and only very slowly, under the influence of the proletariat and its party, do they outlive the habits and interests of the

small property owner. A long period of re-education of the working class itself confronts us also. For certainly not all the workers will at once outgrow the habits they have developed in capitalist conditions. For a long time the dead will clutch at the living and the rust of bourgeois habits will try to eat away the socialist system.

All this means that even in socialist society, and especially in its early stages, there will still for a time be remains of class differences and elements of class struggle, so that consequently the state is preserved also, the organ of compulsion and protection of the socialist system and of socialist public property.

A struggle has still to be waged against relics of parasitism, greed, equalitarianism, non-socialist attitude to labour, against theft of socialist public property, against survivals of capitalist society.

So socialism is the *first, lower stage of Communism, that is, the stage in which the new society is still not yet free from all the relics of the bourgeois system*. The programme of the Communist International says that in this stage communist society "emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging." (p. 20.)

Socialism, therefore, is classless society. In this society the slogans, "he who does not work, neither shall he eat," and "for an equal quantity of labour, an equal quantity of products," will be put into practise.

The U.S.S.R. Has Entered the Period of Socialism

Private property in the means of production in industry and in the greater part of agriculture, has been abolished in the Soviet Union. The forces of Kulakdom, the last serious capitalist class in the country, have been finally smashed, though the process has still to be completed in order completely to liquidate this class also.

To-day the socialist forces have decisively got the upper hand over the capitalist in the whole economy of the U.S.S.R.

The question put by Lenin in 1921: "Who will beat whom?" that is, which side will win in the stern struggle between socialism and capitalism, *has been finally decided inside the country in favour of socialism*.

The bases of socialist economy have been firmly laid. *The foundation of socialist economy is completed. The U.S.S.R. has finally set itself on the socialist road*.

In the Soviet land private property in factories, mines, banks, railroads, land, forests, water transport, telegraph, the air fleet, etc., no longer exists.

There is no private appropriation of the product of the social labour of the workers, and consequently no exploitation.

Annarchy in production is done away with and economy is planned, so that there are and can be no crises.

There is in consequence such a growth in productive forces as has never before been seen in the world, a development of scientific and technical activity, a widespread utilisation of natural resources, the construction of immense works and the creation of the most powerful agriculture in the world, and all this in the interests of the toiling masses.

The land of socialism is completing the collectivisation of agriculture and on this foundation finishing the liquidation of the kulaks as a class.

The basis of the Soviet system is social property, sacred and inviolable. The revenues from factories, mills, transport, state farms, collective farms, and so on no longer go into the pockets of capitalist parasites, but are at the disposal of the toiling masses themselves, of their state, and this is the source of the consistent improvement in the condition of the workers and collective farmers.

This makes it possible to place before the Communist Party, the working class and the whole of the toiling masses in the U.S.S.R. *the construction of classless society*, as their most immediate realisable task.

The 17th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which took place in 1932, expressed this task in the following programme, to be realised during the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937):

The final liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general, the complete abolition of the causes giving rise to class differences and exploitation, and the overcoming of the survivals of capitalism in economy and in human consciousness, the transforming of the whole working population of the country into conscious and active builders of classless socialist society.

On Petty-Bourgeois, Philistine Socialism and Equalitarianism

Bourgeois politicians in order to scare the masses away from Communism, often represent Communism as meaning a general share-out of property after the factories and land have been taken away from the capitalists and landlords. In fact such a share-out has nothing in common with socialism. Socialism is built up on the basis of *large-scale economy without private property*. Any general share-out would mean in fact, not the creation of socialism, but the creation of tiny split-up economy, and millions of small proprietors. And of course from the small proprietors would grow medium ones, from the medium ones, big ones, and in short capitalism would be created again, instead of the construction of socialism.

We have already said that such a general division of property is impossible. How can a mine, or a steamship, or a railroad depot, or a blast furnace be divided up? And even if it were possible, who wants such a division? The working class is not interested in a general re-division of the means of production. Only petty-proprietors can dream of such a thing. Such "socialism" is not proletarian, but *petty-bourgeois*. The tendency to such petty-bourgeois socialism in the U.S.S.R. appears among backward sections of the workers and peasants. It is chiefly expressed in the form of a tendency towards general equalitarianism, that is to making everyone equal in everything. As we know, complete equality is only possible under Communism. Socialism is still forced to retain a certain inequality. Under socialism it is not yet possible to satisfy all workers according to their needs. Under socialism a vast lightening of the burden of labour itself takes place: many new machines are introduced which replace manual labour, the working day is shortened, wages are increased, year by year the material and living conditions of the workers improve. But the material conditions of all workers are not alike. The material benefits are not equally distributed, but in

accordance with how each one works, how he participates in the revival of national economy, in socialist construction. Therefore any distribution of products and income within the collective farms in accordance with the number of consumers in each family is incorrect. Therefore it is incorrect to pay the same wages not only to a skilled engineer and a skilled worker, but even to two factory workers doing different kinds of work, one doing light work and one doing heavy work, or if their attitude towards this work is different, one working conscientiously and the other carelessly, one a shock-brigader and the other, running from one factory to another, drinking and so on.

