

THE PROGRAMME
OF THE LEAGUE OF
YUGOSLAV
COMMUNISTS

EDITION *JUGOSLAVIJA* BEOGRAD

EDITION *JUGOSLAVIJA* BEOGRAD, TERAZIJE 31

THE PROGRAMME OF THE LEAGUE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS

ADOPTED BY THE VII. CONGRESS OF THE
LEAGUE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS HELD
FROM 22 TO 26 APRIL, 1958 IN LJUBLJANA

EDITION *JUGOSLAVIJA* BEOGRAD

1958

The adoption by the League of Yugoslav Communists of a new programme comes at a time of powerful development in socialist relations and socialist social consciousness in Yugoslavia, at a time when socialist forces in the world are growing steadily stronger and the transformation of socialism into a world system is expanding and gaining strength and momentum.

The Communist Manifesto foreshadowed the creation of a new society; the Paris Commune attempted to establish the first dictatorship of the proletariat; but it was not until the great October Socialist Revolution that the epoch of the transition of society from capitalism to socialism was born. Developments in the past few decades have shown that we are living in a period when the capitalist system is gradually declining and a socialist society is being born.

The human race today is moving towards socialism through revolutionary conflict and peaceful processes, through stagnation and crises in society, through a series of transformations which arise from a clash of contradictions, — the old forms disappearing and new ones taking their place. This transition is taking place hand in hand with the advance of science and technology, the development of productive

forces, the strengthening of the political consciousness and the organisations of the working class and other sections of the working community, the liberation struggle of peoples in colonies and dependent countries, and with the influence exerted on capitalist society by the steadily growing socialist forces and the socialist states that have already come into being.

The working class, as the chief force in socialist development in the world, has for more than a century played an active part, both consciously and spontaneously, in the whole field of economic and social relations, changing, by various means and through various forms of action and influence, existing sets of social relations and instituting new ones, creating and developing the practice, experience, and ideology of socialism, and thus becoming, objectively, the chief standard-bearer of the interests and progress of humanity as a whole.

In the past few decades the workers' movement has been the basic driving force behind social progress among the peoples of Yugoslavia; and the Communist Party (later the League of Communists) has acted as its ideological vanguard and organizer.

The peoples of Yugoslavia, the working class and the Communist Party, fighting for national liberation and socialist objectives, found themselves in forward positions, in the centre of a conflict of acute international contradictions, and they had to tackle these contradictions and accelerate social development by revolutionary means, — by fierce, long, and costly struggles. Socialist Yugoslavia was born and reared in the People's Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution. And the Communist Party (later the League of Communists) having successfully

taken charge of the People's Liberation War, the Revolution and socialist development, rose and asserted itself as the leading socialist force in Yugoslavia.

The realization of socialist aims in Yugoslavia is a long and complex process. It is conditioned by the peculiarities of the historical development of the Yugoslav peoples, by their material, economic, and cultural potential, by the degree and rate of development of the productive forces and socialist consciousness of the people, by the activity of conscious socialist factors, and by Yugoslavia's international position and the state of international relations. Success in the development of socialist social relations in Yugoslavia also depends upon the development of socialism throughout the world, since our own socialist movement is part of the world socialist transformation, and the successes achieved by the socialist forces of the world facilitate our own development, just as advances made by our own country contribute to the general revolutionary experience of the workers' movement in the development of socialism.

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists is an organic offshoot of earlier programmes of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia; it strives to give theoretical formulations to the essential experiences that the Communist Party (later the League of Communists) gained in the conduct of the Revolution, the creation of the revolutionary State power of the working class and the working people, in the implementation of socialist social relations, in the transformation of the economic basis of society, and in the realization of all other important tasks in Yugoslavia's socialist development.

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists seeks to formulate theoretically, through Marxist analysis, the general laws of socialist development, and the particular forms of the revolutionary process in Yugoslavia.

The programme of the League of Communists endeavours to give an analysis of contemporary social movements and developments in the world, and it determines the views and attitude of the Yugoslav Communists in regard to the general problems of social, economic, and political world relations.

The programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists sets out fundamental viewpoints on certain essential problems of the present-day international workers' movement and of the development of socialism throughout the world.

The programme of the League of Communists determines the basic tasks of the Yugoslav Communists with regard to their social and political activities in the socialist development of society and of socialist social relations, it formulates ideological conceptions of all the essential internal problems and foreign policy of Yugoslavia, and determines the course to be taken for carrying socialist development in the country a stage further.

Within the general development of socialist ideas, the programme of the League of Communists is the expression of socialist thought at the present stage of Yugoslavia's social development. It is not a code of dogma and ultimate truth. Our future social practice and scientific thought generally will transcend, correct, and perhaps even refute, certain particular positions, views and formulations, and so confirm the revolutionary spirit and the creative conception of the programme. This will be done ac-

according to the social practice and scientific thought of contemporary socialist forces in the world.

The entire development of the workers' movement has evolved through conflicts of views, ideas and opinions. In the final analysis, views and theories which were the objective expression of the laws of the movement of social conflicts in a given period have always been victorious. There are also certain differences of views on some theoretical and practical questions in the present stage of the struggle for socialism. These differences are the expression of dialectical contradictions in the development of society and social consciousness, and in the expression of the creative nature of socialist practice and thought. They reflect all the complexity of the transition period: the tenacity of old conceptions; the convulsions of a social system which is disappearing from the historical scene; and the difficult conditions under which a new socialist society must come into being and develop. Quietude, unanimity of thought and harmony prevail only in metaphysical conceptions of the world. As has always been our practice, we Yugoslav Communists present our views and conceptions frankly and boldly, being convinced that the conflict of ideas and their realization test and confirm the vitality, truthfulness, progressiveness and superiority, and thus also the Marxist scientific value of each conception. We, Yugoslav Communists are convinced that the struggle of opinions and the creative competition of the social practices of socialist forces strengthen socialism, develop social thought, disentangle and transcend the existing contradictions of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Accordingly, the primary aim of the League of Yugoslav Communists, regardless of any

possible errors or inadequate treatment of individual questions, is to create for our working people the widest range of opportunity for further socialist development, thus laying firmer ideological foundations for practical socialism in the country; to foster the work of eradicating the vestiges of schematic thinking, dogmatism, conservatism, revisionism, and, indeed, the influences of bourgeois ideology; to contribute to the elucidation and wider understanding of the current problems of socialist development in Yugoslavia and the struggle for socialism as a whole; to foster, by drawing conclusions from practical socialism in Yugoslavia and from the experiences of others, a more thorough elaboration of critical problems in connection with the further advance and development of socialism throughout the world; — all this to the extent to which our own experience contributes, though in small measure, to the enrichment of the general fund of experience of socialism the world over.

The programme of the League of Communists is the basis of our future activity and struggle. Considering practical experience to be the final arbiter of the correctness of theoretical postulates and the interpreter of ideological concepts, Yugoslav Communists will continue to learn from their own experience and from the experience of other socialist movements, without hesitating to correct what practice may show to be untenable and obsolete. It is therefore, in the very spirit of the programme that it should be transcended by new and even greater creativeness, both in the practice and in the theory of the development of socialism.

C h a p t e r I

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND
POLITICAL RELATIONS IN
THE WORLD TODAY

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY

Pre-monopoly capitalism

The capitalist system in its classical form belongs to the past.

