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THE GREAT CAMP OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM

Kommunist, No 7,
Moscow, May 1954

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Our epoch has no equal in its historic significance. Mankind is passing from a structure of society characterized by exploitation to a society without exploitation of man by man. Capitalism, the last exploitative society, has become a burden on the backs of humanity, a brake on historical progress. As a social-economic system it has outlived itself, and its final disappearance from the face of the earth is only a matter of time.

Historical development has completely confirmed the views of Marxism as to how socialism will replace capitalism. Marx showed that the destruction of capitalism and the victory of socialism were inevitable, for the way for them is prepared by the operation of objective laws of social development. But capitalism will not disappear as an automatic consequence of its own bankruptcy or by a "peaceful growth" to socialism, but as a result of the revolutionary actions of the masses. The birth of a new social structure, without the exploitation and oppression of man by man, will be accompanied by social and political upheavals. The great October socialist revolution was the first confirmation of this thesis of Marxism-Leninism. It was followed by the popular revolutions in the countries of central and southeastern Europe and by the revolution in China. All this shows the truth of scientific Communism, confirming that the transition of mankind to a new social order proceeds according to natural law, and no forces of the old world are able to stop it.

Actual events are corroborating the conclusion of Lenin that the transition of nations from capitalism to Communism constitutes a whole historical period, in which one nation after another falls away from the system of capitalism and moves over to the camp of socialism.

This is explained by the inequality of the economic and political development of the various capitalistic countries in the period of imperialism and by the variety of conditions under which the nations live. Therefore, the single natural process of revolutionary change from capitalism to socialism inevitably takes place in different forms in different nations.

In the period after World War I, when the chains of imperialism were broken in one country, Russia, the situation in the whole world substantially changed. World War II resulted in new links in these chains being broken. New conditions gave birth to a new form of the exercise of the power of the working class: whereas in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat took the form of the Soviets, the practical historical conditions of the struggle in a number of countries gave birth to the People's Democracy as one of the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As a result of the falling away of one country after another from the world capitalist system, there now exists alongside the capitalist states a large group of countries in which capitalism has been overthrown. The development of these countries is proceeding along the road to Communism.

A third of the population of the globe has already been liberated from the yoke of capitalism. In the course of a brief period of history, many states in Europe and Asia, among them such great powers as the USSR and China, have broken away from capitalism. There has been formed the camp of the democratic states, the camp of socialism -- the greatest achievement of the twentieth century. The formation of this camp is the greatest result of the revolutionary struggle of

STAT

peoples for the creation of a new society, for the destruction of a world of social injustice, exploitation, and national oppression. This is a great milestone on the road to the liberation of the workers, who are the really creative force of history.

The countries making up the camp of democracy have advanced varying distances on the road to Communism, depending on practical circumstances. The Soviet Union has already built a socialist society and is successfully accomplishing a gradual transition from socialism to Communism. The European people's democracies have laid the foundations for socialism and are on the verge of achieving complete victory of socialism in all branches of their economies. In the new China, which is developing socialist industrialization, the socialist sector of the economy is being steadily strengthened and the capitalistic one is being gradually crowded out. Despite this difference, all these countries have a common path of social and economic development, a common ideology, and a single final goal. This unites them in one economic and political whole -- the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, opposed to the camp of imperialistic aggression, of suppression of the democratic rights of peoples, and of exploitation of the workers.

In an immense area, equal to a quarter of the land surface of the globe, the life of the people has radically changed. In social production here the economic laws of capitalism, which give rise to a cruel competitive struggle, crises of overproduction, impoverishment of the masses, and unemployment, have ceased to have a dominating effect. With the transformation of the basic means of production into social property, new economic laws have arisen and begun to operate; they lead to an uninterrupted increase of production and a continuous growth in the material well-being of the masses of the people. The elemental operation of the laws of capitalist economics has been changed in the USSR and is being changed in the other countries of the democratic camp by deliberate regulation of social production in accordance with the laws of such production, which society has come to know and has made to serve society. For the first time in history, conditions have finally been created in which productive forces have unlimited scope for their development and in which the basic productive force of society, the workers, are freed from exploitation and receive all the fruits of their labor.

The structure of the state in the countries which have thrown off the yoke of capital is the most democratic in the world. It provides the maximum opportunity for the expression of the popular will and guarantees the maximum rights of the individual. Since power is in the hands of the workers, socialism assures a real rule of the people. Heretofore in history, the lot of the workers has been only hard, involuntary labor. The working people, who created all material values, without which society could not exist, were kept out of any part in the government of society. The commanding positions in the state were occupied by the exploiting class, who lived on the labor of the masses.

In the political life of the countries of the democratic camp, the working man, for the first time in history, has been moved to the foreground. He who plays the principal role in the life of society, and to whom society owes its very existence, also governs the life of society and stands at the helm of the administration of the state; his will and his interests have been made law. Such an organization of the life of society cannot help but attract the hearts of workers throughout the world.

The working class, the leading class of the present age, stands at the head of society in the countries of democracy and socialism. Having won the trust of the broad mass of the people of the city and the country, particularly of the working peasants, the working class achieved the revolution and set up its dictatorship. Having gained the possibility of realizing its final goals, the

STAT

working class carried on the work of the building of socialism, not in separation from the great mass of all the laboring people but together with them in a firm union with the working peasants.