Karl Marx showed that *there can be no equality in consumption under socialism, insofar as distribution must go not according to need, but according to labour.*

In what sense, then, is equality established? In the sense that an equal amount of labour is similarly rewarded.

The equality consists in the fact that everything is measured by an *equal measure*, labour. But one man will excel another physically or intellectually and so contributes in the same time more labor, or can labour for a longer time; and labour, to serve as a measure, must be defined by its duration or intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard measure. The *equal right* is an unequal right for unequal work. (Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, p. 30.)

Only under Communism will this inequality be finally done away with.

The first phase of Communism, therefore, still cannot produce justice and equality; differences and unjust differences in wealth will still exist, but the *exploitation* of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize as private property the *means of production*, the factories, machines, land and so on. (Lenin, *State and Revolution*.)

On the Victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

A tremendous amount of ground has been covered in the construction of classless socialist society. The workers of the Soviet Union, as Lenin said, "have put socialism into everyday life." Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working class in the U.S.S.R. is showing the whole world proletariat how it should fight for the realisation of socialism, the sacred aim of the advanced and conscious workers of the whole world.

Yet it is not so long since (in 1926-27) that the enemies of the Bolshevik Party, the Trotskyists, together with Zinoviev and Kamenev, were trying to prove that it is impossible to build socialism in a single country. The party mercilessly rebuffed the counter-revolutionary theory of the Trotskyists. What is the basis of Lenin's theory of the victory of the proletarian revolution and the construction of socialism in a single country, a theory which Comrade Stalin has fully and many-sidedly developed? It is founded on the fact that capitalism itself develops *unevenly, in zig-zag fashion*.

"Unevenness of economic and political development is an inevitable law of capitalism," Lenin said. This unevenness, as we have shown in Part I, became particularly acute in the period of imperialism. It became a zig-zag. What is the meaning of this zig-zag development of capitalism in its last stage, in the epoch of imperialism? Capitalism has always developed in such

a way that some countries went ahead, others fell behind. It went on this way for many, many years. All countries have developed, and each one has occupied a more or less definite place in the capitalist system. But with the coming of the imperialist epoch and the intensification of competition, the struggle between the bourgeois states and the unevenness of their development have begun to grow rapidly. Some countries have developed precipitously, gone ahead, while others have not only developed more slowly but have even begun to decline. When imperialism develops in such a zig-zag way, its united chain can be snapped in one of its weaker points. The proletarian revolution can conquer in the country which is the weakest link of world imperialism.

In tsarist Russia, before the period of the October Revolution, capitalism had grown considerably and assumed many sharply imperialist features. However, due to the autocratic regime, the bourgeoisie could not organise its strength as well as in a number of capitalist countries which had overtaken Russia. The proletariat, on the other hand, growing considerably in numbers, hardened in the struggles with autocracy, was opposed to a bourgeoisie which was weaker than that of other capitalist countries. That is why Russia proved the weakest link in the system of imperialism.

Since in Russia the proletariat was led by such a strong party as the Bolsheviks, it was able to smash the chain at that link. Moreover it not only succeeded in breaking the chain of world capitalism, but in consolidating the victory of the proletariat and beginning socialist construction on a vast scale.

Russia was the weakest link in the chain of imperialism, but she was sufficiently prepared in the economic sense and was ripe for socialism, though in more difficult circumstances than would be the case if one of the advanced countries of Europe or America became a land of socialist construction. To-day, after eighteen years of revolution, after gigantic successes in the sphere of the socialist reconstruction of the whole national economy, when the Bolsheviks have directly tackled the construction of classless society, it would be senseless to argue about the empty, counter-revolutionary statements of Trotskyism, *to dispute what is already existing in reality.*

To-day it is ridiculous to talk about the economic and technical backwardness of the U.S.S.R. when as a result of the policy of industrialisation firmly carried through by the party with Comrade Stalin at its head, the U.S.S.R. has become a country with a highly developed industry and the most powerful agriculture in the world, mechanised over its greater part.

To-day, the Bolsheviks are overcoming the last relics of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. has become stabilised in town and country on the path of socialism. The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is *guaranteed.* And this is the best of all answers to the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist nonsense about the impossibility of building socialism in the U.S.S.R.