In the period of free competition, capitalism developed the technique of production and the productive forces. At the same time it created conditions and social forces which, in various ways, exerted growing pressure upon it, rendering more acute its internal contradictions, and necessitating a change in the system as such. The decisive constituent of these forces is the working class, which becomes the backbone of conscious socialist action aimed at the liquidation of capitalism.

Developing the productive forces of society extensively, capitalism carried out industrial revolutions in a number of countries, enormously increased the productivity of labour, developed national markets and created a world market. With the ever increasing division of labour on a national and even on an international scale, capitalism expanded the social character of labour, steadily socialising production, which, however, continued to remain within the limits of private capitalist management and private appropriation of the social product.

The development of capitalism brought about the expropriation and destruction of small producers; and it created the working class and exploitation.

The driving force of capitalist production is profit. Private capitalist ownership of the means of production, private appropriation, profit as the aim of production, and anarchy in the development of the capitalist economy, came into increasingly sharper conflict with the social character of production, with the organization of production, and with the general needs of society. A special position in this conflict was occupied by the direct producers, i. e. the exploited hired workers; and side by side with their economic and political aspirations, their role in production became increasingly important.

The development of capitalism went hand in hand with a cumulative amassing of wealth, with an increasingly large concentration of capital and economic and political power in the hands of an ever decreasing number of capitalists, while an ever larger army of exploited proletariat was created, thus leading to the sharpening of the fundamental class contradictions and of the class struggle within capitalist society.

In the period of liberal capitalism industrial development was promoted chiefly in West European countries and in the United States of America, while the great majority of the other countries were producers of raw materials. The industrially developed countries subjugated the raw-material-producing countries thus creating a basis for their own more rapid development and retarding the development of the rest of the world.

It was upon this basis and with these contradictions that the capitalist system developed, a system, whose laws of origin and development and whose inevitability of decay were discovered, scientifically analysed, and explained by Marx and Engels.

Monopoly Capitalism

Monopoly capitalism appeared at a higher level in the development of the productive forces of capitalism, on the basis of the concentration of production, the centralization of capital, and the dominant position of finance capital.

Monopoly capitalism organized social production on a broader basis, merging the enterprises of the same or different

branches and sections of the economy, thus stimulating production and paving the way to its socialization. With the growing concentration and centralization of production, planning within the enterprises was transformed into planning within monopolies and in their interest. At the same time, the inter-connection and interdependence of world economy increased.

The process of the stagnation in capitalist society, its inability to keep in step with the possibilities of further development in the productive forces of society, started with monopoly capitalism. This hastened the process of crises, led to wars on a world scale, to a general crisis of capitalism, and to its accelerated disintegration as a system.

Characteristic of monopoly capitalism are the emergence of monopolies in the developed capitalist countries, the merger of the monopolies, their domination over the world economy and their decisive influence on world politics and international relations. The dominant role of capitalist monopolies led to imperialism — the last stage of capitalism. A scientific, Marxist analysis of the development of imperialism at the close of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century was made by Lenin.

The great changes introduced by monopolies into the economy and into the social structure of capitalism did not, however, abolish the basic laws and contradictions of capitalist society; these laws and contradictions merely acquired new features. Competition began to operate between the monopolies; there was a struggle for monopoly and for the consolidation of monopolistic positions; there were struggles within the monopolies themselves and against those who threatened their positions. This competition acquired particularly acute forms in the international field, through the struggle for markets, for sources of raw materials, and for spheres of influence. And this further widened the gulf between the developed and the underdeveloped countries.

Monopoly capitalism intensified the exploitation of the working class and of the working people, and increased the pressure on the middle classes of society. At this stage of capitalism, the exploitation of other peoples, especially those in colonies, increased and was accompanied by the most ruthless forms of exploitation and oppression.

Monopoly capitalism further intensified the old, fundamental, contradictions of capitalism and created new ones. It accentuated class and political contradictions in individual countries as well as contradictions in international relations. In order to overcome internal and external difficulties, especially the contradictions between the imperialist countries themselves and the contradictions inherent in their relation to the colonial and dependent countries, monopoly capitalism resorted to an ever greater and more direct use of the mechanism of the State, and this increased the tendency of the financial oligarchy to merge with the upper circles of the State machinery.

Monopoly capitalism became a pillar of political reaction. It endeavoured to prevent the development of the workers' movement and large-scale liberation movements, and sought to suppress the influence of democratic public opinion in society. In countries with particularly sharp internal and external contradictions, the most reactionary forces of monopoly capitalism, in order to safeguard their positions from revolutionary movements, as well as to protect their international positions, created fascism and similar types of dictatorship, linking themselves with those forces in the undeveloped countries that were socially and historically most backward.

The struggle of monopoly capitalism for the re-division and expansion of their spheres of influence, for supremacy and domination in the world, led to two world wars and to the large-scale destruction of human life, as well as of social, material, and cultural wealth.

Changes in Capitalist Society and the Rise of Anti-Capitalist Forces

The economic and political contradictions of monopoly capitalism and the imperialist wars intensified the revolutionary struggle of the working class and working people in the capitalist countries, side by side with revolutionary and liberation movements in the colonial and dependent areas. This process led to the

October Revolution, to the socialist revolutions in Yugoslavia, China, and other countries; it led to the establishment of a socialist system in yet other countries and it has led to the liberation and political independence of many colonial and dependent regions.

The new social and economic developments, the political events of the past few decades (the October Revolution, other major upheavals such as the great 1929—1934 economic crisis, and the Second World War), the new victories of the socialist forces in a number of countries, and the disintegration of the colonial system — all these factors have led to further important changes in capitalist society; and in most cases these changes have played their part in the consolidation of state capitalist tendencies and were the result of the action of numerous social, economic and political factors.

These changes were influenced by a number of factors: the development of the productive forces, the increasingly extensive social division of labour, and the accentuation of the social character of production, both in the industrialised capitalist countries and in the world generally. Capitalism, in its hitherto prevailing forms, was no longer in a position to ensure unimpeded expanding social reproduction. Capitalist production relations no longer corresponded to the immensely expanded productive forces which, owing to the advance of contemporary science and technology, continued to develop at an accelerated pace.

The unequal economic development of different regions of the world under capitalism hampered any further advance in the economy of the world as a whole and of the highly industrialized capitalist countries themselves. This inequality could not be overcome in the capitalist relations prevailing between developed and undeveloped countries.

Production changes in the capitalist system itself were also inevitably affected by the numerical growth and the increased organizational power of the working class, by revolutions, uprisings, and large-scale strikes, as well as by the conscious and spontaneous struggle and activity of the working class and the working people in general in political, economic and social fields, in conjunction with their growing influence on and participation in social life.

The socialist revolution and developments in the Soviet Union and a number of other countries helped considerably to strengthen the socialist forces in the world, both by virtue of their influence on the capitalist system and the fact that they offered better prospects for the working class and colonial peoples in their struggle against imperialism and for a more rapid economic and social advance on new, socialist foundations.

The Second World War demanded the maximum effort from the national economies, made it necessary to regulate and channel economic development on a national scale and to implement thorough and comprehensive methods of war economy — and this also influenced the development of state regulatory tendencies in capitalism.

The new successes and zeal of the working class and other progressive forces, which were the result of the victory over fascism during the Second World War, also brought changes in the capitalist system, and these changes were furthered by the epoch-making progress of science and technology after the war.

