

# PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AND BRITISH ROAD TO SOCIALISM

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*From "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy", organ of the Communist Information Bureau, September 29, 1950*

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*From "People's China", Peking, January 1950*

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**People's Democracy, a New Form of Political Organization of Society**

**Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow 1954**

### 10. **The British Road to Socialism**

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#### 1. **The Road of Our People's Democracy**

*Matyas Rakosi*

Early in 1945 when our country had been liberated and when, after 25 years of underground work, the Hungarian Communist Party was able to show itself legally and

openly in the arena of political life, we soon experienced that a good part of our Communists failed to realise the strategy and tactics of our Party.

What were the strategic aims of our Party at that time?

Like all other Communist Parties in the countries oppressed by Hitler during World War II, the Hungarian Communist Party considered that its most important strategic task was to destroy the German Fascist conquerors. To this end wide anti-Fascist coalitions were set up by the Communist Parties in these countries, according to the directives of Comrade Stalin. These coalitions included peasants, small bourgeois and even elements of the medium bourgeoisie – in brief all those ready to take part in the struggle for national liberation.

The Communist Parties foresaw that the victory in this hard struggle would not only mean the defeat of Nazism, but also the overthrow of the allies of Fascism, the big feudal land-owners and the capitalists. Victory would therefore result in the redistribution of the land.

It could be foreseen that this victory – while achieving the aims of a bourgeois democratic revolution – would also open the road towards a dictatorship of the proletariat, because it was led by the workers' class which gives power to the people headed by the Communist Party.

We began our work by organising the Hungarian National Independence Front.

The greater part of our comrades, who did not know or failed to understand this strategic plan, accepted this heterogeneous coalition with astonishment. How often did we hear the following reproach: "This is not what we expected of you"? They even told us what they expected.

"In 1919", they said, "the Imperialists overthrew the Hungarian Soviet Republic by armed force and restored the dictatorship of the big land-owners and of the capitalists. Now the Red Army has liberated us. Let us take advantage of the opportunity and restore the dictatorship of the proletariat".

These comrades failed to realise that while the Imperialists could overthrow by force – though only temporarily – the Hungarian dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and of the feudal land-owners, as long as the Communist Party had not won over the majority of the working class, the core of the working people – and in the Spring of 1945 they had not been won over – a dictatorship of the proletariat could not be set up.

In 1945 we discussed these problems only within the limited audience of Party meetings. At that time we did not discuss the problem before the people because even a theoretical discussion of a dictatorship of the proletariat as our final aim would have caused alarm

among our partners in the coalition and would have hampered our efforts to win over the majority of the small bourgeoisie, and even of the working classes.

The time had come to clarify, in its entirety and in detail, this problem and to make our Party, and also the working people, understand that the creation of a People's Democracy, as a variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, became possible only after we had won over the decisive majority of the people of the working class. We must emphasise how the Communist Party won over the majority of the working class, how it convinced the masses of agricultural workers and how it created the prerequisites of a dictatorship of the proletariat. We must also show how and when we switched from the first period of a People's Democracy to the second period, the proletarian dictatorship, the building of Socialism. The analysis and elucidation of the problems and the realisation of the experiences deriving from them will help us in future struggles and strengthen our power of foresight and security.

First of all let us examine the role of the Soviet Union in the creation of the Hungarian People's Democracy. The Soviet Army liberated us from the terrible serfdom of the German Fascists. With this they opened the road to democratic evolution. It is obvious that the decisive prerequisite – the starting point in the creation of the People's Democracies – was the struggle and victory of the Soviet Union. Without them there would have been no People's Democracies. The Soviet Union protected us from diplomatic interference on behalf of the Western Powers. She supported us during the peace negotiations, and later on when we established our diplomatic relations.

All this naturally helped in strengthening the Communist influence, and the sympathies arising among our working people for the Soviet Union also made our work easier.

During the task of reconstruction, and since then, we have experienced the support of the Soviet Union in hundreds and hundreds of forms. The greatest help, however, is the advice and the directives of our teacher and leader, the great Stalin.

Without all these factors our People's Democracy would not have been created, its evolution would not have been so swift, so strong and so void of violent shocks.

As early as during Land Reform we used the tactics of dividing our enemies or of neutralising them, if possible. For this reason we fixed the lowest limit at 200 Hungarian acres (yokes), thereby leaving the great majority of kulak farms unaffected. This was a great help in the smooth and quick implementation of the Land Reform.

At the beginning of reconstruction we supported that part of the bourgeoisie which – if only temporarily – joined in this work. This proved of great help in putting the technological intelligentsia to work – who at that time followed the bourgeoisie.

When we demanded something, we measured possible reactions carefully, and whenever it was possible we started by putting forward modest claims, thus preventing the enemy

from joining and mobilising forces against us. Then we increased demands and used, whenever possible, temporary forms.

For instance, first we demanded only Government control over the banks; later we demanded the nationalisation of the largest banks. Similarly, in industry, we demanded only the nationalisation of the mines; then we gradually increased our demands for the nationalisation of the large machine factories and of the foundry industry. Thus the nationalisation of industry was achieved in 4–5 phases over several years.

When the war was over we tried to turn evolution into Socialist revolution. The Smallholders' Party and the Social Democratic leaders fought for the survival and strengthening of the capitalist system. They joined in the Land Reform only unwillingly.

By the summer of 1945 it became obvious that the elements of the old régime – estate owners, bankers, house owners, Horthyite politicians and officers were assembling in the Smallholders' Party. This Party was also supported by the Church, whose priests filled leading positions in the leadership of the Party. The Imperialists at once established relations with this Party, mainly through the medium of their Budapest diplomatic missions.

The relative strength of the parties was first shown by the November 1945 elections. The Smallholders' Party achieved an absolute majority – 56 per cent of the votes. The Communist party, which advanced neck to neck with the Social Democratic Party, got 17 per cent of the votes. The Peasant Party obtained a little less than 8 per cent.

It became obvious during the weeks preceding the elections that the Smallholders' Party had obtained the majority of the votes of our peasantry, and the majority of the small bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the Communist Party made use of the election results in order to strengthen its positions further. Therefore, it demanded the posts of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, which, after some delay, it obtained. In order to strengthen our influence within the Government, we created the Supreme Economic Council through which we gradually came to influence key positions in economic life. Thus, despite the election results, our Party extended its influence in the most important fields of Government power.

But officers and Horthyite Government officials began to flock back from the West. The purge of Government machinery slowed down. The old land-owners and their lawyers availed themselves of all kinds of legal claims to demand the restitution of their land from the new owners.

Under the impact of this situation, the new land-owners (who totalled more than 500,000) applied to the Communist Party for help.

At the same time we launched a counter-attack. In the villages and the towns we mobilised the masses, and in the form of “popular judgments” and “popular movements” we removed reactionary elements from the administration of villages and towns. Simultaneously with this action our Party launched a drive to unmask reactionary elements in the Smallholders’ Party. The Communist Party demanded that the Smallholders’ Party itself was to take steps against its reactionary elements to help ensure the result of the land reform, and dismiss from its ranks all the best-known reactionaries. These demands were openly supported also by the Left-wing of the Smallholders’ Party.

At the initiative of our Party a Left bloc was formed within the Independent Front early in March, 1946, which apart from the Communist party, the Social Democratic Party and the Peasant Parties, included also the T.U.C. The new organisation – the parties of which won nearly 42 per cent of the votes at the elections – meant that the influence of the Communist Party on the workers’ class and the poor peasantry had increased.

To stress its demands, the Leftist bloc early in March arranged a demonstration of Budapest workers. At the threatening effect of the formidable mass meeting of more than 40,000 disciplined demonstrators the Smallholders’ Party had to comply with our demands and exclude 21 of its most compromised deputies. It was agreed that under no conditions must new land-owners be removed; that after the nationalisation of the collieries, oil, and bauxite mines also would be nationalised, that banks would be taken under State supervision, that the Manfred Weisz Works in Csepel, the Ganz factories, the Ozd Metallurgy Works would be taken over by the State and that the committees purging the State apparatus of reactionary elements would include trade union representatives.

So, four months after the election victory of the Smallholders’ Party, a new turn came: not yet a general attack on capitalism, but we took vulnerable forward positions, which facilitated our progress towards the proletarian dictatorship.

In continuation of the successful counter-attack in March 1946, the unmasking, elimination and isolation of reactionary elements of the Smallholders’ Party continued without interruption. The Smallholders’ Party was continually compelled to exclude or eliminate individual members or groups of members thus compromised.

This work we called “Salami Tactics”, by which we cut out in slices reaction hiding in the Smallholders’ Party. In this incessant struggle we wore away the strength of the enemy, reduced his influence and at the same time deepened our own influence.

The Smallholders’ Party turned down a suggestion by the Communist Party to nationalise the flourmills, to make kulaks and landlords pay “crop surrenders”, and to institute a property levy.

The Third Communist Party Congress called for the end of September 1946 outlined more resolutely the road on which we set out in March. Its slogans were: “Oust the people’s enemies from the Coalition”; “We build the country for the people, not for the capitalists”.

The most important target set by the Congress was the establishment of a People's Democracy, because only by means of it could our country proceed towards Socialism without civil war.

Meanwhile reaction gathered fresh hope from the approaching peace negotiations. It reckoned that some months after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty the Soviet troops would leave the country.

The Communists retaliated by uncovering the "Conspiracy". The sharp fights of the 1946–47 winter centred around it. In this the Smallholders were supported by the Social Democrats.

In winding up the conspiracy it became evident that its threads led to one of the ministers and even to the Secretary-General of the Smallholders' Party, Bela Kovacs.

In the course of the liquidation of the conspiracy the Smallholders' Party was again obliged to exclude a number of its members, of whom many were imprisoned as conspirators.

Eventually it was discovered that the Smallholder Premier, Ferenc Nagy, who was on holiday in Switzerland, was the actual leader of the conspiracy. He preferred to resign and remain in Switzerland rather than return to Budapest to face the charges against him.

Three days later the Catholic priest, Bela Varga, the Smallholder President of the National Assembly, who was also mixed up in the conspiracy, escaped from the country.

By unmasking the conspirators we succeeded in freeing a large part of the Smallholders' peasants and the small bourgeois masses from the influence of reaction. Thus the Smallholders' Party began to fall apart.

In this position we left the enemy no time to reorganise and regroup his ranks, but proposed new elections in the weeks when there was the greatest confusion, helplessness and rivalry among the new reactionary opposition parties.

The Western Imperialists now attempted to push the Social Democratic Party into the foreground against the Communist Party.

We struck back with vigour, pointing out that the time was ripe to realise an organic unity of the workers by the unification of the two parties. The Social Democrats were forced to sign a joint election ticket with the Communist Party.

The 1947 election results showed a 40 per cent increase in the Communist vote, which meant that the majority of the industrial workers had begun to gather around the Communist Party.

After the elections our enemies made yet another effort to oust the Communists from the Government, even demanding the Ministry of the Interior. Our Party energetically rejected these claims.

At the end of September 1947 a new Government was formed, in which, in keeping with the changed conditions, the leading role of the Communist Party became even more conspicuous. We then accelerated the rate of development. The treacherous Pfeiffer Party was dissolved.

This was followed within a few days by a further important step: the nationalisation of big banks, by which a considerable part of Hungarian industry became nationalised. This deepened still more the influence of our Party on the working masses. It enabled us to strike a decisive blow against the hostile forces hiding in the Social Democratic Party. We set up a special committee for this purpose, unmasking more and more openly and rigorously the machinations with which Social Democratic leaders obstructed the development of our People's Democracy.

The fight for winning the majority of the industrial workers ended with the victory of the Communists and the total defeat of the Social Democratic Party. In June 1948 the two parties were united on the basis of Leninist–Stalinist principles.

Our Party acquired the support of the decisive majority of the working masses and ensured the creation of the proletarian dictatorship with the help of the correct application of Bolshevik tactics. The Communist Party obtained the leading role in the Government, it nationalised the mines, controlled the armed forces, broke up the old State apparatus and started to build a new one from the ranks of the proletariat.

While both our hands were engaged in winning to our side the masses of workers and peasants, we practically adjourned our fight for winning over the Army. We achieved this by preventing the Army from reaching the strength permitted in the Armistice Agreement and the Peace Treaty.

Until 1948 the strength of the Army was only 12,000 men, instead of the conceded 65-70,000, and the majority of even that small force was spread in small patrols along the borders.

In Budapest, where the political fate of the country was decided, there was no military garrison at all, so that at times we had difficulties in selecting a representative company for the installation of foreign Ambassadors.

But even in this small Army, fighting at close quarters went on for every post in the command from N.C.O.s up to General.

When, however, the fight on the political level had been decided, naturally the conditions within the Army changed too. We were then in a position to ensure that the Army became

really a People's Army. When in the fall of 1948 our Party took hold of the Ministry of Defence, a beginning could be made with the energetic development of the Army.

A desperate struggle was also going on all the time within the police force, which our Party had taken in their hands.

There was a single position, the control of which was claimed by our Party from the first minute, and where it was not inclined to consider any distribution of posts or any appointments according to the proportionate strength of parties in the Coalition. This was the State Security Authority. We held this organisation firmly in our hands from the first day of its establishment. We made sure it remained a reliable and sharp weapon in the fight for the People's Democracy.

February 29, 1952

Centre d'Information et de Documentation, Paris. Hongrie. Évolution de la mentalité de la population 1951-1955. 1205/OC. 254016. F 60 BIS 5521.

## **2. On the Character of Our People's Democracy**

*Jozsef Revai*

I want to speak about a problem, the problem which was mentioned today by Comrade Rakosi in his review, and which was dealt with in his recent memorable article – the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrade Rakosi's statement affirmed that the People's Democracy is a dictatorship of the proletariat, though not in the Soviet form, that our People's Democracy fulfills the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This problem, Comrades, is a decisively important one, though it must be said before the Central Party Leadership that it was not given the attention by the Party officials which it deserved.

It is obvious, however, that Comrade Rakosi's statement, which was announced almost simultaneously with similar statements by Comrades Dimitrov and Bierut, was of decisive importance. In the thesis that a popular democracy is a dictatorship of the proletariat, though not in the Soviet form, there was included a summary of the evaluation of the results of more than four years of struggle on our part and of the substance of our future tasks.

Why was greater attention not paid to this problem by the Party officials? It is worthwhile to examine this phenomenon, which shows the relative underdevelopment of ideological thinking in our Party. It is true that Party members thirst to learn and are ambitious to improve themselves, and yet, the feeling for theoretical questions is not sufficiently developed. Concern with theoretical questions remains too much a preoccupation of the

seminaries and Party schools and has not become the driving force of Party practice in its everyday work. Theory does not occupy the role it ought to; in many cases it means only dead knowledge, instead of a perspective or guide for practice. Very often we are overburdened with practice, and often we find ourselves living from day to day. It is correct that the problems of economic construction, the tasks of everyday Socialistic work, are central in our interest, but this should not be carried so far that our senses become blunted to the problems of politics or power.

It is obvious that the statement “the People's Democracy is a specimen of the dictatorship of the proletariat” is not an announcement to make a great fuss about. But if we don't have to make a great fuss about it, we don't need to hide it, to deal with it in secrecy. And the decisive factor is the necessity to make known inside the Party the importance of this statement, of this fact. For, Comrades, we are not speaking about a plain theoretical statement, but about a really practical problem. If we make it known within the Party, in the working class, that the People's Democracy is the dictatorship of the proletariat, then this becomes and should become a further resource of the effort to build Socialism, of the struggle against class enemies, and of the defense against the imperialists.

I believe it is not unnecessary to examine the statement that our People's Democracy, and people's democracies in general, mean the dictatorship of the proletariat though not in the Soviet form. It is obvious that our People's Democracy has not been from the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat, but became so during the struggle.

The development of our democracy is nothing else than a struggle which began with the goals of destroying Fascism, of realising our national independence, and of steadily executing civic democratic tasks, and which was transformed subsequently into a fight against the big fortunes, and then against the whole bourgeoisie; in a fight against capitalism, aiming first at the expulsion of capitalistic elements and of the capitalistic class, and then at their liquidation. Our transformation began as an anti-Fascist, national, civic democratic one, and it became deeper and larger and developed during the struggle into a Socialistic transformation.

Our state, therefore, has not been from the beginning a kind of dictatorship of the proletariat. We should take into consideration the fact that we were for a long time a minority in the government, that until the fall of Ferenc Nagy, the government of the democracy consisted not only of such elements as the kulaks, but of the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the agents of the imperialists as well. Let us take into consideration the fact that the 1944 platform of the Independence Front was in essence only the program of the anti-Fascist, anti-feudalist, anti-German, and bourgeois-democratic transformation and that it pressed only one claim against capitalism: nationalization of the mines, that is, the resources of the earth. Let us take into consideration the fact that in the economy of the People's Democracy, until the year of the transformation, the middle of 1947, the capitalistic elements were dominant in the nationalization of the industry and banks.

The fact that the Hungarian People's Democracy, as a kind of dictatorship of the proletariat, is the result of a development brought about through tough class struggles, is treated also in our Party platform, in spite of the fact that the platform does not mention the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to our platform, with the liberation of the country, and the fall of the power system of the big landlords and big capital, the working class, the whole of the peasantry and therefore the rich peasants as well, and the anti-German faction of the bourgeoisie took over the power. "With the German threat removed, the destruction of feudalism and the resolution, step by step, of the problems raised by the struggle against big capital, during the fight against the reactionaries and with the intensification of international differences, resulted in the ousting from power and from the government of the representatives of the capitalists as well as most of the representatives of the exploiters of the rural districts. Today in Hungary – our platform says – the working class and its ally the working peasantry are in power."

Do you think, Comrades, that our transformation, in its first phase, before it became a Socialistic transformation, was anything else than a bourgeois-democratic transformation? By no means. You know very well that the working class was represented in the government and in the apparatus of power. We were a minority in Parliament and in the government, but at the same time we represented the leading force. We had decisive control over the police forces. Our force, the force of our Party and the working class, was multiplied by the fact that the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Army, were always there to support us with their assistance. In the first phase of our transformation, when we struggled directly and apparently only for a steadfast achievement of bourgeois-democratic tasks, we fought as well for the establishment and assurance of the conditions which made possible the Socialistic transformation. The change in the development of our People's Democracy into the dictatorship of the proletariat began with the destruction of the right wing of the Smallholders' Party, with the liquidation of the conspiracy and the fall of Ferenc Nagy. Then the kulak became an enemy, then the leading role of our Party and the working class was strengthened. But the struggle for the transformation of Hungary along anti-capitalistic and Socialistic lines was initiated long before, when in the spring of 1946 the Left Wing Bloc, under the leadership of the Communist Party, succeeded in the fight for the nationalization of heavy industry; when, in the fall of 1946, the Third Congress of our Party announced the watchword: "We are constructing the country, not for the capitalists, but for the people." Ferenc Nagy resigned at the end of May 1947, but Comrade Rakosi's address, held in the Angyalföld district of Budapest, giving the watchword, "Let's make the rich pay," and initiating the struggle, not only for the control, but for the nationalization of the great banks, was held on May 7. Our Three-year Plan, mentioned for the first time before Christmas of 1946, by Comrade Gero, was not directed straightforwardly and openly against capitalism as a whole, the whole bourgeoisie, but it was already connected with the tasks of the struggle against big capital. The Socialistic change of our transformation, the period during which our People's Democracy developed into a kind of dictatorship of the proletariat, extended approximately from May 1947, the fall of Ferenc Nagy, to January 1948. This is the glorious year of the change, when the majority of the working class lined up behind the Communist Party and when at the First National Conference of Party officials, the watchword of the Third Congress, "We are constructing the country

not for the capitalists, but for the people,” was changed to the new, victorious watchword, “The country is yours, you are constructing it for yourselves.” This development, our development into a dictatorship of the proletariat, was crowned and definitively assured in June 1948 by the destruction of the right wing of the Socialist Party and establishment of the unified Workers’ Party.

We must ask the question, whether we were able to see clearly, whether we were aware, during the struggle, of the nature and direction of the changes occurring in our people’s democracy, in the character of our state. No, comrades, we did not see it clearly. At most we were feeling our way in the right direction. The Party didn’t possess a unified, clarified, elaborated attitude in respect to the character of the People’s Democracy and its future development. We must point this out, exercising self-criticism. And we must emphasize the fact that we received the decisive stimulation and assistance for the clarification of our future development from the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, from the teachings of Comrade Stalin. The two sessions of the Cominform, the first in the fall of 1947, the second in the summer of 1948, were of fundamental help for us. The first taught us that a People’s Democracy couldn’t halt at any but the final stage of its destruction of the capitalistic elements, and the second showed us that the Socialistic transformation couldn’t be limited to the towns, but had to be extended to the rural districts and that as regards the fundamental questions of the transformation into Socialism, the Soviet Union is our model and that the way of the People’s Democracies differs only in certain external forms, and not in essence, from the way of the Soviet Union.

What were our mistakes in these questions? I think we made the following mistakes:

1. In the first phase of our People’s Democracy, when the struggle was not directed straightforwardly against capitalism, when the fight for the consistent performance of bourgeois-democratic tasks was first on the agenda, we said that the People’s Democracy was a plebeian, militant, consistent and popular kind of bourgeois democracy. In 1945 when the right wing of the Smallholders’ Party wanted to provoke us into fighting the election campaign around the question, “Socialism or bourgeois private property?” we were not mistaken in evading the provocation. I believe we were right when on that occasion we criticized our left wing Socialist comrades, who during the Budapest election announced the watchword: “For a Red Budapest.” This action served only our enemies. It was correct at that time to stress that the issue was not a choice between Socialism or bourgeois private property, but rather the following: Should we compromise with the forces of the old system, or should we liquidate them? It was correct that, in the fight against big capital, we did not stress that this was a transition into the struggle for Socialism but that the measures initiated against big capital meant at the same time the protection of small private properties. It was correct not to show our cards, but often even we forgot that the People’s Democracy at this time was more than just a plebeian variety of the bourgeois democracy and that it was a step toward the Socialistic transition, which contained even then the elements of development into the dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The second mistake was the fact that, first of all and overwhelmingly, we emphasized the differences between the development of the Soviet Union and our development into a People's Democracy, instead of stressing the similarity, the substantial identity, of the two developments.

3. As for our third mistake, we concluded from the popular and, therefore relatively peaceful, character of the development into Socialism, that we could achieve Socialism without a dictatorship of the proletariat. Or – which was only another form of the same mistake – we said that the dictatorship of the proletariat meant the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, while with us in the People's Democracy it was superfluous.

4. It was also a mistake to say that we too needed the dictatorship of the proletariat for the achievement of Socialism, but considered the dictatorship of the proletariat as a form of government, which should follow the People's Democracy and therefore did not consider the People's Democracy a characteristic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

5. And finally, Comrades, it was a mistake to see the essence of the People's Democracy in the division of power between the working class and the working peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, as it was defined by Lenin and Stalin, means that power is undivided in the hands of the proletariat and that the working class does not share the power with other classes. Therefore, it does not share its power with the peasantry. This faulty conception of the division of power was expressed in my lecture held at the Party Training Conference, where – until Comrade Rakosi's article – we had come the nearest to the correct conception that the People's Democracy was a transition from capitalism toward Socialism and was therefore a type of dictatorship of the proletariat. This faulty conception is expressed also in the platform of our Party, a fundamentally correct document, but by no means a fetish, which is to be amended, and corrected in certain parts, because some of the basic questions, like the Socialistic development of agriculture, its collectivization, are expressed in the platform only in a disguised form and are not mentioned by their real name.

Regarding the question of whether the dictatorship of the proletariat means the exclusive power of the working class and not the division of that power between labor and the working peasantry, let me cite Lenin and Stalin. Lenin says: "The notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat has meaning... only if that class is conscious of its exclusive possession of political power..." According to Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat means that that class "does not and cannot exercise power together with other classes..." Furthermore, Stalin adds that "the leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat is but one party, the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, which does not and cannot share leadership with any other parties."

Is this valid for us? With us, there are not only Communists in the government, but also Smallholders' and Peasant Party members. With us, this government, this cabinet, is still a coalition government. Does this coalition of our Party with the Smallholders' and

Peasant Parties mean that we exercise leadership together with them, that with us power is divided between the working class and the working peasantry?

As to this, let me cite Stalin once more: “We had been marching Octoberward with the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the poor peasantry and this in fact was practically achieved in October, inasmuch as we had a bloc with the left wing and a leadership divided with them, although then we already had a proletarian dictatorship in effect, since we Bolsheviks constituted the majority. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry ceased to exist formally too after the leftist S.R. coup... when the full leadership fell into the hands of one single Party – ours – which does not and cannot share the leadership of the state with other parties.”

Formally, also with us there are elements of the division of power and leadership. But in fact, Comrades, it is the working class which alone is in power, in fact it is our Party alone which runs the state machine.

Of course, the fact that today we still share, though but formally, the leadership with other parties has some significance. This indicates that the alliance of the working class and of the working peasantry isn't close enough as yet, that we didn't as yet organize the peasantry tightly enough around the working class.

Does the overwhelming and unconditional power of the working class mean the exclusion of the working peasantry from the shaping of its own destiny? It does not. The power, the leadership, is undivided, but in certain important realms the working class willingly includes the working peasantry and its representatives in exercising power. Our state is ruled by the working class alone, but this state is a state of the working people and thus of the peasantry too; consequently this state is being built upon an alliance of the working class and the peasantry. However, even if the dictatorship of the proletariat is being built upon this class alliance of the working class and the peasantry, it can't be identified with it at all. Why cannot this power be exercised along with the peasantry? Because in that case the state would cease to be a weapon with which to realize Socialism. For the peasantry, even its working part, is halfheartedly for private property and halfheartedly for the cooperatives. It vacillates. It should be supported, led, educated and assisted in order that it accept the way to the cooperatives. This leadership, education and assistance must be given by the state, too, and that is why power cannot be divided with the peasantry. Furthermore, vacillation concerning the matter of the Socialist progression of the village means at the same time hesitation between capitalism and Socialism, uncertainty in the fight against the kulak, vacillation in the fight against imperialism. But a state transforming itself into Socialism, a state fighting against the kulak, a state that is to protect itself against imperialism, a power dedicated to oppressing anti-class attitudes, must not vacillate.

That is the reason, Comrades, why we must liquidate the concept that the working class shares its power with other classes. In this concept we find remnants of a viewpoint according to which a People's Democracy is some quite specific kind of state which differs from the Soviets not only in its form, but also in its essence and functions.

However, the fact that power is exclusively possessed by the working class isn't to be chattered about everywhere. We do not intend to mislead the peasantry but equally don't wish to strengthen reactionary elements. Toward the peasantry, we should stress – what is true – that in important fields even the dictatorship of the proletariat includes the working peasantry in wielding power, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is being built upon the close alliance of the working class and the peasantry; of course, not upon any kind of alliance, but upon one building Socialism.

I shall mention briefly what consequences should be drawn from the realization that our People's Democracy is a variation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To begin with, the power in possession of the working class must, in the interest of the shaping of Socialism, the oppressing of class enemies and the defense against imperialism be still much more decidedly and severely exercised than it has been up to now. "Dictatorship" also means the exercising of force in oppressing enemies. The realization that the People's Democracy is a variation of the dictatorship of the proletariat arms us with the knowledge that, in fighting this class enemy, those organs destined to apply this force must be rendered more effective and unified than they are.

We are conscious that the dictatorship of the proletariat does not merely consist of the exercise of force; its essential functions also include construction; to conquer allies for the proletariat, and to unite them for Socialist production. In our case, thanks to the fact that we can rely upon the Soviet Union and so can be spared from a civil war, the foremost function of our dictatorship of the proletariat is a task of economic and cultural construction. However, this does not mean at all that the functions of oppression and violence also appertaining to the dictatorship of the proletariat should be overlooked as secondary.

Rendering innocuous the agents of the imperialists, and the oppression of the class enemy within, are not at all secondary tasks; on the contrary they are conditions of the work of building Socialism. Furthermore, we must also clearly realize that periods may come in our evolution when the chief function of the dictatorship of the proletariat will consist of exercising force against enemies from within and from without. Whoever forgets that commits the crime of pacifism, demobilizes the Party and the working class, and overlooks the building up of our state security organization as well as our army.

When outlining the tasks which lie ahead, Comrades, we must keep in sight not only the fact that our state is in close kinship with the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also that it is still wearing the eggshells of its origin, remnants from the period of the bourgeois democratic transformation. Our dictatorship of the proletariat isn't as yet a complete, finished achievement – we still have heavy tasks ahead before its final consolidation.

When we say "Our state is a dictatorship of the proletariat, though not in the Soviet form," it must not be meant that there is nothing in the Soviet form of the dictatorship of the proletariat to be studied and applied at home. Of course there is. The organism of our state should get closer to the Soviet-type of the dictatorship of the proletariat: i.e., in

reorganizing our administration, putting an end to the dualism of that administration, making the working people cooperate more and more effectively in the administration and in exercising the power of the state. No doubt, even our Parliament has to be reformed, inasmuch as it still wears the remnants of a bourgeois, prattling parliamentarianism, the dualism of the legislative and the executive.