II

HOW THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO COMMUNISM WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED

On the Inevitability of the Proletarian Revolution

Socialism means the complete abolition of classes. The development of socialism into full Communism will be accomplished gradually because of the necessity of overcoming the relics and survivals of the old class society. The higher phase of Communism grows out of socialism, that is, out of the first stage of communism.

The transition from capitalism to socialism cannot be carried through in any other way save by the sternest struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist class. *Socialism takes the place of capitalism only as a result of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.* It is essential for the victory of socialism to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie by force and to establish the rule of the proletariat.

Only by seizing state power and creating its own proletarian state can the working class commence socialist construction and build a socialist society.

The state is the organisation of the rule of the class which is in power. The bourgeois state is the organisation of the rule of the bourgeoisie. The proletarian state is the organisation of the rule of the working class. The bourgeoisie uses state power to consolidate its system of exploitation and oppression. The working class uses state power for the crushing of the exploiters, for the abolition of the very possibility of exploitation and oppression, for the liquidation of classes and class differences, for the construction of classless socialist society.

It may be asked, but what need has the working class for power, since it is aiming at Communism, that is, a society without classes and without state power?

But how otherwise can their factories and estates be taken away from the landlords? How otherwise can the resistance of the exploiting classes to socialism be smashed? How otherwise can the million-strong masses of peasants and other toilers be prepared and brought along the path of socialism?

The Socialists attempt to show that socialism can be achieved without proletarian revolution and without the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They say that socialism can be "introduced" democratically—through parliament, that is through the general election of representatives of all classes into an institution which makes laws. It is quite enough for the workers' representatives to get a majority of seats in Congress for socialism to be introduced *by legislation*. Socialists try to throw dust in the eyes of the workers and tell them tales that socialism can be achieved more or less in this way: the working class majority brings in a number of laws on the introduction of socialism for discussion in parliament, votes on them and by walking through a lobby carries them.

Of course this is all complete deception of the workers. The Socialists never introduce such laws into parliament, and such laws are never passed. The

Socialists in Germany, England, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Poland, Latvia, Finland and other countries have been in power not just once, and not merely for one year. Nevertheless they have not proposed or carried any kind of laws either for the "introduction" of socialism, or for even the slightest improvement of the condition of the workers. On the contrary they have supported the pressure of the bourgeoisie on wages and unemployment pay.

The Labour Party has twice been in power in England and both times it fussed around to save capitalism, carefully fulfilled all the demands of the diehard imperialists, retained the longer working day for miners, helped to lower the wages of textile workers, railway workers and dockers, worsened the conditions of the unemployed and shed the blood of the workers and peasants in India and other colonies. Afterwards MacDonal, the leader of the Labour Party, became head of the diehard National Government, the most vicious enemies of the working class.

The Social-Democrats in Germany were several times in power, but they merely helped the bourgeoisie to strengthen their rule, to carry through an offensive on wages and unemployment pay, on the standard of life of the employees and peasants by increase in taxation.

In Russia when the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries came to power in 1917 after the overthrow of the Tsar, they danced to the tune of the capitalists and landlords. Kerensky and Chernov, the leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and the Menshevik leaders along with them, used the Cossacks, Officers and Military Cadets to suppress the revolutionary demonstrations of the workers and soldiers, and also to suppress the peasant movement against the landlords in the country. Later, after the October Revolution, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks supported the White-Guard counter-revolution, participated in White-Guard governments, themselves organised White-Guard bands, conspired against the Soviet power and made attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Communist Party. The Socialist-Revolutionary Kaplan shot Lenin. Socialist-Revolutionaries murdered the famous Communists, Comrades Volodarsky and Uritzky. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks organised counter-revolutionary revolts in the Ukraine, in Siberia, in Central Asia, in the Caucasus and other districts. Through the whole period of dictatorship in the land of the Soviets, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries have never ceased to carry on counter-revolutionary work and to prepare intervention against the U.S.S.R.

But the Russian Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries also swore at one time to "introduce" *socialism* through parliament, through the Constituent Assembly.

All this shows with absolute clearness what the opinion of the various Socialist parties on the peaceful achievement of socialism are worth.

But let us go so far as to grant that in some country or other there may be found Socialists bold enough to introduce into parliament a "law" for the "introduction" of socialism, and that they carry it by a majority vote. What would be the result of this? Would the bourgeoisie ever submit to this law?

It is clear that the bourgeoisie would only laugh at it. The bourgeoisie would never voluntarily yield its power to the working class. The bourgeoisie

will never yield its capital, mansions, wealth and luxury without a struggle. The bourgeoisie will never accept a regime which would even partially damage its class interests.