The great Lenin idea of the union of the working class with the peasantry, first successfully realized in the Soviet Union, has now been repeatedly confirmed by the experience of a new group of countries which have set out on the road to socialism. The working class of the European people's democracies and of great China, following the example of the working class of the USSR, are successfully solving the most difficult problem of the building of socialism -- getting the participation of the peasantry. With the most attentive, thorough consideration of the interests of the peasantry, the working class is remaking the conditions of life and the psychology of the broad peasant masses. This experience has tremendous international significance, especially now, when the proletariat in the capitalistic countries is appearing as the organizer and leader of a widespread democratic movement, uniting the most diverse levels of the population under the banner of the struggle for peace, national independence, and the democratic rights of peoples.

Under the conditions of real freedom attained by the countries of the democratic camp, great creative forces have been brought to light which were latent in the masses of the people. The working class, in union with the working peasantry, has shown its ability to create the most perfect state in the world. This is all the more significant in that the working class had had no experience in the administration of the state, which had been in the hands of the exploiting class. Since coming into power, the working class has shown far greater creative ability in the field of state administration than all the ruling classes before it. Although the bourgeoisie prides itself on its democracy, which allegedly assures "equality" and "freedom" in society, the bourgeois state is the same instrument in the hands of the exploiters as were the slave-holding and feudal states. It is only the socialist state which not only proclaims equality and freedom, but also assures its realization in fact, having provided the material conditions for it.

The same may be said of the economic organization of the life of society. Capitalism is shaken by periodic economic crises; stocks of "surplus" goods in capitalist countries are senselessly destroyed at the same time that the great masses of the people lack enough to eat and millions of unemployed undergo indescribable suffering. The working class, having taken the dominant position in society, has organized the economy on a scientific basis, has put an end to anarchy in production, and has proven that it can administer modern, large-scale, complex production better and more effectively than the bourgeoisie.

The workers and peasants of the democratic countries have produced from their own ranks hundreds of thousands of able organizers of production and statesmen who in a short time have mastered all the fields of state administration. They also produced military leaders who on the battlefields of World War II were able to bring about the defeat of the mightiest military machine that the bourgeoisie ever had -- the army of Hitler.

The bourgeoisie created the legend of its own "indispensability," asserting that if power were to pass into the hands of the "common people" it would mean an end of human culture and the loss of all the attainments of past ages. But the working people have been in power in the USSR for 36 years, and in the countries of central and southeastern Europe for almost 10 years, and these years have shown that the greatest achievements of culture not only have not been lost, but, on the contrary, have been added to, and have become the property of the masses of the people, who are carefully preserving all that is valuable in the heritage of the past. The leading culture in the world is being developed in the countries of the democratic camp. And while the bourgeoisie is demonstrating

STAT

its spiritual sterility, there have arisen from the mass of the people in the democratic countries, gifted writers, artists, and musicians, creators of a new culture, nationalist in form and socialist in content.

Thus, in the countries of the democratic camp, there is being confirmed in practice the truth long ago proclaimed by Marxism: the people are the real creators of history. In past forms of society, as well, the people were the moving force of history, but only under socialism did the people become masters of their fate; they now create for themselves. The awareness of this fact strengthens to a tremendous degree the role of the masses, the moving force of social development.

The experience of the countries of the camp of democracy irrefutably proves that the workers themselves, without capitalists and landowners, can build a new society, govern the state, and create material and cultural values. This fact exercises a revolutionary influence on the popular masses in the capitalist countries, where, under the influence of the propaganda of the rightist socialists, a certain part of the working class is still infected with a lack of confidence in its own powers.

The creative, constructive activity of the masses in the countries of the socialist camp is inspired and directed by the Communist and workers' parties. The great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, and the Communist and workers' parties of all the People's Democracies stand before the whole world as the greatest organizing, creative force of historical development, remaking the world in conformity with known laws of social development.

Absorbing the wisdom and the practical experience of the masses and guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the parties of the working class have attained great successes in the economic and cultural development of their countries and in the creation and strengthening of democratic state organization.

In the leading country of the democratic camp, the Soviet Union, there has been attained a complete unity of the party, the government, and the people as a whole. In China and the European People's Democracies, the Communist and workers' parties lead and are followed by the great majority of their peoples. This means that in the camp of socialism, the goals of the political leadership and the goals of the mass of the people coincide.

The democratic camp, with its economic achievements, is having a great effect on the course of history. At a time when in the capitalist countries natural resources, tremendous production capabilities, and human labor are being expended in the armaments race and for the enrichment of the exploiters, the efforts of the democratic countries are being directed primarily toward development of peaceful branches of production, toward raising the well-being of the people. In the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and all the European and Asiatic People's Democracies, the masses of workers of the capitalist countries find an inspiration for their struggle for radical democratic reforms in their own countries, for peace, and for security.

The main task of socialism is peaceful development with the aim of continuously raising the material and cultural level of the life of peoples. The socialist revolution liberates peoples from the yoke of capitalism in order basically to improve the life of the toiling masses. Socialism lets the masses immediately experience the benefits of the popular revolution. Such gains as the elimination of unemployment, health service for the people, universal education, and social insurance come into the possession of the workers soon after the revolution.

