

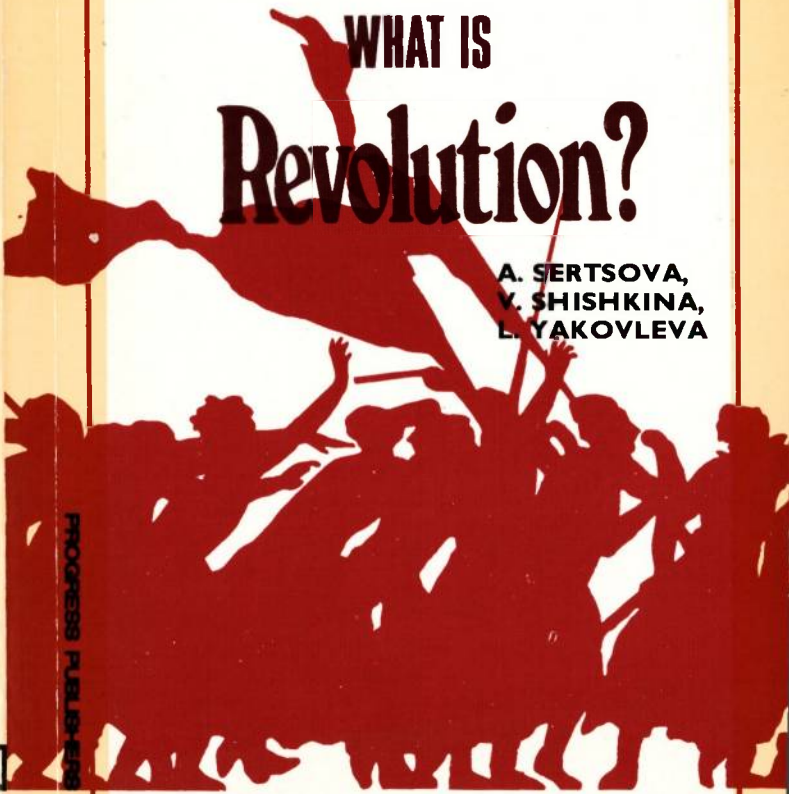
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OF SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL
KNOWLEDGE

WHAT IS
Revolution?

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ABC of Social and Political Knowledge

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WHAT IS
REVOLUTION?



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АВС СОЦИАЛЬНО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЗНАНИЙ

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ЧТО ТАКОЕ РЕВОЛЮЦИЯ?

На английском языке

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FOREWORD

Social revolution is in the focus of public thought today, which is only natural in the epoch of historical achievements and radical revolutionary change.

The modern epoch is the time of a profound revolutionary renovation of the world, of socialist and national liberation revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism, when ever more nations take the path of socialism, the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a global scale.

Revolutionary transformation has become a worldwide process. Hardly a year passes without a revolutionary change in some or other part of the world.

Life has dashed the hopes of bourgeois ideologists that the class struggle in the capitalist world will

wane away. All kinds of vogue theories of modernization and transformation of present-day capitalism, which maintain that the scientific and technological revolution will render the class struggle and socialist revolution unnecessary, have proved wrong.

Crisis phenomena, unprecedented in scope and intensity, affect all spheres in bourgeois society today – the economy, politics, ideology. Runaway inflation, the general price rise, currency upheavals, the energy crisis, decline in production, growing unemployment, the rapacious use of natural resources and environmental pollution dangerous for human life, and the crisis of bourgeois democracy and culture have set off a new powerful tide of class battles. The popular masses have responded to the social vices of capitalism by an intensive struggle against the monopolies. The imperialist threat to peace is being countered in the 1980s by an unprecedented anti-war movement.

Advocates of anti-communism see “the hand of Moscow” and “conspiracies by world communism” in any revolutionary change. All social reforms in the world in the past half a century have occurred precisely for that reason, they allege. Drawing a false picture of the historical process, anti-communists seek to present social revolutions as chance phenomena that are not necessitated by social development.

In reality, however, all social revolutions are called for by the objective laws of social development. Present-day revolutions are caused by internal economic, social and political contradictions within capitalism itself. "Revolutions are not made to order, they cannot be timed to any particular moment," said Lenin, "they mature in a process of historical development and break out at a moment determined by a whole complex of internal and external causes."¹

Lenin pointed out also that revolutions "break out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer".² Precisely for this reason any export of revolution is impossible and senseless. And the people of any country have the right to fight for their social emancipation and national freedom.

The historical developments in the world today are influenced increasingly by Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary theory of communists. And the theory of socialist revolution is a major element of Marxist-Leninist science.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Report Delivered at a Moscow Gubernia Conference of Factory Committees, July 23, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 547.

² V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow, June 27-July 2, 1918. Reply to the Debate on the Current Situation, June 28, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 480.

This theory was developed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the mid-19th century. Already at that time, when their revolutionary experience was comparatively limited, they managed to lay the groundwork of the theory of socialist revolution and formulate the major issues involved in transition to socialism, which have lost none of their theoretical and practical significance to this day.

In keeping with the new historical conditions and revolutionary experience of the masses, Lenin specified and developed comprehensively all the main propositions of the theory of revolution, enriching it with new conclusions and discoveries, and pointed to the increased revolutionary possibilities and prospects. The entire experience of the revolutionary movement has reaffirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution and proved that it corresponds to the needs for a radical transformation of the world. This theory is a well tested instrument in the struggle for revolutionary tasks of mankind.

But now there have appeared many social phenomena and processes which did not exist (nor could they) in the days of Marx and Lenin. The experience of the revolutionary movement in each country is a most valuable material for a creative elaboration of revolutionary theory. And so it is developed further along with the development of the objective world.

Drawing on the wealth of experience in revolutionary change carried out in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and also the experience accumulated by the liberation movement, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been developing in a creative way the theory of socialist revolution and Marxism-Leninism as a whole. All the Communist and Workers' Parties and the collective thought of the world communist movement greatly enrich the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socialist revolution.

In this book the authors set forth the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution. What is revolution? Why are revolutions inevitable in the process of social development? What part do they play in the historical process? How are they accomplished and in what form? What types of revolution are known today? These and some other questions concerning revolution are answered in this book. Special attention is paid to the theory and practice of socialist revolution. One of the chapters focuses on anti-imperialist popular democratic and national liberation revolutions which have an immense role to play in the modern epoch.

The book is meant for the general reader interested in social development today and in future.

Chapter One THE MARXIST-LENINIST
DOCTRINE
OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The life of society, just as the objective world as a whole, is in a state of constant change and development. The development can be gradual or by leaps. The continuous gradual change of various aspects of the life of society within a single system is evolution. Marxists regard evolution as a major form of social development. In his classic work, *Capital*, Karl Marx thoroughly analyzed the evolution of the forms of capitalist production from simple cooperation to manufactory and further on to large-scale machine production. He paid great attention also to the evolutionary processes in the socio-class, political, legal and moral relations in capitalist society.

However (as will be shown further on), social evolution in an

antagonistic society sooner or later runs up against obstacles which only a social revolution can remove. Such revolutions mark the most difficult periods in social development. As Lenin put it, "revolution is a profound, difficult and complex science".¹

Social revolution is advancement of society, effected by progressive forces, to a new and higher level of development, from an outdated social system to a new and more progressive one.

Marxism regards the historical process as a successive replacement of one socio-economic formation by another. The doctrine of socio-economic formations was elaborated by Karl Marx. He saw that all phenomena of public life at every period of history were interrelated to form one integral system. He saw also that society underwent profound changes in the process of its development. In this process Marx identified historical stages, each marked by a definite set of economic, socio-political and ideological relations, with the development during each stage governed by definite laws. Marx called these stages socio-economic formations. A socio-economic formation, he explained, is "a society at a *definite stage of histori-*

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Fourth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, March 14-16, 1918", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 198.

cal development, a society with a peculiar, distinctive character".¹

Five successive socio-economic formations are known: primitive-communal, slave-holding, feudal, capitalist and communist. Transition from one socio-economic formation to another is accomplished by means of a social revolution. "Revolution," Lenin said, "is a change which breaks the old order to its very foundations."²

Revolution means a leap forward in the development of society, when quantitative changes turn into qualitative ones. Speaking about general characteristics of revolutionary development, Lenin wrote that this is "a development by leaps, catastrophes and revolutions; 'breaks in continuity'; the transformation of quantity into quality".³

Social evolution and revolution complement each other, for both are the necessary interdependent forms of the historical process. Gradual quantitative and minor qualitative changes in the

¹ Karl Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p. 212.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, 1973, p. 110.

³ V. I. Lenin, "Karl Marx", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, 1977, p. 54.

social system prepare its fundamental qualitative transformations, and social evolution leads to a social revolution. Social revolution then elevates the historical process to a new and higher level, providing new possibilities for subsequent evolutionary development.

1. The Economic Basis of Social Revolution

The basic causes of social revolutions lie in the development of material production. These causes could be revealed only after the materialist understanding of history was formulated by Marx and Engels, which was one of their greatest achievements. They were the first scientists to prove that the material aspect of public life (social being) is the primary and determining factor: social being determines social consciousness. The social being of people is, above all, production of material wealth plus the material relations taking shape among people in the production process.

In their theory Marx and Engels proceeded from the simple fact that people's primary needs, those which come before, say politics or arts, are food, clothes and housing, that is, their vital material needs. Means of subsistence can be

obtained only through material production. Without it people would die of hunger or, to stay alive, they would have to gather the fruits nature would offer. Therefore constant production of material wealth is the indispensable condition of the existence and development of society.

In the process of production people use various instruments of work—a plough, a lathe or a machine, they use the energy of water, the wind, steam, electricity, the atom, and various materials, such as wood, stone, metal, plastics, etc. Everything that is used by man for the production of material wealth—instruments of work (machines, mechanisms, tools), auxiliary means (production buildings, roads, canals, energy, fuel, chemicals), and objects of work (ore, wood, plastics)—are means of production.

But no machine and no energy can serve society by itself. They are worked by man. The instruments of work and people who use them applying their production skills, experience and knowledge are all productive forces of society.

In the production process people inevitably enter into relations among themselves, which are the relations of production.

The productive forces are an expression of people's attitude to nature and an indication of the type of production means man uses to produce the material values he needs. Production relations

are an expression, in the first place, of the relations of property, that is, they show who owns the basic means of production, how people are placed relative each other in the process of production and how the products of work are distributed among them.

The productive forces and production relations in their unity make up a mode of producing the means of subsistence, the mode of producing material goods.

Marx and Engels discovered the law of the determining role of the mode of production of material wealth in the life of society. In each historical epoch the forms of public life existing at the time and even the way of thinking depend in the final analysis on the mode of production. When the mode of production changes, the whole life of society changes too. That is why the history of society is primarily a history of changes in the modes of production. And the ultimate causes of the changes taking place in society (revolutions, as we know, are deep-going qualitative reforms of public life) should be sought in the changes occurring in the modes of production.

So how does production develop, how do the modes of producing material values succeed one another?

The sources of the development of production are not outside it but inherent in it. There is natural interrelationship between the two aspects

of the mode of production – the productive forces and relations of production, the former being the determining one. This means that definite relations of production among people do not appear spontaneously or at somebody's will but in accordance with the character and level of productive forces.

The unity of productive forces and production relations, expressed in the mode of production, does not, however, rule out contradictions between them. Contradictions occur because productive forces and production relations change in different ways. Production never stands still; it constantly grows, improves. And productive forces are a more dynamic element. In order to make their work easier and to produce more, people improve their instruments of labour and their own skills and increase the knowledge required for this. These changes can be quite significant even in the framework of one and the same mode of production.

The production relations, on the other hand, are more stable and tenacious. Though they, too, undergo some changes, nothing essentially new occurs in them within one mode of production. For example, during the existence of capitalism its productive forces have grown considerably, but its production relations are still based on capitalist ownership of production means and on exploitation of the working people by the capita-

list class. And the capitalists do all in their power to preserve these relations of production as they are.

So contradictions emerge between new productive forces and outdated relations of production. Aggravated, they reach the point of conflict. Replacement of old relations of production by new ones becomes an urgent need of social development. The conflict is resolved, sooner or later, in the only possible way, by a revolutionary abolition of old relations of production and their replacement by new ones.

Indicating the causes of social revolution, Marx wrote in the foreword to his work *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* that at a certain stage of the development of society the productive forces come into conflict with the relations of production within which they were developing until then. These relations of production, which used to stimulate the growth of productive forces, grow outdated and become a drag on them. And then the epoch of social revolution begins.

So, the objective economic basis for a social revolution is the conflict between new productive forces and old relations of production.

The replacement of old relations of production by new ones does not occur by itself; it is achieved through the struggle of classes culminating in a social revolution. "A revolution," wrote Lenin,

“is a desperate struggle of classes that has reached the peak of ferocity.”¹

In a social revolution, as a rule, two opposed classes clash with each other. One of them is a reactionary, outgoing class desperately trying to preserve its domination and the old relations of production. The other is a revolutionary class, to which the future belongs. Lenin considered that without the notions “class” and “class society” the notion “social revolution” cannot be clear enough. “Every political upheaval,” he wrote, “if it is not a mere change of cliques, is a social revolution. The thing is – *what class* makes that social revolution.”²

2. The Key Question of Social Revolution

A social revolution solves many questions associated with a radical transformation of society. It breaks the old system to create a new one instead.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “First All-Russia Congress on Adult Education, May 6-19, 1919. Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality, May 19”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, 1977, p. 371.

² V. I. Lenin, “How the Capitalists Are Trying to Scare the People”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, 1980, p. 439.

Of all the questions confronting a revolution *the question of transition of power to the revolutionary class is the first and foremost one*. "The key question of every revolution is undoubtedly the question of state power."¹

But why so much importance is attached in Marxist science to the question of power?

First, because the state is a special instrument created and used by the dominant class to ensure its domination and to preserve the existing socio-economic system.

Second, the significance of the question of power in a social revolution is linked with the character and goals of the revolution. To attain its goals a revolution should overcome the resistance of the reactionary forces of society organized in a state and to establish a state power of the revolutionary social forces.

As we know it from history, the bourgeoisie, having concentrated in its hands industries, trade and finances—all the key positions in the economy—and having state power, including the coercion machinery (the army, police and prisons), fights ferociously to preserve the obsolescent capitalist society. In order to effect socialist transformations the working class should, during the

¹ V. I. Lenin, "One of the Fundamental Questions of the Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, 1977, p. 370.

revolutionary struggle, establish its dictatorship, that is, a power supported by the broad masses of working people. This power has the task of defending the gains of the working class from enemies at home and abroad, to put an end to the division of society into the oppressors and the oppressed, and to provide conditions ruling out exploitation of man by man. The working class uses its power for strengthening and expanding its alliance with the other working people and steers the whole of society towards one goal—socialism.

One should properly understand the relationship between a *social revolution* and a *political one*. They are not the same thing. Political revolution represents the winning of power by a progressive class. It is also called a social revolution in the narrow sense because it does not solve all problems related to the revolutionary restructuring of society, but only those involved in the transition of power to progressive forces. Political revolution is a major instrument and condition for a radical transformation of all aspects of public life.

The social revolution does not end by a transition of power to a new class, i. e., it is not confined to a political revolution. It is followed by a more or less lengthy period of revolutionary reforms in every sphere of the life of society, with the constructive tasks of the revolution given top priority. "Every revolution dissolves the *old society* and to that extent it is *social*," wrote Marx.

“Every revolution overthrows the *old power* and to that extent it is *political*.”¹

The transition of power to the revolutionary class is also the main distinctive feature of a revolution. “The passing of state power from one *class* to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of that term.”²

This is primarily what differs a revolution from all kinds of coups at the top which never affect the foundations of the rule of one or another class, but only replace persons or groups of persons in power.

Not any transition of power from one class to another is revolution. If the obsolete class manages for some period to regain its rule, this is not a revolution but counter-revolution, or restoration of an old order.

One should distinguish between revolutions and reforms. Reforms, too, help to overcome social contradictions. But the difference is that a reform, even if it effects a deep-going social change, leaves power in the hands of the old class.

¹ Karl Marx, “Critical Marginal Notes on the Article ‘The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian’”, in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, 1975, p. 205.

² V. I. Lenin, “Letters on Tactics”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 44.

Marxists are not opposed to reforms in bourgeois society so long as they improve the position of the working people and help awaken their revolutionary consciousness.

But as distinct from reformists who look upon reform as an end in itself, their goal being merely to improve the conditions for selling labour force, Marxists see in it a means of bringing a revolution nearer.

3. The Revolutionary Situation. The Main Law of Revolution

Conflict between new productive forces and obsolescent relations of production is a necessary but not sufficient condition for accomplishing a revolution (which is most obviously shown by the analysis of the world revolutionary process at the present stage).

No revolution can be victorious unless the necessary objective conditions and subjective factors are present.

The objective conditions of a revolution are economic and socio-political prerequisites that take shape regardless of the will of the people and political parties. The combination of objective conditions under which a revolution can be accomplished are called a *revolutionary situation*. Lenin wrote about it in many of his works, most comprehensi-

vely in the article "The Collapse of the Second International".

There are three main indications of a revolutionary situation:

first, the crisis at the top, of the policy of the ruling class which is unable to retain its rule by the old methods;

second, aggravation in the extreme of want and misery among the oppressed classes;

third, a considerably increased activity of the popular masses who refuse to tolerate bondage and lack of political rights.¹

These ideas of Lenin's have retained their significance to this day. A situation close to a revolutionary one emerges occasionally in capitalist countries. It is much different, of course, from the situation which was, say, in Russia in October 1917.

The modern epoch brings a good deal of new in the process during which a revolutionary situation matures. This process is greatly influenced by the general change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, the weakening of world capitalism and disintegration of its colonial system. In the past a revolutionary situation was associated,

¹ See V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, pp. 213-14; "'Left-Wing' Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, 1982, pp. 84-85.

as a rule, with heavy economic crises, wars, and hunger. Today, the possibilities for its taking shape become ever more varied. A revolutionary situation can be caused, among other things, by economic upheavals, failure of a government's policy (for example, a failure of a military venture), national or racial conflicts causing a sharp aggravation of social contradictions, etc.

The want and misery of the masses (which when aggravated are an indication of a revolutionary situation) are to be understood in the concrete historical context. For instance, in many developing countries it is, literally, impoverishment. For many industrialized capitalist countries it is the rapidly widening gap between the possibilities to meet the needs of the people and what is being actually done to meet them.

The working class in the industrialized capitalist countries has been confronted with acute, and largely new, problems as the crisis phenomena of capitalism intensified in recent years: the growth rate of production has slowed down, the financial system has become very unstable, and national debts have been piling up.

In these conditions the bourgeoisie has launched an offensive against the economic and political gains won by the working people at a high price in a long and stubborn struggle. Its pressure results in a decline of real wages. The gap between wage-levels and capitalist profit

widens. The enormous chronic and spreading unemployment is especially painful to the working people in capitalist countries: the growing part of the able-bodied population is being ousted, fully or partially, from the social production process.

The question of *relationship between revolution and war* is a major one for properly understanding the revolutionary situation.

In some instances revolutionary situations were caused by wars. Both World War I and World War II served as powerful accelerators of a revolutionary explosion. The weakening of the capitalist system as a result of World War I made it easier for the socialist revolution to win in Russia in October 1917. The rout of German and Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the world's paramount reactionary forces, offered a possibility to free a number of countries in Central and Southeast Europe, and also China, North Korea and North Vietnam from capitalist bondage, and made it easier for India, Indonesia, Burma and other countries to wring independence from colonialism. These facts of history prompt the conclusion that world wars aggravate to the utmost social and political contradictions, as well as misery and deprivation of the popular masses, and lead to a revolution.

But this does not mean that revolutions cannot be accomplished without wars. This is borne out by the numerous national liberation revolutions

of our time, as revolutions in Cuba, in Chile and in other countries. War is neither a source of a revolution, nor a necessary condition. Marxism is strongly opposed to the venturesome theories and practice of provoking revolutions by wars.

Communists fear neither a revolution nor a popular war. They are prepared to sacrifice their life in the name of the ideals of revolution. Thousands upon thousands of communists died in revolutionary battles. But armed struggle by revolutionaries is justified only if it is dictated by the objective conditions of the development of the revolution.

It must be remembered also that while in the past some wars speeded up a revolution and shortened the period of transition to a new social system, in the present conditions a nuclear war could spell the end of world civilization. The peoples today have no task more urgent than that of safeguarding peace and preventing a nuclear war.

A revolutionary situation is needed for accomplishing not only a socialist revolution, but any social revolution for that matter. Therefore it is a general law of history, and this has been proved by the experience of the bourgeois revolutions of the 19th century, the three Russian revolutions, and the revolutions in the present epoch.