Comrades, on March 21 of this year we shall celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the proclamation of the first glorious Hungarian dictatorship of the proletariat. For 30 years, we have been cherishing its memory, keeping up its traditions and educating our Party in a spirit of self-criticism exercised upon the faults committed in those early days. Today, in a different way from that of some 30 years ago, in entirely different and much riper circumstances, we have reached the stage where we had to stop working 30 years ago. Then the dictatorship of the proletariat lasted but 131 days; today we are in the fifth year of that People's Democracy, which developed into the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1919 our innate shortcomings and foes from without brought the dictatorship of the proletariat to an end. This time we will win and build up Socialism.

*This translation is from the magazine **Foreign Affairs**. It has not been checked with the original.*

### **3. People's Democracy in Eastern Europe**

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The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the fundamental and central part of the science of Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Engels created the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, established theoretically the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state machine and showed that, as a result of the proletarian revolution, the proper content of the period of transition from capitalism to Communism can only be the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin fought mercilessly against revisionist and centrist attempts to distort and efface the Marxian theory of the State, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

“The fundamental thing in Leninism is the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the elaboration of this problem, the substantiation and concretisation of this problem,” wrote Comrade Stalin. (Stalin, “On the Problems of Leninism”, Section 2, *Problems of Leninism*. English Edition, Moscow, 1947, p. 126.)

As Comrade Stalin indicated, the new elements which Lenin introduced into the teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat consist in the fact that he:

**(a) discovered the Soviet form of government as the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat;**

**(b) developed the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat, defining it as a special form of the class alliance of the proletariat and peasantry, with the proletariat playing the leading role in this alliance;**

**(c) elaborated the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the highest form of democracy in class society, expressing the interest of the majority (the exploited as against bourgeois democracy which expresses the interest of the minority (the exploiters)).**

(See Stalin, "Interview given to the first American Labour Delegation", *Essentials of Leninism*, 2 volumes. English Edition, Moscow, 1947, vol. I, p. 40.)

Comrade Stalin, the co-creator and continuator of Lenin's work, creatively developed further the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat, victoriously directed and directs its realisation.

Just as Lenin, in the struggle against the revisionists and the centrists, safeguarded the Marxian theory of the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat from distortion and effacement and raised this theory to a new, higher level by generalising upon the historical experience of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, so Stalin, in the struggle against the Trotskyites and the right-wing deviationists, safeguarded Leninism from distortion and effacement, and generalising upon the historical experience of the period of the general crisis of capitalism and upon socialist construction, developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus developing the science of Marxism-Leninism creatively and universally. On the basis of Stalin's teachings and under his leadership, the Soviet Socialist State developed into a mighty and invincible power, the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. was completed, and in the U.S.S.R. the period of a gradual transition towards Communism was commenced.

On the basis of Stalin's teachings and under his leadership the mighty, invincible Soviet Socialist State smashed Hitlerite Germany. As a result of this victory, the world front of capitalism was broken in a number of new places and Stalin's brilliant prophecy, made in 1934, was completely fulfilled:

"And let not Messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if some of the governments so near and dear to them, which today rule happily 'by the grace of God' are missing on the morrow after such a war." (Stalin, "Report to the Seventeenth Congress C.P.S.U.(B.)", *Problems of Leninism*, p. 464.)

On the ruins of these governments “by the grace of God” the States of People’s Democracy have arisen.

The class nature of these States is the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the hegemony of the proletariat; their aim is the building of Socialism in their countries.

The States of People’s Democracy which arose as a result of the victory of the U.S.S.R. over Hitlerism, develop on the basis of the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., of the theoretical generalisation of this experience given by Comrade Stalin and of the invaluable direct indications and advice of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and Comrade Stalin personally.

“All nations”, wrote Lenin, “will come to Socialism – this is inevitable, but they will not all reach it in the same way, every one will contribute its specific nature in one or another form of democracy, in one or another variant of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in one or another tempo in the socialist transformation of the various aspects of social life.” (Lenin, *A Caricature of Marxism*, Collected Works, Forth Russian Edition, vol. XXIII, p. 58.)

The Communist and Workers’ Parties in the People’s Democracies, basing themselves on Stalin’s teachings, his indications and advice, have understood the particular traits of the international situation and the specific internal situation of their countries in the period after the Second World War, and on this basis they have determined their specific way of exercising the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, forging a variant of it, *People’s Democracy*, and in this way they marked out the best and most advantageous road towards Socialism in their countries in the given historical conditions.

On the other hand, the science of Marxism-Leninism developed by Stalin was a weapon with the aid of which the Communist and Workers’ Parties in the People’s Democracies grasped the fact that the road of their countries towards Socialism is the result of the victorious path of the U.S.S.R., that their type of State is a variant of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that, as Lenin wrote:

“The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but their essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*.” (Lenin, *The State and Revolution: Essentials of Leninism*, vol. II, p. 164; L.L.L. No. 14; L.S.W. vol. 7.)

On the basis of this understanding, the right-wing and nationalist deviation which sought to present the road of People’s Democracy as a “third” road between Socialism and capitalism and to oppose the road of People’s Democracy to the Soviet road was overcome and smashed.

Therefore, the arising and successful development of the People’s Democratic States is not only yet one more proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the

State and the dictatorship of the proletariat developed by Stalin, it is the further development of this theory under new historical conditions, a development which took place on the basis of Stalin's teachings and under the direct ideological influence of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and Comrade Stalin personally.

## I

In the science of Marxism-Leninism the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparably linked with the concept of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument and principal content of the proletarian revolution.

“The question of the proletarian dictatorship”, Comrade Stalin wrote, “is above all a question of the main content of the proletarian revolution. The proletarian revolution, its movement, its scope and its achievements, acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument of the proletarian revolution, its organ, its most important mainstay....” (Stalin, “Foundations of Leninism”, Section 4, *Problems of Leninism*, English Edition, Moscow, 1947, p. 39; L.S.L. No. 1.)

The tremendous social upheaval which took place after the war in the countries of Southern and South-Eastern Europe, an upheaval which resulted in the consolidation in these countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the People's Democratic State, had the character of a proletarian revolution, of a socialist revolution. It was, however, a socialist revolution which was achieved in special historical conditions, differing from those in which the Great October Socialist Revolution occurred.

What did the difference of these conditions consist of?

1. The People's Democracies were liberated by the Soviet Army. The coming of the Soviet Army made possible the growing of the national liberation struggle conducted by partisan forces into a national liberation war conducted in state form at the side of the Soviet Union by the entire nation and its regular army which arose with Soviet aid. The working class which led the struggle against the occupiers, now gained extensive possibilities of seizing political power and carrying out a broad struggle for the abolition of the rule of the capitalists and landowners.

“The working masses, the working class, and its political organisation had a class ally in the Soviet Army, an ally who liberated the nation from the yoke of Hitlerite slavery, an ally who by his very presence rendered powerless the camp of reaction and made it incapable of dealing by force of arms with the revolutionary government, an ally who guaranteed that the imperialist powers would not decide the fate of a given country against the interests of the people.” (Boleslaw Bierut: Speech delivered at the Unification Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party on December 15, 1948.)

It is a historical fact that in the countries which were occupied by the imperialist Anglo-American armies, as for example France or Italy, the working class, in spite of the great scope of the national liberation struggle and the tremendous role and influence of the Communist Party in the struggle, was unable to seize power and these countries, under the influence of brutal imperialist force, were unable to depart from the road of capitalism.

*In this way, in contradistinction from the Soviet Union, where the socialist proletarian revolution was carried out without any external aid and exclusively with internal forces, the socialist revolution in the People's Democracies was based in its sources on the aid and power of the Soviet Union and its Army.*

2. The revolutionary struggle of the masses under the leadership of the working class and its Communist and Workers Parties against the landowners and the capitalists was intertwined in this upheaval with the national liberation war against the Hitlerite occupiers.

Rosa Luxemburg in her time, when formulating erroneous conceptions of the national question, which later were to be a burden upon the ideology of the Communist Party of Poland, advanced a thesis in her polemics with Lenin to the effect that "there can be no more national wars", understanding by this, that the epoch of national wars was past, due to the consolidation of imperialism and the imperialist division of the world between the great powers.

In answer to Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin in 1916 wrote the following on this question:

"One cannot maintain that such a transformation (of the imperialist war into a national one – H.M.) is *impossible*; if the proletariat of *Europe* were to prove itself impotent for some twenty years; *if* the given war (the imperialist war of 1914 – H.M.) *were to end* in victories like the Napoleonic ones and in the subjugation of a number of national States capable of existence; *if* some extra-European imperialism (above all Japanese and American) were to maintain itself also for some twenty years, without passing into Socialism – for example as a result of a Japanese-American war, then a great national war in Europe would be possible." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fourth Russian Edition, vol. XXII, p. 296.)

This brilliant hypothesis of Lenin's was fully confirmed. During the Second World War, Europe was the arena of a great liberation struggle of a number of nations against the Hitlerite yoke. This struggle was closely connected with the great war of the Soviet nation in the defence of its homeland. The guiding force of the struggle against the German occupiers was the working class and its Communist and Workers' Parties. The working class and its Communist parties closely linked the national liberation struggle with the struggle against the Capitalists and landowners, discredited by capitulation to Hitlerite Germany or collaboration with it – and with the struggle for the overthrow of the rule of the capitalists and landowners.

*In this way, at the sources of the socialist revolution in the People's Democracies lies the intertwining, already during the period of the occupation, of the national liberation struggle with the revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and landowners.*

*Herein lies the second trait which differentiates the socialist revolution in the People's Democracies from the October Revolution.*

3. In the People's Democracies the formation of the People's Democratic State as the organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat took place as a long-term process. The bourgeoisie and the landowners as well as their political organisations were not smashed by a frontal attack of the working masses.

The political arena was not completely cleared. In the existing political system many organisations were active which not only vacillated in relation to the great tasks of the socialist revolution, but were thoroughly hostile toward them and aimed at the restoration of capitalism.

The concrete setting of internal and international circumstances often called for an at least partial sharing of the government, on the part of the Communist and Workers Parties, not only with their wavering allies but also with thoroughly bourgeois parties. Hence, the apparatus of bourgeois power was not broken fully or in all its sectors – and hence, the relatively slow tempo of great social transformations, etc. In the process of a long and stubborn class struggle, the discrediting and shattering of hostile political organisations, the overcoming of the vacillations of political allies, the forging – through the united front – of the organic unity of the working class; in the process of extending the foundations of a new system among the masses of the nation, the activation of these masses in the ever growing conviction that the new system is *their* system; in the process of fortifying the apparatus of the new state power and purging it from bourgeois trash, deepening the social transformations, extending the front of the class struggle and directing the fire of this struggle not only against the large capitalists and landowners but also against the village rich; in the process of a long series of difficult but victorious class battles – the new States of People's Democracy fulfil the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in an ever greater scope and with ever greater effectiveness.

It is clear that boundaries in nature and society are “conventional” and “movable” as Lenin said. The process of the crystallisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Democracies occurred differently in various countries. The point of departure in respect to the composition of forces, the achieved degree of breaking the old apparatus, etc., also differed in these countries. In view of the long duration, complicated nature and difficulties of this process, it is clear and understandable why the formulation of the People's Democracy as fulfilling effectively the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat – a formulation which called for the theoretical generalisation of the experiences of People's Democracy – was given by Comrades Dimitrov and Bierut at the end of 1948.

*Thus, in contradistinction from the Soviet Union, where the dictatorship of the proletariat was fixed in the form of Soviet power from the first days of the socialist revolution, the crystallisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Democracies took place as a long-lasting and difficult process.*

*Herein lies the third trait which differentiates the socialist revolution in the People's Democracies from the October Revolution.*

**Regardless of the divergence of the social upheaval in the People's Democracies from the October Revolution, this upheaval accomplished the same historical tasks.**

Political power was snatched from the hands of the bourgeoisie and passed into the hands of the working class and the working peasantry. Large and medium industry, banks and transport became the property of the State and the landowners were expropriated. The People's Democracies left the capitalist world and ceased to be subject to capitalism's laws of development, which gave them the possibility of entering on the road of Socialism.

*Thus, both in respect to the fulfilled historical tasks and in respect to the driving class forces, the socialist upheaval accomplished in the People's Democracies is the same type as the October Revolution, and possesses all the traits of the proletarian socialist revolution.*

The fact that the social upheaval in the People's Democracies decided and solved a number of the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution (for example – the liquidation of feudal survivals in agriculture) does not in any case change its character as a socialist revolution, for the Great October Socialist Revolution also resolved “in passing” a number of tasks of this type.

There is no doubt that the point of departure for the formation of right wing and nationalist deviations in the Communist and Workers' Parties is precisely the denial of the fact that the great social upheaval that has been accomplished in the People's Democracies has the character of a socialist revolution. ‘The right-wing and nationalist deviationists do not wish to see the fundamental, revolutionary, socialist content of this upheaval – they bring to the forefront only the fact that the upheaval was closely connected with the war of national liberation. This is the source of opportunism in the treatment of the question of the national front. Comrade Bierut, in unmasking the opportunist, right-wing and nationalist stand of Comrade Gomulka, characterised this opportunism as follows:

“What does opportunism in the question of the national front consist of? In the fact that it loses sight of the hegemony of the working class. Herein lay the error, the actual stand of opportunism.

“Similarly to all the revolutionary parties in the whole world, we have never put forth the slogan of the national front as anything else but a front in which the working class and

the workers' party is the guide, leader and chief. Any other way of comprehending the national front must be opportunist. This opportunism lay in the stand of a certain number of the comrades who later erred in a right-wing, opportunist and nationalist deviation on a number of other sectors of work. In their position the false approach to the national front was that trait which led them to errors." (Boleslaw Bierut: Concluding speech at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, November 13, 1949.)

The negating of the hegemony of the proletariat and of its socialist aims in the national front is closely connected in the stand of the right-wing and nationalist deviationists with a narrowing of the tasks of the working class solely to the tasks of the war of liberation, of the bourgeois democratic revolution – it is closely connected with the negation of the fact that the upheaval which took place in the People's Democracies is of the same class type as the Great October Socialist Revolution.

It is connected with the counterposing of the road of the People's Democracies to the Soviet road, with acting against the deepening of the upheaval, the extension of the front of class struggle to embrace the kulaks, and the decisive entry upon the road of socialist construction in town and country. Finally, it is connected with the creation of radically false theories which regard the system of People's Democracy as a third, intermediary road between the capitalist and the Soviet roads.

The People's Democratic States which arose as a result of a socialist revolution, and have crystallised into an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the span of a long and difficult process, are States which set for themselves the task of building a classless socialist society.

*Therefore, although capitalist elements are still strong in many fields of the economy of these countries and the small-production economy which is still dominant in the villages is the foundation for the formation of these elements; although elements of the old bourgeois apparatus still rest in many of the sectors of the state apparatus of these States and the terrain has not yet been completely cleared of the remnants of the broken bourgeois State apparatus and the remnants of broken bourgeois political formations – the People's Democracy States are States of a socialist type.*

Lenin wrote in 1918 as follows:

“There has been no one as yet, who, if he asked himself a question regarding Russia's economy, would deny that this economy is of a transitory nature. No Communist would deny, it seems, also the fact that the expression – Socialist Soviet Republic – signifies that the Soviet Power is determined to carry out the transition to Socialism, and that it does not in the least signify a recognition of the new economic order as a Socialist order.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Third Russian Edition, vol. XXII, p. 513.).

At the Third All-Union Congress of Soviets, Lenin said:

“We have never erred in this matter and we know how difficult is the road leading from capitalism to Socialism – but we are bound to state that our Soviet Republic is socialist because we have entered this road and these words will not be empty words.” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Third Russian Edition, vol. XXII, p. 213.)

These words of Lenin can be applied in full to the People’s Democratic States. These are States in which Socialism has not yet conquered ultimately, but in spite of this, these are States which have set for themselves the decided task of building a socialist society and the successful course of this construction indicates in full that this decision is not based on empty words. Thus, they are Socialist States, in their class nature of the same type as the Soviet State in that phase of its development when antagonistic social classes still existed in it. Thus, they are States of Socialism under construction, as was the U.S.S.R. in its first phase of development (before it became the State of victorious Socialism).

In the Socialist States of People’s Democracy, derived from a socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat is exercised, as a result of different historical conditions, in a different form than the Soviet form.

“At the foundations of our difference from the Soviet road”, Comrade Bierut stated, “lies the all-sided aid of the Soviet Union and the help of the experiences and achievements of the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R.” (B. Bierut, *The Ideological Foundation of the Polish United Workers’ Party*.)

Regardless of this difference, the People’s Democratic form of dictatorship of the proletariat fulfils the same functions as the Soviet State in the first phase of its development. These functions include, primarily, the forcible suppression of the resistance of the overthrown classes of exploiters within the country. This suppression of the exploiters’ resistance takes place in our country often in different forms than in the Soviet Union during the first phase of its development. As is known, the bourgeoisie and other classes of exploiters were at that time deprived of the right to participate in the elections to the Soviets, which is not the case in the People’s Democracies where the universal right to vote exists. Lenin did not consider the limitation of the electoral rights of the bourgeoisie as an indispensable condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, Lenin considered that these limitations arose in the setting of the specific conditions of the Russian Revolution and wrote that this limitation:

“... is not *absolutely necessary* for the exercise of the dictatorship. It is not an essential earmark of the logical concept ‘dictatorship’, it does not enter as an *essential* condition into the historical and class concept ‘dictatorship’.

“The necessary earmark, the essential condition of dictatorship, is the *forcible* suppression of the exploiters as a class.” (Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, *Essentials of Leninism*, vol. II, p. 380; L.L.L. No. 18; L.S.W. vol. 7.)

In his article “Lenin and Stalin on the state form of the dictatorship of the proletariat”, D.I Chesnokov correctly writes:

“On the one hand, the peculiarities of the country’s internal development, the relation of class forces and tension of class conflicts – on the other hand, the specific nature of the international situation, determine the form, methods and scale of the force employed by the proletariat against the exploiters. For the working class, force is not the goal, but solely the means for suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie and consolidating the workers’ State. The ‘degree’ of force is determined mainly by the ‘degree’ of the bourgeoisie’s resistance and its ‘fury’ in the struggle with the proletariat and the working classes in general.” (*Problems of Philosophy*, November 3, 1948.)

Historical conditions have caused the dictatorship of the proletariat to be realised in the People’s Democracies in a different form than the Soviet. This form is the most advantageous, best and most adapted to the conditions of these countries and is for them the most suitable road for the transition to Socialism.

One must be, however, fully aware of the fact that this most advantageous, in given historical conditions, form has also a number of negative aspects and dangers connected with them. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet form arose as a result of the frontal attack of the working masses led by the working class on the exploiters’ class and its state apparatus. It swept away and shattered rapidly and radically the machine of the bourgeois State, bourgeois political formations, bourgeois norms and legal regulations, the privileged positions of the church hierarchy, etc., etc.

In his work, *The Foundations of Leninism*, Comrade Stalin particularly emphasises Lenin’s statement in which Lenin affirms that:

“The Soviet organisation of the State alone is capable of *immediately* and effectively smashing and finally destroying the old, i.e., the bourgeois, bureaucratic and judicial apparatus.” (My italics – H.M.) (Stalin, “Foundations of Leninism”, Section 4, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 48; L.S.L. No. 1.)

It is clear that the People’s Democratic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, due to the circumstances of its development and formation, cannot accomplish “immediately” and “finally” these tasks of clearing the terrain for socialist construction with the same sweep and consistency.

Therefore, even at present, after years of a long and difficult process of the crystallisation of the People’s Democratic State as a variant of the dictatorship of the proletariat which retains the fundamental levers of power – the People’s Democracies still trail behind themselves long “tails”, made up of obsolete institutions and norms of the past period – and at times, even of particular elements of the old bourgeois state apparatus which have not been subjected to revolutionary transformation. This hampers the development of socialist construction and creates certain dangers, for, in definite circumstances, the “tails” from the preceding period become advantageous points of entrenchment for the class enemy.

Historical development has shown, in accord with the science of Marxism Leninism, that the existence of two forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet and People's Democratic forms, is possible.

The: People's Democratic form has proved itself, in the special historical conditions which arose in a number of countries after the Second World War, to be vital and effective.

It is a fact that a new chapter, rich in content, on the People's Democracy has been contributed to the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the State, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a fact that this new chapter has been contributed on the basis of Stalin's teachings and under his direct ideological influence and leadership.

## II

In developing the Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin elaborated in detail the problem of the system of functioning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the problem of its "mechanism", i.e., the problem of the Bolshevik Party as the leading force of the Soviet State and the "transmission" of the Party to the masses: the trade unions, Soviets, co-operatives, Young Communist League, etc.

"The party is the organised detachment of the working class but the Party is not the only organisation of the working class. The proletariat has also a number of other organisations, without which it cannot properly wage the struggle against capital: trade unions, co-operative societies, factory and works organisations, parliamentary groups, non-Party women's associations, the Press, cultural and educational organisations, youth leagues, revolutionary fighting organisations (in times of open revolutionary action), Soviets of deputies as the form of state organisation (if the proletariat is in power), etc. The overwhelming majority of these organisations are non-Party, and only a certain part of them adhere directly to the Party, or represent its offshoots." (Stalin, "Foundations of Leninism", Section 8, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 86; L.S.L. No. 1.)

And further on Comrade Stalin writes:

"... all these organisations should work in one direction for they serve *one* class, the class of the proletarians. The question then arises; who is to determine the line, the general direction, along which the work of all these organisations is to be conducted? Where is that central organisation which is not only able, because it has the necessary experience, to work out such a general line, but, in addition, is in a position because it has sufficient prestige for that, to induce all these organisations to carry out this line, so as to attain unity of leadership and to preclude the possibility of working at cross purposes?" (ibid, p. 86.)

Such an organisation is the Party of the proletariat.

Does this “mechanism” of the dictatorship of the proletariat function, and in what fashion, in the conditions of its People’s Democratic form?

It is clear that it functions fully, for without this mechanism, whose core is the leading role of the workers’ party, there is no, and can be no, dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the People’s Democracies the Communist and Workers’ Parties were “an *instrument* in the hands of the proletariat for the conquest of the dictatorship” (Stalin), they elaborated the general line which led to the conquest of this dictatorship, and now, when the dictatorship of the proletariat is already achieved, they are the instrument “for the strengthening and extension of the dictatorship” (Stalin).

The Communist and Workers’ Parties elaborate the general line, which aims at the most rapid and effective building of Socialism, and, having sufficient authority, they stimulate to action on this line the central and local government organs, the trade unions, youth organisations, the co-operative movement, press, etc.

Without this leading role of the Party as the highest form of the class union of proletarians, without the coherence and discipline of the Party and without the confidence in it of the broad masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat not only would not be able to strengthen and extend itself, in order to lead to the complete victory of Socialism, but it would not be able even to maintain itself.

In 1920 Lenin wrote:

“Certainly, almost everyone now realises that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, unless the strictest, truly iron discipline had prevailed in our Party, and unless the latter had been rendered the fullest and unreserved support of the whole mass of the working class, that is, of all its thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and influential elements who are capable of leading or of carrying with them the backward strata.” (Lenin, *Left-wing Communism*; L.S.W., vol. 10; *Essentials of Lenin*, vol. 2, p. 573: L.L.L. No. 16.)

These words of Lenin can be applied in full to the historic role which the Communist Parties played in the achievement and maintenance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and play in its extension and strengthening.

Although there is a complete, fundamental harmony in the functioning of the mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on the leading role of the Party, in both the Soviet and People’s Democratic form of dictatorship, a certain specific nature does exist, however, at the present stage of development of the People’s Democratic form. This specific nature lies in the existence of not only one single party, the party of the proletariat, but also of other political organisations and parties, which function mainly in the field of the peasant and petty bourgeois strata.

It must, however, be stated distinctly that these parties do not possess any more the character of political organisations representing the interests of “antagonistic classes whose interests are hostile ‘and cannot be reconciled” (Stalin).

A number of these political organisations and parties are derived historically from the era of the bourgeois State. In the period after the Second World War, when the socialist revolution was developing in the People’s Democracies and an arduous struggle was being waged for the consolidation and crystallisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, some of these parties were the more or less wavering allies of the Communist and Workers’ Parties while some of them held openly hostile positions in relation to them.

However, in the process of the great class battles which took place in the People’s Democracies – in the process of smashing and liquidating the hostile bourgeois-landowner political formations, in the process of detaching the toiling and exploited masses from the bourgeoisie, the overcoming of the vacillations of the masses of middle peasants and the fortifying of the worker-peasant alliance as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat – these parties changed their class nature. In this period a thorough revision of their ideology, a thorough cleansing of their leadership and apparatus took place. At present these parties recognise the general political line, worked out by the Communist and Workers’ Parties, which aims at the building of Socialism, as binding for them and corresponding to the interest of the social strata amongst which they function. These parties develop their practical activity along this line. These parties recognise also, both in theory and in practice, the leading role of the Communist and Workers’ Parties.

In these circumstances the class nature of these parties and their function must be, and is, fundamentally different from the class nature and function of parties of the bourgeois State. In the present stage of development of the People’s Democracies these parties are fulfilling in reality the function of special ally formations, a special bridge for the leading detachment of the working class to a part of the working masses, especially to the peasants. Hence entrance of the representatives of these parties into the government does not in any case endow the governments in the People’s Democracies with the character of coalition governments in the bourgeois meaning of the word, does not deprive them of coherence and compactness, does not infringe in principle their unity of action and does not undermine the stability and durability of the people’s power.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the existence of these parties, while historically justified, necessary and purposeful in the present stage of development of People’s Democracy, can, in certain circumstances, be connected with definite dangers, derived from the fact that the class enemy attempts to entrench himself in some of the sectors of these parties.

There is no doubt that the further development of People’s Democracy will consolidate, deepen and extend the leading role of the Communist and Workers’ Parties in the entirety of the country’s political life in forms that correspond for each country and each period.

In any case it is clear that the prediction formulated by Comrade Dimitrov in 1948 to the effect that progressive social development “does not lead to a multitude of parties and small groups” has been already confirmed by the uniting of particular parties, which has taken place in some of the People’s Democracies.

In developing the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Stalin made a great, new contribution to the teachings on the Party of the proletariat. For the Communist and Workers’ Parties of the People’s Democracies, that part of the Leninist-Stalinist teachings which deals with the problem of the Party as the vanguard of the working class is especially timely.

Here is what Comrade Stalin writes on this problem:

“But in order that it may really be the vanguard, the Party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of the revolution. Without this it will be incapable of directing the struggle of the proletariat, of leading the proletariat. The Party cannot be a real Party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class feel and think, if it drags at the tail of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to overcome the inertness and political indifference of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to rise above the momentary interests of the proletariat, if it is unable to elevate the masses to the level of the class interests of the proletariat. The Party must stand at the head of the working class; it must see farther than the working class; it must lead the proletariat, and not follow in the tail of the spontaneous movement.” (Stalin, “Foundations of Leninism”, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 81, 82; L.S.L. No. 1.)

Without the Party as the *vanguard* of the working class, without the Party as the “political leader of the working class” (Stalin), there is, and can be, no dictatorship of the proletariat capable of consolidating, developing and strengthening itself.

It is understandable, therefore, that the traitors and spies of the Tito clique, preparing since long ago a counter-revolutionary coup in Yugoslavia at the behest of American imperialism, recognised as the fundamental element of their traitorous work the deprivation of the Communist Party of its role as the *vanguard* of the working class by detaching it from the working class and dissolving it in the so-called National Front.

It is also not a matter of accident that the bearers of the right-wing and nationalist deviation, led by Comrade Gomulka, wanted to deprive our party of the role of the vanguard of the working class by detaching it from revolutionary traditions, by uniting with the Polish Socialist Party without first shattering the right wing of the P.S.P., and not on the platform of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist and Workers’ Parties in the People’s Democracies, due to the specific conditions in which they arose and developed, do not as yet possess in full the traits of a Bolshevik Party, although they fulfil in principle the functions of the leading detachment of the working class.

Hence the immense and intensive organisational work that is being carried out at present by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the People's Democracies, in order to make up for the delay, in order to assimilate in full Bolshevik methods of organisational work, in order to purge themselves of hostile and foreign elements, to prevent the effacement of the line between the Party and the class – and in order to perform the function of the political leader of the working class, completely, universally and in a Bolshevik manner.

In developing the Leninist teaching on the Party, Comrade Stalin formulated as a law of the development of the Party the strengthening of the Party by the purging of opportunist elements.

“Our Party”, Comrade Stalin writes, “succeeded in creating internal unity and unexampled cohesion of its ranks primarily because it was able in good time to purge itself of the opportunist pollution, because it was able to rid its ranks of the liquidators, the Mensheviks.” (ibid, p. 91).

During the period when the direct task facing the People's Democracies was only the struggle for the consolidation of regained Statehood and the reconstruction of national economy, the opportunist elements in the parties did not as yet reveal themselves fully.

When, however, a new stage of development began, when the building of the foundations of Socialism and the sharp struggle against the capitalist elements in town and country became a direct task, in the period which coincided with an ever more acute division of the world into the camp of imperialism and the camp of peace, in this period the opportunist elements in the parties revealed their features and sought to turn the parties from their proper road.

We know from our own experience that the routing of the right-wing and nationalist deviation in our party fortified it, and armed it for the accomplishment of the tasks of the leading detachment of the working class, the directing force of the dictatorship of the proletariat, carrying out the, transition to Socialism.

Basing itself on Stalin's teachings and his ideological influence, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Democracies develops and strengthens itself – the Communist and Workers' Parties directing it – and develops on the road of Bolshevik theory and practice.