The liberation movements of the dependent and colonial peoples led to the creation of a number of new independent States which, in order to accelerate their economic and social development and consolidate their independence, did not follow the classical capitalist course of development, but resorted to State guidance and management of their economy; this meant the establishment of State ownership of the basic means of production.

Monopoly capitalism, which had developed into a world economic system, further aggravated the unequal relations which already existed in the world division of labour.

In the colonies, capitalism undermined the traditional social and economic relations and introduced capitalist relations, endeavouring to bind permanently the economy of these countries to the economy of the colonial powers.

The accelerated development of the national economies of the undeveloped countries, and the marked ascendancy of state capitalist forms and relations in the economy, have brought about changes in their economic and social structure; and this has affected the economy of the industrially developed countries,

disrupting their relations with the underdeveloped countries, and so increasing the role of the State in international economic relations.

Together with the expansion of State management in the economic life of individual countries and with the establishment of State ownership, the role of the State in determining the forms of international economic cooperation and in regulating international trade and international finance, has increased; and this is one of the characteristics of contemporary international relations.

For these reasons, State-capitalist tendencies are a significant feature of the developed capitalist countries, and of most of the undeveloped countries as well, though they take different forms and are faced with different problems.

In order to make the growth of social production possible, to mitigate internal social contradictions, and so prolong the life of the capitalist system, the leading forces of capitalist society in individual parts of the world are at the same time compelled to modify this system by transferring certain economic functions to the State, thus weakening its private capitalist foundations and making it less resistant to the ceaseless struggle waged in various forms by the workers' movement and the progressive forces of mankind.

Thus the untenable position of the capitalist system from the economic, social and ideological-political point of view becomes even more evident.

The Growing Role of the State in the Operation and Development of the Economy of Society

The need to change and establish, through State intervention, relations in production and distribution in capitalism is adding importance to the role of the State in the operation and development of the economic life of society. This tendency towards State intervention in the economic activities of society is growing. The State is compelled to undertake individual measures of control over private capital — measures which, it is true, do not affect the capitalist system in essence, but which partially restrict the private management of capitalist property.

The State is assuming an important rôle in the economy by developing various new monetary-credit measures and by manipulating the taxation system to regulate economic life, either directly — by nationalizing whole branches of industry and initiating large-scale State investments — or by restricting the management of private capital and by controlling the distribution of profits, introducing certain elements of economic planning, but mostly by a combined application of all these measures.

As a result of the internal development and changes in the capitalist system, and the conscious and spontaneous pressure of the working class in present-day conditions, the rôle of the State is also gaining ground in the field of labour and property relations, in the field of social rights, social services, and other social relations.

The tendency of producers to influence — through bodies of the most varied character and differentiated rights — the management of factories and the management of the economy as a whole (although such a tendency is still in an initial stage of development) signifies an expansion of the struggle for the democratic rights of the working people and for the leading rôle of the working class in social and economic life.

The emergence of regional and wider international economic organizations, in which some States are directly engaged, represents a new form of economic cooperation and integration, as distinguished from the earlier exclusive activities of private monopolies and private capitalist organizations in this field; on the other hand, this has become a new weapon in the struggle for the establishment of economic and political hegemony by the stronger and more developed over the weaker and less developed countries.

The bourgeois State is thus taking over economic functions at that level of the development of capitalism at which private ownership and private capitalist relations in production become too narrow a framework for the expanded productive forces, a level at which society is no longer capable, on the basis of the existing capitalist foundations, of extricating itself from the crisis and finding the means to further social reproduction, or of developing the productive forces.

These tendencies reveal the efforts of the capitalist forces to adjust themselves, economically and politically, to various requirements: the development of the productive forces; the social and political changes of the past few decades — viz. the growing influence of socialism in the world; the greater role and power of the working class on a national scale. They also reveal efforts to retain the essential elements of capitalist social relations and the privileges of the bourgeoisie.

The process of linking the monopolies and the State administration continues. By taking over considerable economic functions, the State and its machinery acquire their own independent economic basis upon which the new social role of the State apparatus grows in importance. The bourgeois State with its State machinery, in an endeavour to acquire its own independent functions and to place itself over and above society, has an increasing tendency to restrict not only the role of the working class, but also the role of private capital, without affecting the foundation of the capitalist system itself.

In these circumstances, the bourgeoisie, particularly at the highest level, is endeavouring to maintain and develop the greatest possible control over the entire mechanism of the State and of state capitalism, to establish itself permanently and firmly as the leading and guiding political force, so as to preserve capitalist relations and the privileges of the bourgeoisie on a national and international scale.

That is why various reactionary circles in the bourgeoisie, the capitalist monopolies, and the state capitalist bureaucracy, are displaying a tendency to use fascist and other anti-democratic methods in suppressing revolutionary and democratic movements.

The expanded role of the State also fosters the economic and political power of the bureaucracy which, as it gathers strength, tends to establish itself as a relatively independent social and political factor. The greater the balance attained in the political struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class for influence and positions in the system of state capitalism, the more will the functions of the bureaucracy become independent, and the more will it endeavour to preserve state capitalist monopolies and the social privileges of the bourgeoisie. It is on such

tendencies that the nationalist and imperialist ideology of fascism is based — an ideology which endeavours to present the State as a super-class national arbiter in social and economic relations. The greater the influence of the bourgeoisie, the more it will be served by the bureaucracy, which implements its reactionary policy.

The leadership of the working class alone can deprive the bureaucracy of such an independent social role.

CONTEMPORARY IMPERIALIST HEGEMONY

The Struggle for National Independence and Equality

State-capitalist monopoly gives rise not only to a tendency to maintain the existing relations of national oppression and colonial exploitation, but also to a tendency towards hegemony over other peoples, and towards world hegemony. The endeavour to retain the vestiges of classical colonialism which, through the struggle of peoples for independence, has become untenable and is increasingly apt to disintegrate, is not the only manifestation of contemporary hegemony. Imperialist hegemony adjusts itself to formal independence (or rather the formal equality) of nations, so as to make them economically and politically dependent on the countries which possess vast economic and political power. In the struggle for this end, political representatives of the bourgeoisie often use — under present conditions — ideological and political instruments, such as spurious solicitude for democracy, freedom, etc. By abolishing or greatly restricting in this way the genuine independence and equality of nations, the exponents of imperialist hegemony tend to transform them into their economic and political strongholds in a struggle for expansion of their sphere of influence and for one or another form of economic exploitation. For this very reason imperialist hegemony breeds constant dangers of a new world war. Under given conditions, the danger will grow all the more acute if the hegemonic role

of a particular State, or a group of States, is transformed into a strong international system acting exclusively from a position of strength, and if the bourgeoisie based on state-capitalism, is capable of moving and organizing other social forces for the implementation of its hegemonic internal and foreign policy.

The struggle for hegemony is not always exclusively in the interest of the bourgeoisie and state-capitalist bureaucracy of a given country or a group of countries. Under certain circumstances it may win the support not only of the middle classes, but also of certain sections of the working class.

Both Marx and Lenin spoke of the social consequences which would arise when the bourgeoisie in some developed countries succeed in placing certain sections of the working class, or the working class as a whole, in a privileged position in relation to other sections of the working class, or in relation to the working class and the working masses in other countries.

This practice now plays a far greater role in developed capitalist countries than in the past.