STAT

While under capitalism the great mass of the people are inevitably deprived of the good things of life which could be provided them by the present-day level of development of the forces of production, there goes on under socialism a constant raising of the material well-being of the workers. This requires an enormous development of the forces of production. However, immediately after the triumph of the revolution, there were not yet adequate material bases in any of the countries of the democratic camp for the immediate solution of this main task of socialism.

In the course of history, several major powers in the capitalist world have stood out as those which had built up heavy industry for themselves by robbing other nations. Under the conditions of capitalism, industrialization was made extremely difficult for many countries. Among these in the past were China, Rumania, Poland, Hungary, Albania and Bulgaria, which were economically backward, agricultural, and dependent countries. More than half of their production consisted of the products of agriculture, in which the bulk of the population was engaged. There was no development of heavy industry or machine-building. Mainly, only light industry had been built up, and its equipment was extremely outmoded. These countries were dependent on the major capitalist countries for everything, serving as sources of raw materials for the latter. Although Czechoslovakia was an industrial country, it, too, was dependent on the industrialized capitalistic countries for the means of production.

Therefore, for the maximum satisfaction of the needs of all the members of society, the People's Democracies had to follow the example of the USSR and begin, with industrialization, to create the material and technical foundation for socialism. Industrialization, that field of tireless creative work, constitutes a great epoch in the life of all the democratic countries. The Soviet Union was industrialized under exceptionally difficult conditions without any help from the outside. The European People's Democracies have begun to build socialism with the development of their own industry and supported by the help of the USSR; China is beginning with the same.

The democratic countries have all the natural resources necessary for industrialization. The leading country of the democratic camp, the USSR, leads the world in reserves of petroleum, iron ores, manganese ore, apatites, potassium salts and other minerals. The People's Republic of China leads in reserves of such important raw materials as tungsten, antimony, tin, oil shale, and natural sulfur, and is one of the leaders in coal, iron ore, aluminum ores, etc. Great mineral resources are concentrated in the European People's Democracies. Rumania and Hungary are first in Europe (not counting the USSR) in petroleum reserves; Hungary is one of the first in reserves of aluminum ores (bauxites); Poland leads in zinc ore reserves, and is one of the leaders in reserves and production of coal. The People's Democracies also have important other mineral resources (manganese ores, lignite, graphite, ferrous and nonferrous metals, etc.). The socialist camp has more than a third of the world's forest area, and the major part of the water power resources. As a whole, the socialist countries have everything necessary for modern industry, including the raw materials for the production of atomic energy.

Depending on the enthusiasm of the masses in the political and labor field and utilizing the experience and assistance of the USSR and their own natural wealth, the countries of the democratic camp have developed industrialization. At present, the volume of industrial production in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania is more than three times the prewar level. Poland, for example, was one of the last countries in Europe before World War II in industrial production; now it has already surpassed Italy and provides on the average almost as much industrial production per capita as France. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary have become industrialized countries with well-developed agriculture. Industry provides more than 70 percent of their gross

STAT

production. Rumania and Bulgaria have been converted in a short time from agricultural countries to industrial-agricultural countries, in which more than half of the national income is derived from socialist industry. Industrialization has strengthened the position of the working class and has created the basis for socialist transformation of agriculture.

Not one of the People's Democracies could have made such a rapid advance by itself. These successes were made possible by the brotherly assistance of the USSR and the mutual support and close cooperation of all the democratic countries. The Soviet Union is supplying China and the People's Democracies with the most modern technical equipment, particularly with the complete equipment for entire plants, as, for example, for the metallurgical combine Nova Huta [Huta imienia Lenina] and 40 other plants in Poland, for 141 plants in the People's Republic of China, for metallurgical combines in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, for electric power plants in Bulgaria, for a textile combine in Albania. The supply of the most important types of machines and also of iron ore, cotton and many other goods from the USSR almost completely meets the needs of the People's Democracies. The USSR is giving extensive help to these countries in the planning and construction of industrial plants and in mastering the problems of their operation, handing over, free of charge, patents, descriptions of industrial process, and other technical documents.

Never in the history of the world's industry has a highly industrialized country not only refrained from holding back the industrialization of other countries, among them small countries, but also effectively and in a brotherly spirit helped them, as the USSR has helped these countries. The USSR, satisfying the needs of these countries, has sent them equipment and specialists for the sake of the progress of the whole camp of socialism.

The varied assistance given by the Soviet state is accelerating the building of socialism in the People's Democracies, strengthening the camp of socialism as a whole, supporting the cause of peace, and, at the same time, helping to create more favorable conditions for the gradual progress of the USSR from socialism to Communism. Thus the strengthening of the camp of socialism is the most important condition for the building of a Communist society in the USSR and socialism in the People's Democracies.

The efforts of the masses of the people, supported by help from the Soviet Union, is now creating in the European People's Democracies the necessary material and technological basis for a sharp rise in the production of consumer goods. The Communist and workers parties of the democratic countries are carrying on a struggle for constant improvement of the life of the people and for increasing the production of food and of durable and attractive consumer goods. The production of such goods grows from month to month. In the Soviet Union it has been 60 percent greater in 1954 than in 1950. The Fifth Five-Year Plan for the products of light industry will be fulfilled ahead of schedule, by one year. Measures are being taken to accelerate the development of light industry, the food industry, and agriculture in the European People's Democracies. Appropriations for housing construction, health, education, and social insurance are increasing. The trend toward further raising the standard of living is most strikingly shown in the lowering of prices. In the USSR, the prices of consumer goods were recently lowered for the seventh time since the war. In Czechoslovakia, in April, there was the third and greatest lowering of prices since the war. Prices in Bulgaria have been lowered four times in the past 2 years. In Hungary, in the past year, there has been one general lowering of prices and two on particular commodities.