If the Socialists sometimes come to power, it is simply because of the will of the bourgeoisie itself, since the Socialists, especially when the revolutionising of the classes is growing, are the best social support of the bourgeoisie. The capitalists prefer to defend their interests and to suppress the working class at a certain stage of the revolution through the hands of the Socialists. The coming to power of Socialists does not mean the transfer of power into the hands of another class, but simply means the bringing forward of one of the more convenient bourgeois screens against the proletarian revolution. The coming to power of the Socialist Party is simply one of the means for saving the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Socialists praise for all they are worth bourgeois democracy, that is, the various kinds of bourgeois "freedom," the election of a parliament and government apparently representative of the whole people. But this boast of democracy is simply a concealed form of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

But the capitalist class "observes" even this democracy only insofar as it allows sufficient stability to its state power, only so long as it is in a condition to guarantee its rule. But as the class struggle sharpens, as the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants grows, then the system of parliamentarism and bourgeois "democracy" is all reduced to nothing. Instead of a concealed, masked form of bourgeois dictatorship, a system of open tyranny begins to act. The bourgeoisie has recourse to the *Fascist* form of dictatorship, acting with open violence and terror. Such a form of Fascist dictatorship exists to-day in Italy, Germany, Austria and Poland. The parties of Fascism are parties of big capital. But in the main they draw their man-power from among the ruined sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, from the desperate, hungry, lower classes. The Fascists deceive the town and country petty-bourgeoisie and the backward sections of the toilers with fraudulent promises to save the country from crisis, want and unemployment. The Fascists frighten the peasantry and the small shop-keepers and property-owners of the towns, and also the civil servants and non-conscious elements among the toilers, with the "horrors" of revolution. The Fascists promise the petty-bourgeoisie that they will save their property from ruin and destruction and in this way entice them to support big capital and to stabilise the dictatorship of big capital. The Fascists organise people from among the petty-bourgeoisie into counter-revolutionary detachments, poison them with enmity and hatred towards other peoples (Jingoism), and particularly with enmity towards the Jews (anti-Semitism), make them drunk with militarism. Fascism acts by spurring on its counter-revolutionary detachments against the working class organisations, by trying to break up the Communist Parties, by the murder of Communists, by flinging the most advanced workers into prison.

The Socialists, who by every means support the power of the capitalists, diligently clear the road for Fascism. This can be seen best of all by the experience in Germany, where the Social-Democrats through their policy and with their own hands put Hitler in power, the most terrible enemy of the revolutionary proletariat, and after this began servilely to carry out all the orders of the Fascist dictators and to serve them. This is why the Social-Democrats

are in fact *the assistants and servants of Fascism*, and are therefore called *Social-Fascists*.

The Social-Fascist opinion that socialism will come of its own accord, without revolution and proletarian dictatorship, aims, as we have seen, at holding back the workers from struggle and saving capitalism from proletarian revolution.

The whole history of the proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R. is a clear refutation of the theory of the Socialists about the "peaceful" achievement of socialism. The bourgeoisie can only be overthrown by means of revolution, by means of the armed revolt of the working class. After the victory of the proletarian revolution, the resistance of the overthrown classes does not grow weaker, but on the contrary, becomes sterner. The overthrown classes oppose the construction of socialism by every means, attempting to destroy the basis of the Soviet system, social property, sacred and inviolable. *The resistance of the overthrowing classes can only be suppressed by the most merciless class struggle.*

Proletarian Dictatorship

A transition period lies between capitalism and Communism, when the working class, having got power into its hands, uses it in order to destroy the remains of capitalist society and to build a socialist one. This period is *the period of proletarian dictatorship*.

The transition to Communism is not an easy one. It is accomplished in circumstances of continual and obstinate resistance from all the forces of capitalism, in circumstances of the sternest class struggle.

The working class has to carry on the struggle for the retention of its power not only against internal counter-revolution, but also against the whole world of capitalist robbers. So the coming to power of the working class and the overthrow of the bourgeoisie means at the same time a struggle with world counter-revolution.

"The bourgeoisie overthrown in one country," says Comrade Stalin, "will still remain for a long time, by force of many reasons, stronger than the proletariat which overthrew it." (*Leninism*, Vol. I.)

Consequently, in order to maintain itself against this stronger class enemy, the proletariat must organise its own armed force, create a powerful apparatus for the suppression of the class enemy and for defence; in other words, it must create a *strong proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat," Lenin said, "is an obstinate struggle, bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the force and traditions of the old society."

Of course the proletarian state is absolutely different from all those which preceded it, and from all present existing bourgeois states.