The concept of revolutionary situation is extremely important for the strategy and tactics of the

liberation struggle. History has shown us that there is no use trying to overthrow the power of the ruling classes when there is no revolutionary situation. Unless there are obvious objective conditions, no efforts by revolutionaries can cause a revolution and no revolutionary energy brings about a transformation of society.

But not any revolutionary situation leads to a revolution, let alone its victory. Revolutionary situations existed in Russia in 1859-61 and in 1879-80 but no revolution occurred then. A revolutionary situation obtained in Russia also in 1905, but the revolution failed.

Apart from objective conditions for a revolution, there must be a subjective factor, too.

The *subjective factor* in history is activity by the subject—the masses, classes, parties and individuals.

The materialist view of history is that entire history is the result of the practical activities of people who under certain circumstances make history, wittingly or not. Marxists reject the idea that the development of society is an automatic process. History does not exist by itself; it is made by people. And during cardinal turns in history, when objective conditions are ready for social change, the subjective factor may be decisive. It depends on this factor whether the opportunities offered by social development are used or not.

A great role is played in the historical process

by outstanding individuals, those leaders who have correctly understood and reflected in their activities what is needed by society for its development. But it is the popular masses whose role is decisive in the making of history. Having discovered the laws of the historical process, Marxism-Leninism identified the popular masses as the main force which expresses a historical need and has the chief role to play in social development.

The notion "people" or "popular masses" has not meant exactly the same in different historical epochs. At the time of the primitive-communal system, when society was not divided into classes, "people" meant the whole population. The terms "people" and "population" coincide under socialism, when exploiter classes have been eliminated.

In a class society the popular masses may include various social strata. But for all the changes in the class setup of the popular masses in the course of history, the term has always meant that, first, the working people who produce material wealth are the core of it; second, it covers the overwhelming majority of the population opposed to the anti-popular elite and reactionary classes; and, third, it includes all the sections of the population that are capable at a given moment of history of promoting the advancement of society.

Under certain historical conditions some non-toiling classes, e.g. the national bourgeoisie,

which takes part in the progressive movement of society, can be regarded as part of "the people".

Before Marxism the notion "people" was often synonymous with "crowd" (in the sense of an ignorant dull mass) which only follows outstanding personalities.

The theories that are widespread among modern bourgeois sociologists divide society into the faceless masses and the elite, the latter being the top privileged section, or sections, of a society exercising the functions of administration and the development of science and culture and which is the true history maker. The chief purpose of a concept like this is to make the working people believe that they are incapable of independent life without the exploiter classes, and to hide the really existing class antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the working people, passing it off as an "eternal contradiction" between the "crowd" and a handful of outstanding personalities.

But it is the people who play the decisive role in history.

The production activities of the popular masses are of primary significance in the life of society. People create instruments of work, improve them, develop labour skills and hand them down from generation to generation. They produce all material wealth without which society could not last a day.

The popular masses play an outstanding part in culture, in creating cultural values. Marxists do justice to great scientists and men of art. But the popular masses built the groundwork of cultural development and provided conditions for its further advancement. Mental capacity and speech, knowledge and written language are all linked with the activity of the working masses.

The people create the most important element of culture—language, they create epics, music and dances. Today, too, folk art is of vast artistic value. Because it is there that the national form of art and literature originates and takes shape in any country.

The people play a major role in political activities.

In antagonistic societies the exploiter classes have always barred the people from participation in state administration, trying to reduce their political activity to the minimum. This is inherent in an exploiter society. But it is politics that is an area of severe struggle between the exploiters and the exploited. All the social and political democratic liberties under capitalism have been wrung from the ruling classes by the popular masses in struggle.

The popular masses come to play an especially great and open role in crucial periods of history—in revolutions and national liberation movements. No historic event ever takes place without

the popular masses playing the key part. Whatever class came to power as a result of a revolution, the popular masses have always been the chief motive force. "Revolutions are festivals of the oppressed and the exploited," wrote Lenin. "At no other time are the mass of the people in a position to come forward so actively as creators of a new social order, as at a time of revolution."¹

World history has shown that the more active the popular masses are, the more profound are social and political transformations. And, conversely, deep-going and large-scale historical actions caused an increase in the number of people involved. This is one of the main laws of history. Revealing the essence of this law, Lenin wrote: "The greater the scope and extent of historical events, the greater is the number of people participating in them, and, contrariwise, the more profound the change we wish to bring about, the more must we rouse an interest and an intelligent attitude towards it, and convince more millions and tens of millions of people that it is necessary."²

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, 1977, p. 113.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, December 22-29, 1920. Report on the Work of the Council of People's Commissars, December 22", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 498.

In the modern epoch the role of the popular masses in history has increased immeasurably.

After the victory of a socialist revolution the working people have a qualitatively new role to play: the revolution abolishes the exploitation of man by man, and the spontaneous development of society gives way to the steady development of every sphere of the life of society under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party.

Today, the national liberation movement has become one of the chief motive forces of the world revolutionary process. Hundreds of millions of people who had been enslaved and suppressed by colonial dependence make their own history today.

The popular masses are now the main force in the struggle for peace and against nuclear war.

The role of the popular masses cannot be viewed in isolation from classes, parties and popular leaders. Widespread discontent among the broad masses of working people does not always result in their occupying militant and consistent class positions. As is known from history, in some crisis situations the reactionary forces possessing the means of suppression and manipulation can provoke the masses to actions which run counter to the interests of the masses themselves and to those of social progress. The role of the popular masses depends on what political and ideological guidance they have at the moment in their

country. A revolutionary party is to bring home to the masses that the revolutionary situation is there, to awaken their revolutionary consciousness and arouse their determination, and to set up organizations in keeping with the revolutionary situation in order to be able to work in that direction. By the *subjective factors of revolution* Lenin understood "the ability of the revolutionary *class* to take revolutionary mass action *strong* enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls', if it is not toppled over."¹

It is the objective law of revolution that all the progressive forces become united in a firm alliance on a political platform expressing the striving to eliminate the old social system. There must be a revolutionary party capable of rallying all these progressive forces. "The party," wrote Lenin, "is the politically conscious, advanced section of the class, it is its vanguard. The strength of that vanguard is ten times, a hundred times, more than a hundred times, greater than its numbers."²

It can be therefore concluded that the subjec-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 214.

² V. I. Lenin, "How Vera Zasulich Demolishes Liquidationism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, 1973, p. 406.

tive factor of revolution comprises the following elements:

1. the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, their preparedness and determination to carry on the struggle to the end;

2. organization of popular masses and their vanguard, which enables them to bring together all the forces that can fight for the victory of the revolution;

3. leadership of the masses by a party capable of elaborating a correct strategy and tactics of the struggle and to apply them in practice.

The subjective factor should be mature, otherwise the opportunities of a revolutionary situation cannot be used. A revolutionary situation together with a mature subjective factor are the general and indispensable precondition of a revolution. Lenin defined *this unity of objective conditions and the subjective factor as the main law of any social revolution.*¹

Disregard for the main law of revolution leads to adventurism in politics and can cause a defeat of the revolutionary forces.

It is the task of the revolutionary vanguard correctly to determine whether the conditions are appropriate for the victory of a revolution.

¹ See V. I. Lenin, "‘Left-Wing’ Communism—an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 92-94.

4. Revolution and Counter-Revolution

Resistance by moribund classes is ultimately doomed to failure. But zigzags, retreats and even temporary setbacks are possible in the course of revolutionary development in each particular case, because the forces of reaction make use of every possible means to retain their class rule. They employ various forms of struggle against the mounting revolutionary movement. Transition to a new social system is inevitably accompanied by the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution.

Counter-revolution is a response to a revolution, an extreme and ruthless form of struggle by the reactionary classes against revolutionary forces. For all the variety of methods of counter-revolution (conspiracies, sabotage, agitation against the revolutionary power and measures it takes, and so on), in general it strives to use terror and violence. Essentially its purpose is to end by force the revolutionary renovation of society. And if a counter-revolution enables the reactionary class to win, the old rule is restored. The victory of a counter-revolution means tragedy for the oppressed classes. Instances of this were the massacre of the participants in the Paris Commune in 1871, the massive shooting of workers after the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution in Russia, the

barbaric extermination of Communists and revolutionaries during the events of 1965-66 in Indonesia, the atrocities committed by the Chilean junta after the fascist coup in 1973, and so on.

Counter-revolutions may differ in class nature: they may be feudal-monarchic or bourgeois. Counter-revolution against a socialist revolution is an entirely special phenomenon.

The social base of counter-revolution consists primarily of reactionary exploiter classes which lose power and wealth as a result of a revolution. It is they who organize and inspire counter-revolutionary action. They normally use declassé elements, fanatics from among most ignorant and downtrodden peasant strata, police and regular army units. But numerically they constitute the minority of the population. To fight against a revolution, counter-revolutionary forces need a more or less broad social base. Resorting to fraud and exploiting some or other mistakes of the revolution, the reactionaries seek to win the backward sections of the population over to their side. The counter-revolutionary forces focus their attention on the petty bourgeoisie. To that end they try to set the peasants against cooperative farming and to break the alliance of the working class with poor and middle peasants. For instance, when the Paris Commune was being suppressed, the counter-revolutionaries managed to enlist the support of the peasants. One reason for this was that for

the overwhelming majority of the peasants socialism was associated with expropriation of their property.

Therefore winning over the masses remains the central issue in the struggle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution. To leave counter-revolution without any support among the masses means to limit its possibilities drastically.

In the epoch of the general crisis of capitalism counter-revolutionary actions by the reactionary classes often take the form of fascist coups. Fascist parties may come to power in an armed way, in violation of a bourgeois democratic constitution. This was the way it happened in Chile in 1973. At the same time, wherever possible, fascists use parliamentary means to achieve their ends. For instance, the nazis staged a coup in Germany in 1933 upon winning the majority of seats in the elections to the Reichstag. In the 1970s fascist and profascist regimes were established by way of armed coups in a number of Latin American countries.

Fascism is open dictatorship by the most reactionary and most chauvinistic monopoly circles of the bourgeoisie. Upon coming to power fascists set off a reign of terror, abolish the democratic rights and freedoms gained by the working masses in a long and intensive struggle, commit reprisals against communists and trade union leaders,

against all revolutionary sections of the population.

International reaction is a major source of support for counter-revolution. Today, the US ruling elite is the bulwark of world counter-revolution, its inspirer and organizer. The export of counter-revolution by the US ruling elite presents a threat to the freedom and independence of nations, it is aimed to preserve anti-popular exploiter regimes, and it causes the growth of international tensions. This aggressive policy of counter-revolution involves the US plottings against Nicaragua, El Salvador, Afghanistan and Angola, encouragement of counter-revolutionary forces in African countries, anti-socialist sabotage actions against the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, and many other actions. The reactionaries in the United States make use of a large set of methods—from economic pressure and ideological sabotage to brazen armed provocation.

Existing socialism is the chief target of counter-revolutionary activities by international reaction.

After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, socialism was firmly established as a reality within a relatively brief span of time and has grown stronger, to become the main revolutionary force of today.

In the postwar decades socialism has become firmly established as a community of states and

has proved beyond doubt its basic advantages over capitalism.

Among the tangible achievements of socialism are the elimination of all forms of social oppression and national inequality, full employment, free education and medical care, state social insurance, cheap housing, fast development of backward nations and ethnic groups, a crisis-free economic advance, genuine democracy which gives rise to an unprecedentedly large scale activity of the popular masses in every area of public life, and many other things which the working people never know under capitalism.

Socialism today is the bastion of all progressives, of peace fighters, of the democratic and national liberation forces; it is the vanguard and the strongest support of the world revolutionary process. This is why the growth of the prestige and influence of existing socialism is accompanied by increased counter-revolutionary efforts by imperialism and the entire international reaction against the socialist countries.

To that end a wide use is made of most diverse means: attempts to hamper the building of socialism by armed force, to plunge some or other socialist state in financial or other economic dependence on capitalist powers, or to revive nationalistic and religious vestiges of the past.

International reaction lays a special stress on eroding socialism from within. Over the past

decades “silent” or “creeping” counter-revolutions have become increasingly popular with reactionaries. Exploiting miscalculations and mistakes of the revolutionary forces and objective difficulties a new social system encounters, its enemies seek to disarm the working people ideologically, to corrupt the ruling parties in order to enable the anti-socialist forces to take over power and gradually to restore capitalist relations.

International reaction employs the global strategy of combating the revolutionary process, attaching primary significance to fighting against the surging revolutionary and national liberation movements and coordinating the efforts of all counter-revolutionary forces.

Counter-revolutionary efforts, in a broad historical context, are doomed, for they run counter to historical necessity and have neither national nor social roots in a country that has taken the path of revolution. But all revolutionary forces must be vigilant to make sure that progressive revolutionary reforms are carried through. As we know it from history, the defence of a revolution from counter-revolutionary forces is an objective need. “No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself,”¹ Lenin warned.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Report at a Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet, Factory Committees and Trade Unions, October 22, 1918”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, 1977, p. 123.

The socialist countries and the world communist movement struggle resolutely against the export of counter-revolution and lend a helping hand to the peoples which become a target of an armed aggression of reactionary forces.

5. Types of Social Revolutions

All social revolutions have common features: the combination of objective conditions and subjective factors as the main law, the clash between revolutionary forces and counter-revolution, etc. At the same time, revolutions taking place in different epochs and in different conditions have their own specific features due to the character of the main contradiction which they set out to resolve, and due to their motive forces.

The motive forces of a revolution are the classes, social groups and strata which accomplish a social revolution. The composition of the motive forces depends on the economic basis of the revolution. The advanced section of society, the overwhelming majority of its members, are interested in resolving a conflict that has arisen in a given mode of production, in replacing old relations of production by new ones.

However, the composition of the motive forces may depend on other factors as well, as, for instance, the consciousness of the oppressed masses,

their organization, etc. It is not in every social revolution that all classes objectively interested in its victory act as its motive forces. For instance, at the time of the Paris Commune the working peasants practically stayed away from the revolution, though objectively they were to be interested in its victory.

What motive forces take part in a revolution depends on the historical conditions in which it takes place. Often revolutions similar in type and character but occurring in different historical conditions greatly differ in their motive forces. For instance, the motive force in the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries in West European countries was the peasantry, the nascent working class, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeois sections of society. The bourgeoisie was not just the motive force, it was the hegemon, the leader of those revolutions. And in the bourgeois revolutions of 1905-07 and February 1917 in Russia the bourgeoisie not only was not the leader, it was not among its motive forces. The motive forces in those revolutions were the proletariat and the peasantry, the former being the hegemon.

Marxism-Leninism formulated the *types of social revolutions*. The notion which is common for all of them is that of the socio-economic formation. A type of a revolution is determined by what socio-economic system it overthrows and what system it

builds instead. Corresponding to the main three types of antagonistic class formations, slave holding, feudalism and capitalism, are main three types of social revolutions: social revolutions in the transition from the slave-holding system to feudalism, from the feudal system to capitalism, and from capitalism to socialism. Socialist proletarian revolutions are the highest type of social revolutions and differ cardinally from all the preceding ones.

The first ever change of socio-economic formations was the transition from the primitive communal system to slave holding, the transition was from a society which did not yet have classes to a society which had them. That change, too, can be regarded as a special type of social revolution, for it involved a fundamental change of all social relations and a transition from one socio-economic formation to another. But there was no political revolution since no political relations existed in the primitive-communal system. Political power and political relations appeared as classes took shape and the primitive-communal system disintegrated. The transition to the new slave-owning socio-economic formation proceeded spontaneously and included a host of local processes.

On the whole, the question of types of socialist revolutions is a rather complex one. There are no fixed delimitations among different types of revo-

lutions. The real process of social development includes also less distinct types. There can be social revolutions in which accomplishment of the main tasks is combined with those which had not been accomplished in the preceding epochs. There can be incomplete revolutions. One such revolution, for instance, was in Chile. It had elements of various emerging trends, including socialist ones. That revolution effected a series of profound general democratic reforms which laid the groundwork for its development towards socialism. However, the course of the revolution was interrupted by a reactionary military coup.

Each type of social revolution can be subdivided into a multitude of variants. The revolutionary transformations in the present epoch are most complex and diverse. Their core is socialist revolutions, with the world socialist system being their stronghold. Anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and popular-democratic revolutions, national liberation anti-imperialist revolutions, national-democratic anti-feudal anti-imperialist revolutions, and others have assumed broad proportions. All of them are streams in one world revolutionary process leading to a social renovation of society.

Chapter Two **BOURGEOIS
AND BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC
REVOLUTIONS**

1. Bourgeois Revolutions

Social revolutions accomplished at the time of transition from feudalism to capitalism are called bourgeois revolutions. They occurred at different times and took up a whole epoch, from the 16th century to the 19th. That was the time when feudalism was falling apart and a new, capitalist socio-economic formation was being established in its place.

The history of feudal society knew a number of movements which failed to grow into victorious social revolutions.

Such were nearly all peasant uprisings and wars in the period when feudalism was on the rise. In Britain it was the peasant uprising led by Wat Tyler in 1381; in France, the peasant movement known as Jacquerie; in Russia, the

peasant uprisings led by Ivan Bolotnikov in 1606-1607, by Stepan Razin in 1670-1671, Yemelyan Pugachev in 1773-1775, and others.

All these peasant movements were spontaneous, unorganized and therefore ineffective. There was no class which could lead the peasants, nor was there a consistent programme of struggle. But the main thing is that time had not yet come for the feudal system to be replaced with a capitalist one.

Though defeated, the peasant risings dealt telling blows at feudalism, plunging it ever deeper in crisis.

As time passed, the development of the productive forces came into conflict with the relations of production predominant in feudal society and with the political and ideological institutions determined by those relations. Beside the small handicraft workshops there rose manufactories fitted out with handicraft implements, but widely practising division of labour and employing workmen free from serf bondage.

A new, capitalist mode of production was taking shape in feudal society. But it could not develop unless the feudal system itself was smashed. The bourgeoisie, the class which was bringing in the new mode of production, needed a free labour market, that is, workmen both free of serf bondage and having no property, compelled to sell their labour. It needed a nation-wide market and

an opportunity to control every sphere of public life.

Profound class antagonism and the increasingly acute struggle between the bourgeoisie and the ruling class of the feudal lords were the main social expression of economic conflicts. Revolutionary situations were taking shape, signalling the start of bourgeois revolutions.

The early bourgeois revolutions were led by the urban bourgeoisie which in some instances carried a revolution through, and the feudal lords were overthrown, and in other instances achieved a victory through a compromise with them. The field army of these revolutions, their motive force, comprised, apart from the bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the poorest sections of the urban population, the emergent working class. (Bourgeois revolutions occurred in different epochs due to the uneven historical development, which caused substantial changes in the motive forces and in the position of the bourgeoisie itself.)

The historical achievement of the bourgeois revolutions is that they sapped, and in most cases smashed altogether, the obsolete feudal system. In political terms the bourgeois revolutions were spearheaded against the feudal state machinery and monarchic regimes.

The bourgeois revolutions struck at serfage—in some instances radically and in others rather inconsistently and broke the chains which had for

centuries tied generations of peasants to feudal lords. However, the biggest achievement of the bourgeois revolutions, and which was their chief mission, was that they set the stage for capitalist economic relations and established state power which encouraged and protected these relations. Regarding bourgeois revolutions as a historical type of social revolutions, one must see the difference, at times profound and significant, among these revolutions. In Britain, for instance, the bourgeois revolution ended in a compromise between the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, and the royal regime was preserved as a form of state rule. This compromise in no way hampered the growth of capitalist relations in Britain, and often promoted that growth, especially in its colonial policy.

In France feudalism was stormed and swept away resolutely. Those who took part in the revolutionary actions assumed an uncompromising position vis à vis feudalism and its state attributes. The revolution of 1789 is called "great" because it put an end to the hated royal regime and introduced what appeared to be democratic participation by the masses in state administration.

In Russia it took a long time to replace the feudal serfdom relations by capitalist ones, and meanwhile the ruling classes were trying to adapt feudal institutions to rising capitalism. But no reforms could save the tsarist autocracy in Russia,

and it was swept away by a powerful popular revolution in February 1917.

With regard to the extent of the people's participation in a revolution, "upper crust" revolutions should be identified. By their historical import they are bourgeois, for they serve to establish and strengthen capitalist social relations. As to their motive forces, however, these revolutions are historically limited. Some or other groups of the bourgeoisie take part in them, while the participation of the popular masses and progressive forces is extremely limited. During such revolutions the masses cannot set their own goals, for they are pushed aside from active participation in the revolutionary process. They are called "upper crust" revolutions because they leave many substantial elements of the old system unchanged.

Palace coups and all kinds of plots have still less revolutionary thrust in them. But in some cases they can stir the masses and set them in motion. The consequences can be unforeseeable for the architects of secret plots and palace revolutions.