The experience of the State and Party building in these countries is a further splendid confirmation and development of the Leninist-Stalinist teachings on the “mechanism” of the functioning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the guiding role of the Party as the vanguard of the working class.

### III

In 1939, at the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), Comrade Stalin presented a profound, thorough analysis of the development of the Soviet Socialist State and

determined two phases of this development: the first the period from the October Revolution to the liquidation of the exploiting classes, and the second the period from the liquidation of the capitalist elements of town and country to the complete victory of the Socialist system of economy and the enactment of the new Constitution.

The principal task in the first place, Comrade Stalin writes:

“Was to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organize the defence of the country against the attack of the interventionists, to restore industry and agriculture and to prepare the conditions for the elimination of the capitalist elements. Accordingly, in this period our State performed two main functions.”

And further on, characterising these two main functions, Comrade Stalin writes:

“The first function was to suppress the overthrown classes inside the country.

“The second function was to defend the country from foreign attack.

“Our State had yet a third function: this was the work of economic organisation and cultural education performed by our State bodies with the purpose of developing the infant shoots of the new, socialist economic system and re-educating the people in the spirit of Socialism. *But this new function did not attain to any considerable development in that period.*” (My italics – H.M.) (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, pp. 636-637.)

In regard to the second phase, the principal task of this period, as Comrade Stalin stated, lay in the organisation of the socialist economy, corresponding to which the functions of the Socialist State also changed.

The function of suppressing resistance inside the country fell and died away. In its place arose the function of safeguarding of the socialist property. The function of armed defence of the country from external attack was completely preserved and, as Comrade Stalin writes:

“The function of economic organisation and cultural education by the state organs also remained, and was developed to the full. Now the main task of our State inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organisation and cultural education. .As for our army, punitive organs and intelligence service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against the external enemies.

“As you see, we now have an entirely new, Socialist State, without precedent in history and differing considerably in form and functions from the Socialist State of the first phase.” (ibid, p. 633.)

In the light of Comrade Stalin’s analysis of the development of the Socialist State and the determined two phases of its development, it should be clear that the People’s Democracies are in the first phase, in the period when the main task is the breaking of the

resistance of the overthrown classes and the preparation of conditions for the liquidation of the capitalist classes. However, in new historical conditions, this first phase of development of the Socialist State takes a somewhat different course in the People's Democracies than took place in the U.S.S.R.

Wherein does this difference chiefly rest?

It rests in the fact that, due to basing themselves on the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies were able to approach relatively faster the realisation of the economic-organisational and cultural-educational functions of the Socialist State. This was caused by the following circumstances:

1. Due to the support of the might and aid of the U.S.S.R., the People's Democracies avoided armed imperialist intervention. It is true that the overthrown classes of exploiters benefited and benefit from the close aid of the imperialists, and here and there, on the basis of this aid, attempts at armed resistance arose – as, for example, in Poland during a certain period of the activities of the bands and the underground which had even some elements of a civil war – but all these attempts of resistance cannot be compared in their destructive results with the burdens, devastations and tension of forces brought about by the armed imperialist intervention in the U.S.S.R., and the long-lasting civil war which grew on its soil. As is known, the rebuilding of the country in the U.S.S.R. was able to begin, due to the armed imperialist intervention, only four to five years after the October Revolution. In Poland, on the other hand, where the armed resistance of the overthrown classes had relatively the greatest scope and lasted the longest, it was unable to halt for an instant the work of rebuilding the country.

Therefore, in the People's Democracies, industry and agriculture were restored already in the first phase of the development of the Socialist State and already in the first phase of development, production, especially in industry, has very considerably surpassed the pre-war level.

2. The People's Democracies benefited from the very first instant of their formation from the all-sided aid of the Soviet Union in the form of deliveries of goods, food, commodity and investment credits, technical aid, cultural assistance, etc.

In the recent past the mutual aid of the People's Democracies carried out on the basis of the Mutual Economic Aid Council has begun to play an ever more important role.

3. The People's Democracies have the possibility of benefiting, and benefit, from the experiences of the Soviet Union, of marching along the path it has cleared. This saves them many vain efforts, many unsuccessful attempts and pursuits, much national energy, labour and material costs which otherwise would be expended without the proper effect.

These are the circumstances which cause a relatively more rapid development of the economic-organisational work in the People's Democracies than in the U.S.S.R. in the

first phase of its development. This has, of course, a highly positive bearing on the whole of the development of these countries.

Having avoided, due to basing themselves on the strength and aid of the U.S.S.R., imperialist intervention, the People's Democracies also did not have to pass through the stage of War Communism in their economy, the necessity of which in the U.S.S.R. was primarily caused precisely by the imperialist intervention.

The economy of the People's Democracies was, and is, based up to the present on the taking over by the State of the principal economic positions (large and medium industry, the banks, transport, etc.), on the permitting within definite limits and utilisation of market relations, and on such a planned direction of economic life on the basis of the principal economic positions, as to cause the growth of the socialist sector and development in the direction of Socialism.

Comrade Stalin foresaw brilliantly already in 1928 that:

“The new economic policy with its market relations and the utilisation of the market relations is absolutely necessary for every capitalist country in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.” (Stalin, *Collected Works*, Russian Edition, vol. XI, p. 145.)

This brilliant prediction of Comrade Stalin was completely confirmed by the development of the economy of the People's Democracies, which at present are in a period having many common practical traits and many analogies with the Soviet N.E.P. (New Economic Policy) period.

But the N.E.P. is not only the permitting on definite conditions and utilisation of market relations.

“The N.E.P.,” Comrade Stalin states, “is the Party's policy which permits of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist elements, and is calculated to bring about the victory of the socialist elements over the capitalist elements. In actual fact N.E.P. only began as a retreat; but the calculation was that in the course of this retreat our forces would be regrouped and we would launch an offensive. As a matter of fact, we have been pursuing the offensive for several years now, and are doing so successfully, developing our industries, developing Soviet trade, and pressing hard upon private -capital.” (Stalin, “On the Problems of Leninism”, Section 7, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 172.)

In the People's Democracies, where the permitting and utilisation of market relations was not a period of retreat because there had been no period of War Communism which eliminated these market conditions, the offensive against, the limitation and gradual dislodging of capitalist elements is taking place. As a result of this development the perspective of the total liquidation of capitalist elements becomes ever more clearly apparent, similarly to the plan outlined and accomplished in the U.S.S.R. under Stalin's leadership – i.e., through the industrialisation of the country and the gradual

collectivisation of agriculture. It is precisely this perspective, formulated in the resolution of the Information Bureau on the issue of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which caused in our Party, amongst others, the complete unmasking of the right-wing and nationalist group, led by Comrade Gomulka, and the unsuccessful attempt to turn back our Party from the road leading to the realisation of Socialism.

The right-wing and nationalist group in our Party was thoroughly routed, and the attempt to turn our Party back from its road towards the realisation of Socialism ended in infamous disaster and bankruptcy.

There is no doubt as well that our country, like all the other People's Democracies, suppressing the resistance of the bourgeoisie, developing its defensive power on the support of the U.S.S.R., will extend ever more the economic-organisational and cultural-educational function of the Socialist State so that, as a result of the liquidation of the capitalist elements, the liquidation of antagonistic social classes and the victorious building of Socialism, this function becomes the principal and fundamental function of our Socialist State.

#### IV

Comrade Stalin, in developing the theory of the State and in particular the theory of the Socialist State, has contributed a new chapter to this theory, dealing with the question of the State in the period of Communism.

This is what Comrade Stalin stated on this question in 1939 in the report to the Eighteenth Party Congress:

“We are going ahead, towards Communism. Will our State remain in the period of Communism also?”

“Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our State will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

“No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a Socialist encirclement takes its place.” (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, p. 637-638.)

This extension and deepening of the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the State was based on a profound elaboration of the problem of the internal and external functions of the State and on a thorough definition and determination of the consequences and dangers deriving from the existence of the capitalist encirclement.

In this same report to the Eighteenth Party Congress, which contributed a new chapter to the theory of the State, Comrade Stalin, raising an objection to those who considered that since there were no more antagonistic classes in the U.S.S.R. then the State was also unnecessary, stated:

“These questions not only betray an underestimation of the capitalist encirclement, but also an underestimation of the role and significance of the bourgeois States and their organs, which send in spies, assassins, and wreckers into our country and are waiting for a favourable moment to attack it by armed force.” (ibid, p. 632.)

And further on Comrade Stalin says:

“Is it not surprising that we learned about the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite leaders only quite recently, in 1937 and 1938, although, as the evidence shows, these gentry were in the service of foreign espionage organisations and carried on conspiratorial activities from the very first days of the October Revolution?

“This blunder is to be explained by an underestimation of the strength and consequence of the mechanism of the bourgeois States surrounding us and of their espionage organs which endeavour to take advantage of people’s weaknesses, their vanity, their slackness of will, to enmesh them in their espionage nets and use them to surround the organs of the Soviet State.” (ibid, p. 632-633.)

The People’s Democracies are not in a capitalist encirclement in the sense that the U.S.S.R. was when it was the only Socialist State in the world.

The People’s Democracies find a powerful support in the mighty Soviet Union.

But the People’s Democracies, along with the Soviet Union, face an imperialist camp armed to the teeth and led by the American warmongers.

In the great anti-imperialist camp of peace and Socialism the People’s Democracies are less strong links than the U.S.S.R. In their countries there are still remnants of the routed classes of exploiters, and especially the class of the village rich, remnants of the bourgeois state apparatus and bourgeois political formations. The connections of some strata with native and foreign capitalism are still fresh; a broad stratum of people’s intelligentsia has not yet emerged, the organs of justice and the organs of struggle with foreign intelligence services have not yet grown firm and acquired sufficient experience; the Communist and Workers’ Parties do not possess as yet the Bolshevik characteristics in full.

Therefore it is understandable that the imperialists direct their blows and attacks at the People’s Democracies and that for a long time already they have been setting up long-range plans, aimed at detaching these countries from the U.S.S.R. and guiding them on to the road to capitalism.

The provocation of many years standing of the spying Tito band for the benefit of the imperialists, the provocation, diversion and espionage of many years standing of the Rajk and Kostov bands and of the Titoite band in Hungary and Bulgaria, the provocation of many years standing of the pre-war Polish counter-intelligence agents in our Party, which

spread on the ground of the opportunism and absolute lack of revolutionary vigilance on the part of Comrades Gomulka and Spychalski – all this shows how dangerous is the underestimation of the mechanism of the internal and external action of the class enemy.

“We cannot for an instant,” said Comrade Bierut, “lose sight of the class enemy and his cunning and insidious moves. Be vigilant! This is an order which should accompany every one of us constantly, in every moment of our Party’s professional and social work, as well as at every step of our collective and personal life. As long as the class enemy exists and acts – we must be vigilant. To be vigilant, means to hasten the destruction of the imperialists, to fortify the foundations of socialist construction.” (B. Bierut. Report delivered at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the P.U.W.P., November 11, 1949.)

There is no doubt that, basing themselves on Stalin’s teachings and the experiences of the C.P.S.U.(B), the Communist and Workers’ Parties of the People’s Democracies will be able to intensify their revolutionary vigilance and frustrate even the most satanic provocations of the foreign imperialists and of the native bourgeoisie and landowners.

## V

The People’s Democracies arose as the result of a socialist revolution, occurring in special historical conditions. This revolution was of the same type, in class nature, as the Great October Socialist Revolution. The State in the People’s Democracies is a State of the socialist type, of the same type in class nature as the Soviet State. The Soviet and People’s Democratic forms of the State are variants of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Socialist State in the People’s Democracies differs from the contemporary Soviet State:

**1. In the difference of historical conditions and the difference derived therefrom in the forms of exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat.**

**2. In the different phase of development in which it rests, the different stage of historical development: in the People’s Democracies, antagonistic social classes still exist, capitalism has not been completely liquidated and Socialism is only being built. In the U.S.S.R., there are no antagonistic social classes, capitalism has been totally liquidated, Socialism has been built and a Communist society is being built.**

Under these circumstances, what is and what can be the tendency of development of the People’s Democracies?

This tendency can only be, and is, to make up for the historical delay, to build Socialism on the basis of the experience of the U.S.S.R. It is clear that as the People’s Democracies pass over from the first phase of development of the Socialist State to the second the divergences of system in relation to the U.S.S.R. will decrease.

‘The line of development of the U.S.S.R. and the line of the People’s Democracy are not in any case parallel lines, which if they intersect anywhere then only at infinity. On the contrary, the line of development of the People’s Democracies tends sharply towards the second phase of development of the Socialist State, towards a socialist society.

What does the direction of this line signify?

It signifies nothing else but the striving towards making up the historical delay, catching up with the U.S.S.R., and marching together with it and under its leadership towards Communism.

Armed with Stalin’s teaching we shall reach this goal.

#### **4. The Fatherland Front and People’s Democracy**

**by Georgi Dimitrov**

*Extracts from Report to the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party on  
December 19, 1948*

On September 9, 1944, political power in our country was wrested from the hands of the capitalist bourgeois and the monarcho-fascist minority of exploiters and passed into the hands of the vast majority, the working .people from towns and villages, under the .guidance of the working class and its vanguard – the Communist Party. Having triumphed with the decisive aid of the heroic Red Army, the September 9 uprising cleared the road for building Socialism in our country.

The combination of the September 9, 1944, people’s anti-fascist uprising and the victorious advance of the Soviet Army in the Balkans ensured the triumph of the uprising and gave it great impetus. The hatred against fascism accumulated in the course of two decades, and the determination of the working people to do away with it, burst forth irrepressibly and swept away the fascist regime at one blow. The anti-popular bourgeois-fascist police apparatus was smashed to pieces and a people’s militia was formed to crush the opposition of the fascist elements and to defend the people’s uprising. Power was wrested from the capitalist class, united around the monarchy and closely allied with German imperialism. It passed into the hands of the militant alliance of workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals united in the Fatherland Front, under the leadership of our Party. The state power radically changed in character: the instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the masses in the interests of the capitalists was dismantled and a people’s government was created, as an instrument for the annihilation of capitalism and for the gradual liberation of the working people from exploitation of all kinds.

True, the old bourgeois state machine was not completely smashed on September 9. The Communists were still a minority in the newly formed Cabinet. Many key posts were still in the hands of individuals, some of whom later proved unstable and even hostile to the people's regime. It was the Party, however, which animated the anti-fascist movement: the Party was, as it were, its sparking plug. In many localities power was actually in the hands of the Fatherland Front Committees. Our Party held the Ministry of the Interior as well as the newly created Institute for Assistant Commanders in the Army. This was in the interest of the people, because only our Party could organise the suppression of the defeated monarcho-fascist clique, ensure internal order and the successful participation of the reorganised army in the war against Hitler Germany. The Party's great power and influence among the people, as well as its position in the Fatherland Front Committees, enabled it to assume in practice a leading role in the Government and to wage a successful fight against the fascist reactionaries and their stooges within the ranks of the Fatherland Front.

New people, springing up from the midst of the working class, came to the fore. Vast masses of people, long oppressed under the jack-boot of fascist dictatorship, awoke to active political life and, under the leadership of the Party, played their part in various administrative bodies. A new type of people's democratic government was created and perfected.

Although its immediate tasks were of a democratic character, the September 9 uprising could not but shake the capitalist system in our country to its very foundation, thus transcending the limits of bourgeois democracy.

This, then, was the salient feature of the September 9 uprising.

You cannot eliminate fascism, grant democratic rights to the working masses, consolidate and develop these rights without challenging the very rule of capitalism, for fascism is nothing but the ruthless, terrorist dictatorship of big business. The eradication of fascism cannot be completed without challenging big business. Democratic rights cannot be granted to the working people if big business preserves its political and economic power. The September 9 uprising, therefore, undertaking the solution of problems of a democratic character together with the great national problem of our people's participation in the war for the final destruction of Hitlerism, could not but turn subsequently against the domination of big business, deal it further serious blows and prepare the ground for its abolition, for the abolition of the entire capitalist system and the transition to Socialism.

### **Laying the Foundations of Socialism in Bulgaria**

The victory of the people under the guidance of our Party over the attempt of capitalist reaction to set back the clock of history created the conditions for speeding up the political and economic development of our country, for proceeding to bring about basic transformations and carry out constructive tasks of our people's regime.

Under the conditions created by the elections to the Grand National Assembly and the formation of a government under the direct leadership of our Party, there could be no further development of the productive forces, of the national economy and of the well-being of the working people without a radical encroachment on the economic basis of the capitalist class. Bulgaria's experience confirmed the thesis of Lenin and Stalin that under decaying capitalism, when the inherent insoluble crisis of bourgeois democracy gives birth to fascism, no serious and lasting democratic changes are possible, no progress is feasible without attacking the very foundations of capitalism, without taking steps in the direction of Socialism. In this our country's task was greatly eased by the fraternal aid received from a strong Socialist State – the U.S.S.R.

The way was open for the full unfolding of the constructive tasks of the People's Government, for revolutionary changes in our national economy, for the elimination of the economic basis of capitalist reaction, for the transition from capitalism to Socialism, which, of course, cannot be realised without waging an uncompromising class struggle against the capitalist elements.

In this situation the Party had to formulate new tasks in order to arm its own cadres, the Fatherland Front and the working people with a clear perspective. There was, however, a certain lag. After the chief tasks of the preceding period were in the main solved, the Party by and large continued to be guided by its old slogans. We permitted a certain delay in the destruction of the reactionary opposition. We continued to speak of the possibility of coordinating the interests of private industrialists and merchants with the general interests of the State at a time when the whole situation made it possible to take radical measures for the elimination of the rule of big business in the national economy, and when factors had emerged which enabled us to advance resolutely towards laying the foundations of Socialism in our country.

We have never lost track of the general perspective of our development towards Socialism. We have always clearly realised that the destruction of fascism and the realisation of the many reforms which figured in the Fatherland Front programme of July 17, 1942, was intimately tied up with our ultimate goal – Socialism and Communism. We have said again and again that, from the viewpoint of our Party as the vanguard of the working class, the complete realisation of the Fatherland Front programme meant the creation of the necessary conditions for our people to advance to Socialism. We always stressed that there was no contradiction between our Fatherland Front policy and the struggle to unite all democratic and progressive forces in the Fatherland Front for the realisation of its programme, on the one hand, and the struggle for Socialism, on the other. But at that time the transition to Socialism still seemed to us a question for the comparatively distant future and the international and domestic situation seemed to us not yet suitable for the application of such radical measures.

Meanwhile, the Fatherland Front programme, as proclaimed in 1942 and specified after September 9 in the declaration of the first Fatherland Front government, had by the end of 1946 already been in the main fulfilled. What is more, with the proclamation of the People's Republic and the elaboration of the Two-Year Plan, we had already gone beyond

the first Fatherland Front programme. The development of the revolutionary process started on September 9 made it indispensable to take decisive measures for the liquidation of large capitalist private property, for starting a consistent policy of muzzling the kulak elements in the village, for radically overhauling the entire state apparatus and for working out a new Fatherland Front programme with clearly formulated perspectives of the movement towards Socialism, for a corresponding reconstruction of the Fatherland Front, for a further consolidation of the dominant role of the Party.

The lag in the rate of the economic and political development of our country shows that our Party temporarily underestimated its own forces and those of the working class and working people, and overestimated the forces of reaction. As the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee stated, our Party “lacked the necessary clarity regarding the perspectives and the pace of our movement towards Socialism”. It was not armed with a consistent Marxist-Leninist analysis of the September 9 turning-point and of the ensuing possibilities and failed to understand at the proper time the different stages of our development. Fortunately, however, the Party, although with a certain lag and with an insufficient theoretical examination of the problems, did manage to take action and ensure the solution of the new tasks arising from the changed conditions. This example confirms once again the old truth that it is easier to learn by heart the principles of Marxism-Leninism than to apply them in practice as a guide to action, correctly and in time, at every stage of social development. For the mastery of this art, the Party leaders, at the top and at the bottom, must work tirelessly and study diligently so that the party shall neither fall behind and be late in taking necessary action nor rush ahead too far.

We shall never forget the invaluable and timely aid which we received from the great Bolshevik Party and in particular from Stalin personally, through advice and explanation on matters of our Party’s policy as a leading force of the People’s Democracy, which enabled us quickly to correct our mistakes.

During the past year and half, under the leadership of our Party, a series of momentous and fundamental measures were carried out which completely consolidated the People’s Democracy and prepared the ground for laying the economic foundations of Socialism in Bulgaria.

The new Republican Constitution was adopted, which legally consolidated the historic gains of the September 9 uprising and of the people’s democratic form of government and opened up prospects for the country’s further development.

On the initiative and under the leadership of our Party, industry, private banks, foreign trade, domestic wholesale trade, large urban property and forests were socialised, while farm machinery and implements were bought up from the farmers. The bulk of the means of production and exchange have thus passed into public ownership.

The nationalisation of industry was the most important revolutionary measure in our economy. It consolidated our planned development on the road toward Socialism. In industry, credit and transport, the public sector has come to occupy an almost

monopolistic position. The same is true in foreign trade and wholesale domestic trade. In our retail domestic trade the public sector already outweighs the private sector. In agriculture and handicraft industry the public sector has grown firm roots which are becoming ever stronger through the creation of more than 70 machine and tractor stations, of over 1,000 co-operative farms with some 300,000 hectares of arable land, of state farms with almost 100,000 hectares of land, of new artisans' co-operatives and through the rapid rise of the co-operative movement in towns and villages.

Hand in hand with these radical changes and in conformity with our people's constitution, our entire state apparatus was thoroughly overhauled, and, in spite of some defects, it continues to improve as an apparatus of People's Democracy.

Our party took the initiative in reorganising the Fatherland Front under its own guidance into a unified political organisation with its own rules and a revised programme formulating the new tasks of transforming the country with a view to its forward march toward Socialism. Thus, as a result of the Party's steadfast work, the coalition elements in the Fatherland Front were completely done away with. It has now become an organisation of the militant alliance of the working people of town and countryside under the generally accepted leadership of the working class, headed by our Party. All parties and public organisations composing the Fatherland Front recognise today the necessity of building Socialism.

The Second Congress of the Fatherland Front marked a very important stage in its development. The hostile, vacillating and unstable elements which had infiltrated into the Fatherland Front with the aim of disintegrating it and undermining it from within dropped out or were expelled. The Fatherland Front only gained from that. In their place, after the Second Congress, new forces came in from the ranks of the working people and their mass organisations. The Fatherland Front as a mass political organisation of the militant alliance of the working people of town and countryside, under the leadership of the proletarian class, is now stronger and more united than ever. Favourable conditions exist for closer collaboration between the Fatherland Front parties. Applying different methods of persuasion, agitation and propaganda, depending on the peculiarities of those sections wherein each is mainly working, the Fatherland Front parties are contributing to rallying as many people as possible for the common goal – the construction of the foundations of Socialism by way of the People's Democracy.

Today the Fatherland Front embodies the ever-increasing moral and political unity of the working people of our country – a basic condition for bringing to a successful end the fight against the capitalist elements and the building of the foundations of Socialism. The transformation of the Fatherland Front into a unified political organisation with a common programme, socialist in essence, with strict discipline and the recognised leading role of the Communist Party, is undoubtedly a great achievement. It is for this reason that we condemn every underestimation of its significance and role. It was and continues to be a vital necessity for our country. We cannot but call to account those Communists whose scornful attitude toward the Fatherland Front brings grist to the mill of our class enemies, who are principally interested in discrediting it.

It goes without saying that within the framework of the Fatherland Front some of the component parties may prefer to merge or to discontinue their independent organisational existence, whenever they consider this timely and useful. But that is their own affair.

These profound transformations and the changed correlation of the class and political forces in our country, together with the active support of the Soviet Union, paved the way for the building of the foundations of Socialism in our country as an urgent, vital and practical task. This is now the general policy of our Party. At the head of the working class, closely allied to all the working people of town and countryside, it will carry out this correct general policy firmly and unflinchingly, with unshakable confidence in victory, notwithstanding all internal and especially external difficulties and obstacles.

### **The Essence of a People's Democracy**

The character of a People's Democracy is determined by four major factors:

(1) The People's Democracy represents the power of the working people – of the overwhelming majority of the people, under the leadership of the working class.

That means, firstly, that the rule of the capitalists and landlords is overthrown and the rule of the working people from the towns and villages, under the leadership of the working class, established, that the working class as the most progressive class in contemporary society is playing the principal role in State and public life. Secondly, that the State serves as an instrument in the fight of the working people against the exploiters, against all efforts and tendencies aimed at re-establishing the capitalist order and bourgeois rule.

(2) The People's Democracy is a State in the transitional period, destined to ensure the development of the State on the path to Socialism.

That means that although the rule of the capitalists and landlords is overthrown and their property handed over to the people, the economic roots of capitalism are not yet extirpated; capitalist vestiges still persist and develop, trying to restore their rule. Therefore, the onward march towards Socialism is possible only by waging a relentless class struggle against the capitalist elements and for their liquidation.

Only by advancing directly on the road to the achievement of Socialism can the People's Democracy stabilise itself and fulfil its historic mission. Should it cease to fight against the exploiting classes and to eliminate them, the latter would inevitably gain the upper hand and would bring about its downfall.

(3) The People's Democracy is built in collaboration and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Just as the liberation of our country from the fetters of imperialism and the establishment of People's Democracy were made possible by the aid and liberating role of the U.S.S.R. in the fight against fascist Germany and its satellites, so the further development of our

People's Democracy presupposes the safeguarding and further promotion of close relations and sincere collaboration, mutual aid and friendship between our State and the Soviet State. Any tendency toward weakening this collaboration with the U.S.S.R. is directed against the very existence of the People's Democracy in our country.

(4) The People's Democracy belongs to the democratic anti-imperialist camp.

(a) Only by joining in the united democratic anti-imperialist camp, headed by the mighty Soviet State can every People's Democracy ensure its independence, sovereignty and safety against the aggression of the imperialist forces.

(b) Under the conditions of the military collapse of the fascist aggressor States, of the abrupt sharpening of the general capitalist crisis, of the immense strengthening of the power of the Soviet Union and of the existing close collaboration with the U.S.S.R. and the New Democracies, our country and the other New Democracies were enabled to realise the transition from capitalism to Socialism without the establishment of a Soviet order through the regime of People's Democracy, on the condition that that regime was consolidated and developed, and by leaning on the U.S.S.R. and the other New Democracies.

(c) Embodying the rule of the working people under the leadership of the working class, the People's Democracy, in the existing historical situation, as is already proved by experience, can and must successfully perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the liquidation of the capitalist elements and the organisation of a socialist economy. It can crush the resistance of the overthrown capitalists and landowners, crush their attempts to restore the rule of capital, and organise the building of industry on the basis of public ownership and planned economy. The regime of the People's Democracy will succeed in overcoming the vacillations of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and middle-class peasantry, in neutralising the capitalist elements in the villages and in rallying all the working people around the working class for the onward march toward Socialism.

The regime of the People's Democracy will not change its character during the carrying out of this policy, which aims at eliminating the capitalist elements from the national economy. The key positions of the working class in all spheres of public life must continuously be strengthened and all village elements rallied who might become allies of the workers during the period of sharp struggles against the kulaks and their hangers-on. The People's Democratic regime must be strengthened and improved in order to render powerless and liquidate the class enemies.

(d) The New Democracies, including Bulgaria, are already marching towards Socialism, in ceaseless struggle against all domestic, and especially foreign, enemies. They are now creating the conditions necessary for the building of Socialism, the economic and cultural basis for a future socialist society.

This is the central task today facing the New Democracies and, consequently, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

This task embraces the following important aspects:

- (a) Consolidation of the key positions held by the working class, headed by the Communist Party, in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.
- (b) Strengthening the alliance between the working class and the working peasants under the leadership of the working class.
- (c) Speeding up the development of the public sector of national economy and, in particular, of heavy industry.
- (d) Creating the conditions for liquidating the capitalist elements in village economy by a consistent policy aiming at their isolation and subsequent annihilation.
- (e) All-round development of producers' co-operatives among the peasants, giving state assistance to the poor and middle peasants through machine and tractor stations, agricultural machines, credit, seed loans, etc., intensifying their interest in the alliance with the working class, persuading them by the example of the co-operative farms of the advantages of that system, and re-educating them in a spirit of intolerance toward capitalist elements.

So far as the nationalisation of the land is concerned, we consider that in our situation and with the development of the co-operative farms, this question has no practical importance, i.e. we think that the nationalisation of the land is not a necessary condition for the development and mechanisation of our rural economy.

(f) The People's Democracy stands for internationalism. Nationalism is incompatible with the People's Democracy. Our Party sees in internationalism, i.e. international collaboration under Comrade Stalin, a guarantee of our country's independent existence, prosperity and progress towards Socialism. We think that nationalism, under no matter what guise, is an enemy of Communism. This was clearly demonstrated by the anti-Communist actions of Tito's group in Yugoslavia. Hence the fight against nationalism is a primary duty of Communists.

Fighting all manifestations of nationalism, we must re-educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to their country, i.e. in a spirit of genuine patriotism.

Education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to one's country means, above all, to make people fully conscious of the unique importance of a firm united front of the new democracies and the U.S.S.R. in the struggle against the aggressive forces of international reaction and imperialism. The entire future of our people depends, on the one hand, on the power of the Soviet Union, and, on the other, on their readiness and ability, in case of capitalist aggression, honourably to fulfil their duty in the common fight.