The fact is that it is possible for the leading forces of the bourgeoisie to "bribe" out of its extra profits certain sections of the working class; and the higher development of the productive forces and higher productivity enables the developed countries to maintain a higher standard of living than in other parts of the world.

This practice is the direct result of the privileged position held by the ruling forces in the developed countries, in relation to the undeveloped ones. This privileged position was acquired by particular countries, either directly or indirectly thanks to colonial exploitation, non-engagement in wars, definite roles in the international division of labour, or other favourable historical conditions. Privileges of this kind enabled these countries to accumulate superprofits over a number of years and thus make great headway in relation to most of the rest of the world in developing their productive forces; and this has enabled them to maintain — even after the liberation of their colonies — an exceptionally privileged position in their relations with undeveloped countries. Thus even today, when the colonial system is disintegrating with increasing rapidity, the developed capitalist

countries still manage to retain their privileged position, as well as the superprofits which this position entails.

For all these reasons, the ruling circles of these countries are, both economically and politically, in a position to meet, to a large extent, the material demands of certain sections of the working class, and even to satisfy their democratic demands, at the same time making their influence felt on the shape of the latter's political consciousness. This accounts not only for the opportunist attitude which certain sections of the working class adopt towards their own bourgeoisie and state-capitalist bureaucracy, but also for their occasional support of the imperialist or hegemonic policy of the State leadership. The higher standard of living in the developed countries is, thus, to a considerable extent, the direct product of the poverty and dependence of the backward countries; and oppression, violence, and the absence of democratic rights in a great part of the world is the precondition for, and the basis of, bourgeois democracy and political liberalism in a small number of developed countries.

Although it has at its disposal great material power, contemporary imperialism is politically weak and internally unstable. The struggle of peoples for genuine political and economic independence, that is, for genuine equality and independence in international relations, has not relented; on the contrary it is increasing in scope and gaining advantages, while hegemonic pressure, for its part, tends to give greater and greater impetus to the process in which this struggle is linked with the most progressive forces of the working class and with socialism. This means that success in the final liquidation of imperialism must inevitably involve a persistent struggle on the part of the working class and progressive forces in each particular country for their democratic and social demands, for the victory and leading role of the working class, for socialism, and, through the persistent struggle of the people themselves, for their independence.

State Capitalism

In contemporary society there is no pure state-capitalism, because social processes are not and cannot be manifested in

pure forms at all. Contemporary capitalism contains elements of private capital and free competition, together with monopoly capital and the vestiges of small-scale ownership; while the function of the State as a social and political, and particularly as an economic factor, is becoming increasingly prominent. As the transfer of certain economic functions from private capital to the State becomes more frequent (and here the rights of private capital are limited in other ways as well) so new material and social elements in the economy increase their pressure on the capitalist mode of production; and this makes the establishment of socialist relations even more inevitable.

State-capitalism, therefore, is not any specific stage of capitalism; as a tendency it grows out of monopoly capitalism, which has become economically and politically untenable, as it seeks a way out of its crisis by transferring certain economic functions to the State, while retaining the essential characteristics of capitalist relations. In this sense the specific forms of state-capitalist relations may be either capitalism's ultimate effort to survive, or a step towards socialism. Which of these two it will be depends on the strength and conscious political action of the working class, i. e., on the results of its struggle for power.

The working class should guard against the illusion that nationalization of economic functions in capitalism is always tantamount to the socialization of these functions along socialist lines. As long as the bourgeoisie is the decisive force of State power, it will use its economic functions to maintain and strengthen its own capitalist privileges and political position. There can be no automatic transition from the system of state-capitalism to socialism, to the real socialization of the means of production, that is, to such socialization as places the means of production at the service of all the working people, and of each working man individually. This transition can be achieved only through the conscious political action of the working class, through its struggle to attain a leading role in the machinery of government, and through its readiness and ability to use this role to make substantial changes in social relations.

Although state-capitalism relations make it possible to introduce elements of regulation and planning in the economy

of the capitalist social system, these elements cannot relieve the system as such of the crisis with which it has been grappling in the past few decades. Although state-capitalism, unlike liberal capitalism, can, to a certain extent, restrict the free action of market laws so that such restrictions and state intervention can — in so far as there is partial guidance of economic development — alleviate and temporarily postpone periodic crises, these measures cannot “save” capitalism; on the contrary, they show the need for a radical change in the system. In fact, the steadily increasing intervention of the State and its increasingly important role in settling major internal and international economic problems confirms the fact that the crisis in the system itself is becoming more and more acute.

In order to ensure further social reproduction and save what can be saved of the economic and social position of capital, state-capitalism, adjusting the capitalist system to the new conditions, is compelled to undermine the very foundations upon which it rests. In spite of the endeavours made by the upper strata of the State, that is, the capitalist class, to maintain their position, the objective process of development strengthens and expands the social and economic pre-conditions and factors of socialism; it objectively accelerates the disintegration process in capitalism, and makes new political victories of the working class, i. e., of the socialist forces, inevitable.

In spite of the great concentration of power in the hands of the State, the system in its essence, both politically and economically, is weak. The fundamental contradictions and antagonisms within the capitalist system remain: its economic and social mechanism more and more frequently proves to be powerless, the system itself is much more vulnerable to the pressure of the working masses than ever before; and economic and social upheavals are inevitably acquiring far greater political and social significance than formerly. Every major economic struggle now turns into a political struggle, and every major political clash has far-reaching social consequences.

In fact, the process of contemporary social development in the capitalist world is moving in two directions. Economic factors, the efforts of capitalist leadership to avoid economic

crises and revolutionary political upheavals, and the constant pressure, both conscious and spontaneous, exerted by the working class on social relations in general, compel society to follow the course of transferring more and more social and economic functions and means of production to the State. In this process the bourgeoisie, which is linked with the state-capitalist bureaucracy, is endeavouring to maintain as many of its positions and social privileges as possible, mostly through its decisive control over the mechanism of state power. In order to achieve this under the given conditions, the most reactionary forces will, as hitherto, tend to resort to fascism and other forms of brutal political dictatorship. As opposed to this, the working class, consciously and spontaneously, through the most varied methods and forms of economic and political struggle, is exercising incessant pressure for the abolition or restriction of the privileges of the bourgeoisie, fighting to extend and accelerate the socialization of economic functions, to secure decisive influence in the bodies discharging these functions, and to win state power.

The swelling wave of state-capitalist tendencies in the capitalist world is the most obvious proof that mankind is inexorably moving into the era of socialism along a wide variety of different roads, into an era in which socialism is increasingly becoming part and parcel of the everyday life of all mankind. The subjective driving force of this process, however, is still the working class, its social and economic interests, its conscious and spontaneous struggle, and the different forms of its class activities.

Revolutionary, Socialist Transformation of the World

The crisis of capitalist society was vitally intensified and accelerated by the October Revolution, which itself was brought about by the general crisis of capitalism. The first victorious revolutionary socialist change in social relations took place in the Soviet Union, and thus the process of the revolutionary socialist transformation of the world began.

The tides of the Great October Revolution have for forty years now been setting off socialist chain reactions in the social relations of all peoples and of the whole world, encouraging and channelling numerous revolutionary and evolutionary processes towards the achievement of socialist objectives. Interlinked with these processes and continuing in them, the Great October Socialist Revolution has truly developed into a world process of socialist development.