In every revolution the class which comes to power arranges its state machine in such a way as best to guarantee its own class interests. The bourgeois police, army, parliaments, courts, prisons, ministries, etc., comprise the state machine of bourgeois dictatorship, the machine for the suppression of the toilers in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

With the transfer of power from the landlord class to the bourgeoisie, the military bureaucratic machine of the landlord state was retained in the main by the bourgeoisie, since this machine could be adjusted to a system founded on exploitation. It is quite another matter when the power of the bourgeoisie is overthrown by the proletariat which establishes its dictatorship.

Proletarian dictatorship assumes the task of destroying all exploitation and with this aim first of all suppresses the resistance of the exploiting classes and liquidates them. Of course, the state machine of the bourgeoisie is not suitable for this aim. It must be destroyed.

But having smashed the old state machine of bourgeois dictatorship, the working class must create a new machine of proletarian dictatorship to replace it. What tasks must the proletarian dictatorship fulfil for the preparation and construction of socialism?

Comrade Stalin characterises the three fundamental aspects of proletarian dictatorship in the following way:

1. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to crush the exploiters, in order to defend the country, in order to strengthen the ties with proletarians in other lands, in order to develop the revolution and bring it to victory in all countries.

2. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to detach the labouring and exploited masses once for all from the bourgeoisie, in order to strengthen the alliance of the proletariat with these masses, in order to enlist these masses in the work of socialist construction, and in order to ensure that in the state the proletariat will function as leader of these masses.

3. The use of the power of the proletariat in order to organise socialism, to abolish classes, and for the transition to a society without classes, to a society without a state. (*Leninism*, Vol. I.)

These are the aims the state organisation of the proletariat should serve, as well as the system of proletarian dictatorship.

In order that this system may successfully work at the construction of socialism, it must have its strong state apparatus. That is why, after the working class seized power in Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party, the first thing it did was to destroy the old state machine and create its own. *Power was transferred to the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.* All the institutions of the bourgeois state, the ministries, courts, police, army, banks, were replaced by other institutions, constructed in a different way, which had to guarantee the rule of the working class. All industry was organised under the leadership of the Council of People's Economy. The working class took the private banks of the different capitalists into their own hands, and created their state banks. The Soviet power dispersed the old tsarist courts and prosecutors and placed *workers and peasants at the head of Soviet justice.* *The working class created its own Red Army, its own Workers' and Peasants' Militia, its own organs for the protection of the Revolution, the Cheka (Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-Revolution, Speculation and Espionage), afterwards the OGPU (United State Political Administration).* The revolution handed over to the labouring peasants all private, royal and church lands. The administration of the railways, water transport, posts, telegraphs, passed into the hands of the Soviet power. The proletarian state took over the schools,

libraries, theatres, museums, newspapers, publishing firms, universities and converted them from being weapons of bourgeois propaganda into weapons for struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the education of the builders of socialism. Instead of Governor-Generals, Menshevik Commissars, Stipendiaries, Magistrates, police officers and so on, the whole power everywhere, in town and country, was concentrated in the hands of the *Soviets*.

So the revolutionary coming to power of the working class does not simply mean a "change of government." It means the *creation of a state of an absolutely new type*, in place of the bourgeois state which has been destroyed.

The working class could not retain power in the U.S.S.R., keep in its own hands the factories, mines and banks, which it had taken away from the bourgeoisie, unless it created its state apparatus and suppressed the resistance of the home and foreign counter-revolution. Thanks to the creation of this apparatus, and above all, thanks to the creation of its Red Army, the working class not only succeeded in maintaining the conquests of the proletarian revolution, but in turning the U.S.S.R. into a *fortress of the world proletarian revolution*.

Once in power, operating on its dictatorship, under the able leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working class in the U.S.S.R. founded a stable *alliance with the peasantry*, succeeded in showing the peasants and other labouring masses all the advantages of socialism over capitalism, drawing them away from the influence of the bourgeoisie, and converting them into active participators in the construction of socialism. But the foundation of a strong alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry is an essential condition for the success of the struggle for the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship and the construction of socialism. Lenin said:

The highest principle of the dictatorship is the maintenance of the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry in order that it may retain the leading role and state power.

Finally, by means of its dictatorship the working class has not only succeeded in suppressing the bourgeoisie and the landlords, but in smashing the most numerous class of exploiters, the kulaks. The working class is fighting for the complete abolition of classes, for the complete construction of socialism.

The Soviets Are the Form of the Proletarian State, Soviet Democracy

The proletarian state is a *Soviet* state. What are the chief features of the Soviet system? First of all this system is constructed on the attraction of the millions of the labouring masses into the administration of the state.

In the course of the revolution the Soviets of Workers' Deputies became, to an ever greater extent, the *mass organisations* of the workers, peasants, Red Army men, the toilers in general.