It should be remembered that the ruling class consists of various groups and sections, each having its own interest. To meet this interest these groups seek a government which would be their spokesman. This is a struggle within one class which does not in the least threaten domination by that class: it is the struggle for redistribution of profit within the exploiter class, for providing bet-

ter conditions for some or other group to grow richer.

Many of the coups are military, for their organizers enlist the support of a group of army officers having common interests with the group staging a coup. A coup may be progressive or reactionary, depending on the goals set. There have been coups made by progressive-minded officers or by the military linked with a section of the bourgeoisie interested in winning and consolidating national independence. Under certain circumstances—for instance, if there are close links with democratic forces—these coups can be the beginning of democratic reforms. Such were the coups in Egypt in 1952, in Peru in 1968, and in Portugal in 1974. But after those coups made by progressive officers the people were not given full power. The officers, who represented the middle sections of the population, were inconsistent and because of their dual position in society tended to vacillate. Exploiting these vacillations, the bourgeoisie, as a rule, reduced to naught the gains won by the progressives.

In dependent countries and colonies the bourgeois revolution acquires specific features. A bourgeois revolution there can be caused directly by foreign oppression or by a desire to unite the nation. But in these cases, too, the urgent need to do away with the feudal system or whatever has remained of it proves decisive. As capitalism

develops, the conflict between independent development of the national economy and the domination by foreign capital grows more acute, giving rise to anti-imperialist struggle which is merged with the struggle against feudalism.

The North American revolution of 1775-83 had its own specific character. It was essentially a revolutionary war of the American people against the British rule who oppressed the Americans. It was a war of independence, for liberation from colonial oppression. But simultaneously it was a class war waged by farmers, handicraftsmen and the revolutionary bourgeoisie against the landlord aristocracy, a war of champions of a republic against monarchy. The direct political result of that revolution was the unification of the former British colonies and the formation of a new bourgeois republic—the United States of America.

Today, the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries is hostile to revolutionary transformations and is essentially counter-revolutionary. But the bourgeoisie, too, had become the ruling class as a result of a revolution, limited as it was. The United States, it must be recalled, which is now a bulwark of world reaction, won political independence in a national liberation war.

It must be noted that on the whole the bourgeoisie which led the anti-feudal revolutions in the 17th through the 19th centuries could not

enlist a long-time support of the broad toiling masses because at a certain stage its interests inevitably came in an irreconcilable conflict with the interests of the masses.

For all the limited character of bourgeois revolutions, it should be noted that, in the final analysis, a consistent implementation of its tasks benefits the proletariat because the growth and concentration of production enable it to become better organized, adding to its class awareness.

2. Bourgeois-Democratic Revolutions

The bourgeois revolutions in which popular masses not only take an active part but advance their own demands and through their struggle exert a democratic influence on the course of the revolution and on its results, are called *bourgeois-democratic revolutions*. Lenin called popular those bourgeois revolutions in which "the mass of the people, their majority, the very lowest social groups, crushed by oppression and exploitation, rose independently and stamped on the entire course of the revolution the imprint of *their* own demands, *their* attempts to build in their own way a new society in place of the old society that was being destroyed".¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 421.

Such were the Great French Revolution of 1789-93 and the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1905-07 and of February 1917 in Russia.

The bourgeoisie has always tended to limit as much as possible the participation of the popular masses in a bourgeois revolution. And whenever the revolutionary initiative of the working people goes beyond the goals of the bourgeoisie, the latter would not stop short of betraying the revolution, of suppressing the exploited masses by armed force. The bourgeoisie has never been a revolutionary class consistent to the end. Having appropriated the gains of the revolution, it seeks alliance with feudal lords and with all reactionary forces to suppress the popular masses.

As capitalism grows on and the proletariat takes shape as a class, the bourgeoisie increasingly loses its revolutionary character. Lenin noted that "the bourgeoisie strives to put an end to the bourgeois revolution half-way from its destination, when freedom has been only half-won, by a deal with the old authorities and the landlords. This striving is grounded in the class interests of the bourgeoisie".¹

The assessment of the bourgeois-democratic revolution would be incomplete and one-sided if we lost sight of the significant difference between

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Agrarian Question and the Forces of the Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, 1977, p. 335.

the possibilities of such revolutions in the epoch of pre-monopoly capitalism and after its entering the imperialist stage.

Imperialism is the last stage in the development of capitalism. Imperialism is called monopoly capitalism, for monopoly is its most typical feature. Under imperialism a small number of monopolies concentrate in their hands the output and marketing of the main products, which enables them to dictate their own terms and intensify the exploitation of working people.

Under imperialism production reaches a high level of socialization. However, the private capitalist form of appropriation remains, hampering the growth of productive forces. Therefore under imperialism all capitalist contradictions grow extremely acute, above all contradictions between labour and capital. National oppression increases and the gap between highly industrialized states and the majority of the other countries in the capitalist world widens.

Militarism is a specific feature of imperialism and places a heavy burden of military spending on the working people. Imperialist wars inherent in imperialism destroy productive forces. The toll of tens of millions of human lives, the result of the two world wars unleashed by imperialism, is part of the horrible tribute which mankind has to pay to imperialism.

The coming of imperialism greatly changes the

alignment of class forces in society. And major changes occur in the composition of the motive forces of a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

In the epoch of imperialism the bourgeoisie in more or less industrialized capitalist countries, fearing the proletariat which threatens its rule, grows counter-revolutionary.

The proletariat, which has grown stronger numerically and ideologically and has been organized round an independent political party, is in a position to become the leader of a revolution.

Already the popular revolution of 1905-07 in Russia clearly demonstrated that the imperialist bourgeoisie in a bourgeois-democratic revolution occupied counter-revolutionary positions. The motive forces in a bourgeois-democratic revolution are the proletariat and the peasantry. The working class, interested in wiping away the vestiges of feudalism, is the leader of this revolution.

The hegemony of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism offers opportunities for its growing into a socialist revolution.

Back in the 1840s, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote that in the countries where democratic reforms had not yet been carried out while capitalist relations were already developed it was possible to go over straight from democratic reforms to socialist ones effected by way of an un-

interrupted revolution. For instance, in 1848 Marx and Engels did not rule out the possibility of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany growing into a socialist one. They associated a victory of a socialist revolution with support to be given to this revolution by the "peasant chorus" without which the proletarian solo inevitably "*becomes a swan song*".¹

A continuous growing of a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one is not only possible in the epoch of imperialism—it is imperative.

Drawing on the ideas of the founders of scientific socialism, Lenin created an integral theory of a bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution and formulated the principles of applying this theory in the activities of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard.

This is the conclusion Lenin arrived at: "From the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organised proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way."²

¹ Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, 1979, p. 193.

² V. I. Lenin, "Social-Democracy's Attitude Towards the Peasant Movement", *Collected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 236-37.

Upon analyzing the alignment of class forces in Russia, Lenin saw that in a bourgeois-democratic revolution the ally of the working class was the entire peasantry, all its sections, and in a socialist revolution the working class would rely on the poorest peasants and fight for the overthrow of capitalism in alliance with the semi-proletarian sections of the urban and rural population. In the process the hegemony of the proletariat links together the two phases of the revolution. The growing of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one is reflected in the political superstructure: the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry established in the first phase of the revolution develops into a socialist dictatorship of the proletariat.

But why should there be the hegemony of the proletariat in the struggle for democracy and socialism and what makes it possible for the bourgeois-democratic revolution to grow into a socialist revolution?

As distinct from the working class, its allies occupy a position in social production which accounts for their inconsistency and vacillation on many issues of the class struggle. Only political leadership by the proletariat, which speaks for the vital interests of all working people, can bring together the disunited mass of non-proletarians and make them an effective political force in a socialist revolution, giving them confidence and

making them militant and organized.

However, there is yet another aspect which provides the only basis on which the working class can exercise a political leadership of the peasantry.

The promises made to peasants by the bourgeoisie are never fulfilled and the peasants came to realize it. The aid rendered by the proletariat is effective. It is only with the proletariat's assistance that the peasantry won land, peace and democratic freedoms in most countries. And it is this aid that forms the basis for the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and other sections of the working people under the leadership of the working class. This is one of the main conditions for a bourgeois-democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution.

Chapter Three THE THEORY AND PRACTICE
OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS

1. The Scientific Theory
of Socialist Revolution

It has been proved scientifically by Marx and Engels that the collapse of capitalism and the victory of socialism are inevitable. They formulated the basic principles of socialist revolution, which have lost none of their significance today.

At the turn of this century, when capitalism reached its last stage—imperialism—the conditions for a socialist revolution changed a great deal. The practice of revolutionary struggle posed many new problems. Lenin developed the theory of socialist revolution in keeping with the new historical conditions at the time and with the experience of the revolutionary popular masses. He formulated a number of new and extremely important theoretical propositions,

specified and developed the former ones and pointed out the increased revolutionary opportunities.

The world revolutionary process today confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism revealed the basic difference between the socialist revolution and all the preceding types of social revolutions.

One of its main distinctions is that the *socialist revolution* abolishes private ownership of the means of production and exploitation of man by man once and for all. In the conditions of private ownership of the means of production the owners of these means exploit those who do not have them. Slave-holders appropriated slave labour; landlords appropriated the labour of peasants; and the bourgeoisie appropriated the labour of workers, of all working people. Abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and handing them over to the people spells the end of exploitation: society is no longer divided into those who work and those who appropriate the fruit of their labour. All the revolutions of the past only changed the form of exploitation: the slave-holding form of exploitation was succeeded by a feudal one; and feudal exploitation gave way to a capitalist one. But the socialist revolution establishes public ownership of the means of produc-

tion, thereby abolishing exploitation in general. "He who does not work, neither shall he eat" is one of the main principles of new society.

This explains why the socialist revolution is the most deep-going one in human history. Another specific of the socialist revolution is that socialist relations of production cannot emerge in capitalist society. Indeed, new, feudal relations of production originated at some point within the slaveholding formation, and when feudalism grew mature, capitalist relations of production began to take shape. But capitalism does not produce ready elements of socialism, such as socialist ownership, socialist relations of production, socialist democracy, etc.

Modern social-reformists pass off state-monopoly capitalism as material preconditions of socialism, as "elements" of socialism. State-monopoly capitalism, they say, changes the nature of capitalism, gradually turning it into a new, socialist system. Among such "elements" they usually list nationalized enterprises and sectors of the capitalist economy, joint-stock companies, cooperatives, various forms of economy regulation by the state, bourgeois democracy, social legislation, and trade unions. But neither nationalized factories, nor joint-stock companies mentioned by reformists are "elements" of socialism and none of them indicate a cardinal change in the nature of capitalist society.

State-monopoly capitalism creates material preconditions of socialism by effecting a massive socialization of production. But emergence of material preconditions of socialism within capitalism does not at all mean that there appear ready "forms", "sprouts", or "elements" of socialism within the capitalist formation. The socialist system cannot be born within capitalism, for its emergence requires a replacement of private ownership of the means of production by their public, socialist ownership.

The basic means of production under capitalism belong to the capitalist class which does not want them to be socialized. To prevent this it musters all its strength, bringing into play all the instruments of its police state. The working class is interested in a socialization of the means of production on socialist lines. But the working class cannot socialize the means of production which have been monopolized by the capitalist class unless it breaks the resistance of the capitalists, smashes the bourgeois state machinery and establishes its own political rule—the dictatorship of the proletariat. And there is only one way of accomplishing this task—the socialist revolution.

So the socialist revolution *begins* with winning political power by the proletariat and continues until socialism is built. All the preceding revolutions ended with the winning of power. By establishing its dictatorship the class which came to

power introduced a new law and pursued a policy suiting the new relations of production. So there occurred only a substitution of one form of private property and exploitation of the working people for another, and from then on the new class was the main exploiter of the people. The socialist revolution breaks entirely the economic foundations of the old society, eliminates the sources of exploitation, social inequality and subjugation of the majority of the working people by the minority of the population. A socialist revolution begins with the winning of political power because only by taking over power can industries, banks and land be expropriated from the ruling class, be handed over to the people.

The next distinctive feature of the socialist revolution is that it can win if it is led by a new type of party—a Marxist party, the political vanguard of the working class. Long before the revolution the Communist Party, applying the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, draws up a programme of the revolution, clearly defining its chief goals. Since the programme meets the vital interests of the working people, all sections of the working people and progressive-minded intellectuals rally round the proletariat. The programme indicates the ways and means of building a new society. The socialist revolution cannot win and a new, socialist society cannot be built unless the goals of the struggle, concrete objectives and the

ways and means for achieving them, are clearly defined. "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."¹ An important specific of the socialist revolution, the one which the Marxist-Leninist party should always take into account in its practical activities, is that *the bourgeois state is taken down* in the process. All the preceding revolutions, which ultimately brought to power a new class of exploiters, only developed the state machinery that existed before them. The new class adapted it to its needs, using it as an instrument of strengthening its new exploiter system. The socialist revolution has all too different tasks to accomplish than the preceding revolutions, and therefore the bourgeois state is smashed, and the new, socialist state built in its place which exercises *the dictatorship of the proletariat* whose purpose is to build socialism.

In his work *Principles of Communism* Frederick Engels emphasized that a revolution creates, directly or otherwise, the political domination of the proletariat and uses it immediately as a means of effecting sweeping measures encroaching on private ownership and ensuring the existence of the proletariat. This idea is also expressed in *The Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Manifesto of the Com-*

¹ V. I. Lenin, "What Is to Be Done?," *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, 1977, p. 369.

munist Party. In these works the dictatorship of the proletariat is described as “the proletariat organised as the ruling class”, and the chief tasks it has to accomplish are defined.¹ In *Critique of the Gotha Programme* Marx made it a point that “between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*”.² This proposition by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and their struggle against opportunism are topical today. The destruction of the bourgeois state and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are conducive to a successful development of the socialist revolution today.

Setting forth the essence of the power won by the working people during a revolution, Lenin noted that the dictatorship of the proletariat meant that only a definite class, precisely urban and, in general, factory and other industrial workers can lead all the toiling and exploited peo-

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, 1976, p. 504.

² Karl Marx, “Critique of the Gotha Programme”, in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Three, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, p. 26.

ple in the struggle against the domination of capital: during the overthrow of the ruling capitalist class, at the time when victory is being retained and consolidated, and in the work to build a new, socialist society—i. e. all along the struggle to wipe out capitalism.

This means that the dictatorship of the proletariat has two main aspects. One of them is to ensure the victory of the revolution and to suppress the resistance of the hostile classes. But Lenin said on many occasions that violence is not the only function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is not even its main purpose. The main purpose is the second aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat: political leadership of the working people for building a new society. This creative function is the main one in the activity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this has been proved by the practice of the socialist states which have effected within a brief period of history sweeping changes in the life of their peoples.

During a socialist revolution the working masses act not only as a force smashing the old social system but also as a force creating a new economy, new social relations, and a new state. Lenin wrote that the socialist revolution “can be successfully carried out only if the majority of the population, and primarily the majority of the working people, engage in independent creative

work as makers of history".¹ Only in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship is it possible to carry through revolutionary reforms in every area of social relations and to establish genuine democracy, that is democracy for the people. Only in the conditions of proletarian dictatorship can the victorious people fully accomplish democratic tasks and carry out radical changes in the economy, and cardinally reform social relations, which in the long run leads to elimination of the exploiter classes and causes a drastic change in the class set-up of society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a state in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. To the working class dictatorship is not an end in itself but a major instrument of building a socialist society.

The building of socialism causes changes in the tasks, functions, forms and methods of the activities of the working class. The elimination of the exploiter classes makes it unnecessary to suppress their resistance and the state of proletarian dictatorship begins to grow over into a state of the whole people. In the Soviet Union the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has become the socialist state of all the people, and proletarian

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 241.

democracy has become the socialist democracy of the whole people. "The aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat having been fulfilled, the Soviet state has become a state of the whole people," says the Constitution of the USSR.¹

Lenin's conclusion that socialism can win first in one country is an important contribution to the Marxist theory of socialist revolution.

Studying the laws governing the development of pre-monopoly capitalism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels arrived at the conclusion that in the conditions that existed at their time a proletarian revolution could win within a definite period of time in all or in the majority of advanced countries. Capitalism was on the rise and the world was not yet carved up. Though already then capitalist countries were developing unevenly, that unevenness was only a trend and did not yet cause sharp conflicts, and contradictions among capitalist countries and between the colonies and the parent states were small. So the proletariat which would accomplish a revolution would have been faced with the resistance of the united bourgeoisie of all, or the majority of, countries.

This was demonstrated by the struggle of workers against the bourgeoisie in the years of the

¹ *Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1984, p. 10.

Paris Commune. At that time in some countries, such as Russia, the proletariat was just taking shape; in Britain and France it was not yet sufficiently organized. It had no allies which would come resolutely to back it up against the ruling classes. At that time the proletariat could not come out united against the united bourgeoisie, because it was not sufficiently mature, the international communist movement was poorly organized, and there were no genuinely mass Communist parties. It was obvious that only open action by the proletarians of all countries could make up for the weakness of the proletariat of a single country. Therefore Marx and Engels wrote in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that joint action of the proletarians in at least the leading civilized countries was at that period of history "one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat".¹ The Paris Commune of 1871 bore out this conclusion.

Making an in-depth study of the new historical period, Lenin developed the ideas of Marx and Engels, to show that the capitalist system had grown ripe for a socialist revolution. In his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* he wrote that the economic basis for a proletarian revolu-

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 503.

tion already existed in all capitalist countries: the capitalist relations of production no longer suited the character and level of the productive forces and therefore had to be replaced with socialist relations of production.

Lenin also proved that the uneven growth of the power of industrial and financial groups and uneven development of capitalist countries caused a change in the alignment of their economic and political forces. When the world was divided among big imperialist powers, this unevenness in development led to the struggle for a redivision of the world: of the colonies, spheres of influence, and so on. In these conditions the contradictions among capitalist countries grow extremely acute, and severe clashes between monopolies trigger off imperialist wars which weaken imperialism. The political development of countries becomes even more uneven (the position of classes, the character and intensity of contradictions, and the extent reached by the class struggle differ from country to country). Lenin noted, however, that the development level of the productive forces in itself does not yet determine the level of class struggle. The bourgeoisie in advanced capitalist countries, receiving a maximum of profit, has the opportunity of using this profit some way or another for bribing some groups of the working class in order to split it and dampen its revolutionary thrust.

According to the law of uneven development, conditions required for accomplishing a revolution may arise in one capitalist country earlier than in others, for that country can become "the weak link in the chain of imperialism" and this weak link can be broken by a victorious proletarian revolution.

Thus, having studied the historical conditions of imperialism, Lenin arrived at a basically new conclusion that a socialist revolution can win in a single country.

Lenin clearly formulated this conclusion in his work *On the Slogan for a United States of Europe*: "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone."¹

Later Lenin wrote that socialism could not win in all countries simultaneously, which means that the victory of socialism first in a single country is not just possible—it is inevitable.

So what are the material preconditions of a socialist revolution providing its *economic basis*?

One of them is the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the framework of the capitalist mode of production.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 342.

Capitalist production is social, with large and very big industrial enterprises making up its basis. Unprecedented socialization of labour is typical of it. Capitalism develops through the concentration and centralization of production, through the specialization and cooperation not only of individual enterprises but whole industries. Under capitalism small-scale separate production processes are merged into one economic complex and individual enterprises become interrelated elements of one economic mechanism. Outside this interrelationship a capitalist enterprise can neither produce nor sell its output.

Under capitalism the social form of production is inevitably confronted with the private form of appropriation. All capitalist enterprises without exception are private property (in one instance they are the property of a single owner and in another they are owned by a group, as is the case of joint-stock companies).

“Capitalism in its imperialist stage leads directly to the most comprehensive socialisation of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of a new social order, a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialisation.”¹ Capitalism tries to adapt itself to the

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, 1974, p. 205.

changing conditions, looking for new forms of domination and changing its colouring. But it can never get away from its main contradiction.

Socialization of productive forces stimulates continued development of state-monopoly capitalism which combines the power of the monopolies with the power of the bourgeois state to defend the capitalist system.

The forms of influence by the bourgeois state on the country's economy become increasingly diverse, its ownership of the means of production expands, and it attempts to regulate economic development in the whole of the country: in a number of capitalist countries there function all kinds of "planning" and "programming" committees. At the same time private ownership of the means of production hampers the all-round development of productive forces, contains their progress, and rules out the possibility of economic planning on the national scale. Planning and centralized management of the economy are possible only when socialist public ownership has been introduced.

So long as private ownership remains, crises, decline in production, and inflation are with capitalism. Capitalism is becoming increasingly unstable, and militarism is growing. The bourgeoisie sees a way out, on the one hand, in economic alliances of various countries, in so-called economic integration, and in political alliances.

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie seeks to smooth out the growing contradictions by switching over the economy onto the lines of militarism and preparations for a new world war.