At the same time, education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism means to render people fully aware of the importance of complete co-ordination of the activities of the Communist Parties, and of the leading role of the Bolshevik Party. For there exists for the Communist Parties one and only one theory as a guide to action – the theory of Marxism-Leninism; one and only one aim in their policy; and there exists the great party of Lenin and Stalin, as the leading party of the international labour movement.

It is essential that we educate in this spirit the Party, the working class, the working peasantry and intelligentsia.

*From concluding speech at the Fifth Congress*

The second remark refers to the definition of the People's Democracy given in my report. Some comrades who in their discussions touched on this problem were inclined to put the emphasis mainly on that which distinguishes the People's Democracy from the Soviet regime, something which may lead to incorrect and harmful deductions.

According to the Marxist-Leninist principles, the Soviet regime and the People's Democracy are two forms of one and the same rule – the rule of the working class in alliance with and at the head of the toilers from towns and villages. They are two forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The particular form of transition from capitalism to Socialism in Bulgaria does not and cannot alter the basic laws on the transition period from capitalism to Socialism which are valid for all countries. The transition to Socialism cannot be carried out without the dictatorship of the proletariat against the capitalist elements and for the organisation of socialist economy.

But whereas bourgeois democracy is the dictatorship of capital, of an exploiting big-business minority over the great majority of working people, People's Democracy fulfils the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interests of the overwhelming majority of working people and realises the widest and most complete democracy – socialist democracy.

From the fact that People's Democracy and the Soviet regime coincide in the most important and decisive respect, that is, that they both represent the rule of the working class in alliance with and at the head of the working people, there follow some highly essential deductions on the necessity of making the most thorough study and widest application of the great experiment of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. And this experiment, adapted to our conditions, is the only and best model for the construction of Socialism in Bulgaria, as well as in the other People's Democracies.

## **5. People's Poland**

**by Boleslaw Bierut**

*Extracts from a speech at the Unification Congress of the Polish Workers' and Socialist Parties, December 1948*

Can one conceive People's Democracy as a combination of two opposed social regimes, as a permanent static mixture of socialist and capitalist elements living peacefully side by side?

It is evident that such a representation of the problems of the People's Democracy is entirely erroneous. The co-existence of opposed regimes without friction between them is not known in the history of social development. Inside the framework of a given social regime there can exist, and there do exist temporarily, side by side, various forms of production. In our country the basic form of production is the nationalised state industry, socialist industry....

The fact that the old dominating classes – the big capitalists and landowners – were fully eliminated from influencing the state interests and that their factories and estates have become the property of the whole nation, that the land formerly belonging to the landowners has become the property of peasants, that the banks were nationalised – all this defines the people's character of our regime.

This means that all the economic and political positions of the big capitalists and landowners were once and forever broken down. But, there can be no question of any "freezing" of the existing economic relations, of the inviolability of the parallel positions of the various economic sectors, for at least this reason, that our economy does not stay in one place, it develops and grows at a speedier rate than in any of the preceding periods....

Certain representatives of capitalist circles, and certainly all kinds of parasites, do not like the present relations, they disagree with the policy of a People's Democratic State. They endeavour to undermine the confidence of the masses in the People's Government; they endeavour to harm them and create confusion in our life by spreading absurd gossip, by spreading panic, or in some other way render difficult the life and work of the toiling masses.

It is obvious that our Party must fight these detrimental influences, must eradicate all destructive forms of their activity. A State defending the rights of the working people must counteract excessive profits by taking appropriate economic, legal, and administrative measures. Under these conditions, the sharpening of the class struggle cannot be avoided in a State of People's Democracy, and all theories of avoiding and stopping such struggles, of closing our eyes to the exploitation and social harm inflicted on the working class by the capitalist elements, are detrimental and erroneous.

Under the regime of People's Democracy there exist many millions of small producers, small and medium farmers. These are the allies of the working class and the support of the People's Authority. One of the chief tasks of the People's Democratic regime is to assist these peasant groups to raise their economy and the general culture in the country. The task of the working class, building the foundations of a new social regime, is to

strengthen and deepen the alliance between workers and peasants, which is the basis of the People's Authority.

As long as capitalist elements exist and develop and the small production economy is dependent on the elemental law of exchange of goods, as long as the economic roots of the capitalist system can send out new shoots, the capitalist system has the possibility of reviving. Without eradicating the roots of economic capitalist exploitation, capitalist elements will endeavour at all cost to restore the old capitalist system. For this reason the working class must carry on a ruthless struggle against capitalist elements, must aim at the complete elimination of all forms and sources of economic exploitation.

*From the above considerations, it follows that the People's Democracy is not a synthesis or a stabilised form of co-existence of two different social systems, but is a form of pushing out and gradual elimination of capitalist elements. At the same time it is a form which develops and strengthens the future social economy.*

## **6. Some Problems of People's Democracy**

**by Matyas Rakosi**

*General-Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party*

Hungary is the youngest of the People's Democracies. Essentially, this is due to the same reasons that made Hungary Hitler's last satellite, but it is also because for a long time after the liberation we underestimated the strength of the enemy. Here it was only after two and a half years of hard work that the Communist Party could win the backing, not only of the industrial workers, but of the majority of the working peasants, the progressive intellectuals and the small businessmen.

Until we had, with three years of hard and bitter work, convinced the working people of the truth of our cause, until we had exposed the attempts of the old capitalist order to climb back into the saddle, the question was not decided whether the country would go on the road of the People's Democracy or of bourgeois democracy. The liberating supporting arm of the Soviet people is not enough in itself. It is also necessary – as with the proletarian dictatorship – that the Communist Party should be acknowledged as their leader, not only by the class of industrial workers, but also by its allies, the working peasants, small craftsmen, small shop-keepers, and progressive intellectuals. We expressed this at the time by saying that the Soviet Union had struck the chains from our hands, but that she could not build democracy in place of us. We would have to do that ourselves.

And, until we won the great majority of the working people, there was in our country, too, a sort of "dual power", as there was in 1917 in Kerensky's time: there stood one beside the other, interwoven and struggling with the other, the old that pulled towards

capitalism, and the new that strove for Socialism. The struggle was decided for Socialism, for People's Democracy, but we shall need many years' hard work yet, much help and mutual aid from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, finally to consolidate the results we have achieved.

The People's Democracies came into being with the help and support of the Soviet Union; their strength was increased by mutual aid. They can only secure their continued existence and further development in the face of threatening, sabre-rattling imperialism, if they rely on the Soviet Union and on each other. Anyone who leaves this community has, by this step in itself, ceased to be a State of the People's Democracy and a builder of Socialism, and inevitably crashes back into the camp of the capitalists and the imperialists. The six months' history of the treachery of the Yugoslav leaders provides spectacular proof of this.

## **7. First Anniversary of the People's Republic of China**

*From "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy", organ of the Communist Information Bureau, September 29, 1950*

International imperialism received a crushing blow as a result of the victory of the Chinese people. China, the imperialists' greatest colonial centre, yielded them billions in profits annually. The victory of the 475 million people made a breach in the imperialist colonial system, shook to the foundations this rotten system which is heading to its doom under the blows of the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples.

The victory of the Chinese revolution revealed the tremendous influence exercised by the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new era in the history of mankind. It revealed the attractive force of the Soviet Union, which set an example to all the oppressed and exploited how to build their life without exploiters, how to advance toward Communism, toward a happy, joyous life.

The victory of the Chinese revolution was made possible by the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.; it was the result of the destruction of Hitlerite fascism and Japanese imperialism by the Soviet Army. The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic has, in its turn, strengthened considerably the forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp, has paved the way for breaches in the colonial chain of imperialism on other sectors. Therein lies the great historical significance of the victory of the Chinese people.

Within a year the Chinese People's Republic, relying on the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, has succeeded in stabilising economic life; inflation has been ended (a few days ago, the exchange rate of the yuan again rose in relation to the dollar and sterling), thousands of enterprises and railways have been restored and the foundations of planned economy are being laid. The position of the working class has improved considerably. Emulation is developing in many industrial enterprises and productivity of labour is

increasing steadily. Agriculture is advancing. Large-scale irrigation work is under way and a successful struggle begun to combat natural calamities. The harvest this year is much better than last year's. This is due to the fact that on a territory with a rural population of approximately 145 million, agrarian reform has already been carried out, and on the remaining territory the people's administration is rendering every possible assistance to the poor and middle peasants by reducing taxes and land rent. In the provinces liberated last year, careful preparations are under way for agrarian reform.

Agrarian reform abolishes the landlords as a class, abolishes the system of feudal landownership and introduces the system of peasant landownership. The great significance of agrarian reform in China becomes particularly clear if we consider that until recently the landlords possessed 70-80 per cent of all the cultivated land.

Feudalism is a brake on the development of China, and the feudal landlords are the main support of the imperialists. To open the way for the broad development of the productive forces and to consolidate the cause of national independence it is necessary to carry out a deep-going agrarian revolution which would radically change the balance of political forces in China in favour of democracy and would strengthen the militant alliance of the working class and the peasantry, under the leadership of the working class.

The most important instrument for economic restoration, cultural revolution and social reform in China is the State of People's Democracy. This State differs in principle from the bourgeois state, where democracy exists for the exploiting minority. Comrade Stalin, with brilliant foresight, pointed out that the future revolutionary power in China would, in general, resemble in character that power of which we spoke in 1905, i.e., something in the nature of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry with this difference, however, that it would in the main, be an anti-imperialist power.

It would be a transition to a non-capitalist power, or, to be more precise, to the socialist development of China, said Comrade Stalin.

State power in China is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in this it differs from the state power in the European countries of People's Democracy where this democracy fulfils the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the People's Democracy in China is the state power of the People's Democratic United Front of the working class, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national-bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic elements, based on the alliance of workers and peasants and led by the working class. The task of the People's Democracy in China at this stage is to carry out agrarian reform, to consolidate the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to draw into active political life hundreds of millions of people, economic rehabilitation, and industrialisation of the country, to strengthen and broaden the foundation of public property, to restore and develop the economy, to raise the living standard of the working people and to effect the cultural revolution. The Central People's Government of China is building up the defence of the country against imperialist aggression.

The nature of the people's democratic state power in China is defined by the conditions in this recently colonial country. At present the working people of China are not confronted directly with the task of building Socialism, the instrument of which is the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Mao Tse-tung said: "When we have created a flowering national economy and culture, when all the conditions are ripe and when this will be approved by the whole country, we, in our steady advance, shall enter the new era of Socialism."

## **8. The National Bourgeoisie in the Chinese Revolution**

**by Yu Huai**

*From "People's China", Peking, January 1950*

As is well known, the political line of the Chinese Communist Party in the present people's democratic revolution of China has been based on a People's Democratic United Front composed of the Chinese working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and other patriotic democratic elements, based on the alliance of workers and peasants and led by the working class.

We are going to discuss in this article: Firstly, why is the national bourgeoisie at the present stage to be united with, but not to be exterminated by, the Chinese working class? Secondly, what is the policy being adopted by the Chinese working class in dealing with the national bourgeoisie, and on what basis is this policy formulated?

### **The Bourgeoisie in Colonial Countries**

As China was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, long under the yoke of imperialism, her revolution could not but take up the fight against imperialism as one of its main tasks. This characteristic determined the series of strategies and tactics of the Chinese revolution.

In his report on the national and colonial questions at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin emphasised the paramount importance of making "the distinction between oppressed nations and oppressing nations". He believed that in this lay the fundamental difference between the Communist International on the one hand and the Second International and bourgeois democracy on the other. Viewed from this angle, Lenin pointed out: "The Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement, even in its most rudimentary form." (Lenin: *Preliminary Draft of Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions*.)

Stalin has developed this brilliant theory of Lenin's on the peculiarities of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries. He has clearly pointed out the double task of

opposing feudalism and opposing imperialism in the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people, with emphasis on “the sharpening of struggle against imperialism”. (Stalin: *Chinese Revolution and Tasks of the Communist International*.) He has thus concluded that an alliance with the national bourgeoisie was permissible under certain conditions.

In uniting the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has succeeded in concretely applying the theory advanced by Lenin and Stalin regarding the role played by the national bourgeoisie in the revolution of colonial and semi colonial countries.

### **The Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and the National Bourgeoisie**

Since the component groups of the Chinese bourgeoisie have different relationships with imperialism and feudalism, they should not be treated as a homogeneous mass, but should be differentiated from each other. There are two main groups within the Chinese bourgeoisie, namely the big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The economic interests of these two groups are in conflict with one another. They therefore have played different roles in the Chinese people’s democratic revolution.

The distinction between the big bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie in China was made clear by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, when he wrote in 1939:

“The bourgeoisie is divided into two different groups. One is the big bourgeoisie which is *compradore* in nature, and the other is the national bourgeoisie.

“The *compradore* big bourgeoisie directly serves the imperialistic foreign capitalists, who, in turn support and nurture this class. Hence it is closely related to the semi-feudal elements in the rural districts. Therefore, in the history of the Chinese revolution, the big bourgeoisie has never been a force of the Chinese revolution, but remains its enemy....

“... since the national bourgeoisie is oppressed by imperialism, and restricted by the remaining feudal elements, thus it clashes with imperialism and the remaining feudal elements. In this sense, it is a part of the revolutionary forces. During the history of the Chinese revolution, they have shown their vigour in the struggle against imperialism and the government dominated by bureaucrats and warlords.” (Mao Tse-tung: *The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China*.)

Who are the Chinese big bourgeoisie?

“... The Four Big Families – Chiang, Soong, Kung, and Chen – during their twenty years in power have amassed enormous capital worth ten to twenty billion American dollars and have monopolised the economic life-lines of the entire country. This monopoly capital, merged with state power, becomes state-monopoly capitalism. Monopoly capitalism intimately merged with foreign imperialism and the domestic landlord class and old-type rich peasants, becomes *compradore*, feudal, state monopoly capitalism. This

is the economic foundation of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. This state-monopoly capitalism not only oppresses workers and peasants, but also oppresses the petty bourgeoisie and injures the middle bourgeoisie (i.e. the national bourgeoisie – Y.H.). This state-monopoly capitalism reached its highest peak during the anti-Japanese war and after the Japanese surrender. It prepared adequate material conditions for the new democratic revolution. This capital is popularly called bureaucratic capital in China. This bourgeoisie is called the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, i.e. China's big bourgeoisie. Apart from doing away with the special privileges of imperialism in China, the object of the new democratic revolution within the country is to eliminate the exploitation and oppression of the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (the big bourgeoisie)....” (Mao Tse-tung: *Present Situation and our Task*.)

It should be emphasised that without the fulfilment of the task of opposing bureaucratic capitalism, and without the carrying out of its accompanying concrete programme for the confiscation of the property of the big bourgeoisie by the people's State, the content of the Chinese people's democratic revolution could not be considered complete.

The process by which this unique bureaucratic capitalism was expanding under the reactionary Kuomintang regime was the same process by which the Chinese national bourgeoisie was being oppressed and its private enterprises crippled. The bureaucratic capitalists, as represented by the Four Big Families of Chiang, Soong, Kung, and Chen, never developed any industry of their own. They appropriated the property of the labouring people, and in part of the national bourgeoisie, to swell up their ill-gotten capital, chiefly by means of their traitorous collaboration with foreign imperialists, by means of the state apparatus under their control, especially their extensive network of financial organisations, and also by means of an openly predatory policy. During the war against Japanese aggression, the Kuomintang bureaucratic capitalist bloc accelerated this process of plundering and concentration of capital by instituting various war-time economic controls and by permitting a runaway inflation. After the Japanese surrender, this bloc, in the name of “taking over” the properties of the Japanese and their puppets, privately pocketed the assets which originally and rightfully belonged to the Chinese people. In this way, the Japanese imperialist aggressors and their lackeys served no more than as a tool in the conversion of the wealth of the Chinese people, including that of the national bourgeoisie, into the private property of the bureaucratic capitalists, which means, in the end, into the private property of the American imperialists. It is therefore nothing strange that the more the bureaucratic capitalists expanded, the more the national bourgeoisie contracted. Thus, the bureaucratic capitalists became the big bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie assumed the position of the middle bourgeoisie. The former were oppressors and exploiters of the Chinese people, and the latter, while exploiting the Chinese working class, were themselves ruthlessly oppressed by imperialism and its agents, the big bourgeoisie.

Viewed from all these economic factors, it is not difficult to understand the changes in political attitude of the Chinese national bourgeoisie at various historical stages. Although during the period after 1927 and before the Mukden Incident of 1931, it co-operated with the big land-owning class and the big bourgeoisie in opposing the revolution,

nevertheless, it has never been in power. That is not all. After the Mukden Incident, which heralded the Japanese imperialists' all-out invasion of China, certain representatives of the national bourgeoisie, prodded by the masses, took an active part in the anti-imperialist movement, at that time directed against the Japanese imperialism. This movement was banned by the Kuomintang which was then in power. After the outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, owing to the intensification of various reactionary political and economic measures, certain representatives of this class sympathised with and even supported, in varying degree, the democratic movement in China.

After the Japanese surrender, the people throughout China all yearned for peace and opposed the impending civil war. This could not but force the Kuomintang government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, to convene the "Political Consultative Conference" proposed by the Chinese Communist Party. The representatives of the Chinese national bourgeoisie participated in this Conference which had as its aim the striving for democracy and peace at home, and their attitude on the whole was sympathetic towards the progressive demands of the Chinese people. Following the abortive peace parley, a full-scale civil war was launched by the Kuomintang reactionaries. Then basic victory was won by the Chinese people in the revolutionary war. During this series of vital changes, although the national bourgeoisie displayed at times a wavering and wait-and-see attitude, yet it had not surrendered to the Kuomintang reactionaries. What was more, with the changes in the situation, its representatives at last took part in the recently held People's Political Consultative Conference, which symbolised the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people.

### **Dual Nature of the National Bourgeoisie**

As stated above, because there are certain contradictions between the Chinese national bourgeoisie on the one hand, and foreign imperialism and the domestic bureaucratic capitalism on the other, consequently it is either sympathetic towards or remains neutral in the Chinese people's democratic revolution – this is one aspect of its nature. But also because there are contradictions between the Chinese national bourgeoisie on the one hand and the working class and the peasantry on the other, consequently it has a dual nature in the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

"From this dual nature of the national bourgeoisie, we can conclude that at a certain period and under certain circumstances, it can take part in revolution against imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and war-lordism, and it can become a part of the revolutionary forces. But at other times, it may serve the big bourgeoisie by assisting the counter-revolutionary forces." (Mao Tse-tung: *The Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China*.)

It is exactly because of this fact that struggle must necessarily be conducted in an appropriate manner against the national bourgeoisie, while uniting with it.

In December, 1947, on the eve of the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

“In areas ruled by Chiang Kai-shek, there is a section of the upper petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie (i.e. the national bourgeoisie – Y.H.), who, though small in number, have reactionary political tendencies – these are the rightist elements among these classes. They disseminate illusions about American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek’s reactionary bloc. They oppose the people’s democratic revolution. As long as their reactionary tendencies can still influence the masses, we should carry on the work of exposing such tendencies among the masses who have been under their influence. Blows should be delivered at their political influence among the masses, so as to liberate the masses from their influence.” (Mao Tse-tung: *Present Situation and Our Task*.)

In July 1949, after the basic victory of the Chinese people’s revolution was won, Comrade Mao Tse-tung again pointed out:

“As for the national bourgeoisie, a great deal of suitable educational work can be done among them at the present stage. When the time comes to realise Socialism, that is, to nationalise private enterprise, we will go a step further in our work of educating and reforming them. The people have a strong State apparatus in their hands, and they do not fear rebellion on the part of the national bourgeoisie.” (Mao Tse-tung: *On People’s Democratic Dictatorship*.)

Blows at the reactionary political tendencies on the part of the rightist elements of the national bourgeoisie, and adequate educational and reforming work among the national bourgeoisie – all these compose the content of the struggle against the national bourgeoisie at various stages and in various periods of the revolution.

### **The National Bourgeoisie and Economic Reconstruction**

The national bourgeoisie is called upon to play its part in the people’s democratic revolution. This is because the people’s democratic revolution in China is directed against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, while the national bourgeoisie might and did participate in the movement against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. This is not all. China is a very backward country in so far as modern industries are concerned, and the imperialist countries will continue to be hostile, even after complete victory has been won in the Chinese revolution.

Therefore it becomes necessary to draw the national bourgeoisie into the common struggle to resist imperialist oppression and to improve China’s backward economic status.

However, this policy of integrating the national bourgeoisie into the common effort to improve the economic position of China does not at all mean the unlimited expansion of private capital which would lead China to develop in the direction of capitalism. In the first place, having a state-owned economy of a socialist nature occupying a predominant position in China’s modern industry makes it impossible for the private capital of the national bourgeoisie to lead China in the direction of capitalism. In the second place, the People’s Government adopts the policy of encouraging and assisting “the active operation

of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood". (Article 30 of the "Common Programme".) The new government also encourages their development "in the direction of state capitalism in such ways as processing for state-owned enterprises and exploiting state-owned resources in the form of concessions". (Article 31 of the "Common Programme".) This means that the existence of the private capital of the national bourgeoisie and its development under proper control of a State led by the Chinese working class will in reality serve to promote Socialism instead of capitalism in China.

Of course, this is not to say that there exist no contradictions, and consequently no struggle, between the state-owned economy of a socialist nature and the private-operated economy of a capitalist nature. No, contradictions do exist, and so struggle is inevitable, and it will be further sharpened.

But since tremendous changes have already taken place in the relative strength of the various classes in China, and since the powerful state apparatus is now in the hands of the people, and since the growing state-owned economy having a socialist nature together with the co-operative economy having a semi-socialist nature will become the leading components of China's economy, this kind of contradiction and struggle need not be solved by further bloodshed, but can be solved, to a considerable extent, by means of education and reform.

### **9. A. I. Sobolev**

#### **People's Democracy, a New Form of Political Organization of Society**

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The Marxist-Leninist theory is a powerful instrument for the transformation of the world, a powerful ideological weapon for the destruction of the old, exploiting system and the creation of a new, socialist one. Marxism-Leninism gives a correct, scientifically substantiated answer to all basic problems raised by historical development, and indicates ways, forms and methods for their solution.

"Marxism," J. V. Stalin said, "is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building communist society." (J. V. Stalin, *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics*, Moscow 1954, p. 71.)

Marxism-Leninism is basically a creative science. It develops and perfects itself as social relations develop, enriching itself with new experience, new formulas and conclusions.

V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin ruthlessly combated revisionists who called for the repudiation

of Marxism, and they repeatedly stressed the need of applying Marxism creatively in resolving concrete problems of the labour movement. They vigorously opposed dogmatism and rote in theory, and trite methods in politics.

“We,” Lenin wrote, “do not by any means regard Marx’s theory as something final and inviolable; we are convinced that it has only laid the corner-stones of the science which socialists *must* advance in all directions if they do not want to be behind the times. We hold that an *independent* elaboration of Marx’s theory is especially necessary for Russian socialists, since this theory provides only general *guiding* principles which are applied, in *particular*, differently to Britain than to France, differently to France than to Germany, differently to Germany than to Russia.” (V. I. Lenin, Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 4, pp. 191-92.)

Marxism-Leninism teaches that in defining the policy for the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, one must be guided by the general theoretical principles concerning the laws governing social development; base oneself on concrete historical conditions, take into account the alignment of class forces, and know exactly the real conditions of the struggle.

J. V. Stalin’s speech at the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a splendid example of the way scientific account was taken of a concrete situation. That speech was of great international significance. Stalin showed that in the present period, when the bourgeoisie has become even more reactionary, when it has ceased to play at liberalism, has thrown overboard the banner of the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the banner of national independence, Communists have the important task of picking up these banners, upholding democratic freedoms and national sovereignty and advancing the cause of the people’s emancipation.

These propositions testify to the continuous expansion of the duties of the working class in the solution of general-democratic tasks; this was already clearly manifested in the period of the anti-fascist struggle. At the same time these propositions are a further step in developing the Marxist-Leninist tenet concerning the richness and variety of the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism. “Marx,” Lenin wrote, “did not commit himself, or the future leaders of the socialist revolution – as regards the forms, methods and ways of bringing about the revolution; for he understood perfectly well what a multitude of new problems would then arise, how much the entire situation would change in the course of the revolution, and how *often* and *considerably* it would change in the course of the revolution.” (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 27, 4th Russ. ed., p. 310.)

The change in the historical situation brought about by the setting up of a powerful socialist state, the victory of the Soviet Union over the Hitlerite invaders and the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism have raised anew a number of problems in the policies and tactics of Communist Parties.

A creative application of Marxism and a consistent observance of the principle of a concrete historical approach to the solution of the revolutionary tasks of the working

class enabled the Communist and Workers' parties of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe, China, Korea and others to find the most effective ways of achieving victory under given conditions, of employing new methods of uniting the popular masses, and of discovering new forms of political organization of society.

Under present conditions the people's democratic regime is a new state form of revolutionary power.

The rise and development of People's Democracy must be examined in concrete historical conditions, for the experience of the people's democratic countries in Europe and Asia shows that People's Democracy passes through different stages and, depending upon the stage, its class content changes.

The first stage is that of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, in the course of which People's Democracy arises as the organ of revolutionary power, representing in its class content something akin to the dictatorship of the working class and peasantry, with the working class in the leading role. The new popular power in this stage has its sharp edge directed against imperialist oppression, fascism, as well as against the prop of imperialism and fascism within the country – big, monopoly capital and landlordism.

The second stage is that of the socialist revolution, when the dictatorship of the working class is being established and begins to fulfil its tasks.

The people's democratic system in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia has developed over a long period; at the present time it is a state form of the proletarian dictatorship. Yet in China, Korea and Viet-Nam the popular democratic regime is still not fulfilling the functions of a proletarian dictatorship.

The experience of the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia once more confirms the tenets of Marxism-Leninism on the variety of the forms and pace of revolutionary development in different countries and on the richness of the forms of transition from capitalism to socialism. At the same time the example of the People's Democracies confirms the correctness of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin regarding the international significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the essence and general basis for different political forms in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

### **Historical Prerequisites for the Rise of People's Democracy**

It is exceedingly important to know the origin of People's Democracy in order to understand its problems. The ideologists and hirelings of the British and American imperialists persistently spread shameless fabrications about the rise of People's Democracy. On the one hand, they allege that People's Democracy triumphed as a result of foreign interference. At the same time the Yugoslavian bourgeois nationalists, at the behest of their masters, trumpet the "spontaneous" nature of People's Democracy, claiming that the rise of People's Democracy had nothing to do with the Soviet Union's epoch-making victories over fascism.

These fabrications seem contradictory. Actually they have one and the same class essence. Both serve the interests of imperialism, both are manufactured by sworn enemies of socialism and are utterly false and reactionary.

A correct and scientifically substantiated answer to the question of the origin, development and specific features of People's Democracy can be given only when guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

The rise of People's Democracy as a new form of political organization of society, and its triumph are an inevitable result of the development of world history in the epoch of flourishing socialism and collapsing capitalism. People's Democracy could rise and triumph given definite objective conditions.

It rose and triumphed under conditions of the further accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism, the continuous intensification of the decay of the whole capitalist system of economy and the steady deterioration of the positions of capitalism, i.e., in circumstances of increasing unevenness of the economic and political development of capitalist countries, the maximum sharpening of all imperialist contradictions, the radical change in the relation of class forces on the international arena in favour of socialism and against capitalism, the steady consolidation of the socialist system, and the growth of the strength, prestige and might of the Soviet Union.

This historical situation is characterized by the rapid growth of the influence of Communist Parties in the struggle against fascism and reaction, the development of the revolutionary activity of the working class and the political maturity of the popular masses in capitalist countries, the unprecedented rise of the national-liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries with the working class in the leading role. People's Democracy has become victorious in the course of the powerful anti-fascist movement of the labouring masses under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Parties.

The decisive role in the rise and victory of People's Democracy as a new form of revolutionary power was played by the Soviet Union. By emphasizing this decisive role of the Soviet Union, it is necessary in a categorical way to repudiate the slanderous allegations of reactionaries about the Soviet Union's interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. The Soviet Government has pursued and is pursuing a consistent policy of preserving and consolidating peace and, therefore, did not, does not, and will not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. The U.S.S.R. Government has never foisted on any country its political structure or its way of life. It does not export revolutions.

The decisive role played by the U.S.S.R. in the emergence of People's Democracy is stipulated by the laws of social development at the present stage and by the disposition of forces on the international arena today as a result of logical inevitability.

Wherein lies the decisive significance of the Soviet Union in the rise of People's

Democracy?

Firstly, the Great October Socialist Revolution split the world into two systems, inflicting upon capitalism a mortal wound from which it already cannot recover. The October Revolution heralded the beginning of the world socialist revolution and ushered in the epoch of the downfall of capitalism and the triumph of socialism.

The October Revolution "... created a powerful and open *centre* of the world revolutionary movement, such as the world revolutionary movement *never possessed* before and around which it now can rally and organize *a united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism.*" (J. V. Stalin, Problems of Leninism, Moscow 1953, p. 242.)

Secondly, the steady development and strengthening of the socialist system after the Great October Revolution further undermined the pillars of imperialism. This period has been a period of continuous sharpening of imperialist contradictions and intensification of the process of decay and degradation of the capitalist system. The victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., which promoted the broadening of the world socialist revolution and the consolidation of the bulwark of the international revolutionary movement, caused a further accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism and struck a new blow at the whole capitalist system thereby weakening it to a greater degree.