The Soviets are that organisation which strengthens the alliance of the working class with the peasantry while guaranteeing the *leadership* of the proletariat over the whole of the labouring masses.

At the same time the Soviets are the most completely democratic organs, standing in the very thick of the popular masses, expressing their moods and

guaranteeing their interests and needs. The Soviets are the organs of the self-activity of the masses. They allow scores of millions of workers and peasants to show their initiative, to pose and solve questions, to participate in the working out of new laws, to bring forward hundreds of thousands of new organisers, administrators and economic directors from among the workers and peasants, from those classes which under capitalism are not allowed to participate in the administration of the state.

In the U.S.S.R. at the head of the factories, state farms, trusts, Soviets, Peoples' Commissariats, etc., there are scores of thousands of fitters, blacksmiths, coal miners, steel workers, foundry men, house painters, locomotive drivers, carpenters, compositors, weavers, bakers, cooks, laundry workers, agricultural labourers, shepherds, collective farmers and so on. The Soviets, under the direction of the Party, have brought these people forward, raised them up, and educated them. These people would never have participated in the administration of economy and of the state had there been no proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., had there been no Soviets, which are themselves mass organisations of the labouring population.

This is the chief peculiarity of the Soviets. They involve in state administration those masses which under capitalism are the most downtrodden, the most oppressed by exploitation and lack of rights.

This is the chief difference between the democracy which exists in the country of the proletarian dictatorship and the "democracy" of the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois democracy is democracy for the well-to-do minority. For the majority of the people it is the police, prisons and oppression.

Soviet democracy is the widest in the world. It is the democracy of *the majority of the people against the little group of exploiters, oppressors and their servants*. The power of bourgeois democracy lies in the removal of the majority from participation in the affairs of state. The power of the Soviets on the other hand, lies in the attraction of the labouring population, the majority, into the administration of the state.

... We have a "magic means" for immediately, at one stroke, increasing *tenfold* our state apparatus—Lenin wrote before the October Revolution—a means which never has been and never could be at the disposal of a capitalist state. This magic thing is the drawing of the workers, the poor people, into the everyday work of the managing of the state.

The Soviet system attracts into state construction and administration all those masses who under the rule of the capitalists were consciously cast on one side, placed in a peculiar position of deprivation of rights.

The Soviet system recognises no difference between the rights of a man or woman worker, a peasant man or woman. "Every cook must learn to run the state," Lenin declared. The Soviet power acknowledges no difference between the Russian worker and peasant and the Ukrainian, Uzbek, Jewish, Tartar, Georgian, Turkish, etc.

The Soviet system only recognizes a difference between the exploiting and the exploited classes. *The Soviet system does not admit landlords, capitalists, kulaks, priests into the state organs or the elections.*

Every dictatorship is based on violence.

Bourgeois dictatorship is built up on the violence of a handful of capitalists against millions. The proletarian dictatorship maintains the rule of millions over the little group of exploiters and applies violence to that group in order to break their resistance, their counter-revolutionary work, their efforts to bring back capitalist rule.

Bourgeois dictatorship is violence for the *permanent* maintenance of inequality and exploitation. Proletarian dictatorship applies violence to abolish both *class* inequality and every other form of inequality and the exploitation of man by man.

That is why proletarian dictatorship in its aims and methods is the most democratic form of state construction.

The dictatorship of the proletariat—said Comrade Stalin—is the highest type of democracy in class society, the form of *proletarian* democracy which expresses the interests of the majority (of the exploited) as opposed to *capitalist* democracy, representing the interests of the minority (the exploiters).

Soviet power is built up on an electoral basis from top to bottom, on the basis of right of recall and of reporting before the masses. It is just because of this that in the U.S.S.R. elections to the Soviets take place in the enterprises, state farms and villages, in order to bring the Soviets near to the masses. Hence the line of decisive struggle against all deficiencies in the apparatus, of self-criticism “regardless of persons.” Hence the constant attention of the Communist Party to the healthy condition of the state apparatus and its working class character and the transforming of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspection into the special organ of the Party and the Soviets—the two Commissions for Party Control and for Soviet Control—in order that the apparatus of state power may be brought near the masses and bureaucracy and red tape be overcome.

“In bourgeois countries,” Lenin said, “they merely babble in the parliaments in order to deceive the ‘simple folk.’” Power in the Soviet Union is so arranged that its organs are not mere talking shops, but executive organs, organs which at one and the same time legislate and execute the laws.

How the Soviet State Is Constructed

The Soviet state is called the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—the U.S.S.R. It is so called because it represents a voluntary union of independent Soviet republics, all fighting for the realisation of socialism.