Militarism today is more than wars and armed conflicts; it is massive war preparations entailing immense and constantly growing military spending on research for military purposes, on arms manufacture, on the maintenance of the immense military apparatus, the armed forces, etc.

In 1949-1980 the military spending of the United States totalled \$2 trillion, that is, on the average, \$62,000 million a year, whereas already in 1981 the figure topped \$150,000 million; in 1982, \$200,000 million; and in 1986 it is estimated to be \$370,000 million. In the coming five years the US government is going to spend (by various estimates) from \$1.5 trillion to \$2.25 trillion. This staggering sum is four times as big as the annual GNP of all Latin American countries and exceeds that of African countries nine-fold.

All these phenomena in economic development doubtlessly account for the growing contradictions in capitalist countries and among them. Unemployment, strikes, mass demonstrations, unprecedented in scope, are a sign of profound contradictions within the capitalist system.

Contradictions between labour and capital, between monopolies and the people, among im-

perialist powers, and between the imperialist and the oppressed, dependent countries have grown more acute.

Thus, capitalism has provided the necessary material conditions for transition to socialism. Lenin wrote that a remaking of society on socialist lines is possible "only on condition that the basic economic, social, cultural and political preconditions for this have been created in a sufficient degree by capitalism".¹ This conclusion was, and is, of theoretical and practical value.

The only way out of this crisis is radically to restructure the relations of production, to replace them by socialist ones. Lenin noted that development can be only in the forward direction, "only in the direction of *socialist* society, only in the direction of the *socialist revolution*".²

But to accomplish a socialist revolution, just as any other revolution for that matter, it is not enough to have material preconditions and discord between the relations of production and the development level of the productive forces – there should be a revolutionary situation. Speaking about a "weak link" in the chain of imperialism,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Original Version of the Article 'The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government'", *Collected Works*, Vol. 42, 1971, p. 71.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Junius Pamphlet", *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 316.

Lenin meant that there should also be a revolutionary situation as a major condition for a revolution.

Applying the Marxist theory of revolution, he revealed, in precise terms, the meaning of a revolutionary situation as a totality of objective conditions required for the start and victory of a socialist revolution. Lenin paid special attention to such major aspects of the revolutionary situation as indecision of the government and vigorous action by the masses.

Revolutions, Lenin said, can be accomplished by the masses suffering from grave economic difficulties. What does this mean? He meant above all the economic needs of the proletariat taking part in the production process. This includes inadequate living standards, insecurity, and worsening of economic conditions as compared with the preceding period. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that certain sections of the working people live in misery: some are jobless for a long period, lose their labour skills, suffer from malnutrition or hunger, and do not have decent living conditions. The authorities of the United States, Britain, France and other capitalist countries have admitted on many occasions that quite a few working people in their countries live in dire poverty.

The United States is a rich industrialized capitalist country, which adds still more to the con-

trast between the level of production, the wealth of the bourgeoisie and the poverty of millions of people. About 25 million people, or nearly 13 per cent of the US population, according to official statistics, live on the poverty level. Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians and other non-white American citizens are subjected to superexploitation.

The reality refutes the assertions by bourgeois ideologists and revisionists that there is a high living standard among the working people in industrialized capitalist countries and therefore revolutionary actions by the working people are allegedly impossible there. No doubt, organization of workers, their steadily mounting resistance to the onslaught of capitalism, wrote Engels, would put up barriers to the growth of poverty. But the provision of the means of subsistence becomes increasingly inadequate. Therefore the economic needs and the living conditions of the proletariat and all the working people cause, among other things, the intensification of popular struggle against the monopolies. Besides, the more vigorous the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working masses in the drive for higher profits, the more acute is dissatisfaction among the people with the living conditions and the policy pursued by the ruling classes and the stronger is the "fermentation" which erupts in mass protest actions when the government is con-

fronted with critical situations.

The main law of any, including socialist, revolution is that there should be objective conditions and the subjective factor of revolution. Lenin paid special attention to the subjective factor of the socialist revolution, to its structure and inter-relationship of all its basic elements.

Marx and Engels showed the great historical mission of the proletariat and proved that it is the chief element in the new productive forces. Its growth and concentration are determined by the development of capitalist production. The proletariat creates the bulk of material goods, and capitalist society rests on the shoulders of this giant class. At the same time it is the most exploited class which has no property in the means of production.

Under capitalism today the level of the exploitation of the working class is rising. But the deterioration of the working conditions and the stepping up of exploitation, relative impoverishment and aggravation of contradictions between labour and capital lead to the growth of the class struggle of the proletariat and of the strike movement. Therefore it is vitally interested in abolishing the private ownership of the means of production. What the proletariat and all working masses produce should belong to them. But this is possible only if public ownership of the means of production is established. Therefore the main, vital

interest of the proletariat is to abolish exploitation and liberate all working people from social and national oppression. This is the central common interest of proletarians in all countries and the objective basis of their solidarity, their internationalism.

The proletariat, however, cannot free itself unless it frees all working people from exploitation; it rallies round itself all sections of society which to some or other extent are oppressed by capitalism. The more vigorous the onslaught of the bourgeoisie on the economic and political rights of the working population, the closer the working masses are united round the proletariat. Herein lies the strength of the proletariat in capitalist society. Lenin wrote: "The strength of the proletariat in any capitalist country is far greater than the proportion it represents of the total population. That is because the proletariat economically dominates the centre and nerve of the entire economic system of capitalism, and also because the proletariat expresses economically and politically the real interests of the overwhelming majority of the working people under capitalism."¹

It was not at once, of course, that the proletar-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, 1977, p. 274.

iat came out as an independent political force. Marx and Engels wrote in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* that at the initial stage of capitalism the proletariat acted as a "class in itself", for it was yet unaware of its own interests and acted first not against the bourgeoisie but against "the enemies of its own enemies". "It is not a question of what this or that proletarian, or even the whole proletariat, at the moment *regards* as its aim," they wrote. "It is a question of *what the proletariat is*, and what, in accordance with this *being*, it will historically be compelled to do."¹

Indeed, the position of the proletariat in production and its low living standards determined its development and its struggle against the existing economic and political system of capitalist society. There emerged trade unions, political associations and other organizations of the proletariat. Owing to extensive activities by the newly-formed Marxist parties of the proletariat and its education in scientific revolutionary spirit, the proletariat gradually turned from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself".

It was proved by the founders of Marxism that the great historical mission of the proletariat is to free mankind from exploitation and wars, from

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The Holy Family", in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, 1975, p. 37.

class and national antagonisms. They proved also that only under the leadership of the proletariat is it possible to build a society of social justice that would create for every man the conditions he needs for all-round development.

The strength of the proletariat depends on whether it can unite the working population and establish close alliance with it, on how it exercises its leadership in this alliance, what policy it pursues and how consistently, and what theory it is guided by.

At present the working class has greatly increased in numbers and has grown much stronger. Whereas in the mid-19th century the proletariat existed only in a few countries of Europe and North America, now it exists practically in all countries. Early in the 1980s the numerical strength of the working class in the world reached about 660 million. It makes up the majority of the economically active population in all industrialized capitalist countries.

The role of the working class in the world today is increasing not only due to the growth of its ranks but also due to the profound changes in it. The scientific and technological revolution, causing structural changes in the working class (new trades appear, the proportion of mental work is increasing, etc.), tends to enhance its educational level and skills. These processes create favourable conditions enabling the working class to become

better organized and more class-conscious.

Today, a large part of people employed in trade, clerks, engineers and technicians in the capitalist countries become proletarianized. Like the working class, they are exploited by capitalists. Most of engineers and technicians are losing social privileges and their living standard is now only slightly above that of highly skilled workers. All this opens up greater opportunities for forming broad-based class alliances and for more effective struggle of the working class for its interests.

The petty bourgeoisie which makes up a considerable portion of the population in capitalist countries is, on the one hand, the owner of the means of production and, on the other, consists of toilers. Therefore it usually vacillates between the bourgeoisie, which owns the means of production, and the workers, who do not own them. As capitalism develops, it causes the ruin of a large part of the petty bourgeoisie which then joins the working class. Its working conditions and living standards draw it closer to the proletariat. The common interests of the working people make the alliance between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie possible and necessary. But, since the petty bourgeoisie is intrinsically inconsistent, the working class should play the leading role in this alliance.

The policy of the ruling class, which is aimed at intensifying the exploitation of the working peo-

ple, determines the possibility of, and the need for, building up the alliance of the proletariat with all the working population in a country. A good deal depends here, no doubt, on how much the working class and its party take into account the specific interests of various sections of the working people.

Today, the revolutionary potential of the working class, which differs considerably from the proletariat of the 19th and the early 20th century, has increased. The aggravation of capitalism's contradictions is directly reflected in the growth of the class struggle. The average annual number of people taking part in strikes and other actions of mass social and political protest in the economically advanced capitalist countries was 50 million in the 1970s, 61 million in 1980, 64 million in 1981, and over 67 million in 1982.

The working class in capitalist countries is confronted with serious difficulties. It would be wrong to believe that the growth of its consciousness and improvement of its organization is a steadily mounting process. These processes are not the same in various countries and in different periods. The point is that the working class is greatly influenced by the dominant bourgeois ideology, anti-communist propaganda, and reformist ideas of a possible gradual "improvement" of capitalism. Therefore not all contingents of the working class are politically active,

and not all of them adhere to consistently class positions.

The strengthening of the alliance of the proletariat with the non-proletarian sections of working people largely depends on the extent to which the contradictions have aggravated and on the tactics and strategy of Communist parties. A split of the working class, a lack of class cohesion, and absence of a firm alliance with the other working people are signs of its weakness.

One of the chief elements of the subjective factor of the socialist revolution is the Marxist party, the political organizer and leader of the working class. Marx and Engels pointed out that the working class can fight for its interests only if it has organized into its own political party opposed to all the other parties. They exerted a good deal of effort to organize and develop workers' parties and struggled vigorously against opportunists.

Proceeding from the principles formulated by Marx and Engels, Lenin developed their doctrine on the party in accordance with the new level of social development. He showed that the party is the product of the working-class movement and a source of revolutionary theory. A scientific world outlook is created from the positions of the working class by intellectuals and is introduced by the party into the working-class movement. The party formulates also the goals of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. This is a mili-

tant political organization which seeks to draw in revolutionary struggle the whole proletariat, all working people. Determining the specifics of each phase of the revolutionary process and studying new phenomena in the development of society, the party explains to the masses the tasks they are called upon to accomplish and helps them learn from their own experience.

Lenin wrote: "The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary, struggle. Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will."¹ When the masses begin to act, there emerges the basis for their political education, for their becoming aware of the vital interests of the class. "We must remember," Lenin wrote, "what a tremendous educational and organising power the revolution has, when mighty historical events force the man in the street out of his remote corner, garret, or basement and make a *citizen* out of him. Months of revolution sometimes educate citizens more quickly and fully than decades of political stagnation."² The party summarizes and disseminates

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, 1977, p. 241.

² V. I. Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government", *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, 1974, p. 564.

the experience of class struggle by the proletariat and leads working-class action.

Lenin waged a relentless struggle against opportunists and revisionists who tried to dissolve the party in the petty-bourgeois sections and to leave it without its proletarian class character. He was likewise opposed to the left-wing revisionists who sought to make the party a paramilitary organization.

It is, no doubt, historical conditions in a country and the state of the working-class movement there which determine the forms of the party's organization and activity. In Russia, for instance, at the time when the working-class movement was maturing in the conditions of tsarist rule and repressions, and when the Party had to go underground, Lenin laid the main stress on shaping the professional nucleus of the Party which would be the leading and organizing force both in the Party and in the working-class movement. The Party membership increased as soon as the conditions changed and better opportunities emerged for its activity. In the autumn of 1905, when the bourgeois-democratic revolution was on the upswing, the membership of the RSDLP organizations in big cities doubled or tripled, and in some instances even grew ten-fold. Lenin wrote:

“In the spring of 1905 our Party was a league of underground circles; in the autumn it became

the party of the *millions* of the proletariat.”¹

The Party membership was growing still more rapidly after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The strength of the party is in its unity with the popular masses. Even operating underground it wins over the more advanced members of the working class and rallies the working class and all working people round itself.

In legal conditions, the party seeks to become a mass organization. In the modern epoch the international communist movement is the most influential political force.

Communist parties function in 95 countries, their total membership exceeding 80 million. The number of Communists increased in the 1970s from 2.3 to 3 million in Western Europe; in the non-socialist countries of Asia, Australia and Oceania their number rose from 630,000 to 1,300,000; in Africa from 20,000 to 70,000; and in North and South America, from 400,000 to 490,000. Ever more revolutionary-democratic parties and movements in Asia and Africa assume the positions of scientific socialism which is the ideological basis of the communist movement. The Communist parties carry on the daily struggle to build up the unity of the working-class

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Some Features of the Present Collapse”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, 1973, p. 154.

movement, to achieve the unity of action with social-democratic and all other progressive parties and organizations.

In the capitalist countries Communist parties have to operate in difficult conditions. The authorities use against them repressions and all kinds of discrimination measures as, for instance, *Berufsverbote* in the FRG—regulations prohibiting Communists to work as state employees, in particular teachers, postal workers, etc.

Can parties, by awakening the class awareness of the proletariat and the popular masses in general, influence the development of a revolutionary situation?

Left-wing opportunists say a revolutionary situation depends entirely on the purposeful activity of revolutionaries. Rejecting this view as unscientific and therefore wrong, Communists admit at the same time that the parties which are equipped with the theory of social development and working actively among the masses can doubtlessly influence the growth of such a situation. This idea was stressed repeatedly by Lenin. By exposing the policy of the ruling class and putting forward slogans for the struggle and demands to the government, the Communist parties help provide objective conditions for a revolutionary situation to take shape.

So, the subjective factor of the socialist revolution is preparedness and ability of the Marxist

party of the working class and its allies to conduct revolutionary actions aimed at abolishing the capitalist system and building socialism. The availability of the subjective factor of the socialist revolution largely depends on the revolutionary thrust of the working class, on its experience in struggle, on traditions, on how well it is organized and class-conscious, on how much it has grasped revolutionary theory, and on the firmness of its alliance with the other working masses both in the country and in the international arena.

Revolution cannot be accomplished unless the subjective factor is fully there. This is a law of any revolution, but the significance of the subjective factor increases a great deal in the event of a socialist revolution, because for a socialist revolution to win it is necessary that the party should pursue a policy based on the knowledge of the laws of social development and class struggle and be able correctly to determine not only the main directions of the revolutionary movement but also the goals, forms and methods of struggle. The work to create the subjective factor of the socialist revolution calls for the need to ensure the unity of the working class and to fight opportunism and revisionism. The history of the world working-class movement is the history of the struggle between the two trends—Marxist and opportunist—over key theoretical, political and organization issues.

2. The Great October Socialist Revolution – the Start of a New Revolutionary Era

Before 1917 socialism was only a dream, a theory, a banner of the revolutionary movement.

On October 25 (November 7, New Style), the world's first victorious socialist revolution was accomplished in Russia, to give effect to the ideas of socialism.

That revolution met the requirements of Russia's development at that time. It came as a culmination of the struggle between the class forces of Russian society. At the same time, the contradictions which had given rise to the revolution mirrored the world contradictions of capitalism. Its uneven development, which caused the uneven development of the international revolutionary movement, placed Russia in the early 20th century at the forefront of the objectively imminent world socialist revolution of the proletariat.

The enemies of Marxism, who seek to denigrate the ideas of October, allege that the October Revolution was a chance event in history, a result of gross mistakes committed by some and their crafty use by others. They keep repeating that it was accomplished "not according to the rules" in a backward country which had not been prepared for socialist change.

Life has disproved the opportunist dogma that

a socialist revolution can be accomplished only in countries where the productive forces are most developed and the proletariat makes up the majority of the population.

By the time the socialist revolution was accomplished Russia was a country with an average level of capitalist development. As capitalism entered its monopolist phase, its newest forms were developed in Russia, so in many respects, as, for instance, in the concentration of production, Russia was even ahead of other capitalist countries. But advanced forms of capitalist production existed here side by side with the survivals of the past. Semi-feudal relations persisted in the countryside; the semi-colonial outlying provinces of Russia were very backward. On top of that, Russia was behind other countries in industrial level.

Reflecting on the specific features of the Russian revolution, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that "while the development of world history as a whole follows general laws it is by no means precluded, but, on the contrary, presumed, that certain periods of development may display peculiarities in either the form or the sequence of this development", "variations of the customary historical sequence of events".¹ By the customary

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Our Revolution", *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, pp. 477, 480.

sequence of historical events he meant the achievement of a level of productive forces and culture required for building socialism. Strictly speaking, old Russia had not attained that level, Lenin observed. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution immediately made Russia the most advanced country in political terms. The change in the historical sequence of events, according to Lenin, was that the workers and peasants first won power in order to overcome, using that power, the material and technical backwardness and enhance the level of the country's productive forces to the highest world standards. Having these complex problems in mind, Lenin noted that in Russia it was easier than in other capitalist countries to start a socialist revolution, but it was much harder to advance it towards the ultimate building of socialism. (Subsequently, Marxists believe, a victorious socialist breakthrough with the support of socialist countries will be possible even in backward countries.)

The chief motive force and the leader of the Great October Socialist Revolution was the working class which joined forces with the poorest peasants.

The rapid growth of monopoly capitalism in Russia caused the formation of the militant working class capable of leading the oncoming revolution. Though it was comparatively small in

number, the working class was a significant social and political force, far greater than the dispersed and disunited multimillion mass of peasants. That was due to the high concentration of the working class in the vital centres and at big industrial enterprises. That was the proletariat which had assimilated the vast experience of the international working-class movement and accepted and developed the revolutionary traditions of the West European proletariat. Precisely this class was the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1905.

The peasantry was an immense revolutionary force in the country. Downtrodden by exploitation, deprived of civil rights but prepared to fight for land and freedom, it was spontaneously drawn to the working class. During the socialist revolution the proletariat enjoyed the full backing of the poor peasants who made up the overwhelming majority of the rural population. Having won most of the working peasants over to its side, the proletariat thus won them from the bourgeoisie.

The decisive condition for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was that the popular masses were led by a militant revolutionary Marxist party well equipped with Marxist-Leninist theory, the progressive theory of the working class. It was the October Revolution that demonstrated how Lenin's theory of socialist

revolution was best applied in practice. This theory offered the working people of Russia clear prospects, released their revolutionary endeavour and convinced them that it was possible to accomplish a socialist revolution and win. The October Revolution presented an undeniable proof of correctness of Marxism-Leninism.

The victory of the October Revolution produced a new social system, which was an inspiring example for the workers the world over.

The October Revolution liberated from capitalist slavery the population of a vast country occupying one-sixth of the world territory. It not only brought social emancipation to the workers and toiling peasants, but solved Russia's national and general democratic problems. The Revolution gave peasants long-wished land and liberated the peoples in the outlying provinces of Russia from national oppression. Russia, which lagged far behind the advanced countries of the West economically, received a possibility to catch up with them in a historically brief span of time. For the first time in history this revolution provided conditions for solving the women's question; it emancipated them by law and in practice and granted them equal rights with men.

As a result of the October Revolution a new, socialist state was born in Russia. Its foreign policy from the outset served the cause of peace and friendship among the peoples. The Revolu-

tion made "peace" synonymous with "socialism". The first legislative act of Soviet power adopted on the day following the victory of the October Revolution was Lenin's Decree on Peace which proclaimed the democratic peace to be the goal and supreme principle of the foreign policy of the socialist state meeting the vital interests of the peoples of all countries. It denounced war as the greatest of crimes against humanity. By its first foreign-policy act the state of workers and peasants not just declared its wish to achieve an end of the imperialist war but put forward the strategic task of providing conditions for a peaceful and goodneighbourly coexistence of states with different social systems. The peace struggle became a strategic course of the proletarian state and its Communist Party. It clearly demonstrated that the class interests of the proletariat coincided with the interests of mankind, with the interests of the working people all over the world.

The Great October Socialist Revolution created a model of proletarian power during transition from capitalism to socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat got established in the country and the Soviet Republic became its state form. The workers became the ruling class; and the Communist Party, the ruling party.

The peoples of Soviet Russia were faced with the arduous task of building a new society. The country was encircled by capitalist states. And

the hard economic situation in Russia, caused by the imperialist war and dislocation, made things still worse. "We began our revolution," Lenin said, "in unusually difficult conditions, such as no other workers' revolution in the world will ever have to face."¹

Those extreme difficulties were also caused by the fact that the counter-revolutionaries at home and abroad had launched a war against the Soviet Republic. The toppled exploiter classes started a civil war to regain power, property and privileges. They used all means, from sabotage and bribery to violent terrorism. The foreign imperialists, fearing that the Russian revolution would start a revolutionary conflagration in their own rear, sent their armed forces to the Soviet Republic. Thus domestic and foreign counter-revolution merged. For three years the interventionists and White Guards (the armed forces of the Russian counter-revolution) flooded the Soviet country with blood, destroyed its industry, devastated cities and villages and blockaded the country to hit it by hunger. But they failed to break the people's resistance.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Extraordinary Sixth All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Cossacks' and Red Army Deputies, November 6-9, 1918. Speech on the Anniversary of the Revolution, November 6", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 137.