The Chinese people, until recently enslaved by the imperialists and landlords, have risen to a new level of life and in an unprecedentedly short time have achieved outstanding successes. They have successfully carried out the tasks

STAT

of the first year of the Five-Year Plan, the goal of which is to lay the foundations for industrialization of the country and ensure a continuous growth in the proportion of the socialist sector of the national economy. New industrial plants, mines, oil fields and power plants have been put in operation. As a result of the great agrarian reforms, the peasants have received land and have gotten rid forever of the age-old oppression of the landlords.

Millions of people in China have obtained work, social insurance has been introduced, and days off and annual vacations for workers and employees have been established. Hundreds of thousands of workers' families have been re-housed in well-arranged living quarters. Large sums have been allocated for medical service to the population. Real wages of workers in state enterprises have increased in recent years to 75 percent more than they were in 1949. The income of the peasants has greatly increased. Under the Kuomintang regime, the peasants gave up two thirds or even three fourths of their income to the landlords as land rent. In the new China, they are freed from the extortion of the landlords.

United around the Communist and workers' parties, the workers of the Soviet Union, China, and the other countries of the democratic camp look forward confidently to the future. They are on the road to the creation of an abundance of material and cultural blessings for the complete satisfaction of the needs of the ordinary toiler, the rightful owner of all the wealth now being created, as it has been for centuries past, by the labor of the people.

Relations Among the Socialist States

Among the peoples and states of the democratic camp, new, brotherly relations have been built up. While the imperialist camp is split by sharp contradictions and a cruel competitive struggle, peace and friendly cooperation reign in the democratic camp. This is obvious indication of the superiority of the new forms of life established in the socialist part of the world.

The coming into being of a large group of socialist states constitutes a new epoch in the history of human society and presents a new problem of the organization of relations between them. This problem could not arise earlier, when the USSR was the only socialist state in the world. The solution of this problem is of practical importance today and is of great interest with regard to the future.

According to the classics of Marxism-Leninism, socialism is an era of peace and brotherhood between peoples. The socialist society makes the hopes of the people for an increase of social wealth depend, not on the conquest of other countries and the robbing of other peoples, but on the development of their own forces of production, on technical progress, on bringing the whole population into productive work, and on raising the productivity of labor. Here the relations between peoples are characterized by close cooperation and brotherly mutual aid. These relations are formed taking into account, as Lenin pointed out, that differences of states and nations "will still persist for a long, long time even after the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world-wide scale."

These general theoretical propositions of Marxism have now been translated into reality in the brotherly interrelations of the USSR, the People's Republic of China, and all the People's Democracies. Practical forms of economic, political, and cultural cooperation were found by joint efforts, and thereby were laid the foundations for relations between the countries of the socialist camp.

In the vanguard of these countries marches the great Soviet Union, which has progressed further on the road to Communism than any other country. The might of its industry and agriculture, its achievements in the cultural field, and its great experience in the building of socialism is making progress toward Communism easier for other peoples.

STAT

The union and friendship between the two great democratic countries, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, is immensely important in strengthening the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism. The friendship of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples, cementing together the democratic camp, has been strengthened in the process of the long struggle of both peoples for freedom, independence, and socialism.

The distinctive feature of the relations between the socialist countries lies in the fact that complete political and economic independence of each country is combined with close economic ties among the countries which make up a single socialist system of world economy.

The economic independence of these countries was won, in the course of the struggle of the peoples for fundamental social reforms, without any interference of foreign capital in determining the lines of their development. In each of them, socialized production is organized as an independent national economy with its own proportions and relationships. Each country independently determines the main lines of its economic policies and the plans for the building of socialism, taking into account the level of production attained, the nature of its natural resources, the fields of economic activity which have been built up in the past, the availability of qualified manpower, foreign trade requirements, etc.

The organization of socialist production within national frameworks makes possible, in the present stage, the fullest utilization of natural resources, the rational distribution of the forces of production, and the inter-related development of the branches of the national economy. All the social product produced in the country remains in its control and is used for further expansion of production and for the increase of the well-being of the people. The pumping out of the national wealth by foreign capital has now been completely eliminated.

At the same time, each democratic country is developing as a component part of a wider economic whole, forming a world system of socialist economics. Although each remains independent, the democratic countries voluntarily enter into close economic relations with each other, thus enjoying the advantages of a system-wide social division of labor, based on the principles of equal rights and consideration of the interests of each country.

In the economic relations of the socialist countries there is no place for a competitive struggle for sources of raw materials and for markets, for a striving by one country to weaken another, etc. On the contrary, the motto of each participant in the new democratic world market is to help one another in the interests of common advancement.