After the Second World War socialist relations were introduced in vast areas of the world, and the forces of socialism rapidly gained strength all over the world. In some countries, as a result of the victory won by the socialist forces in open struggle, in the course of all-out people's revolutions under the leadership of Communist Parties, working class power was established in the specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other countries, the end of the Second World War brought about — in the wake of internal revolts and the advances of the Soviet Army — the overthrow of bourgeois power, the establishment of governments under the leadership of Communist Parties, and the transition period in the building of a socialist society. Thus a large number of countries embarked upon the road to socialism. The chief characteristics of the new socialist system are complete socialization of the means of production — namely, the abolition of private capitalist ownership of the means of production, the elimination of the capitalist exploitation of the working class, and the placing of all economic resources and potentialities at the service of the planned development of the productive forces. With respect to distribution, socialism starts from the principle that work should be the only criterion of the economic status of the individual. In socialism, the capitalist craving for profit is replaced by the common effort of society to satisfy the personal and collective needs of the people to the maximum extent.

In the process of the emancipation of society from capitalist social relations, socialist consciousness represents a major objective force and material power, capable of exercising a powerful influence on the transformation and guidance of social development, provided it is capable of interpreting the objective material

and social-political movements in a creative and progressive way. For this very reason the socialist State, in the first stage, necessarily takes over, to a lesser or greater degree, the entire organization and planning of production. Thus the State becomes a powerful instrument of conscious action directing all means and efforts to achieve definite economic aims, establishing planned socialist distribution of the values created, and thus accelerating the advance of society and securing the necessary material and social-economic preconditions for the further promotion of socialist relations. By accomplishing this, the State also creates the conditions for its own gradual withering away.

Socialism has begun to solve important and far-reaching economic and social problems — which are all the more difficult and complicated because the countries which have, to date, embarked upon the road of socialist construction are comparatively backward and have undeveloped productive forces and a numerically small working class. All of these factors have inevitably placed their stamp on the forms and methods of socialist construction as far as it has gone up to the present. The expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the new prospects of economic growth released the energies of the working people in a measure that has made it possible to accomplish signal results in the construction and expansion of economic strength, especially the development of heavy industry and power-producing resources. Fighting against the anarchy of capitalist commodity production, socialism is in a position to carry out radical changes in social relations in the countryside and to develop modern agricultural production. Socialism has proved to be a social-economic system capable of developing the means of production and stimulating the growth of the national income at the quickest possible rate. This provides the basis of, and leads to, profound changes in the social structure of society, which is particularly manifested in the growing participation and role of the workers and intelligentsia in the forward march of society.

Socialism has definitely ceased to be merely an ideological trend, a political movement, or a social “experiment“. Contemporary socialism has become a material force, an economic, social and cultural factor which is exercising a decisive influence

on social development in the world. By the sheer virtue of its emergence, by its very existence, it operates, by various ways and means, through the conscious action of men, upon social, economic and political processes in all countries, thus changing the capitalist world and itself as well.

*The Influence of Socialist, Revolutionary
Transformation on Economic and Social
Movements Throughout the World*

Under the influence of the results achieved in the development of socialism, economic and social factors assert themselves in the capitalist world and conduce towards the further sharpening of existing contradictions, towards the inevitable socialization of the means of production and, consequently, towards the introduction of socialist relations. At the same time, the subjective forces of socialism are growing stronger, as is also the social influence of the working class. In many countries the working class has already become a social and political factor of such importance that it is capable of exercising, and does in fact exercise, a signal influence on social development and on the current policy of the State leadership. And even when it is not in power, the working class — by virtue of its strength and pressure — keeps fortifying and developing those social and economic factors which break up the unity of the capitalist system and make the victory of the socialist forces inevitable.

Apart from this, in the underdeveloped countries which have only recently thrown off colonial slavery, there are tendencies, capable of coming to the fore, to by-pass the specific stages of capitalist development and build directly the necessary economic foundations for the development of socialism. This course alone can secure the accelerated development of the productive forces in those countries, that is, their emancipation from the fetters of century-old economic and cultural backwardness. In such conditions, even the forms of state-capitalism can play — and do play in certain given periods — a progressive role. The young

working class in these underdeveloped countries, supporting these efforts and fighting for control of the management of the nationalized means of production, as well as for better conditions of life and work, is, at the same time, paving the way for its own decisive influence on state power on the basis of its cooperation with the broadest sections of the working people and progressive movements.

The Further Development of Socialist Forces

The development of socialism in the contemporary world consists of the economic and political influence of the results of socialist construction already accomplished in certain particular countries, combined with various revolutionary and evolutionary processes in the capitalist countries. These processes are developing through revolutionary, parliamentary and other forms of struggle, and through various forms of cooperation and ideological struggle in the socialist and other progressive social movements. The economic and political forces of socialism are expanding, and the degree of the development and stability of socialist relations and the effectiveness of socialist democracy, depend on the strength and subjective efficiency of the conscious socialist forces in the countries concerned.

The further growth of productive forces is also influenced by the development of science and technology. New epoch-making discoveries, such as nuclear energy, electronics, automation, discoveries in the sphere of biology, etc., are accelerating the development of the productive forces of society. And the framework of capitalist society has thus become too narrow for these expanded productive forces.

The capitalist mode of production and the capitalist social system are in their final phase. Man, with his economic and social relations, is moving in many different ways into a period of transformation, towards socialism. Socialism is increasingly becoming the practice of all peoples, because it is becoming a single world process and world system.

This, however, does not mean that capitalism has exhausted all its internal resources and that it can no longer fetter or threaten the leading social role of the socialist forces. The capitalist system is still a powerful world factor. As such, it influences even the internal development of the socialist countries, and particularly essential social developments in the capitalist countries.

Nothing, however, can now halt the further disintegration of the capitalist social system. And the greater the advance of socialist relations in the countries where the power is in the hands of the socialist forces, the more practicable it is for the workers' movement in capitalist countries to use the broad opportunities and the many different forms of struggle available to it, in order to influence the development of society; and the quicker will the process of the disintegration of capitalism be.

In this way the problems of the internal development of socialist countries and of socialist relations generally are becoming the predominant social issue of mankind today. The epoch in which mankind is living today is, more than anything else, the epoch of the birth and growth of new social, political and cultural forms based on socialist economic relations. Socialist thinking is no longer primarily concerned with the overthrow of the old, capitalist system; it is looking ahead: it must solve new tasks in the further development of socialism on the basis of an analysis of the contradictions in which socialism moves forward, and on the basis of the numerous transitional social processes through which socialist relations among people take shape and develop.

Naturally these processes often go through difficult periods of struggle, convulsion, error, groping, and temporary setback. Such struggles and such difficulties have accompanied the blazing of every new trail in the history of human society. The enemies of socialism derive hope and satisfaction from these difficulties and setbacks, but in vain. Difficulties of this type cannot turn back the wheels of history. They only encourage the most progressive socialist forces to discard the obsolete and find a better, more correct path to further advance. The Yugoslav Communists are proud of being able to contribute their share to mankind's great historical mission at the present juncture.

Different Forms of Socialist Development

Contemporary socialism is not, and cannot be, pure and homogenous. Vestiges of the old system intermingle, and the laws of commodity production continue to operate in it. Some of the contradictions and antagonisms characteristic of the closing stages of capitalism are carried over into the first stages of the construction of socialist society.