Thirdly, the Soviet Union dealt another and more powerful blow at the whole system of imperialism in the course of the Second World War. As a result of the defeat of the aggressor states – Germany, Italy, and Japan – three big imperialist powers ceased to be Great Powers, and that weakened the whole system of imperialism. Such links of imperialism as France and Britain were also substantially weakened.

As a whole the world system of imperialism emerged from the Second World War immeasurably weaker than it had been before the war, while the system of socialism emerged much more powerful, notwithstanding the fact that the main burden of the struggle against fascism was carried by the Soviet Union.

In other words, thanks to the great victories of the Soviet Union, the relation of forces operating on the international arena shifted continuously in favour of socialism and against capitalism. That accelerated the maturing of objective and subjective prerequisites for a new revolutionary outbreak in several countries of Europe and Asia, for forcing another breach in the chain of imperialism.

By routing the German and Japanese aggressors the Soviet Union released huge revolutionary potentialities, that had been suppressed by the invaders, and cleared the path to a progressive solution of urgent socio-economic, political and other problems, to the victory of the working class and of all toilers over the black forces of reaction. This brought about a revolutionary situation in a number of European and Asiatic countries after the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and imperialist Japan. The political crisis reached its extreme degree of intensification. The popular masses in those countries, who had passed

through the severe school of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist liberation struggle under the leadership of the working class, refused to entrust their destinies to the reactionaries: the masses did not wish to live in the old way. The positions of the reactionary classes had been undermined and weakened: the reactionaries were unable to rule those countries in the old way. A new round of revolutions and national-liberation movements began in colonial and dependent countries; the struggle developed for the establishment of People's Democracy.

The rise of People's Democracy as a new state form of revolutionary power and its triumph in some countries of Europe and Asia were thus prepared by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the great achievements of the Soviet people at the front of socialist construction, and by the heroic feat of the Soviet people, who smashed the fascist invaders and liberated the peoples of Europe and Asia from Hitlerite and Japanese imperialist aggression.

As is known, People's Democracy did not triumph in some countries, though internal conditions were favourable there. The internal situations in Greece, France, Italy, Belgium, and in other states permitted the labouring masses in those countries to throw off the domination of reaction and establish People's Democracy, but the U.S.-British imperialist interference helped the native bourgeoisie to retain their dominant position.

The situation that arose in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe was totally different, and it was under different conditions that the peoples of China fought for freedom, independence and democracy.

By its epoch-making victories the Soviet Union created the possibility for establishing People's Democracy in Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, China and Korea and assisted the working people of those countries to realize this possibility.

This assistance was friendly, disinterested and many-sided. It lay in that:

Firstly, the Soviet Army was the direct liberator of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe from fascist enslavement. Pursuing and routing the retreating enemy, the Soviet armed forces entered the territories of those countries and brought them genuine freedom. But the Soviet Army not only liberated those countries from foreign yoke and ensured them their national freedom, but proved simultaneously to be a force representing an immeasurably higher, genuinely progressive social system – socialism. The Soviet Army did not interfere in the domestic affairs of those countries, but by its presence it exerted a mighty revolutionary influence on the march of events, strengthened the revolutionary energy of the popular masses and accelerated historical processes.

Secondly, the Soviet Union frustrated Anglo-American intervention in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. The Anglo-American imperialists are known to have sought to land their troops in Albania, Bulgaria, to break through to Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, and to reach there before the Soviet Army. It is quite clear that had the British and American troops entered these countries, the ruling circles in the U.S. and

Britain would have done their utmost to prevent the victory of People's Democracy. The Soviet Union saved the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe from new intervention and from new imperialist oppression, thereby rendering the working people of Central and South Eastern Europe great assistance in establishing a new, revolutionary power – People's Democracy.

Hence, far from interfering in the domestic affairs of the Central and South-Eastern European countries, the U.S.S.R. sheltered them from Anglo-American interference, from Anglo-American military intervention.

Thirdly, in the course of the war against Hitlerite Germany the Soviet Army smashed her allies – the armed forces of fascist reaction in Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria. The working class of those countries would have required immense strength and energy to annihilate the armed forces of native fascists, but that was done during the war by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Army drove out the Hitlerite troops and smashed the Hitlerite violence machine in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, the presence of the Soviet troops prevented reactionary circles in those countries from creating and developing armed forces of counter-revolution of any notable size, though such attempts, some extremely energetic, took place, for instance, in Poland.

The sworn enemies of the Polish nation, abetted and assisted by the Anglo-American imperialists, created in the rear of the Germans, with the latter's consent, a fascist guard, Narodowe Sily Zbrojne (N.S.Z.), and formed the Armia Krajowa (A.K.), which held themselves in readiness for the struggle against the Soviet armed forces and Polish Democracy. But the Soviet Army's entry onto Poland's territory brought to naught the perfidious designs of Polish reactionaries. The A.K. and N.S.Z. gangs that tried to put up resistance to the Soviet Army were dispersed, while their remnants, engaged in political brigandage, were liquidated by the Polish democratic government.

In other words, a very favourable situation for the emergence of People's Democracy arose in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe as a result of an extremely rare concurrence of circumstances and unusual, very specific historical developments. In routing the fascist invaders the heroic Soviet Army lent the peoples of these countries fraternal assistance in liberating themselves from the fascist yoke and prevented the native forces of reaction and the Anglo-American imperialists from unleashing a civil war. In the final analysis all this essentially facilitated the victory of People's Democracy in Central and South-Eastern European countries.

Fourthly, the Soviet Union extended immense moral and political support and economic aid to the European countries of People's Democracy.

Immediately following their establishment the young people's democratic regimes were fiercely attacked by international imperialism. The ruling circles of the U.S.A. and Britain pursued a policy of blackmail, intimidation, and slander against the People's

Democracies, and exerted political and economic pressure upon them. They tried by various means to interfere in the domestic affairs of those countries, and desperately strove to restore anti-popular, reactionary regimes.

The U.S.S.R., always a champion of the peoples' independence, made use of its high international prestige and helped the People's Democracies to repel the attacks of the imperialist forces, paralyzed the attempts of the ruling circles in the U.S.A. and Britain to interfere in the domestic affairs of those countries, helped them to uphold their freedom and independence and to strengthen their international position. The economic aid given by the U.S.S.R. was of great importance for the consolidation and development of People's Democracy. Despite the U.S.S.R.'s enormous war-inflicted economic difficulties, the Soviet Government helped those countries at the initial stage of development with raw materials for industry, with food supplies for the population, etc.

Finally, of greatest significance in the emergence of People's Democracy and its successful development is the fact that the Soviet Union has assisted and is assisting on a vast scale the toilers of the People's Democracies with its rich experience in social reformations, its experience in the struggle against landlords and capitalists, and its experience in the struggle for building socialism.

The Communist and Workers' parties of the People's Democracies are guided in all their practice by the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that allows them correctly to define their policies and to find the most effective and expedient forms of struggle and development. The experience of the C.P.S.U. is a lodestar for the Communist Parties throughout the world in their struggle for democracy and socialism.

All these facts reveal the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the rise of People's Democracy and shatter to pieces the reactionary, bourgeois-nationalist allegations about the "spontaneous" emergence and development of People's Democracy. At the same time they categorically refute the false assertions of the Anglo-American slanderers about Soviet interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The Soviet Union created favourable conditions for the victory of People's Democracy and helped to establish it. But the emergence of popular governments should be regarded as the result of the activity of internal forces, as the result of the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses under the leadership of the working class.

### **Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Feudal Revolutions in Central and South-Eastern Europe**

The establishment of People's Democracy is a result of natural development. It is the consummation of the heroic and self-sacrificing communist-led struggle of the working class and all toilers of a given country against fascist oppression by foreign imperialists and their accomplices inside the country in the person of financial and industrial magnates and landlords.

To grasp the essence and to evaluate the historic role of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist

struggle of the popular masses in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe it is necessary to bear in mind the new and specific historical phenomena that arose as a result of the intensified decay of the capitalist mode of production as well as a further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism.

V. I. Lenin defined imperialism as the last, decaying stage of capitalism. “Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary; it has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of going over to socialism or of suffering years and even decades of armed struggle between the ‘great’ powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind.” (V. I. Lenin, *Socialism and War*, Moscow 1952, p. 18.)

V. I. Lenin demonstrated that politically imperialism is a turn from democracy to political reaction. Democracy, he wrote, corresponded to the epoch of industrial capitalism, while political reaction corresponds to the epoch of monopoly capitalism.

Fascism, which is the extreme stage of political reaction in the epoch of imperialism, provides the most striking evidence of the decay and degradation of capitalism. As is known, fascism is an overt, bloody, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic elements of finance capital.

Fascism aims to save the decaying, moribund imperialist system, and prevent the liberation of the masses from economic and political oppression, and exploitation. The German fascists, in particular, attempted to secure this by achieving world hegemony for German imperialism. They dreamt of establishing their domination for millenniums. This, though monstrous in its design, was clearly a hopeless attempt to hinder human progress, to stop the inexorable march of history, its natural progress and continuous development. In the history of human society fascism has come forward as the bearer of social regress, as a force directed against the progressive development of society.

The domination of fascism in countries where it seized power and which it subjugated meant regression in all fields of public life, whether political, social or national.

Politically regression lay in the fact that fascism liquidated even those pitiful democratic rights and liberties which the popular masses had won under bourgeois democracy. The fascist regime is a regime of open arbitrariness and violence, a regime that deprives the people of all rights.

The essence of the fascist regime in Germany was characterized by J. V. Stalin when he said: “In point of fact the Hitler regime is a copy of the reactionary regime which existed in Russia under tsarism....

*“The Hitler party is a party of enemies of democratic liberties, a party of medieval reaction and Black-Hundred pogroms.”* (J. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow 1954, p. 37.)

Socially the domination of fascism meant the restoration of feudal-serfdom and even slave forms of exploitation. The nazis tried to introduce serfdom in many occupied countries, where they set up German landlords' estates and placed the peasants of those countries at their disposal. At the same time the Hitlerites employed slave labour on a large scale, drawing their slaves from among the toilers of the countries they occupied. Different sources place the number of slaves who worked in Hitlerite Germany at 8 to 12 millions. Fascist Germany was thus the biggest slave market and the biggest slave-holding state in history.

The introduction of serfdom and the slave system cannot be regarded as an accidental phenomenon in the policy of Hitlerism. The Hitlerite ringleaders unreservedly stated that world domination cannot be established unless definite forms of modern feudal dependence or slavery are created. In other words, the introduction of serfdom and slavery was a component part of fascist social policy.

Fascist ideologists tried to find some "justification" for the reactionary policy of Hitlerism and falsely and cynically asserted that all this was done in the interests of the working people.

Fascist domination also meant regression in the national question. The Hitlerites enslaved the nations of the majority of European countries; in some cases enslavement bore the character of direct occupation (Poland, Czechoslovakia, and so on), and in others it was carried out under cover of a military "alliance" (Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc.). After the conquest of Europe the nazis dreamt of enslaving the peoples of the whole world. They proposed to exterminate every nation except the German nation, which was to be preserved as a race of masters. Finally, the Hitlerites proposed the physical annihilation of whole nations and began carrying out their man-hating plans. Therefore the peoples of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe were confronted with the alternatives of becoming free or being enslaved, of being alive or being burnt in the furnaces of Majdanek and Treblinka.

"The German invaders have enslaved the peoples of the European continent – from France to the Soviet Baltic countries, from Norway, Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Soviet Byelorussia to the Balkans and the Soviet Ukraine; they have robbed them of their elementary democratic liberties; they have deprived them of the right to order their own destiny; they have taken away their grain, meat, and raw materials; they have converted them into their slaves; they have crucified the Poles, Czechs, Serbs..." (J. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow 1954, pp. 40-41.)

The historical situation that arose as a result of the Hitlerite aggression is somewhat reminiscent of the situation described by Lenin as far back as 1916.

At that time V. I. Lenin wrote: "It is highly improbable that this imperialist war of 1914-16 will become a national war, because the proletariat, the class that represents *progress*, is objectively striving to transform this war into civil war against the bourgeoisie, and

also because the strength of both coalitions is almost equally balanced, while international finance capital has everywhere created a reactionary bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that such a transformation is *impossible*: if the *European* proletariat were to remain impotent for another twenty years; if the present war were to end in victories similar to those achieved by Napoleon and in the subjugation of a number of virile national states; if non-European imperialism (primarily Japanese and American) were to remain in power for another twenty years without a transition to socialism, say, as a result of a Japanese-American War, then a great national war in Europe would be possible. This means that Europe would be thrown back for several decades. That is improbable. But it is not impossible, for to picture world history as advancing smoothly and steadily without sometimes taking gigantic strides backward is undialectical, unscientific and theoretically wrong.” (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 22, Russ. ed., pp. 295-96.)

The working class of the fascist-enslaved nations was faced with completely new, specific tasks, which had not been on the order of the day several years ago and which appeared because the history of those countries had moved a step backward because of the victory of fascism.

In all countries conquered by the nazis or under threat of conquest, including even those where socialist transformation of society had been on the agenda, tasks of a general-democratic nature came to the fore. These were anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, and national-liberation tasks that had intertwined with still unsolved anti-feudal tasks. The reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie became clearly manifest in the period of fascist aggression. The bourgeoisie that was in power ceased to play at liberalism and make advances to the people; it threw overboard the banner of democratic liberties and national independence and went over to the service of the nazi invaders. The European working class had first of all to eject the German invaders, to defeat the native fascist forces and to restore democratic rights and liberties *on a new basis*, and to liquidate all the aftermaths of fascism.

Fascist Germany’s attack on the Soviet Union increased the menace to the progress of humanity, for at that time the issue concerned not only the destiny of the European nations, but also that of the socialist country, the bulwark of the world proletarian revolution, i.e., the destiny of human progress.

Fascism became the main obstacle in the path of historical development, and, unless it destroyed fascism, mankind could not move forward.

For that reason the defeat of fascism was at that time the primary and decisive task of the working class in all countries, and demanded immediate solution by the motive forces of history.

The struggle against fascism determined the direction of the main blow and the alignment of class forces both in the international arena and inside the capitalist countries; it determined the policy and tactics of the Communist Parties, and the forms and methods of their struggle.

*All power for defeating fascism* was the slogan of the working class in all countries.

“Our war for the freedom of our Motherland will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties. It will be a united front of the peoples who stand for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler’s fascist armies.” (J. Stalin, *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow 1954, p. 21.)

Such was the content of the anti-fascist struggle.

In colonies and semi-colonies the struggle against fascism had its own specific character and special features. Even prior to the fascist aggression those countries were ruled by foreign imperialists, who found a social prop in the compradore bourgeoisie, the landlords, and other feudal gentry. Hence, long before this aggression, the labouring masses of those countries had been faced with acute anti-imperialist tasks that were closely intertwined with the anti-feudal ones. The aggression of Hitlerite Germany and, particularly, of imperialist Japan emphasized the anti-imperialist character of the struggle of the peoples in colonies and dependencies.

Consequently, during the Second World War the defeat of fascism was the principal strategic task of the whole international labour movement, particularly of the working class in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

These countries differed essentially from each other in levels of socio-economic and political development, in degrees of maturity and organization of the working class, etc.

Albania, for instance, was an enthralled backward agrarian country. Her industry was in an embryo state, the working class had just begun to form, feudal survivals and even survivals of the tribal way of life were still considerable. The peasants owned only 56 per cent of the land, the rest was in the hands of the beys (feudal lords), the landlord state, and the church. The landless peasants were forced to rent the land from the beys at a price of up to three-fourths of the harvest.

Czechoslovakia, meanwhile, numbered among the industrial-agrarian countries and had a large working class. Her economy, however, contained substantial feudal vestiges, and the agrarian problem in the country was acute. One per cent of the big landlords owned 43.4 per cent of the land, while 70.9 per cent of the peasants had only 15.5 per cent of the total. Prior to the fascist aggression the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie exercised its dictatorship in the shape of bourgeois democracy.

Poland, Hungary and Rumania were countries of middle capitalist development, with a greater volume of unsolved tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Bulgaria stood somewhat by herself. Her industries were weakly developed, agrarian relationships prevailed in her economy, but there was virtually no landlord class, the survivals of feudalism were insignificant and, therefore, the volume of unsolved anti-feudal tasks was

not big.

All these differences left their mark on the course of events in those countries and conditioned their specific character. But the nazi invasion in the Second World War confronted all those countries without exception with *direct* general-democratic, anti-imperialist, and national-liberation tasks that merged with their already existing anti-feudal tasks.

The struggle against the Hitlerite invaders and for national independence merged indissolubly with the struggle against the native fascists, traitors and collaborators in the person of the monopolistic bourgeoisie and the landlords.

In all the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe the German fascists found for themselves a social prop in the monopolistic bourgeoisie and the landlords who went over to the side of the Hitlerites and became a tool for suppressing and enslaving their own people. The German fascists came as the bearers of national oppression and social regression, and the native traitors proved to be their true servants. Therefore, the struggle against the foreign invaders was interwoven with the democratic struggle against the native fascists and their social basis. It was impossible to resolve the tasks of national liberation and to win democracy without striking a decisive blow at the monopolists and landlords within those countries.

The indisputable conclusion to be drawn from the above is that in the period of the anti-fascist struggle the working class in all countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe without exception did not *directly* put forward and decide socialist tasks, and that it did not work for the political defeat of the *entire* class of the bourgeoisie or for the *immediate* establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. In that period all the energy and strength of the labouring masses of these countries were aimed at the solution of general-democratic tasks: the defeat of fascism, the attainment of national independence and democratic liberties, the abolition of slavery and serfdom that the nazis had introduced, the liquidation of all the other consequences of the fascist rule, as well as of the survivals of feudalism.

From this it follows that anti-feudal tasks occupied an important place at that stage of the revolution. But the content and the character of the struggle, as well as the alignment of class forces were determined by the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks taken together. The small size of the anti-feudal tasks did not and could not cancel the general-democratic character of the struggle during the rout of fascism. To this period application may be made with full justification of what Lenin said in 1905 about the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat of Russia during the bourgeois-democratic revolution:

“At the head of the whole of the people and particularly of the peasantry – for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic!” (V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. I, Part 2, Moscow 1952, p. 121.)

In the final analysis, the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution should be classified as

one of the bourgeois-democratic type. But at the same time, it is broader than the usual bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A common feature of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and of the bourgeois-democratic revolution is that the former does not transcend the limits of the general-democratic revolution, does not set as its direct aim the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class, the abolition of capitalism and the transition to socialism. Like the bourgeois-democratic revolution it sets as one of its most important tasks the liquidation of survivals of feudalism.

But the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution has its own peculiarities and distinctive features.

While the usual bourgeois-democratic revolution is spearheaded only against the remnants of feudalism in economy and politics, the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution was directed first and foremost against fascism, and bore a pronounced anti-imperialist character. Only the solution of the anti-imperialist tasks permitted the uprooting of feudal vestiges.

The fundamental task of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution – the destruction of fascism – demanded a resolute struggle against one of the most reactionary detachments of the bourgeoisie, against the big financial and industrial magnates who strove to reverse the wheel of history, to destroy democracy and to institute serf and slave labour. Though the struggle against the monopolistic bourgeoisie in those historical conditions did not transcend the limit of the general-democratic revolution, it, naturally, left an imprint on the whole progress of the revolution, since in the course of general-democratic revolutionary transformations the foundations of capitalism were inevitably shattered.

In the present epoch, when imperialism, in its search for allies in the struggle against democracy and socialism, combined its forces with feudalism, using the latter as a social prop, it is impossible to do away with feudalism without destroying the imperialist yoke. The era of usual bourgeois-democratic revolutions spearheaded only against feudalism has passed away irrevocably. At present any general-democratic revolution is possible only if it is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist simultaneously.

The peculiarity of the above-mentioned tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution called forth a specific alignment of class forces.

Firstly, the working class could and indeed led the anti-fascist struggle, since no other class was capable of rousing the masses of the people to defeat fascism.

Though the middle bourgeoisie of the fascist-enslaved countries was interested in driving out the foreign invaders, it, nevertheless, was unable to unite the masses of the people, to rouse them to the struggle. Only the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, could cope with the solution of the tasks of the anti-fascist struggle. Indeed, the working class alone was the initiator and the most consistent and staunch fighter in the

struggle against fascism. At the head of the working class were the Communist Parties, which directed the whole anti-fascist movement. The Communists raised high the banners of democratic liberties and national independence, and courageously carried them forward. The heroic struggle of the Communists against fascism, their whole-hearted devotion to the people, and their selflessness raised still further the prestige of the Communist Parties, and strengthened and consolidated their leading role.

The leading role of the Communist and Workers' parties came about historically, in the course of a long and intense struggle for national freedom and democracy, for a new, happy life. It was won in the battles with the German and native fascists, with the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie. It is the result of a test of the policies of various parties by the masses of the people.

The popular masses who had passed through the stern school of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist struggle for liberation did not wish to entrust their destiny to the reactionary parties, whose prestige among the people had been sharply undermined by their treason and collaboration with fascist enslavers. The masses of the people entrusted their destiny to the working class, the Communist Parties. That proved to be a law of historical development.

The Communist Parties were the only parties capable of arousing the popular masses to the struggle against nazism and of heading that struggle. In the course of the anti-fascist struggle the popular masses, by their own stern experience of life, became convinced that Communists are genuine, sincere, and disinterested champions of the people's interests. That was one of the main factors that laid the ground for the victory of People's Democracy.

“The growth of the influence of the Communists cannot be regarded as fortuitous. It is a perfectly natural phenomenon. The influence of the Communists has grown because in the hard years of fascist domination in Europe they proved reliable, courageous, and self-sacrificing fighters against the fascist regime, for the freedom of the peoples.” Millions of “simple folk” “isolated the reactionaries in Europe, the adherents of collaboration with fascism, and gave their preference to the left democratic parties. It is they, these millions of ‘simple folk’ who tested the Communists in the fire of struggle and resistance to fascism and decided that the Communists fully deserve the people's trust. That is how the influence of the Communists grew in Europe. Such is the law of historical development.” (J. V. Stalin, *Interview Given to a Pravda Correspondent on Churchill's Speech on March 18, 1946*, Gospolitizdat, Moscow 1946, p. 12.)

Secondly, the working class forged a powerful anti-fascist coalition and raised the broadest sections of the people to the struggle against nazism.

Under the leadership of the working class the struggle against fascism was shared by the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the urban petty bourgeoisie and anti-fascist circles among the middle bourgeoisie.

The unity of the anti-fascist democratic forces was organizationally expressed in the creation during the struggle of mass socio-political organizations such as the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria, the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the Democratic Bloc in Poland, and so on.

In the period of the anti-fascist struggle the working class formed a firm fighting alliance with the peasantry, which steadily broadened and gained strength. The working class played a leading part in this alliance, and this is precisely the factor that determined the further unfolding of historical events.

Thirdly, the exploiting class was split in that period. One part, the landlords and the big financial and industrial magnates lined up with the invaders and became the fascists' tool in suppressing their own people, and the other part, namely, anti-fascist-minded circles among the middle bourgeoisie, was interested in driving out the Hitlerites and winning national independence. For that reason they took a more or less active share in the struggle against the Hitlerite bandits. In all the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe the middle bourgeoisie joined the anti-fascist coalition and was represented in the bloc of democratic parties.

In defining their attitude towards the middle bourgeoisie, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Parties, were guided by V. I. Lenin's well-known precept on tactical questions.

V. I. Lenin wrote: "A more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and *without fail*, most thoroughly, carefully, attentively and skilfully using every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within the various countries, and also by taking advantage of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who fail to understand this, fail to understand even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern socialism *in general*." (V. I. Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, Moscow 1952, p. 90.)

Guided by these instructions the working class of those countries set out to draw the middle bourgeoisie into the struggle against fascism, to prevent it from going over to the camp of Hitlerism, though the working class was, of course, aware that the bourgeoisie was an unreliable, temporary and conditional ally. Nevertheless, the winning over of anti-fascist-minded circles among the bourgeoisie weakened the forces of the enemy and strengthened the forces of the anti-fascist camp.

Such was the internal alignment of class forces in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal stage of the revolution, and such were its motive forces.

A powerful anti-fascist movement developed in all the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' parties.

Born in January 1942, the Polish Workers' Party set the Polish people the task of actively fighting the Hitlerites, of putting up an armed resistance to the invaders, and headed that struggle. The armed forces of Polish democracy arose in Poland and on the territory of the U.S.S.R. The period of 1943-44 saw the rise of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa (K.R.N.) – the underground parliament of the Polish people, which aimed to take the leadership of the armed struggle and of all other forms of self-defence of the Polish people, to ensure them with democratic liberties and national independence, and to reconstruct the future Poland on democratic lines.

In September 1941 the Communist Party of Rumania called upon the people, all the patriots, to join in the struggle for national liberation against Hitlerite oppression, to overthrow Antonescu's regime, to put an end to the war against the U.S.S.R. and to include Rumania into the struggle of all freedom-loving nations against nazism.

In July 1942 the illegal radio-station "Hristo Botjeff" broadcast a programme by the Fatherland Front, which called upon the Bulgarian people to break off the alliance with Hitlerite Germany, drive out the German troops, overthrow the fascist regime in the country and set up a people's democratic government. With that programme as their banner the people, led by the Communist Party, started an active armed struggle against the nazis, that culminated in the victorious uprising of September 9, 1944.

The peoples of Czechoslovakia, who did not want to reconcile themselves to the Hitlerite oppression, selflessly fought the nazi invaders.

In Slovakia the climax of that struggle was the armed uprising in the autumn of 1944 and in Czechia – the May uprising of 1945.

The Albanian and Hungarian peoples struggled bravely and actively against the foreign enslavers.

The struggle of the working class and other toilers of Europe against nazism, for national independence and democratic liberties was an indissoluble component part of the international anti-fascist movement headed by the Soviet Union.

The working class and all the labouring masses of the fascist-enslaved countries waged a heroic struggle against nazism. But they could not cope with that task without the aid of the Soviet Union. It was solved by the concerted efforts of the Soviet Union, the working class and all the toiling people of the enslaved European countries, with the U.S.S.R. playing the decisive role. The Soviet Union was the main motive force in the anti-fascist struggle throughout the world, and the main motive force of the revolutionary process of transformation which followed the defeat of fascism.

The great successes achieved in the struggle against the German, Italian and Japanese aggressors by the Soviet Union and the powerful anti-fascist movement of the working people thus resulted in the rise of People's Democracy. That was the outcome of the

armed collision between the world democratic forces with the Soviet Union at their head and the international reactionary forces which at that time were led by Hitlerite Germany.

In the light of the aforementioned a definite answer may be given to the question how People's Democracy came into being: peacefully or in the course of an armed struggle.

As it has been proved above, People's Democracy triumphed as a result of the defeat of fascism, in the course of a bloody, fierce conflict between the forces of democracy and the forces of reaction. Hence, the thesis on the peaceful rise of People's Democracy is wrong and by its content is bourgeois-nationalistic, as it bases itself on the analysis of only the internal events in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe and ignores the common front of the international anti-fascist struggle, ignores the greatest revolutionary significance of the Soviet Union's struggle against fascist reaction.

The anti-fascist struggle was accompanied by a consolidation process of the democratic forces, a process in which the political army of the revolution was formed and hardened and in which the alliance of the working class and the peasantry was strengthened.

Turning into account the favourable situation that followed the defeat by the Soviet armed forces of Hitlerite Germany, the working class in those countries rallied the peasantry, intelligentsia and the urban petty bourgeoisie and brought about a revolutionary upheaval. It wrested power from the fascist forces, destroyed the reactionary regime and established a new democratic system – People's Democracy.

People's Democracy was established in Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Albania immediately following the defeat of fascism.

In Rumania and Hungary it was established somewhat later, as a result of the subsequent struggle of the working class. "The liberation of the country," said Matias Rákosi, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, "put an end to the power of the big landlords and capitalists. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, power passed into the hands of the working class, the peasantry and that part of the bourgeoisie which had opposed German imperialism and agreed to co-operate with us in abolishing the relics of feudalism." (*For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, June 15, 1948.)

The establishment of People's Democracy marked a big revolutionary turning point, the passing of power from the hands of reaction into the hands of the people led by the working class. G. M. Dimitrov pointed out in reference to Bulgaria: "With the working class playing a most active and guiding role, power was wrested from the hands of the capitalist bourgeoisie, the exploiting monarcho-fascist minority and placed in the hands of the overwhelming majority of the people." (*For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, April 1, 1948.)

The establishment of People's Democracy solved the question of power in the sense that the big bourgeoisie and landlords were overthrown, and the middle bourgeoisie ousted

from leadership of society. That meant the setting up of people's power *headed by the working class*, which has played the decisive and leading part within the framework of People's Democracy since its establishment.

However, that was still not the *complete* solution of the question of power. In the initial period of People's Democracy the middle bourgeoisie in all the European people's democratic countries was not politically isolated and defeated, and the problem of winning over the majority of the population was not fully solved, the working people did not yet possess a secure majority in the government and the legislative bodies.

The middle bourgeoisie was allowed to participate in governing the country side by side with the working class and the peasantry. The bourgeoisie existed as an independent, politically organized force, with its own parties, press, representatives in the government, in the legislative bodies, and in the state apparatus.