Therefore, an essentially new, socialist division of labor has been formed in the democratic camp. Capitalism condemns the weak countries to the position of agricultural appendages of the industrial powers and results in an unbalanced, one-sided, abnormal development of some branches at the expense of others and to the detriment of the interests of the people of the weaker countries. This is completely eliminated in the camp of democracy and socialism. Each country, with the help of the other countries of this camp, has full opportunity to develop a well-rounded economy and to create the necessary conditions for the fullest satisfaction of the needs of its people. At the same time, the democratic countries, by mutual agreement, each develop especially intensively those branches of production for which the most favorable conditions exist within its borders, this in order to satisfy not only the needs of its own people but also

STAT

those of the other participants in the democratic market. For example, Czechoslovakia concentrates its efforts on heavy machine building; in Bulgaria and Albania mining is developing more rapidly; in Poland it is the coal and chemical industry; in Rumania, the petroleum industry; in Hungary, the aluminum industry; etc.

Supplementing one another in the new world market, the democratic countries are able more fully to utilize their resources and save on effort and material, concentrating on those branches of production, the development of which will produce the greatest results.

The basic form of economic relations between the national socialist economies, in the present stage, is trade. The exchange of products takes place in the form of buying and selling; i.e., the products of labor, including the means of production, are directed to the world democratic market as goods [for sale]. Exchange by buying and selling is necessary in the present stage in relations between these countries, because the owners of the goods, the states, conduct their planned economies on the basis of strict accounting for the costs of production, for which they must be reimbursed in the exchange. Hence it follows that the law of cost does play a certain regulating role in economic relations within the democratic camp, since the governments, in fixing prices, use the real costs of goods as a guide. However, the operation of the law of cost here is limited: the socialist countries themselves, by voluntary agreement and in accordance with planning, determine the volume of goods to be delivered and the prices on them. Here the non-equivalent exchange (neekvivalentny obmen), so characteristic of the capitalistic market, is completely eliminated.

Along with trade, other forms of economic cooperation are being developed which are possible only between countries in which public ownership of the means of production prevails. Ever since the European People's Democracies and China began long-term planning, there has been a coordination of national economic plans between the democratic countries. Direct cooperation in production has also been developed, as is evidenced in the formation of mixed companies in the fields of industry and transportation: Soviet-Chinese, Soviet-Rumanian, Czechoslovak-Hungarian, and others. Thus, for example, Rumania and Hungary are building jointly a great gas-chemical combine in Rumania and a chemical combine in Hungary, the natural gas for which will be supplied by Rumania. The production of aluminum from Hungarian bauxite has been organized in Czechoslovakia. The electric power networks of Rumania and Hungary and of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic are being linked together.

In political relations, as well, each democratic country is a sovereign independent state which conducts its internal and foreign affairs independently. There has been ended forever the former dependent position of these countries, when their ruling classes obediently followed in the wake of the policies of the imperialist states to the detriment of the national interests of their own peoples.

For example, what was the sovereignty of Poland worth in the past, when the share of foreign capital in her major industries amounted to from 50 to 85 percent, when the Polish bourgeois governments were tools of the big imperialist powers? Only socialism makes possible real national independence and complete self-government of nations. The transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of society creates conditions under which the sovereignty of each country takes on real meaning. The countries of the democratic camp religiously respect one another's sovereignty. The strengthening of their sovereignty and their complete national independence have become an inspiration for the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the capitalist countries for their own freedom and independence, especially now, when in the capitalist world, the principle of national sovereignty is being trampled under foot, and many bourgeois countries are becoming dependencies of American imperialism.

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The countries of democracy and socialism, while remaining sovereign and independent, at the same time present a solidly united front to the capitalist world. This is not the usual political union or coalition of states. This is a new form of voluntary political cooperation, characterized by a complete coincidence of interests of its participants. The unity of the democratic countries rests on the fact that the basic interests of the workers, who are in power in all these countries, are identical and merge in a common movement toward Communism.

The community of interests of the countries of the democratic camp makes it possible to solve, on the basis of mutual agreement, the most difficult problems, problems which were insoluble before when the exploiting classes were in power in these countries. Among such problems, now finally solved by peaceful means, are the complicated problems of the position of national minorities, the demarcation of borders, the reuniting in single states of several peoples which were split up by invading conquerors in past centuries. Another such problem is that of the relations of the German Democratic Republic with her neighbors. It is well known that in the past, the ruling classes, both in Germany and in the adjacent countries, stirred up nationalism and chauvinism, setting one people against another. Now, since the formation of the German Democratic Republic, which is building the foundations of socialism, the situation has fundamentally changed. Relations of trust and friendship have been established between the GDR and her neighboring democratic countries.

The unity of the countries of the democratic camp by no means prevents, but, on the contrary, encourages the full development of each nation. The economic power and the international prestige of each democratic country is constantly growing. The national culture of the peoples is coming into full flower. Each of them has its own material and spiritual value in the common progress toward socialism and Communism, which more and more enriches the democratic camp as a whole.

Cultural exchange is growing and cultural cooperation is being developed between the countries of this camp. Each of the peoples can now become well acquainted with the achievements of the others. The old barriers have fallen, and the peoples of China, Poland, Hungary, and other countries can now learn about the most advanced culture and ideas of the Soviet Union. Now Soviet books are published in the People's Democracies in tens of millions of copies. Hundreds of millions in these countries see Soviet films. The achievements of Soviet science are widely utilized. At the same time, in the Soviet Union, there is a tremendous interest in the achievements of the People's Democracies in the fields of science, literature, the theater, and moving pictures. Frequent tours in the USSR of theatrical productions from the People's Democracies, exhibitions of the works of their artists, concerts by their musicians, and publication of their books help to satisfy this interest. The countries of the democratic camp give each other extensive assistance in the training of young scientific and technical personnel. All this helps to enrich the cultures of the People's Democracies and to develop the culture of each of them.