The rout of foreign imperialists and their White Guard agents confirmed these words of Lenin's: "A nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants realise, feel and see that they are fighting for their own Soviet power, for the rule of the working people, for the cause whose victory will ensure them and their children all the benefits of culture, of all that has been created by human labour—such a nation can never be vanquished."¹

The Soviet people also had to go through another hard trial—the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. By the time Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, it had conquered almost the whole of Europe. Germany strove for world domination. The Nazis planned to seize the Soviet Union's territory and its wealth, to destroy the socialist system, exterminate millions of Soviet people, and then to use the survivors as slaves. The winner in that life-and-death battle was socialism, the new social system created by the October Revolution.

The war lasted four long years. The victory was hard-won. The war and temporary occupation of a part of Soviet territory by Nazis and their allies caused immense losses and destruction. Over 20

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Speech at a Meeting of the Railwaymen of Moscow Junction, April 16, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, p. 319.

million Soviet people were killed in the battles or died in Nazi bondage. In the Soviet Union the Hitlerites devastated and ravaged 1,710 cities and towns and burned down over 70,000 villages. They destroyed, fully or partially, about 32,000 industrial enterprises, 65,000 kilometres of railways, and sacked 98,000 collective farms. No other country suffered so much during the war. But the Soviet people held out against the enemy and won.

By defending their homeland and the gains of the October Revolution from the Nazis during the Great Patriotic War, the Soviet people were saving not only the historical choice made in 1917, and not only their own independence and freedom. They were saving also the peoples of the world from the threat of Nazi enslavement.

The Soviet people traversed a long historical path from the Great October Socialist Revolution to the building of mature socialism. The decades passed since the victorious revolution have shown what the working people are capable of when they assume the political leadership of society and responsibility for the fate of their country.

The ideas of socialism, which previously inspired people to revolutionary struggle, have become a reality. A socialist society was built for the first time in human history.

The economic foundation of socialism is public ownership of the means of production in every

section of the national economy. This rules out entirely a possibility of turning the means of production into a means of exploitation of one part of society by another.

Socialist property in the USSR is owned by the state and by collective farms.

State property is owned by all people in the country and is the basic form of socialist ownership. It includes the land, its minerals, waters and forests. The state owns the basic means of production in industry, construction, and farming; transport and communications; the banks; the property of state-run trade organizations and public utilities and other state-run undertakings; most urban housing; and other property required by the state.

The other form of ownership is group or co-operative property of the peasants who joined voluntarily in collective farms. About 26,000 collective farms function in the Soviet Union. The land held by collective farms is secured to them for their free use in perpetuity. The state promotes development of collective farm-and-co-operative property and its approximation to state property.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has solved the most complicated problem of transforming the economy on socialist lines. Within a historically short period of time the vast and backward country has become a country of

highly advanced industry and collective farming. The Soviet Union has become second to none in the world in the output of many important items of production, such as oil and steel, cement and mineral fertilizer, wheat and cotton, and main-line electric and diesel locomotives. The USSR has the world's largest number of engineers and the largest number of machine-tools.

As a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the cardinal changes it made, the Soviet Union has no exploiter classes and no possibility of exploitation or social antagonisms. Soviet society consists only of working people – the working class, the peasantry, and the toiling intelligentsia. Their unbreakable alliance makes up the social foundation of the Soviet socialist state.

Among the greatest achievements of the October Revolution is the solution of the national question. The USSR is populated by about 100 nationalities and ethnic groups. The problem of relations among them is one of the most complex social problems. Tsarist Russia was called a “prison of nations”. Russian landlords and capitalists with the help of tsarist officials ruthlessly oppressed non-Russians, deprived them of all rights and kept them in poverty and a position of semi-colonial dependence.

The consistent implementation of the Leninist policy and the building of socialism made it pos-

sible to solve the national question cardinally and finally. All the nationalities and ethnic groups comprising the Soviet Union are free and equal. They voluntarily joined in the powerful federal state and, relying on the disinterested aid of the Russian people, set out to build a new life without hesitation.

The cohesion and mutual assistance of the peoples have speeded up the advancement of every Soviet Republic at an unprecedented rate. Enmity and distrust in the relations among the nationalities have given way to friendship and mutual respect. The national cultures have flourished. The nationalities are coming closer together at a rapid pace in every sphere of public life. A new historical community of people—the Soviet people—has taken shape as a result.

No other society that has ever existed on Earth has done for the working man so much as socialism. All the reforms being effected in the Soviet Union are aimed primarily at providing adequate living standards for every man. Socialism has freed the working people from exploitation and oppression and given them confidence. For many decades now the Soviet people have lived without unemployment. They do not know the humiliation of insecurity, of being left without a job, without medical care or housing. Socialism guarantees the citizens the right to work, education, social maintenance, free medical care, rest

and recreation, housing, and the use of cultural values. In the Soviet Union secondary education is free. Students at the higher schools do not have to pay for education either. What is more, they are paid scholarships.

Among the greatest gains of the October Revolution is the establishment of the principles of social equality and justice. Every man fully enjoys all rights and liberties enabling him to take an active part in political activities. All citizens are ensured equal relation to the means of production. The right to work, rest and recreation, housing, free medical care and education, and old-age pension is guaranteed to all regardless of sex or nationality. The social policy pursued by the Party and government is aimed at steadily enhancing people's well-being, improving the health of all citizens, expanding housing construction and developing and perfecting general education and vocational training. All this ensures a high level of equality which has been reached only under socialism.

The material and cultural level of the life of the Soviet people has grown immeasurably. So has the educational level of the Soviet man known to be the most avid reader in the world. The scientific materialist world outlook has become deeply rooted in public thinking.

The new type of democracy, socialist democracy, has been established in the USSR. It guar-

antees the citizens the rights and liberties which are not, and cannot, be enjoyed by people in a bourgeois state. The political foundation in the USSR is the Soviets of People's Deputies. Having originated during the first Russian revolution (1905), they concentrate the creative endeavour of the masses, directing it to the solution of the urgent social, economic and political problems.

The successes achieved by the Soviet people in the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism are most closely associated with the activities of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The membership of this Party has exceeded 18 million. It is the recognized political vanguard not only of the working class but of all Soviet people. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union elaborates a scientifically-based strategy of the country's development and solves political, ideological, economic and administrative problems of big magnitude.

The Soviet Union has made great progress in the framework of the first phase of communism. The most important outcome of the selfless labour of the Soviet people is that the country has reached the stage of developed socialism.

As they make use of their achievements, the Soviet people carry on extensive creative activities to perfect the socialist society which has been built in the USSR. The task now is steadily to improve every aspect of life in Soviet society: to

build an economic potential in keeping with the demands of developed socialism, to advance the economy to a higher scientific, technical and organizational level, achieve substantial improvement in the intensification of social production and make it more effective, to build an economic mechanism meeting the requirements of developed socialism, raise the living standards of the Soviet people, perfect the Soviet political system, and develop socialist democracy.

As developed socialism is being improved, the country is gradually advancing towards communism.

* * *

Lenin saw the international significance of the October Revolution above all in its influence on the course of world events and, in the narrow sense, he stressed that the more significant elements of this revolution would be inevitably repeated on the world scale.

No other event in history has had such a powerful and profound impact on the development of mankind as the Great October Socialist Revolution. There have been no political force or movement in the world which would not be influenced, one way or another, by the October Revolution, which would be not affected by the global process of revolutionary change started by that revolution.

The October Revolution stirred to action all the exploited who languished under the yoke of imperialism. The fact that as a result of the October Revolution the working class of the world's biggest country became the ruling class, greatly enhanced the socialist consciousness of the international proletariat, built up its revolutionary morale and gave it greater confidence in its strength and in ultimate victory.

Under the impact of the October Revolution the tide of revolutionary enthusiasm swept across many countries of Europe and Asia.

In Germany people demanded an immediate cessation of the imperialist war, and Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were set up. By the autumn of 1918 the revolutionary crisis there grew extremely acute. The uprising spread to almost the whole country and the monarchy tumbled down. In January 1918, a workers' revolution flared up in Finland. In 1919, Soviet power was established in Hungary, Bavaria and Slovakia; it left unfading trace in the minds of the working people, even though it was suppressed by counter-revolution. A big movement for setting up factory councils was under way in Italy. The workers took over factories and the peasants occupied the estates of big landlords. A revolutionary struggle broke out in France, Britain, Belgium and Poland. In 1920 and 1921, national strikes were staged in Bulgaria, Romania and Czecho-

slovakia and a mass strike movement rolled across the United States and Latin America.

The October Revolution gave an impetus to the working-class movement in the whole world and itself received broad support from the international proletariat. The solidarity movement "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" emerged in Britain. National and local committees which were springing up in many countries guided the action for ending the foreign intervention of Russia, and dockers refused to load weapons for the interventionists. In Italy this movement proclaimed the slogan "Not a Single Rifle, Not a Single Cartridge and Not a Single Soldier Against the Country of Working People!". The working people in other countries, too, saw Soviet Russia as a centre of revolutionary gravitation.

In the first years after the Revolution there was good reason to hope that socialist revolutions would win not only in Russia. But that did not happen: the bourgeoisie in the West was still strong enough to suppress the working class by force. One of the main factors containing the development of revolution in West European countries at that time was the absence or weakness of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties capable of using conditions favourable for resolute actions by the working class and leading the masses to win state power.

The October Revolution started a new phase

in the international working-class movement: Communist parties were being formed in many countries. Their vigorous activities in dozens of countries on all continents became a major factor of social progress. The working-class movement emerged from the state of confusion and impotence in which it had been due to the opportunists during the 1914-18 imperialist war. The October Revolution made the working people aware of their strength and gave them clear purpose and confidence in future.

The immense influence of the October Revolution on the national liberation movement is hard to overestimate. It indicated to the dependent and colonial peoples, who comprise over half the world's population, the only correct way of solving the national question. Moreover, the example of the Soviet country which routed the interventionist armies and defended its socialist gains showed these peoples that it was possible to win freedom from colonial tyranny, no matter how stable the domination of imperialist states might seem. Lenin said in 1919: "The emancipation of the peoples of the East is now quite practicable."¹

The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era, signalling a radical turn in

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, pp. 153-54.

world history from the old, capitalist world to a new, socialist one. Capitalism ceased to be a system dominating the world, the chain of world capitalism was broken never to be repaired.

3. The World Revolutionary Process Develops. Diversity of Ways of Going Over to Socialism

The Great October Socialist Revolution was the first step of transition from the prehistory of human society to its genuine history—to communist civilization. “We have made the start,” wrote Lenin. “When, at what date and time, and the proletarians of which nation will complete this process is not important. The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown.”¹

The development of the world revolutionary process, which in practice took most diverse forms and now follows the historical trends outlined by the October Revolution, reflects one way or another the ideological heritage of this revolution and the general regularities and renovations it put into bold relief.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33, p. 57.

The building of a new society and the emergence of the world socialist system has been the most significant development after the October Revolution in the world historical process. Socialism has exceeded the limits of only one country. The anti-communist myth that the socialist revolution in Russia was a chance event has been disproved by reality. More countries took the path of socialism, which showed that transition to the communist formation is a historical necessity, that the laws governing communist construction are universal.

The world socialist system took its final shape towards the 1950s.

The socialist world today stands for

- the economic might which accounts for over 40 per cent of world industrial output;
- the military-political alliance confronting imperialism on principles of parity;
- the world's largest centre of culture, science and education;
- the only community of countries ruled by working people by their own will and according to their own plans;
- the most reliable and consistent peace force on the planet.

The socialist community, which has taken shape within the framework of the world socialist system, consists of countries with a common socio-economic and political system, cooperating

among themselves on principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, comradely mutual assistance and the sovereignty of all member states. The socialist community includes, besides the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, and Vietnam.

The existence of the community of socialist states is a major factor of modern world development; it is the chief obstacle in the way of the venturesome policy pursued by the imperialists.

Now that the international situation has worsened due to the USA and its NATO allies, which attempt to reverse the course of history and impose their will on the peoples, the unity of the socialist community, this reliable bulwark of peace and security of the peoples, has become most imperative.

Each of the countries which have embarked on the socialist path accomplished a popular-democratic revolution and effected socialist reforms in its own way.

But life has shown that there remain the common basic features of the socialist revolution and socialist development.

The common experience of the socialist world has demonstrated the following:

– the power issue still remains the key question of a revolution. Either the power of the working

class acting in alliance with all working people, or the power of the bourgeoisie – there is no third way;

– transition to socialism is possible if the working class and its allies, upon acquiring real political power, use this power for eliminating the social and economic domination of capitalist and other exploiters;

– socialism can win if the working class and its vanguard – the Communists – can inspire the working masses and unite them for building a new society and transforming the economy and all social relations on socialist lines;

– socialism can be firmly established only if the working people's power is capable of protecting the revolution from any attacks by the class enemy both in the country and, which is more possible, from the outside.

These are but a few lessons of modern development of socialism. They reaffirm the great international significance of the experience of the October Revolution despite all its specific features. They show that Lenin was right as he wrote: "It is the Russian model that reveals to *all* countries something – and something highly significant – of their near and significant future."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, "‘Left-Wing’ Communism – an Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 22.

The general laws governing the development of the socialist revolution make up its content. Unless these laws are taken duly into account, no Communist party can lead the working people to victory. These laws, reflected in Marxist-Leninist theory and confirmed by practice, were formulated by the fraternal Communist parties at their international meetings. Profound understanding of the general laws, reliance on them in practical activities, a creative approach to them with due account of the specific conditions in each country have always been indispensable for the activity of Marxist-Leninist parties.

These common laws always operate in a concrete way, which means that the specific conditions of the development of a revolution in some or other country determine its national individuality and generate specific laws of its development.

Lenin wrote: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life."¹ Indeed,

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 69-70.

not a single socialist country has ever copied mechanically the forms, methods, and ways of socialist revolutions in other countries. The GDR or Poland, Hungary or Cuba, Mongolia or Yugoslavia—all the socialist countries accomplished their revolutions in their own ways dictated by the alignment of class forces in each of these countries, by the national traditions and the international situation. There were instances of armed struggle and peaceful transition to a new social system; in some countries the working people took over power instantly, and in others it took a long time. In some countries the revolution had to defend itself from foreign intervention, and in others no outside interference occurred.

The operation of the general laws of building socialism in various countries with due account of the specific conditions in each of them shows that existing socialism is a genuinely democratic, humane system mankind has never known. Ignoring these general laws, inability to apply them creatively to concrete historical conditions and national specifics in some or other country cause grave consequences.

The world socialist revolution is not a non-class process. Marx and Engels wrote: "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of

course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.”¹

The socialist revolution, called to build a society without class and then without national distinctions is accomplished by the forces and means created by each nation in a class society. It would be utopian to think that the socialist revolution can immediately overcome age-old distinctions among peoples. The existence of national distinctions is therefore an objective law of transition to socialism, and to a certain extent of life under socialism, which is the first phase of communist society.

The specificity of transition to socialism in various countries and the national aspect increase also because this transition is effected at different times and in different international conditions in which revolutions are accomplished and socialism is built. Speaking about the specific forms of transition to socialism in various countries, Lenin had in mind, first, different rates of development of a revolution; second, possible diverse forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat in different countries; third, various possible forms of class alliances and methods of suppressing the resistance of the exploiter classes (for instance, in Rus-

¹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, “Manifesto of the Communist Party”, in: Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 495.

sia the exploiters had to be deprived of suffrage, but this was not necessary in other countries); fourth, Lenin envisaged the possibility of different forms and rates of economic transformations in the process of building a socialist economy in various countries – from expropriating the bourgeoisie to using different forms of state capitalism and buying out the means of production from some sections of the bourgeoisie.¹ Lenin stressed that transition from capitalism to socialism can be effected in different ways, depending on whether big capitalist production or a small-scale economy is predominant in a country.

A decisive factor determining the concrete historical form of a proletarian revolution is the alignment of class forces both within a country and in the world. National peculiarities and specific laws of the socialist revolution cannot change its content, but the success of a revolution largely depends on whether these specifics are taken into consideration or not.

To be sure, the dictatorship of the proletariat can be in different forms depending on the conditions of development in one or another country. But to think that it is possible to effect a cardinal restructuring of society without the working class

¹ See V. I. Lenin, "Letter to American Workers", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 73.

exercising state leadership is to think in terms of fiction.

Revisionists have lately been widely discussing so-called "models of socialism", asserting that there should be different models, that the existing model of socialism has grown outdated and therefore a new model of a more "liberal and democratic" socialism is needed, and so on. The anti-socialist purport of these ideas is obvious: under the guise of a so-called new model of socialism to reject the general laws of socialist construction and the socialist system, to distort the ideal of socialism and thus to bring it close to capitalism.

When Marxists say about specifics of socialism in various countries, they see these specifics as a display of a single content at their basis. But when revisionists speak of different "models of socialism", they reject the single content of socialism; only the distinctions remain. Meanwhile real existing socialism in any country can only be a totality of common and specific, individual elements.

To take into account only what is common and to ignore what is specific or unique is to make a mistake, to impoverish real socialism which is diverse as life itself. All this is only logical, for the general never exists in pure form and is always realized through specific forms which depend on concrete circumstances. But if we discard the general and stress only the specific, we shall make

a still bigger mistake, for in this case we shall lose the objective criterion lying at the basis of the given phenomenon.

Thus, to ignore the common socialist content and exaggerate specific distinctions is a blunder made by advocates of the theory of many models of socialism.

The socialist revolutions enriched the proposition by the classics of Marxism on the possibility of diverse forms of socialist revolution.

A socialist revolution can involve an armed uprising, as was the case in Russia. There may also be guerilla struggle combined with the preparation and accomplishment of a national strike, as was the case in Cuba.

At the same time Marxism does not rule out the possibility of a peaceful transition of power into the hands of the working class.

In the situation which obtained in Russia after the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917 there was a possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were set up all across the country. The bourgeoisie did not dare, and could not, use violence against the popular masses. International imperialism was split in two hostile camps and at that time could not offer timely aid to the Russian bourgeoisie. Lenin oriented the Party and the working class on a peaceful way of going over to socialism. He said that the working

class should necessarily try and use any such opportunity "if there is even one chance in a hundred".¹

The subsequent developments were such that a non-peaceful way had to be used in the Russian Revolution. But the very fact that the possibility of two ways of development of the revolution was announced is the achievement of Lenin's thought which is topical to this day.

The possibility of developing a revolution in a peaceful way depends on the historical conditions at the time and, above all, on the absence of violence against the people from the outside, on the alignment of class forces in the country, the positions taken at the crucial moment by the army and, last but not least, on the extent of resistance offered by the ruling classes. No doubt, the possibility of a peaceful development of a revolution depends also on the international situation.

It is stressed in the programme documents of the international communist movement and in the programmes of the Communist Parties in capitalist countries that, should a real opportunity of a peaceful way arise, the Communists will do everything to use this opportunity. Thus, the Statement of the 1960 Moscow Meeting of

¹ V. I. Lenin, "On Compromises", *Collected Works*, Vol. 25, p. 311.

Communist and Workers' Parties says: "Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution."¹

For a number of reasons the possibility for a relatively peaceful transition to socialism now exists in many capitalist countries. The Communist Parties of Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan and some other countries point out in their programme documents that a peaceful road to socialism is possible and plan their actions accordingly.

However, a revolution will apparently take a non-peaceful path in those capitalist countries where bourgeois-democratic freedoms do not exist and a possibility of peaceful political strug-

¹ *The Struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, p. 74.

gle is reduced to the minimum. But proclamation of armed struggle does not rule out the use of certain peaceful forms of revolutionary struggle. The Communist Parties in the countries where the working class has taken the path of armed struggle for power pursue a flexible policy when choosing concrete forms of struggle, with due account of the situation in the country and in the world, being aware that an armed uprising against fascist and dictatorial regimes is a most probable way of winning power.

Impelled by humanist ideas, Marxists-Leninists prefer the peaceful way of accomplishing a revolution. The chief tasks of a socialist revolution are creative, and they require peace and preservation of the productive forces of society.

Armed struggle is a path which has to be taken only when the reactionary forces hostile to the revolution come out to defeat it. The practice of revolutionary struggle by the working class has shown that a peaceful way can be abandoned and an armed struggle launched instead if the bourgeoisie offers fierce resistance. For instance, the peaceful victory of the Popular Front in Spain in 1936 was followed by a violent resistance of the Spanish reactionary forces which, backed by fascist states—Germany and Italy—and with a tacit approval of Britain, France and the United States, launched a civil war in which the reac-

tionaries won. There are other examples to this effect.