The Soviet Union comprises:

1. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, the R.S.F.S.R.
2. The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Uk.S.S.R.
3. The White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, the W.S.S.R.
4. The Trans-Caucasian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, the T.S.F.S.R.
5. The Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic, the Uzb.S.S.R.
6. The Turkmenian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Turk.S.S.R.
7. The Tadjik Socialist Soviet Republic, the Tadj.S.S.R.

These Republics form a single Soviet Union and are called Union Republics. Each of these Union Republics determines its own internal construction at

its republican Soviet congresses. Each republic is administered by its Soviet Government in accordance with its own fundamental laws which are called its *constitution*. Every Union Republic has its own constitution.

Alongside these exists the general constitution of the U.S.S.R. as a whole. This constitution is the law which fixes the foundations for the construction of the Union.

From the list of Republics named above we see that two of them, the Russian and Trans-Caucasian, are given as being Federal. *Federation* means a union, a voluntary joining together. This means that these two Republics belonging to the Soviet Union, themselves are a union of a number of Republics, each of which has its autonomous (independent) construction. They are a union of a number of autonomous Republics and regions, that is, of such Republics as enjoy independence within the federation.

The following autonomous republics are part of the R.S.F.S.R.: Bashkiria, Buriat-Mongolia, Daghestan, Karelia, the Crimea, Kirghisia, Kazakstan, Kara-Kalpak, Tartar Republic, Chuvashia, Yakutia and the German Volga Republic.

There are six administrative *regions*, in the R.S.F.S.R. and eight *territories*. A number of autonomous national republics and regions are in their turn part of the territories.

There are three republics in the Trans-Caucasian Federation (Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan) and each of these in turn comprises a number of national republics and regions.

There are seven administrative regions and one autonomous republic (Moldavia) in the Ukrainian Republic.

The Soviet power is based on a strictly electoral system, on the right of recall, of reporting and control of the lower elected organs by the higher, as well as by the mass of electors. The highest organ of power in the Soviet Union is the All-Union Congress of Soviets. Delegates to this Congress are elected at Republic Soviet Congresses in the Union Republics. Elections to the republic and other congresses (territorial, regional, autonomous republic) are carried out by the lower Soviet congresses. The primary electoral unit is the election meetings of workers, collective farmers and labouring peasants (individual farmers).

All those persons are deprived of electoral rights who exploit other people's labour with the aim of getting profit, and in general persons living on incomes not derived from labour, such as moneylending, trading, speculation, middlemen, etc., priests of various persuasions, former members of the police force, gendarmes, etc. Lunatics, mentally deficient persons, persons who are unable to develop social responsibility, convicted criminals, are also deprived of electoral rights.

All toilers, workers, peasants, employees, persons who do not exploit labour, handicraft workers, housewives (wives of workers and employees), peasant women, Red Army, Navy and Airfleet men, have the right to vote on reaching the age of eighteen.

In the period between Congresses, state administration is carried on by organs elected at the Congresses. In districts, regions, territories and republics the corresponding executive organs are elected at their Congresses—Executive Committees. The Executive Committees of Union and Autonomous Republics

elect Councils of Peoples' Commissars (the Sovnarkom). The Executive Committees in the districts, regions and territories and the Councils of Peoples' Commissars in the republics, create departments and Peoples' Commissariats which carry on the work of the different sections of economic and cultural construction and are responsible for it.

The local town and village Soviets form sections, groups of deputies and various commissions, in which besides the deputies to the Soviets great numbers of working men and women, peasants and peasant women, participate. By means of these sections great numbers of toilers are drawn into the everyday work of the Soviets in addition. The groups of deputies and commissions are the practical application of that "magical method" about which Lenin spoke, which allows the state apparatus to increase *tenfold* all at once.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of the U.S.S.R. (T.S.I.K., U.S.S.R.) is elected at the All-Union Soviet Congresses. The T.S.I.K. of the U.S.S.R. nominates the Council of Peoples' Commissars (Sovnarkom). In the interval between Soviet congresses the Central Executive Committee is the highest power in the country. The Central Executive Committee meets in sessions, that is, at definite intervals it meets to decide all-important questions and to ratify the laws and decrees of the Soviet power. The *Presidium of the T.S.I.K.* carries on the work between the sessions.

The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. is composed of two Councils, the Union Council and the Council of Nationalities. The decision to organise a Council of Nationalities was taken at the 12th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1923, on the proposal of Comrade Stalin, who said that the Council of Nationalities must serve "as the expression of the needs and demands of all the republics and nationalities without exception."