Socialist development does not follow a straight line. Men build socialism consciously, but in various countries they do so under different conditions: they come into conflict with internal contradictions of varying acuteness, they operate under different influences of spontaneity and of various social and material factors; and, in solving concrete problems, they arrive at different subjective decisions. The aims of socialism are the same, but for various objective and subjective reasons, people realize these aims in different ways and by different means. In the development of socialism, each nation relies upon the experiences of others, but each single one brings to that common experience its own particular contribution, thus enriching it with its own experience.

The uneven development of socialism and the wide diversity of its paths and forms produce a number of internal contradictions in that development, but at the same time they provide a powerful incentive to its further advance, and to the efforts to achieve increasingly progressive and freer forms of socialist relations. Any attempt at fettering these laws of socialist development cannot but lead to reactionary results.

In the course of the construction of socialism, the victorious working class — that is, the most progressive socialist forces — encounters the resistance of different social factors upon whose strength and role both the rate of development and the concrete forms of socialist relations depend.

The Roots of Internal Contradictions in Socialist Construction

Socialist relations depend primarily on the material foundations of society. If the economic foundations are backward and

undeveloped, the stabilization of the leading role of the working class and socialist forces is more difficult, and the construction of socialism is a long process. The leading forces, therefore, turn their attention primarily to building up the indispensable economic foundations. Under such circumstances, the socialist forces are often compelled to make compromises with the small-owner elements and even with the bourgeoisie — to rely temporarily on different forms of state-capitalist relations and methods. The intermingling of all these relations and mutual influences creates a number of contradictions and antagonisms which cannot be simply “passed over” by means of administrative, pseudo-revolutionary measures, since their very roots lie deep in the material foundations. At the same time it is precisely through these contradictions that, under given circumstances, society advances most rapidly.

Significant sources of influence on the development of society are the economic and political vestiges and elements of the old society, i. e., the bourgeoisie — that section of the intelligentsia which is linked with capitalism, small-owner selfishness, small-owner and capitalist tendencies among the middle class, private ownership of the land, etc. The more backward the country, the stronger is the role of these factors, and the more they aggravate internal contradictions and antagonisms. They are also the main source of tendencies toward the restoration of capitalism and bourgeois power. These bourgeois tendencies have, in themselves, no great political force, because the working people do not want the re-establishment of the system of exploitation. They may, however, become a real danger if, as a result of objective difficulties or because of the tendency of the bureaucracy to assert itself, and other negative manifestations, the relations between the leading political forces of the socialist state and the working class should be disturbed.

Another factor of considerable importance which the most progressive socialist forces have to grapple with is the backward social consciousness of the people, including large sections of the working class; then there is the influence of this negative consciousness on social and political bodies. The revolution cannot change overnight the existing economic foundations,

eliminate want and personal material hardships, or change the social consciousness of men which has been formed under conditions of exploitation and poverty. Backward concepts among the working people, the feeling that their needs have not been satisfied, small-owner selfishness and so forth, often join hands with reactionary, ideological and political trends whose origin lies in the remnants of the old society or in other influences alien to socialism.

Manifestations of Anarchy

One of the manifestations of this backward social consciousness is blind destructive anarchism. If displayed among the working class, it is primarily a reflection of blind, spontaneous reactions to the objective difficulties and problems of the transition period, i. e., to the continuing discrepancy between needs and social material possibilities, to an expanding bureaucracy and other distortions and the pressure they exercise on society as a whole. The phenomenon of anarchism is the consequence of objective and subjective weakness in the factors of socialist progress; and it is a reflection of spontaneous pressure by the working class to speed up social advance, and a reflection of undeveloped socialist consciousness. Among certain sections of society, especially among the intellectuals, the middle classes and the petty-bourgeois elements, and also among certain sections of the working class, anarchism often makes its appearance as a reaction to the difficulties of the transition period in general, a kind of retreat from the difficulties of the struggle for socialism, a retreat masked by abstract, pseudo love of freedom. As such, destructive petty-bourgeois anarchism and abstract liberalism are not an independent social and ideological political force, but merely the forerunner of other anti-socialist forces. They pave the way either to greater assumption of power by the bureaucracy or to the emergence of counter-revolutionary forces, which ride such waves (and these include small-owner selfishness and other similar manifestations of a backward social consciousness among the masses) in an effort to re-establish contact with the masses and restore at least some of the privileges which they have lost.

Bureaucratic Tendencies

Socialist development in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism is greatly influenced by State bureaucracy and bureaucracy in general. The victorious working class needs the State, for a shorter or longer historical period, not only as an instrument with which to fight the remnants of the old society, but also in order to establish and consolidate economic relations based on social ownership of the means of production as the predominant social relations. In the period of transition, before society has laid its new economic foundations and established itself firmly upon them, and while still searching for new mechanisms of economic and social management, the socialist State plays a particularly progressive role in managing the economy and in governing society.

Centralized forms of the State management of the means of production, based on various aspects of State ownership and administrative powers of the State machinery have, under certain historical conditions, played a positive role in the development of socialism and, within a given framework, are playing such a role today and will continue to do so in the future. This applies in particular to the less developed countries which have entered upon the path of socialism and in which the specific inter-relation of socialist, state-capitalist and other elements is both an indispensable and progressive factor for a given period of time. This type of State control over economic life is necessary in socialist countries until the principal factors of backwardness have been overcome and the centralized and decentralized social democratic mechanisms of control over the social means of production (the mechanism of the producers, i. e. the working people) have been established.

In carrying out its functions in the economy, the State tends to deprive the economy of its internal driving forces in order to establish and present itself as a social necessity. If these tendencies increase, the State may turn into a factor of stagnation, thus fettering social development, a factor which hampers the establishment of new social mechanisms for carrying socialism a stage further.

Our own experience, and that of other socialist countries, has shown that when the management of the economy is exclusively in the hands of the State machinery, the inevitable result is a growing tendency towards greater centralization of power and closer amalgamation of State and Party machinery, which grow stronger and strive to divorce themselves from society and impose their power upon it.

The roots of the specific phenomena of the period of transition are bureaucracy and bureaucratic deformities in the development of socialist relations. These phenomena spring directly from the tendencies engendered in the political and economic machinery of the socialist State, and they strive to transform the State administration into the master of society, instead of its servant and executive agent. These phenomena especially manifest themselves where the economic preconditions for socialism are weaker and more backward and where the actual social role and influence of the working class is small.

Bureaucracy and State bureaucratic tendencies are a kind of last echo from the old social relations; they tend to distort the development of socialist relations, primarily by maintaining, extending, or restoring various aspects of state-capitalist relations or methods of management in conditions when such relations and methods are no longer tolerated by the productive forces and the workers.

The danger of bureaucracy lies in the fact that, like any other disease, it enfeebles the whole organism of socialist society, and thereby stimulates and fortifies anti-socialist forces and tendencies. Bureaucracy, above all, inevitably cuts the ties between the leading political forces and the working class, thus sharpening all internal social contradictions.

The Development of Socialism and the Overcoming of Internal Contradictions

The ideological expression of these tendencies of bureaucracy are such phenomena as: conservatism, dogmatism, statist-pragmatic revision of the basic scientific premises of socialism, that is,

of Marxism-Leninism, and the creation of the "cult of personality". Ideological tendencies of this type, reflecting the objective contradictions of socialist development, manifest themselves in various ways throughout the whole of the international workers' movement.