When the revolutionary struggle in Chile reached a high point, the popular masses won in the 1970 elections and a number of important links of state power was in their hands. The popular power (government bodies represented by the Popular Unity alliance) existed for three years and the power of the Chilean bourgeoisie, which had a majority in parliament, exercised full control of judicial bodies. The revolution was defeated by the counter-revolutionary forces which staged a military coup in September 1973. The lessons of the Chilean revolution tell us a lot. First, they confirmed the possibility of winning power by the revolutionary people in a peaceful way; second, they show that one must not confine oneself to parliamentary struggle alone, that all extra-parliamentary ways should be used in definite conditions. And the third, which is the main thing, revolutionary power should protect reliably the gains of the revolution, be consistent in suppressing the enemies of the revolution barring them from leadership, and be prepared that the enemy would attempt to impose armed struggle. In this case force should be countered by force to secure a continued development of the revolution.

But whether a revolution is carried out peacefully or not, it always develops according to

objective laws common for all socialist revolutions: the bourgeois state machinery must be smashed, the dictatorship of the proletariat established, the unity of the working class ensured, the working class should play the leading role in its alliance with other forces, etc.

In the concept of a non-peaceful way of a revolution special stress is on the armed uprising which is the culmination of struggle, a means of overcoming the resistance of the bourgeoisie and effecting a radical change in the alignment of forces in society in favour of the revolutionary class.

Lenin taught that an armed uprising should be approached in all seriousness, that the workers should prepare for it thoroughly, not overlooking the numerous factors on which its success may depend.

Lenin was strongly opposed to both adventurism, which denied that armed struggle should be launched depending on objective conditions, and opportunism which rejected such struggle as a means of winning power. Adventurers of various stripes are trying to prove that success depends on the determination of revolutionaries and on their tactical skills. The uprising, they maintain, does not depend on objective circumstances, they propose the idea of a surprise seizure of power. But a seizure of power with no backing from the people and without a revolutionary situation is always

doomed. Marxism tells us that armed struggle is needed when there is no chance to win power in a peaceful way. But, in any case, there always should be objective conditions for a revolution, like a revolutionary situation, support of the revolution by progressive classes in the country and by proletarians in other countries. Success depends also on the subjective factor—its maturity. The Mensheviks in Russia tried to prove that the Social-Democrats could take part in a popular armed uprising, but they should not prepare it because they were “not a party of conspirers”.

The Bolsheviks took a different approach: to prepare a revolution only by stepping up a persuasion campaign, without simultaneously forming organizations for a military and technical preparation of an uprising is to lead the proletariat to an inevitable defeat. When the uprising is on the agenda, there must be a clear-cut action plan, and there must be weapons which the insurgents are taught to handle; there must be discipline, the combat forces of the revolution should be properly organized and their actions coordinated with army units which sided with the uprising, that is, the necessary organizational and technical measures should be taken in advance to ensure the fulfilment of every item of the plan of an uprising.

Carelessness is inadmissible, Lenin warned. Once the uprising has begun, it must be carried

through to the end. After the defeat of the December 1905 uprising in Russia, the Mensheviks said: "They should not have taken to arms." "On the contrary," Lenin objected, "we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively; we should have explained to the masses that it was impossible to confine things to a peaceful strike and that a fearless and relentless armed fight was necessary."¹

As for the October 1917 uprising, it was carefully timed and the place was properly chosen, the offensive actions were planned, political and military leadership of the uprising was exercised, and the plan was consistently carried into effect. Revolutionary offensive should always rely on a popular movement and be backed by the people.

This is how Lenin formulated the main rules of an armed uprising:

"(1) *Never play* with insurrection, but when beginning it realise firmly that you must *go all the way*.

"(2) Concentrate a *great superiority of forces* at the decisive point and at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgents.

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising", *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 173.

“(3) Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest *determination* and by all means, without fail, take the *offensive*. ‘The defensive is the death of every armed rising’.”¹

When analyzing a socialist revolution, the chief methodological requirement is that due account be taken of the concrete historical situation at the time. Both the path of a peaceful, or relatively “peaceful” progress of a revolutionary movement, and the path of sudden explosions of popular wrath can result in the accomplishment of the tasks of the revolution only if they ensure a transition of power into the hands of the working people and offer a wide scope for the growth of productive forces on the basis of socialized ownership of the means of production, and if they stir the masses to extensive activities, giving them access to material and cultural goods.

Marxist-Leninists have always been opposed to sticking dogmatically to some or other forms of the revolutionary process, and to reckless revolutionary actions. Revolution should not be launched for revolution’s sake – this is the conclusion which helps one correctly to assess the goals and tasks of the world revolutionary process.

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Advice of an Onlooker”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, 1977, p. 180.

Chapter Four ANTI-IMPERIALIST,
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
AND NATIONAL LIBERATION
REVOLUTIONS

1. People's Democratic
Revolutions

Anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolutions were accomplished in a number of European and Asian countries in the 1940s, after the rout of Hitler Germany and imperialist Japan in World War II. These revolutions heralded socialist reforms and were called *people's democratic revolutions*.

The countries in which they were accomplished were at different levels of social development. For this reason the socio-political content of the people's democratic revolutions was similar but not identical. Czechoslovakia and Germany were the countries in which the productive forces were highly developed, while Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had reached an average level of capitalist development.

In some of the countries the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution had not yet been accomplished and landed property was not abolished. Survivals of feudalism were great in Albania for instance.

Economic backwardness of the whole life of society and prevalence of old feudal and semifeudal forms of ownership were still greater in the countries of Southeast Asia, which freed themselves after the rout of imperialist Japan.

During World War II, these countries found themselves dependent on foreign imperialism (German, Italian and Japanese). They were either occupied or turned into fascist satellites. Therefore the immediate task which confronted the peoples of these countries was to fight against fascism, for national independence and democracy. The common tasks made the revolutions similar at the initial stage: they were being accomplished in a revolutionary way. In most of the countries this was done by the force of arms, during the war against nazi Germany and imperialist Japan which were defeated mainly due to the Soviet Union and its armed forces.

At that stage the major force in the national liberation struggle was the working class which was joined by the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and even part of the national bourgeoisie. In the course of the class struggle, the reactionary forces—landlords, big capitalists and

collaborationists—were eliminated. The patriotic forces formed a Popular Democratic Front—the foundation of national unity.

Therefore in the conditions of people's democracy broad social forces were united for the accomplishment of general democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist tasks. Most of these countries were faced also with considerable anti-feudal tasks.

In most of the countries the people's democratic revolutions went through two closely interrelated stages: of democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal reforms, and of socialist reforms.

At the first stage (in Europe it lasted from the autumn of 1944 to 1947-48) monopoly capital rule was abolished, fascism was rooted out, and public life was democratized; an agrarian reform was carried through on the principle "land belongs to those who till it", and the vestiges of feudalism were wiped off; the property of war criminals and that seized by the occupationists was nationalized; and a genuinely people's power and people's democratic states were established. Initially people's democracy was, in fact, a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat. And the hegemony of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist party in the framework of this democratic power was an embryo of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the second stage there was a regrouping of class forces, and the struggle began for nationalizing production means, for eliminating once and for all the influence of foreign monopolies and for further democratizing the state system. In this struggle the positions of the working class and all the forces allied with it grow stronger, the influence of Marxist-Leninist parties is increasing and becomes predominant, and the bourgeoisie which offers resistance is being isolated. As a result, the working class is accomplishing the tasks of the socialist revolution and establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of people's democracy.

The revolution in the European countries of people's democracy was a continuous process, its democratic and socialist stages being two phases of the single revolutionary process, and the process was guided by the working class all along. It was easier for these countries to go over from one phase to the other because they had strong Communist Parties steeled during many years of underground struggle.

In most of the countries the gradual transition from the general democratic to the socialist phase was chiefly peaceful (without an armed uprising and civil war), with the use of parliament, and within the framework of the existing constitution. Under popular pressure "from below", and by using part of the power which already belonged

to the working class - "from above", exploiters were removed from power by parliament, and a programme of socialist reforms was adopted and carried through.

The peaceful transition to the socialist phase did not rule out political contradictions and class conflicts as the revolutions developed. In some countries these contradictions grew very acute, as was the case in Czechoslovakia in February 1948. At times the bourgeoisie made desperate attempts to turn these countries back onto the path of capitalist development and to prevent socialist reforms there, while the petty bourgeoisie in town and countryside vacillated. But the class struggle, as a rule, never reached the point of a civil war.

The external political conditions were very favourable for accomplishing the people's democratic revolutions. When the Soviet Republic was being formed, no other socialist countries existed, whereas people's democracies were established with the all-round aid of the Soviet Union. The Soviet state used its growing might and influence to guard the people's democratic countries from imperialist interference which could provoke a civil war and a foreign armed intervention. The Soviet Union helped them overcome economic difficulties which domestic and foreign reactionaries tried to use to build up tensions and attack the democratic gains of the people.

The development of the people's democratic

revolution was not the same from country to country.

There were different combinations of revolutionary phases. In some countries socialist revolutions grew directly out of the liberation war against fascism, while in others they were preceded by the democratic phase during which some socialist tasks were accomplished. In some of the countries the democratic phase was clearly succeeded by the socialist one, while in others no such distinct succession occurred; in some of them the transition to socialism was more smooth and came up against lesser resistance, and in others it was accompanied by a sharp intensification of the class struggle.

In Czechoslovakia the dictatorship of the proletariat got established finally after the victory scored by the working people in February 1948. In East Germany state power became socialist with the formation of the German Democratic Republic in 1949. In Bulgaria the people's democratic state worked to accomplish simultaneously general democratic, anti-imperialist and socialist tasks.

The people's democratic revolutions in Asian countries which had been colonies or semicolonies of the biggest imperialist powers were most specific. For instance, the phase of the people's democratic revolution was longer there.

Socialist reforms in the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea were effected in peculiar conditions. That country was building socialism while the working class and peasants won only in North Korea. Meanwhile its southern part is under the yoke of the exploiter classes and international imperialism. In North Korea, where all power is in the hands of the people, revolutionary reforms were carried out for the most part in 1946-49. After the victory of the revolution, in 1950-53, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had to exert strenuous efforts to repel the aggression launched by the South Korean regime and its imperialist patrons. All this, no doubt, left its imprint on socialist development in the country.

In Vietnam the people could set to building a socialist society on a broad scale only in 1954, when an end was put to the military actions by French colonialists. In 1969 the dictatorship of the working class was established in the northern part of the country. The building of socialism was interrupted, however, by the war of aggression launched by US imperialism. The people of Vietnam, backed by the friendly socialist states, scored a victory over the aggressors in May 1975 and liberated South Vietnam, and in the summer of 1976 the southern regions of the country were reunited with the North and one socialist Vietnam was formed.

People's democracy which emerged in a

number of countries in Europe and Asia is a historically new form of proletarian dictatorship.

The first ever dictatorship of the proletariat was the *Paris Commune*. In the Commune, short-lived as it was, many elements of working-class power were taking shape.

The second historical form of the dictatorship of the proletariat was Soviet power. *Soviets* were set up during the 1905-07 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia by the revolutionary masses. Having emerged in the midst of the proletariat, the most revolutionary class, the Soviets, as they were developing, relied on ever wider sections of the popular masses and ultimately became an organization of all people. After the proletariat won power, the Soviets acted as a state of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin stressed repeatedly the international significance of the Soviets which reflected important features of proletarian power. At the same time he pointed out that these features would assume different forms in other countries.

Though Soviets and *people's democracy*, being two forms of working people's power with the working class at the head, have the main, the basic thing in common, there are differences between them caused by the historical situation in which both originated.

The broad social base of the revolution, its comparatively peaceful development, and aid

and support rendered by the Soviet Union account for what is common and specific in the people's democratic form of proletarian dictatorship.

A major specific feature of people's democracy is that the Communist and Workers' Parties exercise their leadership in the state not only through organs of power, trade unions, youth organizations, cooperatives and so on, as was the case in the Soviet Union, but also through organizations like the Popular Front, which is a form of alliance of the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia. The Popular Fronts were formed because the social basis of the revolutionary movement was broad and it was necessary to unite the motive forces of the revolution and establish alliance of the working class with the peasants and other classes and social groups coming out for a progressive development of society.

A Popular Front (National Front in Czechoslovakia, Fatherland Front in Bulgaria, etc.) set itself the chief goal of combining the efforts of the people for building socialism. It is not a state organization but a public socio-political one with a central leadership and local committees. A Popular Front has its own programme, according to which it organizes cooperation of various political parties. During elections the Popular Front nominates its candidates.

Another specific of people's democracy is the existence of several parties in some countries, with the Marxist-Leninist party playing the leading role.

The USSR had a one-party system when the dictatorship of the proletariat was exercised there. To expand the social basis of the Revolution the Communist Party allowed of cooperation with petty-bourgeois parties on the common platform of strengthening Soviet power and building socialism. Lenin wrote: "We wanted a coalition Soviet government. We did not exclude anyone from the Soviet."¹ But during the severe Civil War all the petty-bourgeois parties joined counter-revolution one by one and thus closed for themselves a possibility of taking part in the country's political activities. The only party which fought to attain the goals meeting the interests of the working people was the Communist Party. Thus the one-party proletarian dictatorship in the USSR was a result of the conditions of the class struggle at that time.

The situation was all too different in many European countries of people's democracy. The parties representing definite sections of the peas-

¹ V. I. Lenin, "Conference of Regimental Delegates of the Petrograd Garrison, October 29 (November 11), 1917. Report on the Current Situation", *Collected Works*, Vol. 26, p. 217.

antry, working intelligentsia and handicraftsmen recognized the leading role of the Marxist parties of the working class and supported the transition to the socialist stage of the Revolution. In these conditions cooperation of the Communist Parties with other parties in the countries of people's democracy became not only possible but indispensable. Such cooperation is effectively conducted at present as well.

For instance, in Bulgaria there functions, besides the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union; in the GDR there are, besides the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, the Democratic Peasants' Party, and others.

In the countries where there function several parties, their delegates are in the government and occupy key posts in local organs of power. However, they recognize the leading role of the Communist and Workers' Parties in all social and political life in the country.

The cooperation of the Communist Parties with the other parties working to build socialism in the countries of people's democracy gives the lie to the assertions of bourgeois ideologists and reformists that Communists allegedly cannot be reliable allies and after coming to power do not tolerate other parties.

One of the distinctive features of people's democracy is preservation of universal and equal suffrage for all citizens, including the bourgeoisie. In Russia the exploiters had to be deprived of the right to vote because of the severe class struggle at the time. Lenin stressed already in the initial years of Soviet power that "the question of depriving the exploiters of the franchise is a *purely Russian* question, and not a question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in general".¹

In the countries of people's democracy, due to the favourable domestic and international situation, the use of franchise by the exploiter classes could not jeopardize the existence of people's power.

In some of these countries in Europe a somewhat transformed parliamentary form of government is used. Thus, the organs of national representation in Czechoslovakia is the Federal Assembly and in Poland, the Sejm.

The experience of people's democracy combined with the experience of the Soviets is of great significance for the struggle of the peoples for democracy and socialism.

At present, the revolutionary movements, democratic in essence and popular considering

¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 255.

the broad sections of the social forces taking part in them, are gaining in significance.

The world revolutionary process in the modern epoch is not confined to socialist revolutions alone. To believe that a tide of socialist revolutions will suddenly sweep across all the countries in the non-socialist world and free them from capitalist domination means to be under the spell of primitive and dogmatic views alien to Marxism-Leninism. This absurd idea is ascribed to Marxism by its enemies. There is a definite purpose behind the distortion of Marxist views on the process: once the socialist revolution is not on the agenda in a country, then the revolution is not needed and any discourse on it is useless.

But no country in the non-socialist world will avoid a revolution. It is only a matter of time and the situation in which it will take place, of the alignment of internal and outside forces and the direct task it will be tackling.

Only a socialist revolution can tear some or other country away from capitalism and direct it onto the socialist path of development. But to effect this break, transitional, democratic revolutions are unavoidable in a number of countries. These revolutions are transitional between two types of revolutions – bourgeois (anti-feudal) and socialist (anti-capitalist).

A social revolution should necessarily combine

a victorious struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in advanced countries and a number of democratic and revolutionary, including national liberation, movements in underdeveloped, backward and oppressed nations.

All this happens because capitalism develops unevenly, and this unevenness accounts for the difference in the character of revolutionary movements in various countries.

The main kinds of modern democratic movements spearheaded against monopoly capital are: the struggle of peasant masses against the remains of feudalism being preserved by the imperialists and their anti-monopoly movement; the patriotic struggle for sovereignty; the struggle in defence of democracy; the movement of the peoples for universal peace and for the prevention of nuclear war; the humanistic movements of intellectuals and their action in defence of culture; the movement of broad popular masses for environmental protection, etc.

The struggle of the peoples for peace is among the most powerful and significant democratic movements today. There is no task facing the peoples which is more pressing than that of maintaining peace. Actions for peace and against nuclear war concern the whole of mankind and are the most imperative for every nation. Peace campaign unites the broadest sections of people, whatever their political, religious and philosophical

views, social status and political orientation. Taking part in anti-war activities are Communists and Social-Democrats, many liberals, intellectuals, clergymen and others.

The increasing participation of working-class organizations in the anti-war movement gives it a mass scope and makes it better organized and more effective. The Communist Parties are in the forefront of this struggle. Precisely Communists make the greatest contribution to rallying all the peace forces, mobilizing them for the struggle against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, against the omnipotence of the monopolies which are the main source of war.

In recent decades the democratic movements have grown to greatest proportions. These movements were generated primarily by one of the main contradictions of modern capitalism – antagonism between the monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the people.

It is possible that under certain circumstances the democratic movements against the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie may grow into *democratic revolutions*.

Such revolutions are essentially anti-monopoly, for their goal is to overthrow the dictatorship of monopolies. Their motive forces are the working class, the peasants, the middle sections of the urban population, and the democratic intelligentsia. These revolutions are a type of *people's*

democratic revolution.

Democratic revolutions differ from socialist ones in that they do not directly envisage the taking of power by the working class, the prevention of the bourgeoisie from political and public activities, the turning of private property into public property and the advancement of society on socialist lines. As regards these tasks, democratic revolutions are limited. They are directed against reactionary regimes. To topple these regimes is the purpose of democratic revolutions which involve broad popular masses. Democratic revolutions are conducive to the growth of the working-class struggle for socialism. Objectively, they promote the growth of productive forces and a rise in the living standards of the working people, and draw them into the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms. Politically, these revolutions offer a possibility for organizing the masses politically and scaling up their class struggle.

In the modern epoch democratic revolutions become increasingly significant. Even in industrialized capitalist countries, where the conditions for a socialist revolution objectively exist, and where the tasks of bourgeois anti-feudal revolutions had been accomplished way back in the last century, democratic revolutions may be a prelude of socialist ones. This concerns anti-monopoly revolutions which can bring together all the sound forces of a nation to save it from the omni-

potence of the monopolies.

Democratic revolutions can be a definite stage in the revolutionary process. Such was, for instance, the revolution in Portugal which smashed the reactionary colonial regime and granted the working people broad democratic rights. However, the alignment of forces that took shape at the time prevented the development of the revolution. The consolidation of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, which was backed up by international imperialism, and the betrayal of the revolution by the leaders of the Socialist Party caused a slowdown, and even some reverse of the revolutionary process.

Of great significance in the modern epoch are democratic revolutions linked with the national liberation movement and anti-colonialist struggle. This pertains to the developing countries which cast off the yoke of colonialism but do not yet have a sufficiently developed working class to make a democratic revolution grow into a socialist one.

The democratic revolutions in these countries can be a prelude either to socialist orientation or to capitalist development. The revolution in Egypt is a classic example of this.

But when democratic revolutions grow radical, they ensure the victory of popular democratic regimes channelling the advancement of their countries towards socialism. This is exactly what

happened in Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan and some other countries.

Historical experience has shown that by far not every democratic revolution necessarily grows into a socialist one. But it can do so if the working class, led by a Marxist party, occupies the leading position in it.

2. Anti-Imperialist National Liberation Revolutions

The present historical epoch, ushered in by the Great October Socialist Revolution, includes "a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations."¹

Describing the prospects of the world socialist revolution, Lenin pointed out the growing role of national liberation movements in it, and stressed the need for a *merger* of national liberation movements with the struggle against international imperialism.²

¹ V. I. Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, p. 60.

² See V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 159.

Lenin's idea that the national liberation movement is part of the worldwide revolutionary process of transition from capitalism to socialism served as a point of departure in the documents adopted at the International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957, 1960 and 1969.