How is that to be explained? Why were certain groups of the bourgeoisie allowed to participate in governing the country? Why was the whole bourgeoisie not at once dislodged completely from power?

The answer is that:

Firstly, after the defeat of fascism the working class of the European People's Democracies had to decide to some degree the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution;

Secondly, in that period the bourgeoisie succeeded in preserving certain political positions and in leading by fraud more or less considerable sections of the population. It managed to preserve definite political positions because:

- a) it adroitly used for class purposes its participation in the anti-fascist struggle, and everywhere demagogically advertised itself as a champion of the people's interests;
- b) it managed to retain its influence over a certain section of the populace because of the treacherous policy pursued by the Right Social-Democrats, who defended the interests of the bourgeoisie under the screen of socialist demagogy, and also by virtue of the absence of sufficient political consciousness among some strata of the people, who were taking part in politics for the first time;
- c) it drew its support from the Anglo-American imperialists, who utilized all pretexts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the European People's Democracies and thereby increased the vacillation of unsteady sections of the population;
- d) it held important positions in the national economy.

In view of these factors the middle bourgeoisie was at that time a strong social force that could not be ignored or immediately exterminated without complicating the development

of the revolution.

The most expedient policy towards the middle bourgeoisie directly after the defeat of fascism was the policy of its neutralization.

In order to neutralize the middle bourgeoisie the Communist Parties deemed it possible and necessary to protect by law the private ownership of the means of production within certain limits, to guarantee freedom of private enterprise, and to admit the bourgeoisie to government administration. That policy was essential in the period when various anti-feudal measures were being carried out, for it hindered the formation of a united bloc of reaction from the middle bourgeoisie to the landlords, and was an important transitional stage for the subsequent policy of isolating the bourgeoisie and its final defeat.

The class basis of People's Democracy is composed of two classes, the proletariat and the peasantry. The alliance of these two classes, with the working class in the leading role, comprises the unshakable foundation of people's state power.

The class content of the victorious People's Democracy was determined by the stage of the revolutionary development, by the content of the tasks under solution, and by the alignment of class forces. The first stage was marked by the solution of general-democratic tasks. That was the stage of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution.

In a review of the question of the character of state power in countries with a weak capitalistic development, J. V. Stalin pointed out as far back as 1928:

“Besides capitalistically developed countries, where the victory of the revolution leads at once to the proletarian dictatorship, there are countries which are poorly developed capitalistically, where there are feudal survivals and a specific agrarian question of the anti-feudal type (Poland, Rumania, etc.), countries where the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry, is bound to have a weighty word to say in the event of a revolutionary outbreak, and where the victory of the revolution, if it is to lead to a proletarian dictatorship, must and certainly will require certain intermediate stages, in the form, say, of a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.” (J.V Stalin, Works, Russ. ed., Vol. 11, p. 155.)

Stalin's instructions acquired special importance for the people's democratic revolutions.

Taking into account that in its first stage the revolution in the Central and South-Eastern countries of Europe did not solve socialist tasks, but was directed against foreign and native fascists and landlords, bearing in mind the alignment of class forces, it may be definitely asserted, that in all those countries the regime of People's Democracy in its initial period was something akin to a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. The dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry in all the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe has its own specific, individual features as compared with the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry of which V. I. Lenin spoke in reference to the period of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in the people's democratic republics appeared in the presence of the mighty Soviet Union, under conditions of a radical shift in the balance of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism and adverse to capitalism. That dictatorship was born in the course of the anti-fascist struggle, and its sharp edge was directed against imperialism. In the anti-fascist coalition the revolutionary power had a broad social and political prop within the country. The leading role of the working class in this anti-fascist bloc of different classes and social groups was *decisive from the very beginning and enhanced continuously as the revolution developed*.

By virtue of this People's Democracy became from its birth a revolutionary power of the whole people with the working class at its head.

Such are the characteristic features of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, established in the European People's Democracies in the first stage of the revolution.

During the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution the working class of those countries achieved first of all the solution of the anti-imperialist tasks. With Soviet aid the people expelled the German fascist invaders, obtained their national freedom, crushed the fascist forces within the country, and overthrew the monopolistic bourgeoisie. The broad democratic rights and liberties won by the people would have been unheard of and impossible under conditions of bourgeois democracy. The political activities of the masses grew steadily. Political parties and mass public organizations were set up in all those countries. People's Democracy had at its outset gone far beyond the limits of bourgeois democracy in all spheres.

After the defeat of fascism and the establishment of People's Democracy, the working class of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe shifted the centre of gravity of all their work to uprooting the survivals of feudalism in economics and politics, i.e., to the complete and final solution of properly bourgeois-democratic tasks.

In analyzing anti-feudal revolutionary measures account should be taken of the difference between agrarian countries with a large volume of anti-feudal tasks (Rumania, Albania, etc.) and countries with a relatively high industrial development (Czechoslovakia), where feudal survivals likewise existed. That laid its imprint on the development of historical events, but their essence was the same in all those countries. In Bulgaria there was actually no anti-feudal question, but there were survivals of feudalism in economics and politics, and the agrarian question existed. The volume of anti-feudal tasks had a direct bearing on the rate of development of the revolution and fixed the time for the transition to a new stage. Therefore, in Bulgaria, for instance, the process of the growth of the general-democratic revolution began somewhat earlier than in the other countries. But that did not change the general-democratic character of the first stage of the popular-democratic revolution.

The solution of the agrarian question under present-day conditions involves not only the liquidation of the landlord class, but also the defence of the peasants' farms from ruin by the financial-capitalist monopolies. In all, this signifies the establishment of the peasant

ownership of land.

The working class attached enormous importance to the carrying out of the land reform. The agrarian question was a very acute and vital political question, for on its solution depended the destiny of the revolution. The peasants were incredibly land-hungry and they were ruthlessly exploited by the landlords. The peasants demanded land; to receive it was their age-old dream.

In Poland, for instance, 87.1 per cent of the households owned 31.8 per cent of the land, while 0.9 per cent of the big estates owned 47.3 per cent of the total. In Rumania 97.5 per cent of the households owned 60 per cent of the land, while 0.8 per cent of the estates owned 32.2 per cent of the total. In Hungary 93.8 per cent of the households owned 34.2 per cent of the land, while 0.9 per cent of the estates owned 46.4 per cent of the total.

The working class, true to its role of champion of the people's interests, called upon the peasants to start a decisive struggle against the landlords for the division of their land. The reactionaries furiously resisted the land reform. A tense class strife raged around the land reform. The landlords and their allies from the camp of the bourgeoisie, supported by the British and American imperialists, who did their utmost to disrupt the land reform and hindered the promulgation of the revolutionary decrees, fought against the division of the landlords' land and its transfer to the tillers of the soil, spread counter-revolutionary rumours and threatened the peasants with revenge, and foully assaulted the activists, members of the land reform committees, and the peasants who received land. In the end the resistance of the landlords was broken and their land turned over to the peasants.

The process of carrying out the land reform in the European People's Democracies had certain specific features. In their fight to carry out the land reform the Communist and Workers' parties were guided by the propositions of Leninism on the necessity for a differentiated, concrete historical approach to the question of the principles along which the agrarian question was to be solved. They took into account the fact that in countries where capitalist relations had deep roots in agriculture and had imbued the peasantry with private-property instincts, the slogan of the nationalization of the whole land would not be immediately digested; that the higher the capitalistic development of the country, the stronger the traditions of private land ownership.

Allowing for the concrete specific character of agrarian relationships, the alignment of class forces and the tasks of the further progress of the revolution, the Communist and Workers' parties advanced the slogan of "The land belongs to those who till it." In accordance with that slogan the landlords' land was confiscated and distributed among the peasants, who acquired it as their private property on very favourable terms.

A maximum, i.e., the limit of land each private farm could own, was established in all countries. In Poland this maximum was 123.5 acres of arable land, while in the western part of the country it was 247 acres; in Rumania and Czechoslovakia the limit was 123.5 acres, in Hungary about 74 acres, etc. Almost everywhere the landlords' land was confiscated without compensation, but a money compensation was paid to rich peasants

for any surplus over and above the maximum.

The land confiscated from the landlords and redeemed from the rich peasants was given to needy peasants at a small price to be paid in instalments over 15-20 years. The families of partisans and of those who fell in the war against the nazis received land gratis. The land was transferred to peasant ownership, but the charge of it was strictly regulated: its sale, mortgage, donation and renting were either forbidden or limited. A certain part of the land was nationalized and remained in state ownership for the organization of experimental-model state farms.

In all, the peasants of the European People's Democracies received over 37 million acres of land.

The immense social and political significance of the agrarian reforms lay in the fact that they:

- a) liquidated the landlord ownership of land and consolidated the peasant land ownership;
- b) abolished the landlord class, which was one of the pillars of fascist reaction, and eradicated forever the survivals of feudalism and semi-feudal exploitation;
- c) provided the peasants with land. This raised them to the status of middle peasants, placed the material well-being of the labouring peasantry on a higher level, and considerably limited kulak exploitation in the countryside;
- d) opened the way for a new stage in the development of the forces of production in agriculture;
- e) still further consolidated the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and enhanced the leading role of the working class in this alliance.

Simultaneously political life was democratized – the judicial and state institutions introduced by the nazis were destroyed, and the survivals of feudalism and the aftermaths of fascism in politics were liquidated.

The period required by the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe to implement general-democratic measures and to solve anti-feudal tasks after the defeat of fascism varied from less than a year to more than a year, although the survivals of feudalism were completely eradicated only in the stage of the socialist revolution.

The defeat of fascism and the elimination of the aftermaths of its domination, the replacement of bourgeois democracy by popular democracy, the completion of the main processes of the agrarian reform, and a series of other general-democratic measures culminated the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal stage of the revolution and opened the way for a new stage – the stage of the socialist revolution. Here the Communist and Workers' parties were guided by the well-known theoretical propositions of Leninism on the

socialist revolution and the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

Although, as stated above, the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution did not transcend *directly* the limits of a general-democratic revolution, it would be completely wrong to erect a wall between a general-democratic and socialist revolution.

In striking a blow at the monopolistic bourgeoisie (which under given concrete conditions was a general-democratic measure) the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution simultaneously weakened capitalism as a whole, thereby directly bringing nearer the stage of the socialist revolution. The process of the anti-imperialist struggle was accompanied by the formation of the forces of the future socialist revolution, by the consolidation of the alliance of the working class and the labouring peasantry, and by the enhancement of the leading role of the working class in this alliance. This leading role of the working class is the embryo of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a transitional step towards it.

That is why an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution contained all the prerequisites for directly growing into a socialist revolution. That is why an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution is a component part of the world revolutionary process spearheaded against capitalism. Such is the dialectics of historical events at the present stage of social development.

### **Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Feudal Revolutions in the East**

The peoples of China, Korea and Viet-Nam have travelled a long historical path of development in the struggle for national freedom and democracy. The experience accumulated by them in the process of historical development is rich and many-sided. Each possesses its own specific conditions and features.

Whereas the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are in the first stage of the development of People's Democracy, the Chinese People's Republic has already passed through its first stage, the stage of the democratic revolution, and now has entered a new stage, that of realizing the tasks of the socialist revolution. The popular democratic regime in these countries is a revolutionary power carrying out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The victory of People's Democracy in these countries was prepared by the whole course of historical development. It came as a result of a change in the balance of forces on a world scale in favour of socialism and against capitalism; as a result of the heroic struggle waged by the popular masses of these countries under the leadership of the working class against foreign and domestic imperialist reaction, against the feudalists, for national freedom and democracy. What has been said previously about the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the victory of People's Democracy in a number of European countries applies directly to the victory of People's Democracy in Asiatic countries, too.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked a basic turn in world history and

ushered in a new era of triumphant socialism and moribund capitalism, exerted a gigantic influence on the development of the national-liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries, undermined the positions held by imperialism in these countries, accelerated the historical development of colonies and dependencies, and awakened hundreds of millions of people held in the vices of imperialist oppression.

After the victory of the October Revolution the era of undisturbed exploitation and oppression of the colonies passed away irrevocably and was replaced by an era of colonial liberation revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat of the colonial and dependent countries.

The October Revolution played a highly important role in the destinies of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, for it not only undermined the imperialist positions, but also pointed out to these peoples the correct path towards freedom and independence, progress and prosperity.

“The salvoes of the October Revolution,” Mao Tse-tung said, “brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped progressive elements in the world, and in China, too, to apply the proletarian world outlook in determining the destiny of their country and in reviewing their own problems. To follow the path of the Russians – such was the conclusion.” (Mao Tse-tung, *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, Gospolitizdat, Moscow 1949, pp. 5-6.)

The same conclusion was arrived at by advanced people in all colonial and dependent countries, who started an active struggle for national freedom and independence.

The continuous strengthening of the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the international forces of democracy and socialism, and the shaking of the pillars of imperialism meant a further weakening of its positions in the colonies. That brought nearer the time for the emancipation of the colonies and semi-colonies from imperialist oppression, and facilitated the establishment of the democratic system.

The experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the teachings of Leninism on the character and the motive forces of revolutions in colonial and dependent countries in the epoch of imperialism, on the leading role of the working class in these revolutions, and on the necessity of taking into account national peculiarities and national characteristics when solving the tasks of the revolution were of paramount importance for the working class in the colonies and semi-colonies and its vanguard, the Communist Parties, to theoretically elaborate the main political, strategic and tactical problems of the struggle for national liberation and for a genuinely progressive path of development.

The struggle for national liberation in the epoch of imperialism can triumph only under the leadership of the working class. This programmatic thesis of Leninism acquires special meaning for revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies under present-day conditions, i.e., under conditions of an acute sharpening of the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism.

Furthermore, the theory of Leninism proceeds from the position that it is necessary for the working class to win to its side broad sections of the people, as well as to employ all available forces within the country in the struggle against imperialism and feudal aristocracy. These forces should include the anti-imperialist-minded national bourgeoisie with which it is possible to enter into temporary blocs and agreements.

Utilizing the favourable circumstance of a weakening imperialism brought about by the great victories of the Soviet Union, the Communist Parties in the colonies and semi-colonies steered a course towards the realization of the tasks of a democratic revolution.

National-colonial oppression in the colonies and semi-colonies intensified during the Second World War when fascist Germany had enslaved almost all the European countries, and imperialist Japan had occupied a vast territory in Asia. The Japanese imperialist vultures strove to enslave China completely and to make her their colony. The seizure by Japan of Viet-Nam, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and other countries marked an intensification of colonial slavery and a sharp deterioration of the conditions necessary for achieving national freedom. Therefore, participation in the struggle against the German fascist and Japanese imperialist invaders was the major task of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries in that period. The liquidation of the German and Japanese aggression was an indispensable factor for winning national freedom and democracy.

The liquidation by the Soviet Union of this aggression opened up for the colonial peoples fresh visions of achieving national freedom, independence and democracy, because the victory scored by the Soviet people over the German fascist and Japanese imperialist aggressors weakened imperialism still further and shook its positions in the colonies and semi-colonies.

A revolutionary situation came into being in many colonial and dependent countries, a situation that saw the beginning of a new round of colonial revolutions and a new wave of revolutionary liberation movements of the popular masses against imperialist, colonial oppression.

The national-liberation struggle in the colonies and dependencies after the Second World War has certain distinctions.

Firstly, these movements are growing at the time of consolidation of the camp of democracy and socialism and steady deterioration of the camp of imperialism.

Secondly, the leading role of the working class in these movements has been emphatically strengthened. The hegemony of the working class renders national-liberation movements consistently revolutionary, gives them a genuinely popular character, and makes them organized, purposeful and solid.

Thirdly, at its present stage the national-liberation struggle has attained a highly mass

character. The participants in these movements include the most diverse social forces: the working class, which is their organizer and inspirer, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and the national bourgeoisie. In countries where the people are fighting for national freedom coalitions have been formed of all democratic, anti-feudal, and anti-imperialist forces.

Fourthly, in a number of colonial and dependent countries, armed struggle is the basic form of the national fight for liberation at the present stage.

Fifthly, the national-liberation movements are being conducted under the banner of fighting for a People's Democracy.

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Considerable historical successes in the struggle for national independence and People's Democracy have been scored by the *great Chinese people*, who are leaning upon the powerful support of the Soviet people.

The Communist Party of China, armed with the all-conquering theory of Marxism-Leninism, raised the Chinese people to a selfless struggle against imperialist oppression, against the compradore bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, who were the lackeys of American and British imperialists within the country. This heroic revolutionary war, that had lasted for a quarter of a century, ended in an epoch-making victory of the Chinese people.

As is known, the Chiang Kai-shek clique had systematically parcelled out the country to various imperialists – American, British and Japanese. After the defeat of Japanese imperialism by the Soviet Union, Chiang Kai-shek went over wholly to the service of American imperialism. U.S. ruling circles rendered the rotten Kuomintang regime the broadest political, economic and military assistance. They sent Chiang Kai-shek military advisers, huge quantities of military equipment, and kept up a constant supply of ammunition to the Kuomintang armies. But the existence of the powerful Soviet Union held down the activity of the American aggressors and prevented them from launching an open intervention against the Chinese people.

“Had there been no Soviet Union,” Mao Tse-tung wrote, “had there been no victory in the anti-fascist Second World War, had Japanese imperialism not been defeated (which is particularly important for us), had there been no People's Democracies in Europe . . . then the pressure of the international reactionary forces would, of course, have been much stronger than it is today. Would we have been able to achieve victory in those circumstances? Of course not. So, too, it would have been impossible to consolidate victory after it had been achieved.” (Mao Tse-tung, *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, p. 9.)

The Soviet Union rendered the Chinese People's Republic colossal moral and political support and economic aid. The experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been of invaluable importance for China. Using the experience of the C.P.S.U. and

creatively applying the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, Mao Tse-tung gave a profound scientific and theoretical substantiation for the policy, strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of China.

By its character the Chinese revolution was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. It was directed against foreign imperialist oppression, Chinese feudalism and the big bureaucratic compradore bourgeoisie, which was closely linked with the foreign imperialists.

The Chinese revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution, but at the same time it was a national-liberation and an anti-imperialist one, which merged with the world-wide revolutionary movement of the working class against imperialism. It transcended the limits of a usual bourgeois-democratic revolution thanks to its anti-imperialist direction and as a result of the enhanced leading role of the working class.

In the course of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution the working class built up a united front of the democratic forces, including the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and the national bourgeoisie. The working class, headed by its vanguard, the Communist Party, is the organizing, leading and directing force of the united front. A firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry has given the united front its unshakable foundation.

Viewing the Chinese revolution as the confluence of two streams of the revolutionary movement – the movement against feudal survivals and the movement against imperialism, J. V. Stalin with genius predicted as far back as 1926 the character of the power which would be established as a result of the victory of this revolution.

“I believe,” J. V. Stalin said, “that the future revolutionary power in China will in its character resemble the power of which we spoke in our country in 1905, that is, something in the nature of a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but with this difference that it will be predominantly an anti-imperialist power.

“It will be a power of transition to a non-capitalist, or, to be more exact, to a socialist development of China.” (J. V. Stalin, Works, Russ. ed., Vol. 8, pp. 365-66.)

The revolutionary power established in China as a result of the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution is, by its content, a kind of dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. In the first stage of the development of People’s Democracy in China socialist tasks were not projected as *immediate* tasks and were not solved therefore. That was a question of the future. Mao Tse-tung pointed out that only after a flourishing national economy and culture have been built up will China, in conformity with the will of her people, turn to the solution of the tasks of socialist construction.

The triumph of People’s Democracy meant the overthrow of the reactionary Kuomintang clique, which had championed the interests of bureaucratic capital and the landlords; it

meant the passing of power into the hands of the majority of the population headed by the working class and the creation of a people's democratic system. The Chinese people won the broadest democratic rights and liberties, set up their political parties, public, trade-union, youth, women's and other democratic organizations. The Chinese reactionaries kept the people away from politics. Today millions upon millions of the Chinese citizens are turning to politics, are actively participating in governing the state and are confidently resolving important questions of the country's political and economic life.

The people's democratic state is energetically defending and expanding the democratic achievements of the people; it is strengthening people's democratism, and enhancing the political activity of the people by drawing more and more fresh forces into the work of governing the country; it is strengthening the unity of all patriotic forces, first of all the forces of the working class and the peasantry; it is employing the national bourgeoisie in building a new China, at the same time resolutely thwarting the attempts of certain of its sections to prevent the solution of the tasks of the revolution. The people's democratic state is mercilessly suppressing the resistance of the overthrown reactionary classes, and is carrying on an energetic struggle against counter-revolutionary bandit groups and against the spying and subversive activities of the American and Kuomintang agents.

The people's democratic state of China, which was born in the struggle against the foreign imperialists and their accomplices inside the country, is vigilantly protecting its national freedom and democratic achievements from encroachments by the American and other imperialists. For this purpose the Chinese people's government is strengthening the ties of friendship with the U.S.S.R. and all countries in the camp of democracy and socialism; it is waging a consistent struggle for peace, consolidating the defence capacity of the country, and resolutely rebuffing the attempts of the U.S. imperialists to interfere in the domestic affairs of China. Chinese volunteers, carrying out the will of their people, defended in Korea the approaches to Chinese territory and helped the fraternal Korean nation to uphold its freedom and independence against the U.S. aggressors.

The Chinese people's democratic state inaugurated large-scale revolutionary socio-economic transformations, most important among which was the agrarian reform, directed at the liquidation of feudalism and the landlord class. The agrarian revolution in China abolished landlord ownership and consolidated peasant ownership of land.

The agrarian reform, which was carried through on the principle that the land should belong to the tillers, destroyed the economic basis for the existence of the landlord class. That class was abolished forever and the peasantry was freed from annual rents paid to the landlords and which amounted to the value of 50 million tons of grain. Over three hundred million peasants received 116 million acres of land.

The people's democratic government confiscated the property of the foreign imperialists and of the Chinese compradore bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which had close ties with the foreign imperialists, and took over their factories, mills, banks and commercial enterprises. As a result, China's economy now has a state sector. At the same time the people's democratic government is drawing private capital extensively into the

development of the national economy.

The economic policy of the people's democratic power in China as outlined in Article 26 of the Common Programme of the People's Political Consultative Conference, stipulates that "all sectors of the social economy should, under the leadership of the state-owned economy, carry out the division and co-ordination of labour and play their respective parts in promoting the development of the social economy as a whole."

All these measures consolidated the socio-economic basis of People's Democracy in China and created favourable conditions for accelerating the rapid upswing of China's economy. The Chinese people had enthusiastically rehabilitated their industry, primarily the heavy industry, restored to life the old factories and mills and began to build new ones. Agriculture was also recovered and is being developed on a big scale.

Although the Chinese revolution in its first stage of development did not transcend the limits of a general-democratic revolution, but being primarily an anti-imperialist revolution it dealt a blow at the capitalist system and thereby weakened it still further.

The victory of the Chinese revolution meant that another mighty breach had been made in the chain of imperialism, a breach second only to the one made by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The result of this victory was that China broke away from the system of imperialism and went over to the camp of the countries of democracy and socialism. The successful solution of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks ensured the *direct* growing over of the general-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. At present the Chinese people under the leadership of the working class with the Communist Party at its head set to realize the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the socialist transformation of society.

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The great victory of the Soviet people over Japanese imperialism enabled the Korean people to embark upon the path of democracy and progressive development. This victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War brought the Korean people liberation from the Japanese imperialist yoke. The Soviet Army freed North Korea and gave the Korean people an opportunity to break away from imperialism and achieve full independence and real democracy.

The situation that arose in North Korea differs fundamentally from the situation in South Korea, which is occupied by United States troops. US ruling circles made South Korea practically their colony and set up a reactionary regime headed by the puppet dictator Syngman Rhee.

In North Korea, which entered upon a new, free life, the popular masses, under the leadership of the working class and guided by the Party of Labour, set about effecting profound social and economic transformations directed at the solution of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks.

The people, with the working class at their head, smashed the reactionary forces and established their own rule. People's Committees which took over full state authority sprang up throughout the country. There was a revolutionary power carrying out the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. In establishing their own power the popular masses won broad democratic rights and liberties. A new epoch of people's democratism began in Korea.

Parallel with the solution of the political tasks the country witnessed great changes in its social and economic structure. Mention must first be made of the agrarian reform, which led to the liquidation of feudal landownership, the eradication of feudal survivals, the abolition of the landlord class, and the consolidation of peasant landownership. At the same time measures were carried out to abolish monopoly capital. With this end in view the state power nationalized the major industries, banks, transport and means of communications.

An important landmark in the development of Korea was the proclamation in 1948 of the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The successful solution of the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution made possible the further progressive development of the Korean Republic. The attack by the American aggressors on the Korean People's Democratic Republic interrupted its peaceful development. Today, after a successful defence of their own country against the interventionists, the Korean people are engaged in rehabilitating their national economy and are fighting for peace and national unity.

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The Democratic Republic of *Viet-Nam*, which arose in 1945, is included among the People's Democracies. Under the leadership of the working class, the Viet-Nameese people are insistently working on the solution of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks. Up to now the main efforts have been made to fortify resistance to the French and American imperialists who are endeavouring by force of arms to impose a colonial regime upon the people of Viet-Nam. Therefore the centre of gravity of the revolution has been shifted primarily to the complete solution of anti-imperialist tasks. In the sphere of agrarian relations the people were carrying out such measures as reducing land rent, turning over land formerly owned by colonialists and traitors to the poor peasants and to the families of servicemen disabled or killed in the war, utilizing land belonging to absentee landlords and wastelands, redistributing communal lands, etc. All these agrarian measures were provisional and bore a transient character.

Such a policy allowed the working class to widen the anti-imperialist front.

“The people, i.e., primarily the workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, with whom the patriotic and progressive elements of the aristocracy and landlords are marching shoulder to shoulder, comprise at present the motive force of the Viet-Nam revolution,” says the Programme of the Viet-Nam Lao Dong Party (Party of Labour).

The problem of carrying out more profound anti-feudal reforms is now next on the list.

Included among them is the law on the agrarian reform ratified in December 1953 by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. This reform, that is being carried out under the slogan of “land to the tillers,” is to multiply the strength of the Viet-Nameese people in their struggle for independence and peace.

Thus, the correct policy of the Viet-Nam Party of Labour has ensured the solidarity of all patriotic forces of the country under the leadership of the working class, and has fortified the broad anti-imperialist front which is achieving great successes.

A considerable part of the country has been liberated from foreign imperialist oppression. The forces of the French colonialists are concentrated in a small territory, chiefly around towns situated near the sea.

A people’s democratic regime has been set up in the liberated territory; this is pointed out in the Programme of the Party of Labour. “In fighting for liberation,” the Programme says, “and in realizing democratic reforms in economic, political, social, and cultural spheres, Viet-Nam has taken the path of People’s Democracy. Consequently, Viet-Nam today has a people’s democratic system, while a certain part of the country (this refers to districts occupied by the imperialists – AS.) is living under a colonial and semi-feudal system.”

By its content the people’s democratic regime in Viet-Nam is carrying out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry with the working class in the leading role; this ensures a further deepening of the revolution in its subsequent stages of development.

All these facts demonstrate that in Korea and Viet-Nam their peoples are solving the tasks of the first stage of the revolution.

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Among the People’s Democracies of the East there is the *Mongolian People’s Republic*, which has travelled a long path of historical development.

The origin of People’s Democracy in the Mongolian Republic has its own features and specific character. It is known that pre-revolutionary Mongolia was an extremely backward feudal country. She had neither industry nor working class. The popular revolution of 1921 was a peasant revolution that drew its support from the proletariat of Soviet Russia. This revolution was levelled against imperialism and feudalism, but because of the country’s extreme backwardness the elimination of the feudal class required a considerable period of time.

With the many-sided assistance of the Soviet Union, the Mongolian people scored important successes: they liquidated the feudal system, laid the basis for industry which

marked the rise of a young Mongolian working class, and furthered the development of national culture. The path traversed by the Mongolian People's Republic reaffirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching that, given the aid of a socialist state, it is possible for backward countries to pass from feudalism to socialism and avoid the path of capitalist development.

Article 1 of the Constitution of the Mongolian Republic points out that "The Mongolian People's Republic is an independent country of the labouring masses (herdsmen), workers and intellectuals, who have rid themselves of imperialist and feudal oppression and ensured for their country a non-capitalist path of development in order to pass in the future to socialism."

### **The Stage of Socialist Revolution in Central and South-Eastern Europe**

The Leninist theory on the socialist revolution, an important component part of which is the tenet on the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution, teaches that the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry is a state of revolution, a process of its development. In its essence it is a temporary revolutionary power, that has its own past and future. Its historic past, in the fight against which it originates, is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and its future is the dictatorship of the working class. The same is true of the popular power established after the victory of the people's democratic revolution. This power, whose class content made it a kind of dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, ushered in a stage of revolutionary development and a correlation of class forces in which the landlord class was already smashed, the big bourgeoisie overthrown, but with the bourgeoisie as a whole, as a class, still undefeated politically, and the question of power not yet finally solved.

For the final solution of the question of power it was necessary to ensure the transition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This transition signified an intensification of the struggle of the working class to win over the labouring peasantry against the bourgeoisie, the further consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the labouring peasantry, and the enhancement of the leading role of the working class in this alliance. Only in that way was it possible to ensure the direct transition of the hegemony of the working class allied with the peasantry, which is the embryo of the proletarian dictatorship and a step towards it, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution began to grow directly into a socialist revolution in proportion to the growth of the strength, consciousness, and organization of the working class and the consolidation of its bond with the labouring peasantry. This growth was guaranteed by the hegemony of the working class, led and guided by the Communist Parties in the system of People's Democracy, and by the correct policy pursued by these parties.