Consequently, after the consolidation of the power of the working class and working people generally, the question of the gradual withering away of the State becomes the fundamental and decisive question of the socialist system of society. In the sphere of economic relations, this process of the withering away of the State includes mastery over the vestiges of state-capitalism. How long this withering away process will last depends on a number of circumstances. While it does continue, the role of the State decreases perceptibly, its bodies undergo transformation, direct democracy develops steadily, and the functions of various bodies of social self-government expand. The forms under which this process evolves have already been seen to be multifarious, and they will remain so in the future.

Accordingly, those social forces which are characteristic of the last stages of capitalism continue to operate in the socialist society of the transition period although, of course, under conditions that have altered radically in terms of quality, and alongside the tendency towards the transformation, weakening and withering away of everything connected with the old social relationship.

The working class and its most progressive forces are opposed, consciously and spontaneously, to all ramifying tendencies to uphold the interests, conceptions and aspirations of the vestiges of the old order. Under certain conditions, they themselves come under the influence of various alien interests and ideologies, and this inevitably creates a whole series of internal contradictions. Such contradictions in given circumstances may lead, and have actually led, to serious upheavals, and even to temporary political crises. Contradictions and antagonisms of this type cannot be eliminated overnight, nor can they be waved aside. They can only be solved gradually, through long evolutionary processes and through the conflict of opinion, in line with the development of the material foundations of socialist society and with the formation of socialist social consciousness.

The construction of socialism in the transition period, therefore, cannot be left to peaceful, smooth and uniform operation by the leading forces of socialist society; it is an organic social progress developing through its own internal contradictions. In the course of this process socialist society gradually eliminates the vestiges of the exploitation systems and their ideologies, and at the same time it eliminates its own transitional and obsolete relations and forms — its own errors and conservatism. In this way man's aspirations for better and higher achievements are fulfilled; and this is inseparably bound up with the growth of socialism.

*The Leading Role of Socialist Forces and the Conscious
Direction of Internal Processes*

The Communists and the socialist leadership in general, having in their hands the ideological weapons of scientific socialism, and relying on the planned management of the socialized means of production, have many opportunities of consciously directing these processes and of solving contradictions. This does not mean that any socialist leadership at any given moment can automatically detect and correctly assess all aspects of social movements; nor does it mean that the leadership is not vulnerable in the face of influences arising spontaneously out of internal contradictions. These influences often push the socialist forces either toward bureaucracy and conservative retention of obsolete forms of socialist development, or towards petit-bourgeois anarchism and pseudo-liberalism. In such cases, the socialist leadership loses its actual leading role in certain spheres, leaving things to the mercy of spontaneity and reactionary influences, making errors and causing stagnation and distortions of temporary or more lengthy duration.

Failures and political upheavals are always the first consequences of such errors and distortions. But at the same time they give impetus to more progressive and more democratic forms and relations in socialist society.

Contradictions and discrepancies of this kind are an essential characteristic of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and they manifest themselves in all sections of society. In the transition period in a socialist society they can be solved by gradual evolution and steady progress in socialist relations. The difficulties of the objective conditions under which socialist society is developing in a given country, the distortions caused by subjective errors made by the socialist leadership, or obsolete forms of the system, can, in particular cases and under certain conditions, cause convulsions and serious social and political upheavals. But even such passing crises, when their real causes are grasped, serve as incentives for more powerful and rapid socialist development, for the more powerful and rapid development of socialist social consciousness, for subjugation of the obsolete, and for the new reproduction of the leading role of the most progressive socialist forces.

C h a p t e r II

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM
UNDER NEW CONDITIONS

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM UNDER NEW CONDITIONS

The Socio-Political Role and Influence of the Working Class on the Development of Society

The conditions of the struggle of the working class and the socialist forces in general for their day-to-day demands, for the democratic rights of the working people, their struggle for power and the construction of socialism, have altered considerably in the course of the past few decades.

On the one hand, the tasks are more difficult. The huge concentration of economic and political power in the bourgeois State, and, furthermore, its international ramifications which provide a favourable situation for the creation of a supra-national class authority, make the use of certain methods and features of past struggles of the working class more difficult, and often ineffective. This is particularly true of the present state of uneasy peace, which rests upon an unsteady balance of power. In such a situation, every revolutionary action of the working class and anti-imperialist forces acquires an international character and musters forces throughout the world of a most heterogeneous character.

Apart from this, the practice of so-called economic "bribing" of certain sections of the working class has increased in the most highly developed capitalist countries. This practice has become a source of opportunist and reformist tendencies within the

working class; it prevents the unity of the working class, retards its consciousness and class solidarity in the struggle for socialism, and advocates parliamentary forms of struggle as the only correct ones, disregarding other means of struggle which, under given conditions and circumstances, promise greater success. In these circumstances the ruling quarters are able to consolidate and enhance the bourgeois-democratic forms of the State and, for a certain period of social development, to channel the class struggle along the course of compromise with the working class, along the course of individual reforms and material concessions, creating at the same time the appropriate illusions.

Processes of this kind sharpen the contradictions and ideological struggle within the working class itself, undermine its unity, and weaken its revolutionary forces. The negative consequences entailed are all the more serious if these forces have withdrawn into sectarian isolation and are bogged down by dogmatism and sectarianism, if they fail to take sufficiently into account the objective sources and character of these processes, and if they are incapable of adjusting the forms and methods of their political activities to the concrete conditions of each given stage of the class struggle.

Finally, these difficulties are aggravated by the fact that the construction of socialism — through revolutionary changes — has so far been undertaken principally by the working class of comparatively backward countries. This accounts for the accumulation of serious difficulties that have so far had to be met by socialist practice; they are the result, among other things, of numerous negative phenomena and distortions in the development of socialism. These phenomena have made the situation more difficult for the revolutionary working-class movement to conduct its struggle for influence among the masses in the capitalist countries.

All these and similar factors put a brake on the political action and economic struggle of the working class, blunt its revolutionary zeal and, at the same time, exert to a greater or lesser extent a negative influence on the rate and developmental forms of social construction in the socialist countries.

On the other hand, in spite of all this, the balance of social forces in the world has altered substantially in favour of socialism. The October Revolution, the socialist revolutions in Yugoslavia and China, and in some other countries, and also the political and social changes in the world, have played a signal role in the revolutionary transformation, not only in the countries in which these changes have taken place, but in the world as a whole. Capitalist encirclement of an isolated socialist island no longer exists, and the capitalist world itself is changing under the influence of the irresistible expansion of socialism. The working class of many capitalist countries, especially in Western Europe and America, has won a number of significant political and social rights as a result of its own struggle and the influence of the revolutionary victories of socialism in many other countries. All these social developments, brought about by the victory of numerous socialist revolutions and the many revolutionary changes which have taken place or are taking place in various countries, are giving rise to social changes and reforms in other countries as well; they are all interlinked one with another and form a single process in the revolutionary, socialist transformation of the world.

In consequence of all this, the social and political role and influence of the working class in the development of society has grown tremendously all over the world. The idea of socialism is winning the support of increasingly large sections of the population, and the workers' movement is acquiring more and more opportunities to form political alliances with particular sections of the population, and with other progressive movements.