These documents stress the significance of *general* tasks uniting the national liberation movement with other revolutionary forces of today and also point out the *specifics* of this aspect of the world revolutionary process.

The rapid growth of the national liberation movement, which brought about the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, is one of the substantial features of the modern epoch.

Imperialism had divided mankind into a handful of privileged powers and the majority of the people oppressed by them. Ever more nations and whole continents were gradually becoming victims of colonialism. In 1919, the colonies and dependent countries accounted for 72 per cent of the globe's territory and about 70 per cent of the world's population.

The colonial system means most inhuman and barbarous national oppression and exploitation of peoples. The countries within this system were deprived of political independence and their economies were made the agrarian and raw-material appendage of the parent states. The im-

perialists extended their domination to the cultural life of the enslaved nations, too, imposed ideas of a racial supremacy of the colonialists on them, and destroyed their cultural values. Imperialism caused colossal harm to the economic, political and cultural development of these peoples. The level of their economic development, with rare exceptions, is low yet.

The peoples of colonial and dependent countries never reconciled themselves with oppression. They fought courageously against the colonialists and thousands of staunch fighters for freedom and independence emerged from among their midst. But these actions were, as a rule, suppressed. For instance, in the 18th and 19th centuries all popular actions against colonialists in Asia and Africa ended in failure. The peoples of Latin America succeeded in overthrowing the rule of Spanish and Portuguese colonialists as a result of the national liberation revolutions in the first quarter of the 19th century but fell into dependence on other powers, the USA above all.

The national liberation movement could not attain its goals until it established close ties with the struggle of the working class for socialism.

The October Socialist Revolution marked a turning point in the liberation struggle of nations. It shook the very foundations of imperialism, gave a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement of the peoples and opened up

before them a prospect of defeating colonialists. The world's first socialist state became for the oppressed peoples all over the globe an inexhaustible source of moral and political support. An inspiring example for them was shown by the Soviet Central Asian republics which had traversed a path from colonial backwardness to the all-round flourishing of national economies and cultures within a brief period of time.

A new stage of the national liberation struggle started after World War II. The defeat of the forces of international reaction and fascism in that war with Soviet Union playing the decisive role in bringing about the defeat, a substantial weakening of the positions of imperialism, the emergence of the world socialist system and the revolutionary movement of the international working class provided favourable conditions for the further spread of the national liberation struggle. A new powerful blow was dealt at imperialism, and the colonial system fell into pieces. In the 1940s and 1950s the colonial system began to collapse in Asia and in the 1960s and 1970s, in Africa. The peoples of Latin America scored great success in the liberation struggle. The British, French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese colonial empires, which had been built up for centuries, were smashed within a historically brief span of time. Over 2,000 million people cast off the colonial yoke and won independence. More

than 120 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America liberated themselves from colonial and semicolonial dependence.

The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, the second most important event in world history after the formation of the world socialist system, was a great achievement of the whole of mankind.

The ideologists of imperialism are trying to prove that the colonialists willingly granted independence to oppressed peoples because the nature of capitalism had changed. But what matters here most is not the "good intentions of colonialists", or "Soviet expansionism", that is, an alleged attempt to "export" the Soviet order to other countries. The anti-communist concept of a "foreign origin" of national liberation revolutions is an insult to the peoples which have accomplished them, for it ignores the long and selfless struggle of each such people and its vanguard, and the losses it suffered to win freedom and national independence.

The colonial system tumbled down under the blows of the *national liberation revolutions*.

One of the outstanding events of the postwar decades was the *Cuban Revolution* which won on January 1, 1959. This revolution is especially significant because Cuba is a small island whose population at that time was about six million. It is a long distance away from the USSR and the

other countries of the socialist community and merely 90 miles away from the most powerful imperialist country styling itself as the world policeman.

The example of Cuba means a good deal to the peoples fighting for their liberation, including those in Latin America. Before the Cuban Revolution few people in Latin America believed that a victory could be won over US imperialism, this powerful enemy, in the nearest future.

Before the revolution Cuba was in fact fully dependent on US imperialism which drained the formerly backward Cuban economy to the utmost. The anti-popular, reactionary governments that ruled the country for many years before the revolution ruthlessly suppressed the democratic movement in Cuba, not stopping short of any measures, however cruel they might be. These reactionary governments zealously served US imperialism.

Economic and political oppression was compounded by national oppression and racial inequality. The Blacks in the country were most downtrodden and most cruelly exploited. Acute social, economic and political contradictions set off popular wrath, so the liberation struggle surged.

The victory of the Cuban Revolution had been prepared by the many years' struggle of the Cuban people for freedom and independence, by

the courageous actions of the patriotic and democratic forces against the foreign invaders, for national liberation and social progress.

The Cuban example demonstrated to the world that a revolution is not brought in from the outside, is not a result of an "export of revolution", as it is alleged by bourgeois ideologists, but is accomplished in a concrete revolutionary situation in this or that country.

The revolution in Cuba came as a result of the social, economic and political contradictions in the country aggravated to the extreme by the dictatorial Batista regime. In that situation the working class in town and countryside, the peasants, students, intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie did not wish to live in the old way, while the ruling elite could no longer rule the country in the old way. The general political crisis grew nation-wide, setting off a revolution which originally was popular-democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist. The broadest democratic and patriotic forces in Cuba took part in it.

Once the Batista dictatorship was toppled, all power in the country was taken over by the alliance of popular masses in which the leading role was played by the working class and working peasants, represented by the Insurgent Army and its revolutionary leadership.

The revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro immediately set to effecting econo-

mic, social and political reforms for the benefit of the working classes who backed up the victorious revolution. In April 1961 the Cuban Revolution was proclaimed socialist.

The specific of the transition from the popular-democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist phase of the revolution to the socialist one in Cuba was that it was brief and was effected by the same revolutionary leaders. The political power issue was resolved for both these phases at the outset. In the first phase it was a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the popular masses (workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, etc.) spearheaded against the domination of imperialism and the bourgeois-landlord oligarchy; in the second phase it was the dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the working peasants directed against capitalism.

During the Cuban Revolution the regularities inherent in the socialist revolution, those discovered by Marxist-Leninist science, were fully revealed. At the same time the revolution had a large number of specific features due to national peculiarities and the international situation.

The history of the Cuban Revolution is the history of incessant struggle against the intrigues and sabotage actions of the imperialists, US imperialists above all.

The enemies of the Cuban Revolution use any means available to attain their goals. They resort

to actions like armed intervention (as was the case in 1961), threats and blackmail, economic blockade, use of hired assassins, and pathogens of diseases and epidemics to cause harm to the economy and confusion in the country. But the heroic Cuban people rallied round their revolutionary power to roll back the invasion of reactionary forces, and they defended their gains. In doing so they relied on the support of the international working class and the broad working masses of the whole world and on the solidarity of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, which rendered Cuba all-round fraternal aid and support.

Within a historically brief span of time the Cuban people accomplished tasks of immense importance. Under the guidance of the Communist Party of Cuba, they achieved spectacular social and political successes in building socialism. Cuba today occupies a worthy place in the fraternal community of socialist countries, which is the leading force in the struggle for peace and social progress on Earth. Principled anti-imperialist policy and militant solidarity with the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence made Cuba a leader in the nonaligned movement, a major factor of international life.

A great gain of the liberation movement in Latin America has been the victory of the 1979 popular-democratic *revolution in Nicaragua*.

Since 1936 the people of that country languished under the yoke of a most cruel military-political dictatorship backed by the United States and the local regime. Somoza senior, the architect of this terroristic regime, planned the treacherous assassination of General Augusto Sandino, a national hero of Nicaragua. The Somoza clan, backed up by US imperialism, for a long time retained power in the country.

The latter half of the 1970s saw a mighty growth of opposition forces which rallied round the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The front, which emerged in 1961, for years fought against the dictatorial regime.

Powerful anti-dictatorship actions and demonstrations swept all across the country in 1978-79, and the guerilla movement expanded considerably. On July 19, 1979, the Somoza dictatorial regime fell under the blows of the patriots.

The new administration included representatives of democratic and patriotic forces. The Government of National Regeneration set to effecting progressive agrarian reforms and began to restore the economy ravaged by the civil war. Decrees were adopted, declaring the expropriation of property of the Somoza family, nationalization of private banks, the ore mining industry and foreign trade, and the disbandment of the National Guard, the main force of the dictatorial regime;

new armed forces—the Sandinista People's Army—were formed. The renovation programme provides for deep-going social, economic and political change for the benefit of the working people.

The Nicaraguan Revolution was democratic, anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist and socialist-oriented. At its first, anti-dictatorial stage, its motive forces were all classes and sections of society: the workers, peasants, the urban middle sections, and also the petty and middle bourgeoisie, officials, clergy, intellectuals, students, and others.

After the overthrow of Somoza, political polarization in the country placed the working class in the advanced position, while the local bourgeoisie and the middle sections joined the opposition. In these conditions the Nicaraguan Revolution entered a new phase and began to develop towards socialism.

US imperialists have come out to hamper the advancement of the Nicaraguan Revolution and are conducting an "undeclared war" against the people of Nicaragua. Beginning with the spring of 1983, large bands, trained and armed with CIA money, have been infiltrated regularly into the country. The saboteurs destroy factories, farmers' cooperatives, blow up bridges and fuel depots, and kill civilians. CIA and Pentagon agents in neighbouring Honduras have a hand in planning

military actions against Nicaragua. The aircraft of the US Air Force, fitted out with combat electronic equipment, conduct permanent observation of Nicaraguan territory and dispatch intelligence data to the counter-revolutionaries, and US warships constantly cruise along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts of Central America. The developments in Nicaragua are a classical example of how imperialism exports counter-revolution.

Faced with the grave threat, the people of Nicaragua are arming themselves and the Sandinista leadership is taking measures to foil the interventionist plans of the US Administration.

The Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries make common cause with the national-democratic revolution in Nicaragua. It is backed up by many countries in Latin America and on other continents and by the nonaligned movement. All this is only logical, for in our day and age the revolutionary movement of any country and any people fighting for national and social liberation can expect to receive international support from all anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

The 1970s saw the expansion and deepening of the revolutionary process in Africa. In that situation a national-democratic *revolution was accomplished in Ethiopia.*

That revolution had been caused by most acute social and national contradictions, a profound crisis in the entire system of power, and general discontent throughout the country. The popular masses of Ethiopia languished under the triple—feudal-monarchic, capitalist and neocolonialist—oppression. Before the revolution, Ethiopia was an agrarian country with poorly developed farming and industry; most of its population was poverty-stricken and illiterate. According to UN official data, its annual per capita income was among the lowest in Africa. Its people were deprived of elementary democratic liberties and social rights. Political parties and public organizations were banned, except for charity societies and government-controlled trade unions. The feudal-monarchic regime was a brake on the country's socio-economic, cultural and political advancement.

As a result, a revolutionary situation took shape in Ethiopia in 1974. A tide of strikes, peasant rebellions and student unrest rolled across the country. Discontent began to spread in the army. Therefore it was logical and inevitable that the Ethiopian people, driven to despair, rose up against the regime, toppled the monarchy, and the victorious revolution proclaimed anti-feudal and anti-imperialist goals right away.

In a bid to overthrow the revolutionary regime in Ethiopia, the imperialist forces and their

accomplices launched a hostile campaign against it. In the summer of 1977 the country was attacked by Somalia which, egged on by the USA and the reactionary Arab regimes, attempted to seize part of Ethiopian territory. With the internationalist aid of the socialist-community countries the aggressor was defeated and its troops were driven away from the country. After that the flash points of counter-revolution were put out in Ethiopia itself.

The people of Ethiopia today are effectively wiping out vestiges of feudalism. They have formed the Ethiopian Workers' Party, which guides the efforts to complete a major phase in the revolution that must provide conditions for going over to building socialism.

The April Revolution in Afghanistan (1978) was the most outstanding event in the long history of the Afghan people. It came as a turning point from feudal-capitalist forms of exploitation to people's power, to elimination of national strife, of all kinds of oppression and inequality. That historic turn led the Afghan people onto the path of overcoming ages-old economic, scientific, technological and cultural backwardness, the path of independent national development and social progress.

Anti-communist propaganda alleges that the events in Afghanistan had been inspired by the Soviet Union. In actual fact, the revolution of the

Afghan people is doubtlessly an internal affair of the country: the USSR had nothing to do with the revolution.

The people's power today is accomplishing effectively the tasks set by the April 1978 Revolution. The programme of social and economic reforms advanced by the republic's government envisages the next phases of the land reform with a view to eliminating vestiges of feudalism in the countryside; enhancing the role of the state sector in the economy; developing the national languages and cultures of all nationalities and tribes; and wiping off the remaining influence of colonialism and neocolonialism in all spheres of the country's life. Among the main tasks is that of overcoming economic backwardness. A national campaign to combat illiteracy has been launched in Afghanistan and measures are taken to develop the health service and raise the living standards of the working people. Many social problems would have already been solved, if it were not for the criminal interference of the USA, Pakistan and some other countries.

The facts show that a veritable undeclared war, provoked and supported by the United States above all, is being waged against Afghanistan from the territory of Pakistan. Detachments of mercenaries armed with NATO weapons, including artillery, grenade throwers and missiles, and trained by US instructors, are smuggled into

Afghanistan. They make raids on Afghan state offices, schools, hospitals, mosques, attack the population of towns and villages, and massacre civilians.

Responding to repeated requests by the leadership of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, fulfilling its internationalist duty of assisting the Afghan people in repelling an armed aggression from the outside, brought into Afghanistan a limited contingent of Soviet troops. That action was done fully in accord with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and Article 4 of the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Cooperation signed in December 1978. In June 1980, as the life in the country was gradually coming back to normal, the USSR, by agreement with the government of Afghanistan, withdrew some units of the Soviet military contingent from the country. The USSR is for a political settlement of the problem around Afghanistan and has expressed its preparedness to withdraw all its troops from there on agreement with the Afghan government when counter-revolutionary groups are no longer smuggled into Afghanistan.

The revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and other countries all have their own specifics caused primarily by the historical conditions at the time. There are considerable distinctions also in the level achieved by the peo-

ple of one or another country in building a new life.

What is common for these revolutionary reforms is that they all are anti-imperialist national-democratic revolutions.

National liberation revolutions are the culmination of the national liberation movement, that is, of the struggle waged by the peoples against foreign oppression, for political and economic independence. The goals of national liberation revolutions are to eliminate foreign political, economic and ideological domination and oppression, and to build a sovereign state. They are a big stride into a new social quality, to the highest stage in the national liberation movement, during which contradictions are resolved between the oppressed nations and imperialism.

National liberation revolutions overcome contradictions in the economic, political, social and class, and cultural spheres, that is, in every aspect of public life. In the economic sphere contradictions are eliminated between the need to develop productive forces and the outdated colonial relations of production. In the political sphere – between the need for sovereignty and the political domination of imperialism in colonial countries. In class relations – between the alliance of imperialism with local reactionaries and the anti-imperialist-minded majority of the working people and oppressed masses: the workers, peasants,

petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, patriotic servicemen, and democratic national bourgeoisie. In the cultural sphere—between the needs of cultural progress of an oppressed nation and spiritual oppression on the part of imperialism.

Political power is the main issue of the national liberation revolution, and of any social revolution for that matter. Lenin said: “The passing of state power from one *class* to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a *revolution*, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of that term.”¹ During a national liberation revolution state power is passed from foreign monopolies and their stooges—domestic reactionaries—to the patriotic and democratic forces of the previously oppressed nation.

The chief tasks of national liberation revolutions are of national magnitude: the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle against internal social forces, anti-imperialist struggle against foreign oppression, and democratization of every aspect of public life.

The character and tasks of national liberation revolutions are determined by the motive forces taking part in the accomplishment of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks. The motive forces of

¹ V. I. Lenin, “Letters on Tactics”, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 44.

the national liberation revolutions today are the emergent and growing proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and civilian and military intelligentsia. All these classes and social groups, comprising the overwhelming majority of the population (with the exception of the pro-imperialist and comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal elite), are interested in the solution of national anti-imperialist, anti-feudal problems and long for democratic change in the life of society.

Various countries were on different levels of economic and political development on the eve of the national liberation revolutions, which accounts for the difference of their social structures. The numerical strength of the working class, its organization and class awareness were by far not the same in all countries. Therefore its role in the national liberation revolutions in various countries was different, too.

In some of them the proletariat was not only a major force in the national liberation revolution but led it and was itself guided by its Marxist-Leninist party. This made possible the growing of a national liberation revolution into a socialist one (China, Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba). But in a number of countries the working class was insignificant, and scattered among small and minute industrial enterprises; it was for the most part illiterate and weak organizationally and ideologically, and therefore unable to influence decisively

the course and outcome of the national liberation revolution.

But in all countries without exception the working class could best of all, by virtue of its objective position, express the vital interests of all people and, as experience shows us, has been the most consistent anti-imperialist force capable of leading broad sections of working people.

Recent decades have seen a fast numerical growth of the working class in many developing countries. Today, it accounts for over a half, or at least almost a quarter of entire hired labour there. The number of industrial workers is growing 2 or 3 times as fast as the population as a whole.

The peasantry is the largest, and in some countries the main, motive force of a national liberation revolution. In colonial and dependent countries the peasants are under the double oppression of local feudal lords and foreign monopolists. To eliminate colonial oppression it is necessary to get rid of vestiges of feudalism in the countryside and to solve the question of land.

The bourgeoisie is a contradictory element in this movement. Some of its groupings often hold diametrically opposite views with regard to national liberation struggle. The reactionary bourgeois elite, linked with imperialism, is usually hostile to national forces. Together with feudal landlords it is the mainstay of the state of

foreign imperialism in colonial and dependent countries.

A different posture is held by the so-called national bourgeoisie. Investing in production, it wants a national market protected against foreign monopolies, which can be achieved by building a national state free from dependence on foreign monopolies. Therefore it tends not only to join the national liberation movement but to place it under its own control. The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal aspirations of the national bourgeoisie bring its interests in accord with those of the nation at definite stages of the revolution. In many countries outstanding leaders of the liberation movement, who sought to give it their own slogans, came from the patriotically-minded sections of the bourgeoisie.

But the positions of the bourgeoisie in a national liberation revolution are inconsistent and controversial. It fears the working class and the peasants, it fears radical reforms affecting its own interests, and tends to reach compromise with the colonialists at the expense of the popular masses.

Patriotic intellectuals often play the leading role in a national liberation movement. Precisely they assume key positions in a revolution and in the state in the countries where the working class has not yet emerged as an independent force and the bourgeoisie pursues a pro-imperialist policy.

So-called middle (petty bourgeois) sections—craftsmen, artisans, small traders, etc.—are active in national liberation revolutions. These sections are numerous and influential, especially in Africa.

In national liberation revolutions various classes defend their own class interests in the long run. Therefore internal social contradictions between classes (between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between peasants and feudal lords, between the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, etc.) persist in colonial and dependent countries. The reason behind all this is double—national and class—oppression. At the first stage of a national liberation revolution, that of struggle for political independence, general national contradictions are resolved between the oppressed and the oppressor nations. But this in no way removes internal class contradictions.

National liberation revolutions today are revolutions of a new type in social content. They are spearheaded against imperialism and in many countries also against feudal (and in some of them pre-feudal) relations maintained by imperialism. The goal of national liberation revolutions is not only political but also economic liberation of former dependent and colonial countries. If they remain economically dependent on imperialism, the peoples of newly-free countries cannot follow the path of social and political progress. What is

worse still, economic dependence is a constant and serious threat to their political independence.

During a national liberation revolution a decision is made which path a country is to follow.

In some countries national liberation revolutions were led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in alliance with the peasants (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and others), and with the all-round aid, based on principles of proletarian internationalism, rendered them by the USSR and other socialist countries. An alliance of the working class and the peasants can be formed and grow strong in the course of the struggle for national liberation and socio-economic change (as was the case, for instance, in Cuba). In these countries the revolution grew comparatively rapidly into a revolution of a socialist type.

In the modern epoch there can also be national liberation revolutions which do not go beyond the limits of a bourgeois revolution, though on the whole they do undermine world capitalism (as, for instance, in India, Senegal, Nigeria, and Kenya). In the countries which after liberation go along the capitalist path, the motive force of national liberation revolutions also were the broad masses of working people, but political leadership and power was in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. Social and economic

reforms in these countries, despite their anti-imperialist thrust (the setting up of the public sector, agrarian reform, etc.), are effected mainly to suit the class interests of the national bourgeoisie. Such revolutions are a variety of bourgeois-democratic revolutions that are anti-imperialist in their character.

At the same time, the alignment of class forces in the world and new historical conditions offer the working people in the newly-free countries a chance to proceed along the non-capitalist path of development, in the direction of socialism.