In defining the strategic line of revolutionary development, the Communist and Workers' parties of the European People's Democracies were guided by Lenin's well-known thesis

on the growing over of a democratic revolution into a socialist revolution:

Lenin wrote, that “. . . from the democratic revolution we shall at once, and just in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way.” (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 160.)

The growing over of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution into a socialist one denoted the deepening of the revolution, a new rush to solve new tasks, and a new regrouping of class forces.

The people’s democratic regime established after the destruction of fascism was called upon to defend the conquests of the people and to ensure consistent democratization in all spheres of public life; this could be realized only on the path to socialism. As far back as 1917 Lenin said that nowadays it is impossible to go forward without moving to socialism. Under present historical conditions Lenin’s thesis is acquiring exceptional importance.

The bourgeoisie did not wish to reconcile themselves to the implementation of political, social and economic reforms. Assisted by American and British imperialists they launched subversive activities against the popular power, sabotaged all its economic measures, planned one counter-revolutionary conspiracy after another, and energetically organized espionage and wrecking groups. Not only had the bourgeoisie no desire to cooperate with the people in building a new life, but persistently sought to overthrow the people’s democratic regime. In order to safeguard the gains of the people, to consolidate and expand them, it was necessary finally to resolve the question of power. The final decision of this question signified the complete breakdown of the resistance of the bourgeoisie, its political defeat, the ousting of all its representatives from the government, parliament and other links of the state apparatus, and the concentration of all state power in the hands of the working class.

Consequently, the working class tactics in relation to the bourgeoisie underwent changes depending on the stage of the struggle. In the anti-fascist stage the working class opposed the big financial and industrial bourgeoisie as the social prop of fascism, and drew the middle bourgeoisie into the anti-fascist movement.

In the period of establishing People’s Democracy the working class dislodged the bourgeoisie from the leadership in the system of the popular power and pursued a policy of neutralizing the middle bourgeoisie, at the same time trying to utilize its participation in the bloc for a successful solution of anti-feudal tasks.

But as the experience of the struggle showed, the middle bourgeoisie strove to utilize its participation in the bloc in order to hinder the progress of the revolution and restore its own power.

As the revolution deepened and it became clear that it was winning to its side greater and greater masses of the people and that it could not be stopped, the bourgeois parties refused in one form or another to participate in the blocs and adopted an openly hostile attitude towards the people's democratic system. At the same time the bourgeoisie resorted to the most diversified forms of demagogy in an effort to win the following of the masses.

In this period the Communist Parties in all People's Democracies began a tense struggle to win the lead of the masses, as the solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution was possible provided the masses were won over and convinced of the correctness of the policy of the Communist Party. It was only on this basis that the bourgeoisie could be isolated and crushed.

In the course of a long struggle the working class of the People's Democracies, headed by the Communist Parties, exposed the machinations of the bourgeoisie and showed it up as an enemy of the people's power, an opponent of agrarian reform and the nationalization of industry, and that its political leaders were spies, traitors and direct agents of foreign imperialism. The exposure of the treacherous conduct of the bourgeoisie led to its political isolation and to a further rallying of the labouring peasantry around the working class.

By wresting the masses from the influence of the bourgeoisie which had cheated them, and by strengthening the alliance between the working class and the labouring peasantry and securing the political isolation of the bourgeoisie, the working class, led by the Communists, completed the political defeat of the bourgeoisie, concentrated in its hands the *entire* state power, and set up its own dictatorship, i.e., solved the main question of the socialist revolution.

The Communists, who once again displayed their unbounded devotion to the people and their disinterestedness in championing the people's cause, were the leading and directing force in the struggle against the reactionary and anti-democratic policy of the bourgeoisie. The peoples rallied closely around the Communist Parties and, entrusting them with the government of their countries, confidently followed them.

The socialist revolution in the European People's Democracies developed under very favourable conditions; it took place in a situation of a radical change in the correlation of forces in favour of socialism and against capitalism, rested on the Soviet Union, and bore certain specific features.

Firstly, the socialist revolution was not a coup d'état but the consummation of the started revolution; the matter at issue was not to overthrow the existing power but to employ this revolutionary power finally to crush the bourgeoisie, completely to oust it from government and to concentrate the entire power in the hands of the working class.

Secondly, the socialist revolution in the European People's Democracies was not an instantaneous act.

The bourgeoisie was not politically defeated forthwith but by a series of consecutive blows; it was dislodged from power faction by faction in proportion to the growth of consciousness, solidarity and organization of the working class and other toilers. The socialist revolution in Central and South-Eastern Europe was thus a series of separate outbreaks which together made up the socialist revolutionary eruption.

Thirdly, an important feature of the socialist revolution was that it proceeded as a broad movement of the popular masses from below, supported from above by those links of the state apparatus which were in the hands of the working class.

And fourthly, by virtue of the above circumstances, the socialist revolution in the European People's Democracies bore a peaceful character in that there was no armed uprising.

The bourgeoisie was defeated by the working class in the course of a tense class contest in which were used the most diverse forms and means of struggle: political demonstration, the forcible seizure of state institutions, the armed suppression of military detachments of the bourgeoisie, the denunciation and liquidation of subversive groups, and the undermining of the economic might of the bourgeoisie. Other methods included parliamentary forms of struggle as well, but they were of a subordinate nature and were more a reflection of the political changes than the means of their accomplishment. An exclusively important part in the revolutionary suppression of the bourgeoisie was played by those links of the state apparatus that were directly in the hands of the working class, primarily by the state security organs as well as by the lower organs of power.

Under the circumstances, especially in the face of the friendship between the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie did not risk unleashing a civil war, and for this reason the resistance of the bourgeoisie was broken by political measures, basically without an armed struggle.

In the process of the socialist revolution the survivals of bourgeois might were wiped out step by step, the old bourgeois state apparatus crushed and replaced by a new, popular democratic state apparatus.

A major measure of the socialist revolution was the nationalisation of industry, banks, and means of transport and communications. The targets set by this measure were, firstly, the liquidation of the economic basis of reaction and the creation of the material basis for the popular democratic system and, secondly, the securance for the national economy of complete independence from the American, British, French and other imperialists who had commanded considerable wealth in the countries where People's Democracy triumphed.

The nationalization of the industry, banks and means of transport was of immense political importance: this dealt a shattering blow at the positions of capitalism, wiped out all the imperialist cartels, and annulled the domination of the bourgeoisie in the economic

sphere. The entire large and medium industry passed into the hands of the state and became national, public-owned property. All the banks, means of communications, mechanized transport facilities, and all the sources of raw materials and power were also nationalized. Consequently, the key positions in the economy of the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe were concentrated in the hands of the people, and that was a great victory of the working class and a decisive defeat of the bourgeoisie. This gain by the working class was legislatively fixed in the constitutions of the People's Democracies.

A very important element in the struggle for a complete solution of the question of power was the routing of the bourgeois agents within the labour movement. The bourgeoisie had pinned high hopes on the Right Social-Democrats. It was perfectly clear that a split in the labour movement and the existence of bourgeois agents within it weakened the working class and minimized its leading role. The Communist Parties carried on a protracted and dogged struggle against the Right-wing Socialists and smashed their ideological positions. By winning over the rank-and-file members of the Social-Democratic parties and the Left-wing leaders, the Communists liquidated the split in the labour movement and created unitary parties of the working class on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. The creation of unitary Marxist-Leninist parties in all the People's Democracies enhanced the leading role of the working class and was an important stage in the struggle to broaden and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship.

The implementation of the above political and socio-economic measures constituted the content of the socialist revolution, and it was only as a result of the solution of these tasks that the people's democratic regime began to fulfil the functions of the dictatorship of the working class.

In other words, the question of setting up a proletarian dictatorship may be brought up given the following conditions:

Firstly, when a majority of the populace in the country is rallied around the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, and when the influence of the Communist Party surpasses the influence of all other parties taken together;

Secondly, when the bourgeoisie has been routed as an independent political force and its representatives have been ousted from the state apparatus;

Thirdly, when the commanding positions in the state apparatus are directly concentrated in the hands of the working class;

Fourthly, when the key positions in economy are concentrated in the hands of the people's democratic state;

Fifthly, when the split in the working class has been liquidated and a unitary workers' party formed on a Marxist-Leninist foundation.

Such conditions were not brought about at once in the European People's Democracies.

The establishment of proletarian dictatorships in the European people's republics was thus not an instantaneous act. It was a historical process, started in 1945 and consummated by the end of 1947 or 1948 as a result of the growing over of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution into a socialist revolution.

The consummation of the socialist revolution, the completion of the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship allowed the European People's Democracies to begin their transition from capitalism to socialism.

### **People's Democracy, a New State Form of the Proletarian Dictatorship**

The classics of Marxism-Leninism have proved that between capitalism and socialism there is a period of revolutionary transformation of the capitalist system of society into a socialist system and that the state in this transitional period can be nothing other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through this dictatorship that the capitalist system can be destroyed and a socialist society built.

The bitterest enemies of People's Democracy – bourgeois nationalists of every hue and colour and Right opportunists who had wormed their way into the Communist Parties – distorted the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the socialist state, attempted to disrupt the building of socialism, clamoured about the so-called spontaneous development of the People's Democracies, and negated the leading role of the working class, the Communist Parties and the necessity for a proletarian dictatorship.

Creatively applying Marxism-Leninism and resting on the theoretical assistance and experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist and Workers' parties in the European People's Democracies ideologically and organizationally defeated the bourgeois nationalists and Right opportunists and, in conformity with concrete circumstances, proved that the dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary for the People's Democracies as well. It was necessary to overcome the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organize the country's defence against external attack, to consolidate the ties between the proletarians of all countries and primarily the alliance with the U.S.S.R., to strengthen the bond of the working class and all other labouring sections of town and countryside with the purpose of drawing them into the work of building socialism, and to secure the victory of socialist forms of economy and the liquidation of capitalist elements.

Stressing the historical inevitability and necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the transitional period, the classics of Marxism-Leninism at the same time pointed to the possible variety in state forms of proletarian power.

“The transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but with all that the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat.*” (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Part 1,

p. 234.)

History knows several state forms of proletarian dictatorship.

The revolutionary creativeness of the working class of the Soviet country brought into existence the Soviets as the highest, most perfect form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. By setting up the Soviet form of proletarian dictatorship the working class of the U.S.S.R. rendered the international labour movement a tremendous historical service, in as much as the Soviets ensured the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R., showed mankind the road to socialism, and considerably facilitated the movement of all peoples towards socialism.

For a long time the Soviets were the only possible form of proletarian dictatorship, because in the conditions when the chain of imperialism was broken for the first time and only one country was building socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat could exist and successfully function exclusively in its highest form – the form of Soviets.

At present when the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets has achieved tremendous successes and a mighty socialist state has been created, the possibility has arisen for the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in other state forms, too. The functions of the proletarian dictatorship are being carried out by the people's democratic state system. The people's democratic regime in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe is successfully solving the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship and, in accordance with this, the people's democratic state is fulfilling the functions of the socialist state in the first phase of its development.

The first function of the people's democratic states is internal. This function consists in breaking the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes that enjoy the active support of international imperialist reaction.

Clearly realizing that this regime has become stable, that it has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people, and that any open assault against the people's democratic system is doomed to failure because of the decisive aid and support of the U.S.S.R., the American and British imperialists and the reactionary forces inside these countries have launched wide underground activity against People's Democracy.

The enemies of the people's power set themselves the task of working disguised imperialist agents into leading posts in the Communist Parties and government organs of the People's Democracies in order to demolish the revolutionary power in these countries from within.

The People's Democracies have had cases of imperialist agents and bourgeois-nationalist regenerates worming into leading positions with the aim of destroying People's Democracy from within and restoring capitalist orders.

In Hungary subversive activity was conducted in the Workers' Party and the Government

by the traitor Rajk, who sneaked into an important government post and, on instructions from the intelligence services of the U.S.A. and Britain, prepared a counter-revolutionary coup d'état in the country. Similar plots were laid by traitors to the people like Traicho Kostov in Bulgaria, Kochi Xoxe in Albania, and Rudolf Slansky in Czechoslovakia. A disguised Trotskyite and an agent of the U.S. intelligence service, Slansky organized an antigovernment conspiracy centre, worked to undermine the popular democratic system and prepared a counter-revolutionary putsch with the object of restoring capitalism and drawing Czechoslovakia into the imperialist camp.

U.S. and British ruling circles set great hopes in their agents. The danger presented by these conspiracies was considerable, because the traitors camouflaged their subversive activities by blatantly and hypocritically urging the conciliation of class interests and declaring that the class struggle is dying away; they did their utmost to slacken the vigilance of the Communist Parties and the labouring masses.

But the people's democratic states, armed with the experience of the class struggle in the U.S.S.R. and guided by the Leninist-Stalinist propositions on the inevitability of increased resistance by the overthrown exploiting classes in the period of building socialism and on the necessity of maintaining strict revolutionary vigilance towards the overthrown classes, thwarted the plans of international and internal reaction and exposed the criminal anti-popular activities of the agents of the Western imperialists. Conspiracies were unmasked one after another. The defeat of these counter-revolutionary anti-popular groups was a serious blow at the plans of international and internal reaction.

With the help of remnants of the defeated classes inside the People's Democracies the Anglo-American imperialists set to work establishing subversive, sabotage and wrecking organizations. In Poland, for instance, a serious plot was uncovered and rendered harmless in 1951. It had been prepared on the orders of American and British imperialists by a group of spies who had sneaked into high posts in the army.

A U.S. espionage centre, screened behind the "Standard Electric Co." signboard, was discovered in Czechoslovakia. Members of this organization had been engaged in spying and in wrecking in the Czechoslovak industry. It aimed to prepare the ground for the restoration of capitalism in the country. Several espionage organizations were uncovered and rendered harmless in Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria. In all people's republics wrecking organizations were discovered and liquidated in various fields of the national economy. All of them were affiliated to the American and British imperialists and operated on their orders.

The Catholic Church hierarchy, incited and inspired by the American imperialists through the help of the Vatican, joined the active struggle against the popular democratic system.

The Polish ex-Cardinal Hlonda maintained clandestine relations with Polish traitors and was the link between espionage groups in Poland and the Vatican. Many Polish Catholic priests actively participated in Mikolajczyk's gangs.

In Hungary Cardinal Mindszenty actively prepared for the overthrow of the popular democratic system. Archbishop Jozef Groesz, successor to Mindszenty, also plotted for the overthrow of the People's Republic. But the plot was uncovered in time.

Defending and guarding the conquests of the people, the popular democratic state is resolutely negating the attempts of the overthrown classes to regain power, persistently exposing and destroying all plots and meting out stern punishment to criminals who raise their hand against the people's achievements. All this testifies to the fact that the people's democratic regime is actively carrying out the internal function of the socialist state in its first phase of development.

The task of breaking the resistance of the overthrown classes is being successfully solved by the people's democratic regime because it rests on the U.S.S.R., uses the experience of the Soviet socialist state's struggle against capitalist elements, the experience of liquidating the exploiting classes, and is guided by Stalin's instructions concerning revolutionary vigilance and methods of fighting foes and masked double-dealers – the agents of the capitalist encirclement.

The second basic function of the socialist state carried out by the people's democratic regime is the defence of the country from outside attack. This function consists in creating favourable external conditions for building socialism, for defending the country's independence from encroachments by the international reactionary forces of imperialism. At present the main concern is to safeguard the gains of the people against the intrigues of the U.S.-British imperialists.

The people's democratic regime in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe is carrying out the external function of the socialist state and is actively struggling for national freedom against the aggressive policy of the American and British imperialists. To create external conditions for building socialism the popular democratic regime is consolidating first of all its friendship with the Soviet Union, pursuing a peaceful democratic foreign policy, increasing the country's economic might, and actively fighting to strengthen the positions of the camp of democracy and socialism throughout the world. The treaties of friendship and mutual assistance concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies and similar treaties by these republics among themselves constitute an important factor in the struggle of the People's Democracies for independence.

But under present conditions of the struggle for national independence the question of repelling the assault of the imperialists is different from what it was in the period when the Soviet Union was building socialism alone.

The existence of the mighty Soviet Union is the main, decisive condition ensuring the independence of the People's Democracies. The U.S.S.R. is the power which, in the final analysis, paralyzes the economic pressure of the imperialists on the People's Democracies, destroys the political and diplomatic intrigues of the ruling circles in the U.S.A. and Britain against these countries, and disrupts the military interventionist plans of international reaction.

The people's republics have rallied closely around the great Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. headed the formation of a mighty camp of democracy and socialism which is opposing the reactionary camp of imperialist aggression.

The popular democratic state is carrying out also a third function of the socialist state – an economic-organizational and cultural-educational function. The experience of the U.S.S.R. showed that this function does not reach its full volume in the first phase of development of the socialist state. This applies to the European People's Democracies, too. However, due to the many-sided and continuous assistance by the powerful Soviet state the popular democratic regime is able to develop the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function to a greater degree than was possible for the Soviet state in its first phase of development.

In carrying out this function, the people's democratic regime relies upon the most diverse economic, scientific-technological and other assistance from the Soviet Union and is drawing upon its extremely rich experience of socialist construction, and upon its culture, which is the most advanced in the world.

The popular democratic regime is thus successfully carrying out the functions of the socialist state in its first phase of development and is the basic instrument for the building of socialism.

The Soviet Union with the vast experience it accumulated in the struggle against its class enemies, the help it is rendering in the work of building socialism, and its defence of the People's Democracies against the economic and political expansion of the imperialist vultures, is facilitating substantially the popular democratic regime's work of carrying out all the functions of the proletarian dictatorship, i.e., the function of suppressing the overthrown exploiting classes, the economic-organizational and cultural-educational function as well as the function of defending the country from outside attack.

In essence Soviets and People's Democracy are completely synonymous: *their content is the dictatorship of the working class*. The only difference is *in the form of political organization of society*.

What are the characteristic features of the popular democratic regime as a new state form of the proletarian dictatorship?

A very important characteristic feature of political life in the people's republics is that in addition to a Communist Party there are other political parties and public organizations which express the interests of the labouring masses and participate in building socialism.

Apart from Communist and Workers' parties the People's Democracies have the following parties and political public organizations: in Poland – the United Peasant Party, Stronnictwo Demokratyczne; in Czechoslovakia – the Socialist Party, the People's Party, etc.; in Bulgaria – the Agricultural Workers' Alliance; in Rumania – the Ploughman's

Front, etc.

All the People's Democracies have *mass popular political organizations of the people's front type*; they are the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria, the Front of People's Democracy in Rumania, the People's Independence Front in Hungary, the National Front in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the Democratic Front in Albania.

The people's front organizations were formed at the initiative of the Communist and Workers' parties, which guide the activities of these organizations. The formation of the people's fronts was a vital necessity as these organizations made it possible to unite all the democratic forces and to use them effectively in the struggle against fascism, for national freedom and independence.

At present in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe these people's-front type organizations unite all political parties and public organizations (trade unions, women's and youth organizations, etc.), embrace the overwhelming majority of the population, and are the political and organizational expression of the alliance between the working class and other labouring classes and layers – the peasantry, artisans, intellectuals – who under the leadership of the working class stand for the solution of the tasks of socialist construction.

These tasks demand the further consolidation of the unity of the working people, the strengthening of the people's fronts, and a still greater enhancement in them of the leading role of the Communist Parties.

The regime of People's Democracy can also fulfil the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat when several parties or public organizations exist, but on the indispensable condition that the Communist Party is the *only* leading and guiding force of the state. The Communist Parties do not and cannot share their leadership. Convinced through long experience of struggle that only the Communist Parties are able consistently to implement the principles of democracy, other democratic parties and political organizations recognized their leading and guiding role and followed them. Therefore the Communist and Workers' parties exercise undivided leadership even when there are other parties in the country.

The governments in the People's Democracies bore or still bear a coalition character. They are formed of representatives of several parties and political public organizations. But the coalition character of the government does not mean that the working class is sharing its power. The working class does not and cannot share its power with anybody; it establishes and exercises *undivided* domination in political life.

However, as the spokesman and defender of *national* interests, the working class is drawing other labouring classes in the person of their political and public representatives into participation in governing the country and in deciding state affairs.

People's Democracy is a real and unrestricted power of the people. It expresses and

champions the interest of all the labouring masses who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. This is a genuinely popular power and registered as such constitutionally through legislation. “The people are the sole source of state power,” says Article 1 of the Czechoslovak Republic’s Constitution. “All power comes from the people and belongs to the people,” says the Constitution of the Bulgarian Republic.

The state system of the European People’s Democracies varies depending on concrete historical conditions, but the principles of the state structure are basically the same.

The people’s democratic republic is a form of the state system of the European People’s Democracies. The parliament elected by all these people on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot is the highest organ of state power in the people’s republics. In Bulgaria and Albania this organ is called the National Assembly, in Hungary —the State Assembly, in Rumania —the Grand National Assembly, in Czechoslovakia —the National Assembly, and in Poland —the People’s Sejm.

The administrative authority in these countries is exercised by the government which is accountable to parliament.

The localities, such as regions, uyezds, districts, volosts, etc., and administered by the local organs of state power, elected by the people. In Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania they are called people’s councils, in Czechoslovakia – national committees, and in Poland – Rady Narodowe.

The social, class basis of People’s Democracy is the unshakable, firm alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry, which was formed in the conflagration of the anti-fascist struggle and became strengthened in the battles against reaction in the subsequent stages of political development. People’s Democracy is implementing the proletarian dictatorship’s supreme principle – the preservation and strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and the leadership of the working class in this alliance.

The Communist and Workers’ parties are the leading and directing force in the People’s Democracies, and this ensures the fulfilment by the popular democratic regime of the functions of the proletarian dictatorship and the development of these countries along the path to socialism.

As was shown above, the leading role of the Communist and Workers’ parties took shape historically and was won in long and bitter struggles for national freedom and democracy against the German and native fascists, against the landlords and reactionary bourgeoisie, against the U.S.-British imperialists and their agents, the Right Social-Democrats and bourgeois nationalists.

After the victory over fascism the question was raised about the further prospects of historical development, and it was only the Communists who pointed out to the peoples the path to a new life without exploiters and enslavers, the path of genuine democracy.

For that reason the prestige of the Communists rose immeasurably among the working people, and the influence of the Communist and Workers' parties increased in all spheres of political life.

These parties ensured the defeat of the reactionary forces and the establishment of people's power. They were the initiators and organizers of the land reforms; the nationalization of industry, banks, transport facilities, etc., was carried out under their guidance. Various bourgeois parties that existed in all the people's republics were reduced to bankruptcy. The people turned their backs on them because these parties strove to set up reactionary order and spared no effort to hinder revolutionary development. The leaders of these parties betrayed the people, went over to the service of the U.S.-British imperialists, and became spies and wreckers.

The Communist and Workers' parties completely exposed the Right Social-Democrats; they showed them to be masked advocates of the interests of the bourgeoisie and agents of the American and British imperialists. Supported by the Communist Parties the Left-wing elements in the Social-Democratic parties broke away from opportunism and went over to the side of Marxism-Leninism. The Right Social-Democrats were expelled from party units.

The ideological, political and organizational defeat of Right Social-Democratism was an important victory of the Communist Parties; it was a victory of Marxism-Leninism over Social-Democratism. This resulted in the liquidation of the split in the labour movement and the formation of unitary working-class parties which based their activities on the ideological and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism. This increased still further the authority and influence of the Communists, enhanced their leading role in all public life, and was an important step in reinforcing politically the popular democratic regime.

Under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties the people solved the task of rehabilitating the national economy in an exceptionally brief space of time and started the building of socialist society.

The Communist and Workers' parties are unswervingly pursuing the policy of proletarian internationalism, and persistently consolidating and developing their friendship with the U.S.S.R., the great socialist state.

These parties are thus a decisive factor that ensures the fulfilment by the popular democratic regime of the functions of the proletarian dictatorship and the successful solution of the tasks of socialist construction.

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The idea of People's Democracy has acquired great drawing power. It penetrates the minds of the popular masses in the capitalist and colonial countries, rouses and rallies them to the struggle against the imperialist enslavers and native reactionaries, for national

freedom, for the development and consolidation of democracy, for world peace, for socialism.

## **10. The British Road to Socialism**

### **Programme adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party January, 1951**

#### **Foreword**

Recent events have compelled us all to consider seriously the policies which have brought the world to the brink of war, and to ask-what is the future for our country?

In pulling forward this programme for discussion, we know that the questions it raises are of deep concern to all workers by hand and brain, who want to find the way forward to an independent, prosperous, Socialist Britain.

In its long struggle to win political, economic and social emancipation the working class of Britain has built up mighty trade union, cooperative and political organisations. It is out of these that the Communist Party was born thirty years ago, at a time when the Movement was at the turning of the ways. Every great political event since then has shown how necessary it was for the Communist Party, inheriting and carrying forward the traditions and socialist aims of the British working class, to take its stand against the influence of capitalist ideas in the Movement. As in the past, so now and in the future, the Communist Party has no interests other than those of the British working class and the British people.

The doubts and heart-searchings felt by so many people about the present situation and the future show that the British people realise that to drift along with the existing economic and social system can offer no hope. The people of Britain can look forward to a better future only if they take their country into their own hands.

This is the message of this programme. It is a call above all to the whole Labour Movement to recall its glorious traditions of struggle for the immediate interests of the working people and to safeguard their future interests in a Socialist Britain. But it is no less a call to the great majority of the British people to join with the Communist Party and the whole Labour Movement in the struggle to win a new future for Britain in the socialist world which history is now shaping.

This programme is not an immediate election programme. It is a programme which charts the future – a programme which corresponds to the needs and the heartfelt desires of the great majority of the British people. We are confident that they will find the way to make it a reality.

## Introduction

The time has come when big changes are necessary in Britain. The past half-century has shown more and more clearly the breakdown of the old society and its inability to serve the needs of the people.

Two world wars, poverty, malnutrition, slumps and mass unemployment have been the lot of the common people. But the millionaires of Britain, the big industrialists and the great monopolists have made their fortunes out of the people's labour.

And all the time Britain, which once led the world in industry and production, has been falling behind the other great capitalist countries.

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, the people of Britain were determined that there should be a change. They wanted to ensure that never again should there be another war. They wanted great social changes which would weaken capitalism and open the way to Socialism.

So at the General Election in 1945 they returned a Labour Government with a large Parliamentary majority. They rejected the Tories, the party of big business, which had ruled Britain for most of the black years between the wars. They supported the Labour Party, which declared that its aim was peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, and Socialism in Britain.

But instead of the promised friendship with the socialist lands, we have been dragooned into an alliance with the worst enemies of labour – the bankers and business men of America – for war against the countries where the workers are in power.

As a result of this policy, Britain has been dragged into an armaments race; prices are rising while wages are held back; and the workers are now being robbed of the social gains won since the war.

Why has the Labour Government thus failed the hopes of the people? Because far from challenging the rights and privileges of big business at home and abroad, it has allied itself with big business against the people.

It joined hands with the Tories and the American big capitalists in an imperialist foreign policy which is ruining Britain.

The Labour Government has formed a war bloc with American imperialism against the Socialist Soviet Union, the New China, the People's Democracies and the colonial peoples struggling for their national liberation and independence.

It has conducted wars against the peoples of Malaya and Korea. It has sold out Britain to American big business.

The Labour Government has imposed a crushing rearmament programme for a new war at the expense of the social needs of the people.

The profits of the big trusts and monopolies are higher than they have ever been. Nine-tenths of the wealth of the country is still owned by one-tenth of the population. The sham measures of nationalisation have only increased exploitation and put still heavier burdens on the workers to pay huge sums of compensation to the old owners.

The capitalists have done exceptionally well under the Labour Government; indeed, they have never been better off. The workers have paid for all this in low wages, higher prices and heavier taxation, while the Labour Government has conducted an offensive against the workers' efforts to secure increased wages. Troops have been used in strikes, hard-won democratic rights have been ruthlessly attacked, strikers have been arrested and prosecuted, and collective bargaining has been turned into a farce by means of Order 1305 and compulsory arbitration.

The talk of Peace and Socialism by the Labour leaders has proved to be a fraud and a deception.

The dominant Labour Party leaders, Attlee, Bevin and Morrison – like MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas before them – have nothing in common with Socialism or the interests of the working people. Their outlook and practice reflects that of the Tories and the wealthy ruling class whose interests they serve, and not the aims of the working people. They are in reality only a left-wing of the Tories, like the old Liberal Party.

Right-wing Labour policy has strengthened the Tories at home and the most reactionary governments abroad. It has confused, disorganised and split the working-class movement and the employers.

It has done this at a time when all over the world vast changes are taking place. A great part of Eastern Europe has gone Socialist and the workers are in power. In the Far East, the Chinese revolution has freed hundreds of millions from the landlords and the foreign bankers.

In the Socialist Soviet Union, great peaceful schemes of new construction are raising the living standards of the people every year. Instead of bringing Britain into close association and friendship with these advancing countries, the Labour leaders in Britain have joined in a united front with the Tories and the American millionaires to attack Socialism and the national liberation movements and to defend capitalism and imperialism.