The imperialists of the US openly talk about their plans for the restoration of the capitalist system in the countries which have broken free from the oppression of capitalism. They want to put an end to the rule of the people, deprive these countries of their national independence, transform them into pawns of these imperialists, and tear them away from the camp of democracy and socialism. All these undertakings are built on sand. The liberated peoples have done forever with capitalism and subjugation and have finally and irrevocably set out on the road to socialism. United around the Communist and the workers' parties, the free peoples as a firmly united family march forward to the building of a new life. In vain are the efforts to break up the great union of the free peoples.

STAT

Coexistence Held Possible

The camp of democracy and socialism is a mighty bulwark for peace throughout the world. The democratic countries, having eliminated forever the sources of conflict among themselves, unitedly strive for the firmer establishment of peace and cooperation between peoples all over the earth. An active struggle for peace results from the very nature of the socialist countries, where the people are in power. They cannot be indifferent to the fate of other peoples, still subject to capitalism. The countries of the socialist camp, striving for peace and security, are acting not only in their own interests but are also carrying out their international duty to the workers of the whole world.

For many years the Soviet Union alone, surrounded by hostile capitalist states, pursued a policy of peace and friendship between peoples. By its consistent support of peace and security, the Soviet Union won great prestige in the international arena and the support of millions of people.

Now that the socialist camp has been formed, a whole group of democratic states are pursuing the policy of peace and friendship between peoples, as a result of which there has been a manifold increase in the effectiveness of this policy. The distinctive feature of this peace-loving policy is that it serves the interests not just of the socialist countries but of all peoples. This characteristic of the foreign policy of the democratic countries has been demonstrated in recent times in such matters as the problem of Germany and of Korea, and in the cessation of hostilities in Indochina.

The policies of the democratic camp are of intimate concern and understandable to all peoples. The Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and other democratic countries, guided by the principles of equal rights for all nations, stand out against all forms of national oppression and remain ever sympathetic to the struggle of oppressed peoples for freedom and independence. The formation of the camp of democracy and socialism has given great new support to the national liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries. Although these countries have not yet broken free from the system of capitalist exploitation, they cannot be said to belong unconditionally to the imperialist camp, for they are the victims of imperialist robbery, and their independence is either completely trampled under foot or is severely restricted by the colonial powers. The rightful striving of these countries for an independent national development leads to a sharp conflict between them and the imperialists, who are trying to preserve the system of colonial oppression. It is just for this reason that the sympathy of more than a billion people in the colonial world is not with the camp of the imperialists, but with the socialist camp, which is striving for the freedom and independence of all peoples.

American imperialism's striving for world domination arouses deep indignation among the masses of the people. The postwar development of world events has seen a steady growth in the isolation of the American imperialists on the international scene, a decline in the prestige of the US throughout the world, and a growing opposition of the peoples of the world to the policies of the ruling circles of the US.

As is well known, the American aspirants to world domination carry on their aggressive policies under the same flag of anti-Communism as that under which Hitler operated. But history shows clearly that there is no power which can prevent the victory of Communism. As a system of concepts, Communism reflects the objective laws of the development of history and shows the inevitability of the transition of society to a higher way of production. These concepts correspond to the fundamental interests of the masses and inspire all oppressed peoples to the struggle. No matter how the forces of reaction try to stop the spread of Communist ideas, these ideas will continue to win more and more new adherents. No "policy of strength" will help the imperialists in their painful efforts to "root out" the ideas of Communism.


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The "policy of strength" is a frank, open proclamation of force as the basis of policy, the cult of the use of undisguised pressure and threats in international relations. Here is a primitive ideology: might makes right. The history of bourgeois diplomacy certainly does not shine with just and humane solutions of international problems, but until now no one has ever praised force (nasiliye) as a basis for policy with such cynical frankness as does Dulles and the other trusted servants of monopolistic capital, who translate into the language of political speeches the greedy striving of the imperialist monopolies for power over the whole world, for seizure of the territory of other countries, and for the oppression of other peoples.

However, the apologists of the "policy of strength" do not take into account several generally known facts. Force makes an impression on the weak, but the socialist camp is by no means weak. The threat to use force may frighten the weak in spirit, but it cannot frighten the workers of the democratic camp, who have passed through the fire of the revolution and the severe trials of the past war.

Thus the "policy of strength" has no chance of success. As is well known, efforts to put it into practice in Korea and in Indochina ended in failure. And if the foreign policy leaders of the US continue to extol force as a method of solving international problems, that only shows that they have failed to learn the lessons of experience and are continuing to make unprincipled, reckless opportunism (avanturizm) the basis of their policy.

The countries of the democratic camp propose the surest method of solving international problems -- mutual respect for national sovereignty and common search for those solutions which would strengthen peace and universal security. The American proponents of aggression assert that in our time, when the world is split into two opposing camps, it has become impossible to find solutions acceptable to both sides. Nothing is more false than this assertion, put forth to justify the "policy of strength" and the armaments race.