The idea of advancement towards socialism by peoples that have not gone through the stage of capitalist development, was first suggested by Marx and Engels. Believing in the possibility for backward nations of "considerably shortening their advance to socialist society",¹ they expected it would largely spare the peoples a good deal of suffering and a waste of human lives and productive forces,² which inevitably is followed by the emergence of new capital which "comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt".³

¹ Frederick Engels, "On Social Relations in Russia", in: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, Vol. Two, 1976, p. 403.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, 1984, p. 712.

The possibility for the peoples backward in socio-economic terms to by-pass the capitalist stage was seen by Marx and Engels in that the progressive qualities of capitalism had been exhausted and the possibility increased for socialist revolutions to win in Europe and have a decisive impact on the destinies of backward nations.

They wrote also that the socialist countries should aid these nations which had undertaken to go through an "abbreviated process of development", and stressed the significance of the example of transforming society on socialist lines.¹

In the new historical epoch Lenin upheld and developed the doctrine of Marx and Engels on the possibility for backward nations to go over to socialism skipping capitalism.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution created for the newly-free countries an opportunity to start building socialism, by-passing the capitalist phase.

The downfall of the colonial system and the choice of the way of development by newly-free countries posed the question of the applicability of the theory of non-capitalist development to countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As the world socialist system was becoming a decisive factor of world social development, tip-

¹. See Frederick Engels, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

ping the balance of world forces cardinally in favour of socialism, broader opportunities presented themselves for choosing the non-capitalist path.

In the developing countries a massive revolutionary national liberation movement has emerged, revolutionary-democratic parties have been formed, and the Marxist-Leninist parties have grown.

Now that the non-capitalist way in a number of developing countries gives rise, in practice, to new forms of economic and political bondage, the possibility of going over to the non-capitalist path ensures decisive advantages. And, last but not least, preconditions for taking the non-capitalist path of development are provided also by the need for the social emancipation of the working people from the oppression of not only imperialism but of the reactionary forces at home as well.

The number of states that have opted for socialist orientation keeps increasing. Among them are Afghanistan, Angola, Algeria, Burma, the Congo, Ethiopia, and South Yemen, to mention but a few—all in all 20 countries.

What is the socio-economic nature of the non-capitalist path of development? It is not some "third" way opposed to both capitalism and socialism.

The non-capitalist path should not be identified with the socialist one, for socialism cannot be

built without a socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

The non-capitalist path of development is a path of future orientation towards socialism; it is a pre-socialist stage at which objective and subjective preconditions (economic, socio-political and cultural) are created for a socialist revolution. This makes it possible to bring out what is common for the socialist-oriented countries and the world socialist community: the struggle against imperialism in the world arena, the struggle for the interests of the working people, for elimination of exploiter relations, for the social and economic progress of these countries. Besides, this approach to the non-capitalist path of development enables one to see it clearly as a democratic stage on the path to a new one, to be started by a socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Countries in Asia and Africa are developing along the non-capitalist path in new international conditions, when the world socialist system increasingly determines world social progress—the main road of mankind's development. The domestic conditions of development in the countries of socialist orientation have their specifics as well. Among them are weakness of the national working class (in terms of numerical strength, organization and ideology) or its absence altogether at the time the non-capitalist path is

chosen; and political leadership by a revolutionary-democratic party. The most important specific, however, is that all socialist-oriented countries of Asia and Africa are not part of the world capitalist economic system, but have not yet entered the world economic system of socialism. All this allows us to regard the present-day development of Afro-Asian countries along the non-capitalist path as a new phenomenon.

The non-capitalist path is a stage in the development of a country with pre-capitalist, or immature capitalist relations, during which political, economic, social and cultural preconditions are provided for the victory of a socialist revolution and establishment of proletarian dictatorship. This definition takes into account the practice of socio-economic reforms in socialist-oriented countries and is of great significance for revolutionary-democratic and Marxist-Leninist parties elaborating their strategy and tactics and formulating slogans to be addressed to the popular masses.

The orientation of developing countries towards socialism can lead to the victory of a socialist revolution only if the international class alliance of the peoples advancing along the non-capitalist path with the world socialist system is strengthened, and if national-democratic reforms are carried through consistently in these countries. Precisely in this alliance the more common laws

governing the development of the world revolutionary process are revealed: unity, interrelationship and interdependence of all revolutionary and liberation movements, and alliance of the working class and the peasants and other working people, the working class playing the leading role. The alliance of the working class with the peasants can be achieved in these countries only when the national working class grows to become the leading force in society and is capable of exercising the economic, political and ideological leadership of society.

The most important political law governing non-capitalist development is the formation of a state which could attain the goals of socialist orientation. The role of political factors in these countries is enormous, for orientation towards building socialism is not a spontaneous process.

The practical experience of socialist-oriented countries shows that their political foundation is alliance of all progressive patriotic forces which fight for national independence, for broad democracy, for a consistent carrying through of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution. This alliance includes the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie in town and countryside, and a certain part of the national middle bourgeoisie (which by that time loses total control of political power in the country).

The democratization of political power in-

volves democratization of the army and adoption of a new constitution.

These processes show that the national-democratic states begin increasingly to express the interests of the working masses. By their class nature they are a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the people: of proletarian, semi-proletarian and non-proletarian working sections of society. These states are not of a bourgeois type, for they not only carry on consistent struggle against imperialism but also limit the development of capitalism in the country and establish alliance with the world socialist system. But, as has been already said here, they cannot be classed among states of the socialist type either, for they are not yet the dictatorship of the proletariat, they do not completely eliminate exploiter relations, and have not yet set to building socialism.

The states of socialist orientation today are in a sense an embodiment of Lenin's idea of the dictatorship of the working people, a state preceding the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries. Socialist-oriented states are on the way to the socialist type of states.

These states can prepare a transition to a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat provided they rely increasingly on the national working class and the working peasantry. Their chief tasks and functions are determined by the essence of non-capitalist development. At present they are

effecting anti-imperialist and anti-feudal reforms and are gradually limiting the development of capitalism within the country with a view to eliminating all exploiter relations, both feudal and capitalist, which can be done only by a state of proletarian dictatorship.

The practice of non-capitalist development of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the current practice of socialist-oriented countries has made it clear that there must be a vanguard capable of administering society effectively along the path of socialist orientation, that is, Marxist-Leninist parties should be formed.

The immediate task set by the socialist-oriented countries with a multi-party system is to establish and strengthen a united progressive National Front.

The chief task confronting the countries of socialist orientation in economic development is to win full economic independence and create material and economic conditions for building socialism.

At the same time the economic policy of these states is to eliminate the multi-structural character of feudal and pre-feudal relations. The socio-economic reforms in the countries of socialist orientation are becoming the object of severe class struggle in which the polarization of classes

and social sections corresponds to the two possible trends: orientation towards socialism or capitalism.

The experience of the revolutionary movement has shown that the struggle carried on by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for national liberation and social emancipation is the more effective the stronger is their alliance with the socialist world, and the more effective are joint actions by all revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism.

The influence of the world socialist system on the developing countries and those fighting for liberation is fairly diverse. The world socialist system is the decisive condition for a victorious accomplishment of national liberation revolutions and for a choice by the developing nations of socialist orientation on the non-capitalist path of development. It is the centre of the world revolutionary process, and a reliable shield and the main ally guaranteeing newly-free countries independent development.

The socio-economic and political advantages of socialism and the powerful military potential of the USSR and other socialist countries enable the world socialist system, together with all peace-loving nations, to carry on effective struggle for peace, thereby providing most favourable conditions for a progressive development of the nations fighting for their complete liberation.

The example offered by the experience of the countries of existing socialism is an important factor of the influence of the world socialist system on the national liberation movement. The world socialist system has been rendering constant assistance (material, technological, scientific, personnel-training, financial, cultural, moral, political, military, diplomatic, etc.) to all newly-free countries, especially to those of them which have chosen socialist orientation.

Various forms of cooperation between the USSR and developing countries have been developing well. The construction of projects by a general contract, that is, on the "turn key" basis, has been widely practised today. Such projects are now under construction in Afghanistan, Algeria, Iraq, Iran, Lybia, Nigeria, and other countries. Some projects are built on the compensation basis, that is, the Soviet construction organizations are paid the costs by the client country with the produce of the enterprises being built. Agreements of this kind have been signed by the Soviet Union with Afghanistan, Algeria, the Congo, Egypt, India, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Guinea, and Morocco, to mention but a few. Production cooperation often develops on the basis of these projects.

As of January 1, 1984, about 5,000 industrial and other projects had been built, were under construction or in the blueprint stage with the

economic and technical aid of socialist countries: 2,752 projects in Asia, 2,000 in Africa, and over 200 in Latin America. About 3,300 projects have already been commissioned, to become entirely the property of the developing countries. Of them, 1,647 are in the countries of Asia, 1,507 in Africa, and 140 in Latin America.

It should be noted here that the enterprises built or being under construction with the aid of socialist countries are, as a rule, in the key industries and help establish the public sector, develop the national industry and enhance the economic and cultural level of the developing countries. For instance, 96 projects of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy have been built, or are planned to be built, in developing states with the aid of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. These are iron-and-steel complexes in India, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, a bauxite complex in Guinea, and a huge steel plant in Nigeria with the annual capacity of 1.3 million tonnes.

Aware of the acute food problem confronting most of the young states, the Soviet Union assists them in building up their agricultural potential, constructs irrigation and land reclamation projects, and helps to establish large state-run farming and livestock-breeding farms, grain elevators, and so on.

The support by the socialist community to the developing countries' efforts to achieve a restruc-

turing of international economic relations is rendered on a long-term basis. This cooperation rests on principles of complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

The economic and technical assistance of the socialist countries to developing states has at present a number of specific features: it helps develop the public sector on a planned basis, mainly according to long-term inter-governmental agreements, and is aimed at promoting production and establishing national economic complexes.

The member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance have signed long-term inter-governmental agreements on various forms of cooperation, including trade, and economic and technical aid, for a period of 5 to 15 years and longer, with 80 developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These agreements enable the partners to draw up comprehensive plans of promoting trade, economic, scientific and technological ties.

The rapid growth of the USSR's trade with developing states is evidence that cooperation between the Soviet Union and these states is of mutual benefit.

The Soviet Union trades with 102 developing countries, and with 78 of them trade is conducted according to the treaties signed between them.

Long-term trade agreements and programmes of trade and economic cooperation have been signed with many states.

The training of national personnel is an important area in this aid. During the years of cooperation, not less than one million people from the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been trained and acquired high skills with the help of Soviet experts during the construction and servicing of the projects built, at the educational institutions established with Soviet aid, at Soviet higher and specialized secondary schools, and at Soviet enterprises.

The Soviet economic and technological aid is not only expanding, but is being constantly improved, acquiring new forms and content.

The USSR's relations with developing countries are based on the policy of proletarian internationalism which rules out interference in their internal affairs. What is more, support by the countries of existing socialism helps the emergent states to strengthen their freedom and sovereignty in the area of economy and home and foreign policy, and to curb imperialist interference and aggression against them. The principles of internationalism are being applied increasingly in those socialist-oriented countries whose leaders have risen in their ideological and political development from anti-imperialist protest to realizing the objective need for a political, economic

and ideological orientation towards socialism. This, in turn, has a revolutionizing effect on the socio-political and economic reforms effected in the countries where a national-democratic revolution is under way.

The goals and ways of socialist construction, towards which the national-democratic revolutions are guided, require a consistent overcoming of dependence on the capitalist system. And the disinterested internationalist support rendered by the socialist countries facilitates these efforts.

The development of the national-democratic revolutions has reaffirmed that internationalism means that a maximum of what is practicable should be done in one country in order to promote, back up and stimulate revolutions in all countries.

As the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are freeing themselves from the shackles of colonialism and neocolonialism, their role in the destinies of the world today has been growing steadily. Responsibility for the future of mankind is seen clearly in the activities of the nonaligned countries coming out for detente, and against *diktat* by imperialism and its aggressive plottings in various parts of the world.

The nonaligned movement is an important practical form of uniting developing countries on the anti-imperialist basis.

The movement is not homogeneous in compo-

sition. Most of the newly-free countries are still economically, and sometimes also politically, dependent on imperialism and remain in the world capitalist economic system. Among the members of the movement are Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and some other socialist states, and also countries which have chosen the path of socialist orientation. These states consistently and firmly uphold the principles of nonalignment.

The socialist and nonaligned countries, which have common interest in countering the aggressive schemings of imperialism, adhere to common or close views on the key problems of our day and age. They all agree that today there is no task more important than prevention of nuclear war and curbing the arms race. Life has shown that the solidarity front of socialist and nonaligned countries can effectively counter the aggressive course of imperialism and hegemonism.

CONCLUSION

The world revolutionary process is gaining momentum and is advancing steadily towards new revolutionary storms. The main revolutionary forces of today are the socialist world system, the international working class and the national liberation movement. The earnest of success of the great cause of peace, progress and socialism is in the unity of the revolutionary forces.

In the centre of the revolutionary forces of our time are the working class and the world socialist system, the product of many years of its struggle and work, and this system is increasingly becoming a decisive factor of world history.

The forecasts of a decline of the world revolutionary movement, whose authors extolled modern

capitalism which, allegedly, would smooth out the acute contradictions of social life and the main one among them—the contradiction between labour and capital—in the framework of industrial and postindustrial society with the help of scientific and technological progress, have proved wrong.

One cannot fail to see these contradictions at the present stage of development. There is a growing belief that they can be resolved only in a revolutionary way.

The process of the revolutionary remaking of the world is now faced also with global problems which can be solved only by removing the obstacles put up by imperialism.

Global problems affect the interests of the whole of mankind, of all countries whatever their territory, population, level of socio-economic development, and social system. Among these vital problems, on whose solution further social progress now depends, are: prevention of a world nuclear war and ensuring of peaceful conditions for the development of all nations; the overcoming of the economic backwardness of Asian, African and Latin American countries caused by colonialism; termination of the rapid population growth (“demographic explosion”) in developing countries; prevention of the catastrophic pollution of the environment; provision of mankind with the necessary natural resources required for

its development, including food, industrial raw materials and energy sources.

All global problems acutely, and at times agonizingly, affect the vital interests of developing states. And the developing world as a whole is itself a key problem which cannot be solved unless the widening gap between industrialized and developing countries in economic levels and per capita incomes of the population is closed by eliminating backwardness, hunger, poverty and illiteracy in developing countries and raising the living and cultural standards of their populations.

There are different ways and means of solving these problems. Some should be solved immediately, for mankind is faced with a mortal danger, and others will take more time. But in any conditions, only elimination of imperialist forces in a revolutionary way can ensure their complete solution.

Hence the urgent need to make the masses understand the essence of revolution and the laws governing these most important periods in historical development.

Explaining the laws of revolution, the Marxist-Leninist theory helps to muster forces for the accomplishment of the revolutionary tasks of today.

GLOSSARY

Armed uprising, an armed action by some social groups or classes against political power. It is one of the chief means of winning power by the working class when peaceful means cannot be used and the reactionary classes resort to violence.

Bourgeois revolution, a revolution accomplished to smash the feudal system or what has remained of it and establish the power of the bourgeoisie, thus providing conditions for capitalist development; in dependent and colonial countries it also has another goal – to win national independence.

Class struggle is conducted between classes whose interests are incompatible or opposed to one another; the main content and motive force in all antagonistic societies (slave-holding, feudal and capitalist).

Classes, large groups of people, distinguished by their place in a historically definite system of social production, above all by their relation to the means of production, their role in the social organization of labour and therefore by the ways

of obtaining a share of public wealth (and the size of that share) which they possess.

Cultural revolution, a cardinal change in the cultural development of a country, which is part of socialist reforms. It includes the creation of a socialist system of public education; re-education of the bourgeois and training of new, socialist intelligentsia; overcoming of the influence of an outdated ideology and the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology; creation of socialist culture and reshaping the way of life.

Counter-revolution, the struggle of a class overthrown, or being overthrown, in a social revolution with the purpose of restoring the moribund social and state system.

Dictatorship of the proletariat, the power of the working class established as a result of a socialist revolution to build socialism and effect a transition of society to building communism. The highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the leading position of the working class, acting in alliance with the peasantry and other democratic forces, in society and the state.

Evolution, (Lat. *evolutio*—development) in the broad sense of the word, changes in society and nature, their directions, succession and regularities; a definite state of any system is viewed as a result of more or less lengthy changes in its previous state; in a more narrow sense, it means

slow and gradual quantitative changes as distinct from revolution.

Formation, socio-economic, a society at a definite stage of historical development, a definite type of society at a certain period of history. The term "socio-economic formation" covers all aspects of the life of society in their close interrelationship. Each socio-economic formation is based on a definite mode of production, and the existing relations of production make up its essence. It also includes a corresponding superstructure, the type of family, way of life, etc.

Imperialism (Lat. *imperium*—power, rule), monopoly capitalism, the highest and last stage of capitalism, the eve of the socialist revolution.

Marxism-Leninism, a scientific system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views making up the world outlook of the working class; a science of the cognition and revolutionary transformation of the world, of the laws governing the development of society, nature and human thought, and the laws of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and all working people for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialist and then communist society.

Means of production, the aggregate of instruments and objects of labour used by people to produce material goods.

Mode of production, the historically definite manner of producing necessities of life determined by the existing productive forces and relations of production. It is the basis of a socio-economic formation. One mode of production is replaced by another one in a revolutionary way.

National liberation revolution, a revolution growing out of the national liberation movement to eliminate foreign domination and colonial oppression and exploitation, to win national independence, enable a nation to exercise its rights to self-determination and to formation of a national state.

Opportunism (Lat. *opportunus*—suitable, advantageous), theory and practice in the working-class movement contradicting the actual interests of the proletariat, and pushing the working-class movement towards class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Speaking in class terms, it is manifestation of petty-bourgeois ideology and policy; in theoretical terms, it acts now as revisionism, now as dogmatism.

People's democracy, a form of a political organization of society established in a number of countries of Europe and Asia as a result of the people's revolutions in the 1940s. As the people's democratic revolutions grew into socialist ones, it became a form of proletarian dictatorship.

People's democratic revolution, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic revolution which took place during World War II and after it in a number of countries in Europe and Asia. It was a prelude of socialist reforms in these countries.

Productive forces, a system of personal (man) and material (means of production) elements reflecting the active attitude of people to nature, expressed in the material and cultural development of natural wealth, during which conditions are reproduced for man's existence and development.

Proletariat, hired workmen under capitalism, who have no means of production of their own and live by selling their labour power, being exploited by capitalists.

Reform (Fr. *réforme*, Lat. *reformatio*—transformation), change, transformation of some aspects of public life without eliminating the foundations of the existing social structure; formally, any innovation, but normally a more or less progressive change.

Reformism, a political trend in the working-class movement denying the need for a socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. Its advocates stand for cooperation between classes and seek to turn capitalism into a society of "general welfare" and social justice by means of reforms

within the framework of the bourgeois system.

Relations of production, the totality of material and economic relations between people in the process of social production and the movement of the social product from production to consumption. They reflect the property relations, which determine the distribution of the means of production, as well as of people, in social production (i. e. the class structure of society).

Revisionism, unscientific revision of Marxist-Leninist principles; an opportunist trend in the revolutionary movement. There is right-wing revisionism which substitutes bourgeois revisionist views for Marxism, and "left-wing" revisionism which replaces Marxist ideas with anarchist and voluntarist ones.

Revolutionary situation, a situation in which social and political conditions have become ripe for a revolution.

Revolution, social, the way of going over from a historically outdated socio-economic formation to a more progressive, a cardinal turn in the entire socio-economic structure of society.

Socialism, the first, or the lower, phase of communism. This is a social system which emerges as a result of a victory of a socialist revolution. Socialism abolishes private ownership and exploitation of man by man, eliminates economic crises

and unemployment, and offers a broad scope for a fast and steady development of productive forces and continued improvement of relations of production. The material basis of socialism is large-scale machine production. The purpose of social production is to raise the people's living standards and ensure the all-round development of every member of society. The principle of socialism is "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work".

Socialist revolution, a proletarian revolution, the highest type of social revolution ensuring a transition from the capitalist socio-economic formation to the communist one.

State, the main instrument of political power in a class society. It appeared as a result of the social division of labour, the emergence of private property and formation of antagonistic classes.

State of the whole people, a special type of socialist state; political organization of the whole people with the working class playing the leading role.

Working class, one of the main classes in modern society, the chief motive force of the historical process of transition from capitalism to socialism and to communism. Under capitalism the working class (proletariat) consists of hired workers who are deprived of any means of production, live by selling their labour, and are exploited by capitalists.

World revolutionary process, the revolutionary movements of our time taken together. Its elements are socialist revolutions and national liberation, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist revolutions, and popular anti-feudal democratic revolutions. The world revolutionary process, which in the long run has an anti-imperialist thrust, is a typical feature of our epoch.

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