It is impossible—Comrade Stalin said—to govern unless we have in front of us here in Moscow, in the highest organ, ambassadors of these nationalities who will express not only those interests which are common to the whole proletariat but also those interests which are special, particular, specifically national. (Speech at the 12th Congress.)

The Council of Nationalities is composed of representatives from all the republics and autonomous regions (five from each Union, and one from each autonomous republic and region), and discusses at its meetings all the questions which are before the T.S.I.K. from the point of view of the interests of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The T.S.I.K. of the U.S.S.R. and the Sovnarkom are the Soviet Government. In order to fulfil the policy of the Soviet power in the different spheres of economic, political and cultural life in the Soviet Union, various Peoples' Commissariats are created, which carry on their work under the direction of the Sovnarkom (Council of Peoples' Commissars). Peoples' Commissars with Collegiums under them stand at the head of the Commissariats.

The Road to Classless Society Lies Through Uncompromising Struggle With the Relics of the Beaten Classes

The proletariat of the U.S.S.R., led by the Bolshevik Party, has set itself the task of building classless society during the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-37). It will abolish the causes of class division in society, since it will finally abolish private property in the means of production, tear up the capitalist elements by their very roots, and in this way clear the ground of the very existence of classes.

The struggle for classless society in the U.S.S.R. is being carried on to-day by a decisive overcoming of the relics of the forces of capitalism in town and country who are putting up a desperate resistance to the construction of socialism.

The struggle for the creation of classless society does not call for a weakening, but for the intensification of the proletarian dictatorship and for the most merciless struggle with the relics of the exploiting classes.

The working class is the directing force in the fight for a classless society, for socialism, as we have already seen during the whole period of struggle, both in the conditions of capitalist society and in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship. The working class is the only class which is interested to the very end in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of proletarian dictatorship and the construction of socialist society.

But in order that the working class may fight for these aims successfully, and lead with it the great masses of labouring people, it is essential that it should have an iron internal discipline, a firm class organisation. *Only the Communist Party can give the proletariat this organisation.*

And so from what has been said above we see that:

Our ultimate aim is the construction of socialist society, that is, of such a system in which there will be no private property in the means of production, there will be no exploiters or exploited, or classes of any kind; in which there will be no state; in which production and consumption will be arranged according to the principle, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," in which technique, science and art will attain unheard-of heights, and human labour will become the everyday creative need of man.

Socialism is the lower stage of Communism, when the level of productive forces allows the needs of the population to be satisfied only in accordance with the amount of labour spent by the worker. There are no classes under socialism, but the apparatus of the State is still preserved and carries on a struggle for the overcoming of the relics and survivals of class society. The U.S.S.R. has entered the period of socialism and is building classless socialist society.

The transition to socialism is only possible as a consequence of the proletarian revolution, the conquest of State power by the working class and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. There is no other way for creating a socialist society.

The U.S.S.R. is the country of the proletarian dictatorship. The Soviet system is the organisation of the rule of the working class, in alliance with

the labouring peasantry, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party which fights for the building of classless society.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY:

1. What two phases in the development of Communist Society did Marx and Lenin point out?
2. How do these two phases of Communist society differ: (a) in the sphere of the level of productive forces; (b) in the sphere of distribution; (c) in the sphere of the attitude to labour.
3. What is the transition period from capitalism to Communism?
4. In what way will the abolition of classes take place?
5. Why do survivals of class differences and elements of class struggle still continue for a time to exist even after the abolition of classes?
6. Why is the transition to socialism impossible without proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat? What do the Communists say on this question and what do the Social-Democrats say?
7. Why is the tendency towards absolute equality between all persons a petty-bourgeois distortion of Socialism?
8. Why is the land of the Soviets called the U.S.S.R.?
9. How are the leading organs of the Soviet power constructed?

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Marx and Engels: *The Communist Manifesto*, Chapters 1 and 2.
Stalin: *Interview with the First American Workers' Delegation*, 12th question (*Leninism*, Vol. 2).
Stalin: *The Foundations of Leninism*, Chapters 3 and 4. (International Publishers.)
Marx: *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (International Publishers).

POLITICAL EDUCATION

(Uniform with this lesson)

15c each

1. The Two Worlds
2. The Ultimate Aim
3. The Communist Party
4. The Chief Stages in the History of the C.P.S.U.
5. Soviet Industry
6. Soviet Farming
7. The Present Tasks of the Proletarian Dictatorship
8. The National Question
9. The Communist International
10. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin

MARXIST STUDY COURSES

Each lesson, 15c

- I. POLITICAL ECONOMY.
 1. Marxist Theory of Value
 - 2 - 3. Capital, Surplus Value
 - 4 - 5. Wages and Accumulation of Capital
 - 6 - 7. Distribution Surplus Value
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