The countries of democracy and socialism, striving for a decrease in international tension, proceed from the premise that a long coexistence between the two systems -- socialist and capitalist -- is possible, that it is possible to arrange practical business cooperation between countries with different social systems, and that there exists a real basis for this. This real basis, above all, is the deep interest of all peoples, independently of their social systems, in the preservation of a long and secure peace. This interest grows with each day, especially in connection with the revelation of the tremendous danger of the use of weapons of mass destruction. Further, all countries are interested in uninterrupted and extensive trade with one another. As we know, the ruling circles in the US, Great Britain and France in the postwar years began to carry out a policy of economic discrimination against the USSR, China, and the other democratic countries. Experience has shown the complete groundlessness and powerlessness of such a policy in the face of irresistible economic factors. Trade relations between the East and the West continue to expand, and the capitalist countries of western Europe are beginning to renounce economic discrimination. The democratic camp is proposing peaceful economic competition between the two systems, being confident of the complete superiority of the socialist system of national economy over the capitalist system. Finally, the exchange of cultural achievements and the development of cultural ties between peoples constitute fertile ground for the cooperation of the different countries.


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Thus, the field for cooperation between countries belonging to different social systems is very broad. Cooperation for the preservation of peace, economic relations, exchange of cultural achievements -- on such realistic bases there could, and should, be organized a system of contemporary international relations, including countries of the capitalist camp as well as those of the camp of socialism.

The proposal of the Soviet Union for the creation of a single organization of European security and for the entry of our country into the North Atlantic Union is a concrete embodiment of the idea of cooperation between the two social systems. Instead of narrow, closed groupings of powers, each opposing the other, the Soviet Union proposes an organization of states, united by a common interest in the preservation of peace in a given part of the world, on the basis of the principle of collective security. In this spirit, the representatives of the People's Republic of China at the Geneva conference put forward the proposal for cooperation of the countries of Asia for the preservation of peace. This cannot be viewed otherwise than as a further development of the idea of cooperation between countries belonging to different social systems.

In the West, they are trying to cast doubt on the possibility of creating such an organization of collective security. However, there is no basis for such doubts. The experience of World War II, when there was formed a coalition against Hitler, completely proved the possibility of cooperation, in the interest of the security of peoples, between countries with different social systems. In such a cause as the preservation of peace, different countries are fully able to cooperate, consulting with and giving assistance to each other even to the point of military assistance, and creating permanently operating general political and military organizations, as the project for a General European Agreement proposed by the Soviet Union at the Berlin conference.

The idea of an organization for collective security in Europe is more and more occupying the minds of the peoples of the world. There is no doubt that international public opinion, which received with great interest the proposal of the Soviet Union, will steadfastly seek its adoption. Is there any possibility that the leaders of the imperialist camp would enter into negotiations and that there would be achieved a real settlement of international problems in the spirit of cooperation between the two systems? This question will be decided by an active striving of the peoples of the whole world for a relaxation of international tension. Belief in the possibility of such relaxation is based on the fact that in the present era the influence of the people on world politics has grown to a tremendous degree. The clearest evidence of this is the experience of World War II.

As we know, certain circles in Britain, France, and the US then had the goal of eliminating their chief competitors, Germany and Japan, and securing for themselves domination of the world capitalistic market. However, the masses of the people, recognizing and understanding the danger of Fascism, had another goal: the complete destruction of German and Italian Fascism and Japanese militarism, as being the shock brigades of international reaction, bringing enslavement to the people. The leading role of the USSR and the active participation of the people in the fight against this danger established the liberating, anti-Fascist character of the war. The growing participation of the masses in determining the fate of mankind is exercising ever greater influence on the solution of contemporary international problems as well. The will of the people brought into being the Berlin conference, and then the Geneva conference, no matter how the imperialist circles of the US tried to disrupt them.

The world movement of the Partisans of Peace is having an ever greater effect on the course of world events. Now, in contrast to the situation before World War II, the Partisans of Peace do not have to depend only on their own

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moral righteousness. They know that all the power of the camp of socialism is placed in the service of the cause of peace. This greatly changes the outlook for the solution of the problems of war and peace, and creates for all supporters of peace new possibilities which never existed before. Only by an unyielding struggle will the people of the earth be able to preserve peace and prevent the imperialist aggressors from plunging mankind into a new war.

Cause of Capitalism Hopeless

Since the formation of the camp of democracy and socialism, we face again the problem of the capitalist encirclement of the USSR. Now the Soviet Union is not the only socialist state in the world, and its relations with the capitalist countries cannot be considered apart from the relations between the two camps.

The problem of capitalist encirclement, as we know, is the problem of the threat of intervention and of attempts to restore capitalism in a socialist country by the forces of international imperialism. When the USSR was the only socialist country, international imperialism several times made attempts to restore the power of the capitalists and the landlords in the Soviet Union, helping the forces of internal counterrevolution and organizing intervention and economic blockade. But the Soviet people, with the support of the workers of the whole world, beat off these attacks. Even then the single country of socialism forced the capitalist world to reckon with her might. Now, having built up their heavy industry and first-class armed forces, the workers of the Soviet Union constantly strengthening their defenses, have delayed the attack of the capitalist countries and have used each day of peaceful labor to expand the building of socialism.

Now the USSR is no longer an island in the midst of capitalistic countries. The mighty camp of democracy and socialism, uniting a large group of countries which occupy an immense territory and have a population of many millions, now stands against the capitalist world. Firm political and economic ties solidify the democratic countries into one mighty force. All hostile attempts to split up this great union are shattered against their unswerving determination to advance together toward socialism and Communism. In the capitalistic world, itself, there have arisen forces which are struggling for socialism or are sympathetic with it.