As a result, the Tories, who suffered a setback in the 1945 election, were able to advance again in 1950, and seek to return to open power.

If the people are to advance, both the Tories and their allies in the Labour Movement, the rightwing Labour leaders must be fought and defeated.

The lesson of the failure of the Labour Government is not the failure of Socialism. It is the failure of Labour reformism and Labour imperialism, which is the servant of the big capitalist interests.

Britain's problems can be solved only by a completely new programme and policy, which ends once and for all the ownership of Britain's wealth by a tiny exploiting minority, and establishes the real political and economic freedom of the people.

Such a programme is the Programme of the Communist Party. It represents the true interests of the entire Labour Movement. It represents the true interests of the overwhelming majority of the British people – the industrial workers, farmers, professional people, scientists and technicians, housewives – against the handful of big landlords, bankers and monopolists who exploit them.

### **Peace and Friendship with All Peoples**

The Communist Party fights for lasting peace as the vital need of the British people.

The First World War dealt a crippling blow to Britain and opened the long years of decline under Tory rule. The Second World War weakened Britain still more. The Labour Government's policy has led to greater economic difficulties and domination by American big business. A third world war, under modern conditions of atomic warfare, would bring untold destruction to Britain and the British people.

It is capitalism which gives rise to the danger of war. The big capitalist Powers have forcibly conquered or subjected to themselves the territories of other nations so that the big trusts can have an opportunity of squeezing out their super-profits. They have fought between themselves, as in the First World War, to conquer each other's territories and colonies, to rob those countries.

The unity of the Soviet Union, America and Great Britain brought about the defeat of Nazi Germany and fascist Japan – whose big trusts were seeking new countries to exploit – in the Second World War.

Since then the Soviet Union has fought for a lasting peace to follow the people's victory over fascism, a peace based on national independence, colonial freedom, and a democratic and demilitarised Germany and Japan. But American big business, afraid of the advance of the people's forces throughout the world, and wanting to control great areas so as to obtain its vast profits, is trying, as Hitler did, to dominate the world. Especially is it hostile to the Soviet Union, because it fears the advance of Socialism and the working class. American big business is backed and assisted by reaction in Britain, by the Tory and Labour Party leaders.

It is this aggressive policy which has undermined the allied unity of the war years, divided the world into two camps, the war camp and the peace camp, and created the danger of a third world war.

Imperialist America, leading the war camp, has conducted aggressive war in Korea, is threatening China, and rearming Western Germany. It has war bases all over the world, and in the interests of a handful of exploiters tries to dictate to all nations and to crush popular struggles for freedom. It piles up atom bombs and colossal offensive armaments, and is openly preparing for a third world war.

It is already dictating what policies the countries of Western Europe, including Britain, shall pursue in rearmament and foreign trade: it aims at the forcible suppression of colonial liberation movements and at organising an aggressive war against the U.S.S.R.

The peace camp, with the support of lovers of peace all over the world, works for world peace and international co-operation, the freedom and equal rights of all nations, the banning of the atom bomb, and reduction of armaments. Socialist countries do not need colonies or spheres of investment for obtaining super-profits. As their production is for the people's needs and capitalist profits abolished, they have no need to "conquer" markets, but only require honest trade on a free and equal basis. A socialist foreign policy can only be a policy of peace.

Despite the acute danger of war, the Communist Party declares that a third world war is neither necessary nor inevitable.

The Communist Party rejects the "theory" of the inevitable war between the socialist and capitalist camps. On the contrary, it declares that the peaceful co-existence of socialism and capitalism is possible, on the basis of mutual respect for national rights and independence. Communist policy is for trade with all states on a mutual, honest basis, and co-operation with all States in the preservation of peace through the United Nations, in strict accordance with the Charter.

The Communist Party brands as a lie the charge that Communism is to be imposed by aggression and conquest, and declares that social transformation can only come through internal changes in accordance with the actual conditions in each country.

A lasting peace is the vital need for all peoples and a main aim of Communist policy.

It is an aim which can and should unite the people of Britain, whatever religious or political views they hold. Their united action can be decisive for the preservation of peace. That is why all organisations and individuals who really want peace are working to develop a mass movement for peace.

The plans for a third world war, openly prepared by imperialist America and its supporters in Britain – the Churchills and Attlees – would make Britain the principal war base for an aggressive atomic war against Socialism in Europe and Asia. Already the

rearmament programme carried out on American orders threatens the social standards of our people, weakens our whole economic position, disrupts Britain's peaceful production and trade, destroys civil liberties, and still further undermines our national independence. Two years' conscription has been imposed, and reservists are being called back to the Forces.

A third world war, waged with atomic weapons, would annihilate our major cities, blot out millions of our population, and throw Britain back for centuries. It could only end in a dreadful catastrophe for the British people.

A free, strong and independent Britain is essential for the preservation of the peace of the world. The national interests of Britain, as well as the very future of the British people, demand that Britain finish once and for all with the American policy of aggression and world conquest. To follow that policy can only end in national disaster for Britain.

**Britain should free itself from all war alliances and entanglements, like the Atlantic Pact; and all colonial wars of invasion of other people's countries, as in Malaya and Korea; and bring home the troops which are at present used to occupy and dominate subject countries all over the world.**

**In conformity with the Potsdam Agreement between the Great Powers, it should oppose all attempts to rearm Germany and recreate a West German Army. In association with France, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., Britain should work out a common policy for a united, democratic peace-loving Germany.**

**Britain should oppose the rearmament of Japan.**

**Britain should associate its efforts with the Socialist Soviet Union, People's China, India and all peace-loving countries to promote peace and international cooperation between the Great Powers, strengthen the United Nations as the bastion of peace, and prevent it from being used as an instrument of war.**

**As the country most vulnerable to atomic warfare, and most weighed down by the burden of armaments, Britain should take the lead in pressing for the banning of the atom bomb and all weapons of mass destruction, with international control and inspection, and for the all-round reduction of armaments.**

**As a country greatly dependent on world trade, Britain should oppose all restrictions on international trade imposed by the U.S.A., and especially should promote East-West trade, which is indispensable for our recovery.**

Unless such a policy for peace is fought for and won, the post-war gains of the class will be completely lost, and there can be no lightening of the burdens on the working people, improvement of living conditions, or solution of Britain's problems.

The future of the British people, their prosperity and welfare, and the victory of the aims of Socialism in Britain, are inseparably bound up with the united international struggle of the peoples of all countries for peace, freedom and national independence.

## **National Independence of the British People and of All Peoples of the British Empire**

The Communist Party fights for the national independence and the true national interests of the British people and of all the peoples of the British Empire.

The subjection of Britain to American imperialism is a betrayal of the British people in the interests of big business and of those who are planning a new world war. In the economic sphere, Britain has been turned into a satellite of America, and an American monopolist placed in supreme command of Britain's industry and American economic controllers and supervisors established in London and reporting to Washington. American big business controls our financial policy, imposes trade restrictions and bans, openly dictates policy, as in the case of devaluation, and is extending the network of American financial penetration and control over British industry. In the military sphere, Britain has been turned into an American base, and the American army of occupation is growing. The new arms programme was decided on American instructions, and under the Atlantic Pact, Britain's armed forces have been placed under an American Supreme Commander. The British Empire, similarly, has been subjected to increasing American financial and military penetration.

For the first time in its history, our country has lost its independence and freedom of action in its foreign, economic and military policy to a foreign power – the United States of America.

The Labour Government and its advisers dare take no major step without American permission, and the leaders of the Tory and Labour Parties compete with one another in servility to the Americans. The leaders of the Labour and Tory Parties have become spokesmen of a foreign power.

Concerned only to defend capitalism and profit, the Labour leaders and the Tories openly betray Britain's national interests. Such differences as they allow themselves with America are those of the bankrupt junior partner striving to retain what it can in face of American pressure.

The restoration of British national independence, which has been given away by the leaders of the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties, is the indispensable condition for Britain's recovery and political, economic and social advance.

The Communist Party declares that the leaders of the Tory, Liberal and Labour Parties and their spokesmen in the press and on the B.B.C. are betraying the interests of Britain to dollar imperialism. Our call is for the unity of all true patriots to defend British national interests and independence.

We stand for a Britain, free, strong and independent. We want our country to be subordinate and subservient to no foreign power, but to stand in friendly association and equal alliance with all powers that recognise and respect Britain's national interests.

The Communist Party would break with the policy of sell-out to America. It would restore to the British Parliament its exclusive sovereign right to control the country's financial, economic and military policy, close the country to foreign capitalist penetration and restore the command of the British Armed Forces to British commanders.

To restore control of its own affairs to Britain, so that Britain's power could be used on the basis of an independent foreign policy, would be a great contribution towards the preservation of world peace.

The Communist Party therefore rejects all theories which declare national sovereignty to be out of date and thus seek to justify enslavement to American imperialism or aggression against other nations. Real international co-operation can be based only on the sovereign freedom and equal rights of all nations, great and small. Because of this, the cause of Britain's national independence is bound up with ensuring that all nations in the present Empire also enjoy full national rights and independence.

Within the British Isles, the enforced partition of Ireland and the maintenance of British troops in Northern Ireland must be ended, to enable Irish national unity to be realised. There must be full recognition of the national claims of the Scottish and Welsh peoples, to be settled according to the wishes of these peoples.

Above all, the Communist Party would solve the question of the relations of Britain with the countries of the British Empire.

The enemies of Communism declare that the Communist Party, by underhand subversive means, is aiming at the destruction of Britain and the British Empire. But it is a lie, because it is precisely the Tories and the Labour leaders who are doing this by their policy of armed repression and colonial exploitation. British colonial policy and armed repression have resulted in the undying resistance and hostility of the people of Malaya, Africa and Egypt towards Britain.

In fighting to impose Syngman Rhee on the Korean people and in supporting reactionary puppets in South East Asia and the Middle East, it has earned the hatred of the people of Asia, and thus placed our country at loggerheads with the majority of mankind.

The colonial policy of the Tory and Labour leaders is not only a crime against the colonial peoples, it is draining away our manpower in endless colonial war, and has cost, and will continue to cost, hundreds of millions of pounds. It has disrupted the production of food and raw materials. It can only weaken Britain still further. The colonial peoples struggling for national liberation can never be subdued.

The Communist Party would put an end to the present abnormal relations of colonial war and repression between the British people and the peoples of the Empire by establishing durable friendship with them on the basis of equal rights. This act of historical justice would help to wipe out the bitterness of the past, and would enormously strengthen Britain on a new democratic basis.

**All relations between the peoples of the present Empire which are based on political, economic and military enslavement must be ended, and replaced by relations based on full national independence and equal rights. This requires the withdrawal of all armed forces from the colonial and dependent territories and handing over of sovereignty to Governments freely chosen by the peoples.**

**Only by this means can Britain be assured of the normal supplies of the vital food and raw materials necessary for her economic life, obtaining them in equal exchange for the products of British industry, needed by those countries for their own economic development.**

**This would provide the basis for a new, close, fraternal association of the British people and the liberated peoples of the Empire. Only on this basis can true friendship be established between the peoples of the present Empire to promote mutually beneficial economic exchange and co-operation, and to defend in common their freedom against American imperialist aggression.**

### **People's Democracy – The Path to Socialism**

Only by the establishment of Socialism can Britain's problems be finally solved and its people guaranteed a good life, lasting peace and steadily rising living standards.

Socialism means an end to capitalist profit and exploitation, for it will deprive the capitalists of their ownership and control of the factories and workshops, mills and mines, banks and land, shipyards and transport, and ensure that production is organised for the use of the people and not for the profit of the tiny minority of capitalists.

Socialism means an end to slumps and unemployment, to which the capitalist system gives rise because it restricts the consumption of the mass of the people, while the productive power of society constantly increases. Because it abolishes the capitalist profit system, Socialism means that the workers' purchasing power will always keep pace with increases in production.

Socialism means peace and an end to the danger of wars, because under Socialism there are no longer capitalists who want to conquer new markets, and to exploit the colonial and dependent peoples and cheap labour.

Socialism ends all the restrictive policies of capitalism in regard to the working people. It ends the gulf between poverty and plenty, and frees the creative energies of the people

and the productive resources of the nation for gigantic economic, social and cultural advances on the basis of a planned socialist economy.

Socialism means freedom for the people – freedom from poverty and insecurity, freedom for men, women and children to develop their capacities to the full, without fear or favour. For women it means equal rights with men in the social, economic and political life of the nation; for young people, the opening of new opportunities with the whole resources of the country behind them; for the family, a real home life, fuller interests and closer ties based on security and new respect for the individual.

But Socialism means the abolition of capitalism. The Labour leaders do not want to abolish capitalism.

Their so-called “democratic socialism” is a screen behind which they justify their defence of the system of capitalist profit and exploitation, defend the position of the capitalists and monopolists, and seek to prop up the bankrupt capitalist social structure of riches for the few, poverty and low living standards for the many, and ever-recurring danger of slump and war.

The working people of Britain in industry and agriculture form the immense majority of the population and constitute with their families fully two-thirds of the population. To these must be added the great bulk of the clerical and professional workers, the teachers, technicians and scientists, the working farmers, shopkeepers and small business men, whose interests are equally threatened by the big landowning, industrial and financial capitalists, and whose security and future prospects are closely bound up with those of the industrial working class.

Together these represent a mighty political force, fully capable of defeating the present exploiters and rulers of the British people and returning a majority to Parliament which represents the interests of all working people, and a Government determined to carry through, with the active political and industrial backing of the people, a policy that will open out a new and glorious future for Britain.

But at present this potentially mighty political force is split and divided, misled by the propaganda of the ruling class and the policy and outlook of the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party and the right-wing leaders of the trade unions and co-operative organisations, who in practice support the ruling class and carry on the Labour Government in the interests of capitalism.

Despite the democratic rights which have so far been won by the struggles of the people, the real power in Britain is still concentrated in the hands of the tiny section of rich property-owners. They control the land, large-scale industry, finance and trade; their representatives hold the commanding positions in the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Judiciary, the Diplomatic and Colonial Services; they also control the greater part of the newspapers and periodicals, the B.B.C., and the cinemas.

Democracy under present conditions is restricted for the majority of the people by the privilege and power of the wealthy few and their agents, and is being reduced by attacks on the rights of free speech and organisation, and on the right to strike. The democratic rights won by years of working-class struggle must be defended with the utmost strength against the attacks of the capitalists and warmongers and their agents. At the same time we declare that the so-called “free world” is in fact the world of capitalism, in which the capitalist class exercises a disguised dictatorship over the working class. The Labour leaders’ “democratic socialism” has done nothing to change this.

The people cannot advance to Socialism, therefore, without real political power, which must be taken from the hands of the capitalist minority and firmly grasped by the majority of the people, led by the working class. Only by this means can democracy become a reality.

The enemies of Communism accuse the Communist Party of aiming to introduce Soviet Power in Britain and abolish Parliament. This is a slanderous misrepresentation of our policy. Experience has shown that in present conditions the advance to Socialism can be made just as well by a different road. For example, through People’s Democracy, without establishing Soviet Power, as in the People’s Democracies of Eastern Europe.

Britain will reach Socialism by her own road. Just as the Russian people realised political power by the Soviet road which was dictated by their historical conditions and background of Tsarist rule, and the working people in the People’s Democracies and China won political power in their own way in their historical conditions, so the British Communists declare that the people of Britain can transform capitalist democracy into a real People’s Democracy, transforming Parliament, the product of Britain’s historic struggle for democracy, into the democratic instrument of the will of the vast majority of her people.

The path forward for the British people will be to establish a People’s Government on the basis of a Parliament truly representative of the people.

Such a People’s Government would:

**Break the power of the millionaire monopolists and other big capitalists by socialist nationalisation of large-scale industry, the banks, big distributive monopolies, insurance companies and the land of the large land-owners, and introduce a government monopoly of foreign trade.**

**Introduce a planned economy based on socialist principles aimed at fundamental social change.**

**Transform the existing unequal imperialist Empire into a strong, free, equal association of peoples by granting national independence to the colonies.**

**Make Britain strong, free and independent with a foreign policy of peace.**

**Break the political hold of the capitalist class by democratic reform, democratic ownership of the press, the people's control of the B.B.C. and the democratic transformation of the Civil Service, Foreign Office, Armed Forces and Police, the Law Courts and the administration of justice.**

The essential condition for establishing such a people's power is the building up of a broad coalition or popular alliance of all sections of the working people: of the organised working class, of all workers by hand and brain, of professional people and technicians, of all lower and middle sections in the towns, and of the farmers in the countryside.

This broad popular alliance of all sections of the people determined to end the arbitrary power of the rich over the future of Britain, can be built only on the basis of a united working class as its decisive leading force – the class that is most concerned in the struggle for a new order of society.

The Labour Party, with its present policy and under its present leadership, is preventing the building up of such an alliance and splitting instead of uniting the working-class movement.

The right-wing Labour leaders act as the main supporters of capitalism, and are doing their best to safeguard the privileges and profits of the capitalists, and providing them with opportunities to continue their exploitation of the British and colonial peoples. They are not carrying through those decisive measures which are urgently needed in the present and future interests of the British working people, but are safeguarding the privileges and profits of the property-owners and their exploitation of the British and colonial peoples.

The present leadership of the Labour Party is disrupting and demoralising the Labour Movement by its poisonous propaganda of collaboration with and capitulation to capitalism, and its betrayal of every principle on which the British Labour Movement was formed.

In order, therefore, to bring about a decisive change in Britain, the millions of workers in the trade unions, co-operatives and individual members' sections of the Labour Party will have to use their political and industrial strength to make it impossible for either the right-wing Labour leaders or the Tones to carry on their present pernicious policy. They will have to rouse all the working people and progressive sections for active struggle against the present policy of surrender to American political and economic interests, against the war preparations and the wars in Malaya and Korea, against the two years' conscription, the calling up of reservists, and the rearming of Germany and Japan. Such a struggle is also necessary to secure higher wages and salaries, more houses, schools and hospitals, the raising of benefits and pensions, and on all issues which affect the people. It is through this struggle that the unity of all workers by hand and brain, of professional people and farmers, can develop into a movement strong enough to defeat the rich and their defenders in the Labour Party and to ensure peace and a future for all working people. Because of this working class unity, the united action of all sections of the working-class movement – Labour, trade union, co-operative and Communist – is the

vital need. Only by united action between all sections of the Labour Movement can the working class rally all its forces and all its allies for decisive action to win a Parliamentary majority and form a People's Government.

**A People's Parliament and Government which draws its strength from a united movement of the people, with the working class as its core, will be able to mobilise the overwhelming majority of the people for decisive measures to break the economic and political power of the big exploiters. The whole legislative and executive machinery of the country will be made continuously responsive to the democratic will of the people, and the whole of the people will be drawn into active participation in the control and administration of every sphere of national life.**

**A key role would be performed by the trade unions, without which no People's Democracy can function. National arbitration would be abolished and full powers of collective bargaining on wages and conditions restored, the socialist economic plan ensuring the basis for steadily advancing wages and conditions. The trade unions would participate in drawing up the economic plan and in the administration of the nationalised industries, nationally, regionally and in every factory. They would participate in the work of the Ministry of Labour and National Insurance and ensure the operation of the labour laws.**

**Similarly, the Co-operative organisations, with their accumulated experience, would play a responsible part in the organisation and control of distribution and supplies.**

**The electoral system would be democratically reformed with proportional representation and votes at eighteen, and the House of Commons would be made the sole national authority, freed from the restrictive influences of the House of Lords and the Monarchy.**

**Men and women who are determined and loyal advocates of the people's power will replace those who uphold the old system in all positions of authority in the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Judiciary and the Diplomatic Service.**

**The millionaire-owned newspapers will be taken over and placed at the disposal of working-class and democratic organisations, so that the policy expressed in these journals is that of the working people, and their influence can strengthen the determination of the people to carry through the decisive changes in the social order.**

**The B.B.C. will be similarly transformed into an instrument expressing the interests of the people in every aspect of its work.**

**Freedom of religious worship will be guaranteed, and all religious creeds and beliefs respected.**

In carrying through these decisive measures to implement the democratic will of the people, every effort of the capitalist class to defy the People's Government and Parliament will be resisted and defeated.

That great broad popular alliance, led by the working class, firmly based on the factories, which has democratically placed the People's Government in power, will have the strength to deal with the attacks of the capitalist warmongers and their agents.

The Government will rely on the strength of the organised workers to ensure that the programme decided upon by Parliament is operated in practice, and that all attempts to resist or sabotage it are defeated; and the enemies of the working class brought to justice.

It would be wrong to believe that the big capitalists will voluntarily give up their property and their big profits in the interests of the British people.

It would be more correct to expect them to offer an active resistance to the decisions of the People's Government, and to fight for the retention of their privileges by all means in their power including force.

Therefore the British people and the People's Government should be ready decisively to rebuff such attempts.

The power of the working people, uniting all sections who recognise the need for social change and participate in carrying it through, as expressed and laid down through the elected Parliament, is alone capable of securing peace, high wages for working people, raw materials for British industry and markets for British goods, and creating the conditions for the establishment of Socialism in Britain.

### **Socialist Nationalisation**

Socialist nationalisation is the cornerstone of the economic policy of a People's Government. It is necessary, not only to break once and for all the power of monopolists, but to place industry in the hands of the people. Socialist nationalisation is necessary to put an end to capitalist profit-making and exploitation of the workers, to ensure control over our economic life and make economic planning a reality, and to lay the basis for a great advance in the living conditions of the people. It is the way to transform the system of capitalist private ownership into socialised people's ownership.

**All large-scale industry and transport, the banks, monopoly-owned wholesale and retail trading concerns, as well as large landed property, will be brought under social ownership by the People's State.**

**The National Debt and stock representing compensation for industries previously nationalised will be annulled. Where concerns are taken over or stock is annulled, there will be partial compensation to those who do not resist the policy of the**

## **People's Government, but no compensation to those who resist the People's Government.**

This socialist nationalisation differs fundamentally from the measures of capitalist nationalisation carried out by Tory, Liberal or Labour Governments, which have nothing in common with Socialism, and have aroused the widespread criticism of the workers.

The capitalist nationalisation measures carried out by the Labour Government have extended only to a limited section of industry, leaving in private capitalist hands the main fields owned by big business from which it draws its profits. This nationalised section of industry has covered mainly auxiliary services, providing transport and power for capitalist industry, which were proving inefficient and even yielding a loss under private capitalist management. Thus these measures of state ownership were beneficial to capitalism as a whole, and in no way changed the capitalist character of British economy any more than similar measures carried out by Bismarck or Hitler, or British Tory Governments in the past.

Socialist nationalisation carried out by the People's Government, by extending to the whole sphere of large-scale industry and trade, the land of the large landowners, and the banks, would change Britain decisively from a capitalist country to a country on the road towards Socialism.

Capitalist nationalisation make no change in the exploitation of the workers, because the compensation paid to the former owners guarantees to them the continuance of their unearned income at the expense of the workers, with the added safeguard of state power to ensure its payment. The capital held by the capitalists remains the same; only the form of stock is changed. But the purpose of capitalist nationalisation is not only to keep up the compensation payments to the former owners. Its aim is also to benefit the employers in the rest of industry by supplying them with goods and services at a cheap rate. It is for these reasons that the workers in the nationalised industries are being speeded up and their wages kept low. Capitalist nationalisation is being used to benefit capitalism as a whole at the expense of the workers in the nationalised industries.

Socialist nationalisation, on the contrary, ends once and for all the robbery of the workers for the benefit of private owners, lifts the burden of rent, interest and profit from the shoulders of the working people, and makes the whole product of industry the property of the whole people.

Capitalist nationalisation is bureaucratically administered. The governing Boards of the nationalised industries are dominated by the former owners or their associates. The change is only a change in form; the workers continue to be ruled by capitalist bosses.

Socialist nationalisation completely eliminates the capitalists and their representatives. The Governing Boards are composed completely of the workers and technicians. All proposals, plans and targets are placed before the workers in every industry and factory for discussion and joint decision. The democratic participation of the workers and their

trade unions in management is thus ensured at every level from top to bottom. With the capitalist class, capitalist profit-making and exploitation excluded, the trade unions and the workers become the main force for raising production, as every increase in production means increased earnings and a higher standard of life.

The ending of capitalist monopoly control of the country's economic, political and social life will free society from the restrictive influences that have held it back, and will generate tremendous forces for the rapid development of industry, trade and social services, bringing security and far-reaching improvements in the conditions, not only of the working class, but of the professional workers and of the middle sections of society.

Socialist nationalisation will thus make available for social use immense wealth that has hitherto gone to build up the capitalist profits and power of the rich property owners.

It will enable the Government, with the co-operation of the workers and technicians, to end restrictions and bring about a great increase in production, to re-equip and reorganise industry on the basis of a national plan to increase the productive resources of the country, improve wages and working conditions, reduce prices, extend all social services, and remove forever the danger of economic crisis and unemployment.

Co-operatively-owned productive and consumers' enterprises will be encountered and assisted to develop, taking over appropriate services now in the hands of the monopolies.

Small shopkeepers and business men, as well as small landowners and farmers in the countryside, will be freed from restrictions imposed by the monopolists, and will benefit from the rising turnover resulting from the new conditions.

Foreign trade will be made a Government monopoly, serving the interests of the people; and trade will be developed with all countries.

Special attention will be given to the development of agriculture, helping the working farmers and encouraging the development of co-operative marketing and use of machinery, bringing all available land into cultivation, and with the help of modern agricultural science increasing the output so as to reduce Britain's dependence on foreign supplies of basic foodstuffs.

## **Social Services**

The ownership and control by the people of all the main productive and distributive resources of the country will provide the means necessary for the reorganisation and extension of all social services, and the direct participation of the people in administering them.

A Government representing the interests of the working people will do what no other Government can do – solve the housing problem for the people. It will proceed at once with the building of a really adequate number of new houses, the taking over of empty

and half-used houses for the working people, and the clearing of the slums. With the land of the big landowners and the principal building and building-material enterprises in the hands of the Government, and with the ending of interest payments, it will be possible to build large numbers of houses and flats at low cost, to be let at low rents. The large country houses of the rich will be taken over for use as holiday rest homes, sanatoria for adults and children, and similar social purposes.

There will be an end to workers' contributions to social insurance funds, which will be provided entirely by industry and the Government. All benefits will be raised to a level which enables old-age pensioners, the war disabled, ex-Servicemen and women, and all those temporarily or permanently incapacitated from work, to live a decent life, and to give children full opportunity for health and strength.

The present health services will be extended into an effective and comprehensive State Medical Service, manned by an increasing number of doctors and specialists, so as to give free and efficient service to the working people and their families. New hospitals and sanatoria will be built, as well as Health Centres and Clinics in every locality. The improvement in the health of the people that will result from better housing conditions and a higher standard of living will be further helped by the provision of more sports grounds and open spaces, swimming pools, and other facilities for keeping fit and the healthy enjoyment of leisure.

The present educational system, with its structure of class privilege barely modified by successive reforms, will be completely transformed into a single comprehensive system giving all children the best facilities and the fullest opportunities for development. There will be an end to restrictive selection, which now deprives so many children of full educational opportunities. There will be an end to the privately owned schools and the so-called "public schools" where the children of the rich are trained as members of the ruling class. The rapid growth of industry and agriculture, with the application of the most modern technique, and the rapid extension of all social services, together with the raising of the qualifications of the workers and the of the educational system itself, will require a much larger and increasing number of trained people and specialists in every sphere. The increase in the number of schools required to provide all children with adequate educational facilities must therefore be accompanied by a similar extension of the universities and technical colleges, and the children of working people must be assisted to take full advantage of these extended facilities.

The principle of equal pay for equal work for women will be applied at once throughout the public services, industry and trade: the provision of crèches and nursery schools in adequate numbers will help to remove the practical difficulties in the way of women playing their full part in the life of the nation.

The young people of the country will be made the first charge on the nation's resources, and the education and health services will be supplemented by greatly increased facilities for young people to develop in an all-round way and become useful citizens with full opportunities in every sphere.

## **The Communist Party and the Way Forward**

The way forward to the achievement of the aims of this programme lies through the united action of the working people. That is why the Communist Party calls upon all working people to unite and fight now for peace and to protect and improve their standards and living conditions; to win increased wages; to combat high prices, taxation and rents; to defend their trade union and democratic rights; and in this daily struggle to strengthen and extend the unity, organisation, solidarity, confidence and political consciousness of all sections of the workers.

The Communist Party has no separate interests from the rest of the working class, the organised labour Movement and the whole of the working people. It therefore works for unity of all sections of the people behind a People's Government that will end the rule of the rich and carry through the change to Socialism.

The Communist Party unites in its ranks the vanguard of the militant socialist fighters of the working class, inheriting the traditions of generations of struggle of the democratic and working class movement in Britain. Its policy and programme is based on the impregnable foundation of Marxist theory, the science embodying the experiences of the international working class, as developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and demonstrated in history as the theory and practice which brings victory to the working class and socialism. History proves that without such a Party the battle for Socialism cannot be won.

Devoting all its efforts to winning the Labour Movement and the majority of the British people for the fulfilment of this programme, the Communist party calls for the support and enrolment in its ranks of all workers, trade unionists, co-operators, Socialists and all progressive people who recognise the necessity of basic social change and the socialist reconstruction of society, and who are prepared to play their part in the realisation of these glorious aims – a free and happy, strong and powerful Socialist Britain in free association with the Commonwealth nations.