Our enemies should know that their encroachments on the liberty and independence of the democratic countries, bound together by ties of comradely cooperation and brotherly mutual assistance, will always meet with unanimous resistance by the peoples who are building a new life. This means that to organize intervention against the socialist part of the world under present conditions is immeasurably more difficult than it was, say, 20 or 30 years ago. There can be no doubt that the capitalist camp would suffer complete failure if it dared to attack the socialist camp, which is growing stronger every day. Such a military venture would lead capitalism only to ruin. This is the real situation, confirmed by the experience of two world wars and arising from the present interrelationship of the forces of the two camps, and from the status of the world workers movement and the national liberation movement.

Does this mean that the danger of intervention and of attempts at restoration of capitalism has now been completely removed? No, it does not. As long as there exist capitalistic countries who have not abandoned hope for the destruction of the international workers movement and its citadel, the camp of democracy and socialism, there will exist also the danger of an attack on the democratic countries; attempts will be made to organize intervention against them. This is a common danger for the whole camp of socialism. The struggle against it is the common cause of all the peoples of this camp, for the fate of

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socialism in each of the countries liberated from capitalism depends on the outcome of the struggle between the two world camps. A combined struggle for the preservation and strengthening of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism and against the encroachments on it by the imperialist aggressors is the sacred obligation of the workers of the democratic countries.

The peoples of the democratic camp must be ready for any eventuality. The more hopeless the situation of the doomed classes, the more stubbornly they will try by means of force to change the irreversible course of events. For their schemes, the imperialists still have at their disposition extensive material resources and organization for production, as well as classes of their populations which have been deceived by chauvinistic propaganda. The danger of an impending economic crisis is intensifying the hesitant aggressive attempts of the imperialists.

The imperialist camp is furiously preparing for a new war, ceaselessly arming itself, piling up weapons of mass destruction, forming new military blocs, and extending its network of military bases. Intensified efforts are being made to scrape together "revanchiste" armies in West Germany and Japan. By every means of political and economic pressure and blackmail, the American imperialists are trying to make the western European countries hasten the formation of a "European army" and are forming an aggressive bloc in Asia. The imperialist countries are sending their agents into the countries of the democratic camp, trying in every way to revive the counterrevolutionary underground.

In the presence of the danger of a new war, the workers of the Soviet Union and of the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia are devoting all their efforts to strengthening the camp of socialism. Strengthening this camp means steadily expanding economic development, advancing industrialization, developing heavy industry, improving the well-being of the people and strengthening the defense capabilities of all the democratic countries. Strengthening the camp of socialism means developing more and more extensively the economic, political and cultural relations between the peoples of the democratic countries, strengthening the friendship between them and making stronger the international bonds between the workers.

The more the imperialists rave, the greater will be the vigilance of the peoples of the democratic camp. The nations which have thrown off the yoke of capitalism are answering the threats of the imperialists with a further strengthening of their own socialist states. They do not fear threats; they firmly carry out their own policies; they constantly unmask the warmongers; and they steadfastly struggle for peace. The socialist camp threatens no one, but it is ready to answer blow for blow the imperialist aggressors who brandish their atomic and hydrogen bombs. If the imperialists attempt to unleash a new war, the peoples of the democratic camp, steadfastly and determinedly defending the cause of peace, will unselfishly fight for their native lands and will defend the great camp of socialism.

Beginning with 1917, capitalism ceased to be an all-embracing system. The formation of the camp of socialism after World War II still further changed the appearance of the world. The domination of capitalism over the earth now has been essentially broken. The camp of socialism grows stronger with each day, and its existence proves that mankind already has another, higher system of life which has passed through severe trials in the past and is boldly withstanding the attacks of hostile forces. Against the world of exploitation, poverty and a senseless armaments race, there stands a world of planned organization of labor, free from exploitation; a world of continuous raising of standards of living and of well-rounded development of the creative powers of each human being.

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The October revolution and the creation of the camp of socialism changed the course of history and hastened the liberation of mankind from the yoke of the exploiters. The capitalist countries now cannot with ease, as they used to, start wars, suppress the liberation movements of the people, and deceive the masses with secret diplomacy. Now they must reckon with the existence of a mighty, solid camp of democratic countries -- a bulwark of peace and freedom.

It would be wrong, however, to minimize the difficulties facing the camp of democracy and socialism, the leading forces of the present day. The building of Communism in the USSR and the solution of the problems of building socialism in the People's Democracies are being carried on in a struggle with difficulties. The imperialist countries have put and will put all kinds of obstacles in the way of the democratic countries, increasing international tension and creating all kinds of provocations.

But however much the imperialist politicians may rave, the cause of capitalism is hopeless. A profound general crisis is shaking the whole capitalist system. The capitalist world is being eaten away by inevitable contradictions. Social development has undeniably accelerated during the last decades. In all the capitalist countries, the democratic movements of the great mass of the people have been strengthened, as has their stand against reaction and for radical reforms in the living conditions of the people. The struggle for national liberation in the colonies and dependent countries has developed extensively. Everywhere there is growing a universal movement for the preservation of peace. The cause of human progress is invincible; the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism serves as its secure stronghold.

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