In such circumstances, capitalism and its political system have become incomparably more unstable than ever before, and more vulnerable to the pressure and social influence of the working and democratic masses of the people.

It is obvious that at society's present level of development the necessary material, social, political and cultural conditions for even greater successes of the socialist movement are expanding all the time. And the great multiplicity of these conditions makes it possible for different paths to be followed and different forms adopted in the struggle for socialism.

*Conditions and Forms of the Working
Class Struggle For Socialism*

The turbulent march of mankind today toward socialism has already led to its becoming the day-to-day practice of hundreds of millions of people, a practice which becomes richer and richer as new forms are born and new advances made both in socialist development itself, and in the struggle of the working class and socialist forces for influence on the social movements in capitalist countries.

Owing to this, the struggle of the workers' movement in contemporary conditions is expanding and assumes a great many more different forms than it ever did in the past. It consists of a continuous interlinking of revolutionary and so-called peaceful political actions. The working class, as the leading social force, blazes forth its trail by means of sharp revolutionary and anti-imperialist clashes, and also through parliamentary and other comparatively peaceful forms of struggle. In certain circumstances the working class shatters the old system to its foundations through revolutionary action, while in other circumstances it is prepared, or compelled, to make compromises, to accept mutual concessions, and to be content with reforms.

Under the present conditions of struggle in the capitalist countries, the growing awareness by the working class of its power and social role assumes a tremendous importance. The pressure of the working class, and pressures of economic development, have accelerated the process of nationalization to some extent, and have given rise to various forms of State control over production, though it is, of course, obvious that this merely weakens, but does not alter the existing social relations under capitalism. Making an issue of the demand for more extensive nationalization in industry precipitates awareness of the restricted nature and dwindling perspectives of the present forms of bourgeois democracy. The increase in the scope of discussion regarding the "extension" of bourgeois democracy to the sphere of so-called "economic democracy" testifies to the growth of the process and to the final crisis of the bourgeois-democratic State. Actually, all these fomentations only demonstrate that contemporary

development is raising the question of social ownership of the means of production in an increasingly acute form, and thereby also the whole question of power.

The struggle of the working class for its own participation in the management of nationalized industries is assuming increasing significance. The successful outcome of the struggle will decide the level of development of so-called economic democracy, the increase in the political and social potential of the working class, the reduction of the role of the bureaucracy and the measure of insight into contemporary technocratic tendencies. The capitalist class is forced, in this field, too, to make minor concessions, attempting in this way to profit by the various forms of workers' participation in the management of the economy which do not restrict the rights of the capitalist owners; and they use these concessions to weaken the struggle and pressure of the working class. The working class is becoming more and more aware of its potentialities and of the insufficient scope of the concessions it has won so far.

At the present time, in the course of the immediate struggle of the working masses for the solution of questions involving their day-to-day economic interests and democratic rights, other questions are also raised, such as: nationalization and other forms of socialization of the means of production and of economic functions; management in industry and various aspects of self-government; the struggle against bureaucracy; the expansion of democracy; the position of the working people in production and in society; workers' and consumers' participation and control in economic management bodies, etc.

All these questions are of major importance for the workers' movement as a whole, because they represent features of the struggle for stronger social influence by the working class, for its unification, for the promotion of its socialist consciousness, and for power.

A factor of major significance for more rapid economic and social progress in underdeveloped countries is the cooperation of the young working class with the broad sections of the community which have been mobilised into the anti-imperialist struggle; then there is the active struggle of the working class

against attempts by bourgeois elements to exploit, for their own enrichment and economic and political ends, the liberated people's efforts to overcome their backwardness and economic dependence. The aspirations of the working class are also reflected in its efforts to obtain a firmer hold on key positions in the management of the nationalized economy, and its struggle against restoring the nationalized means of production to private ownership.

The successes so far achieved by the working class in its revolutionary struggle, the consolidation of the political and economic factors of socialism, the increasing importance of state-capitalist relations in contemporary capitalism, the transformation of socialism into a world system, and many other factors of present-day social development — all these are creating and will continue to create better opportunities than ever before for the working class of certain countries to employ under certain given conditions comparatively peaceful means of political struggle in order to become the leading force in society, to win decisive influence in State power, and gradually — in keeping with objective conditions and its own political strength — to ensure the establishment and development of socialism.

Mutual Interdependence of Different Forms of the Working Class Struggle

The possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism does not in any event mean that the working class should renounce revolutionary methods in the struggle for socialism when the acuteness of internal contradictions and other factors call for such revolutionary means, that is to say, when the policy of the reactionary ruling circles makes them imperative. If the workers' movement were to succumb to opportunist views and practices, it would be renouncing not only its own social role, but also all the victories which the socialist revolutions have so far won and which have, in fact, made it possible for the workers' movement today to avail itself with increased success of parliamentary and similar methods of struggle in its efforts to win a leading role in society.

As a revolutionary class, the working class will, in the future also, undoubtedly use its revolutionary striking power to break the shackles of capitalism, imperialism, and all other forms of oppression, especially when and where reactionary ruling circles may, by resort to violence, attempt to arrest the inexorable march of history and bar the road of the working class and progressive forces to power. On the other hand, it is obvious that Marxists cannot allow any one particular form or method of struggle to be transformed into a principle or dogma which would prevent the application of those forms of political action which, at a given place, are appropriate to the concrete conditions of struggle, life, and the experience of the working class and the progressive social forces in general.

The contemporary development of the short but fruitful and very instructive struggle for socialism shows that the roads to power and to socialism taken by the working people differ not only in different countries, but also at different periods — in accordance with the general balance of the social forces in all countries, with concrete material, and general social conditions, with the historical background and political traditions in each particular country, and also in accordance with the strength of the concrete economic and social position and experiences of the working people in general.

Yet the struggle for socialism in any one country cannot be waged in isolation or divorced from the development of international socialism. The experience gained by the socialist forces in one country becomes the experience of socialist forces in all countries. The successes of socialism in the world in general strengthen the socialist forces in each separate country and smooth the way for their successes.

The basic characteristics of social development in the world, the basic characteristics of the contemporary struggle for socialism are the closely-woven interdependence and mutual complementation of all the existing forms of struggle, and the efforts of the working class and the socialist forces further to promote already established socialist relationships and emancipate them from bureaucratic phases.

*Some Experiences of Socialist Development
in the Soviet Union and Other Socialist Countries*

The existence of socialist countries and, in particular, the continuing advance of social relations in those countries, exercises a marked influence on the movement of society as a whole; and it influences the subsequent development of international relations towards the equality of peoples and their mutual peaceloving assistance and indeed the continuing progress and consolidation of socialism in the world.

With the experience of socialist development gained so far, the whole theory and practice of socialism have acquired firmer foundations and greater opportunities of channelling the development of society and curbing anarchy.

In this respect the course of socialist development in the Soviet Union, with its successes and its victories — which are at the same time the successes and victories of international socialism — and with its difficulties and shortcomings, is a most valuable experience for international socialism.

In the period between the world wars, the Soviet Union was the first and only country in which socialist forces had come to power and in which socialist relations were being developed. For that reason, the revolutionary working class movement in other countries, and the liberation movements in the colonies, looked on the Soviet Union as a model for their actions. By virtue of its very existence, the Soviet Union, in the period between the two world wars, was the main stronghold of all the socialist and progressive movements in the world. The revolutionary workers' movement in Yugoslavia also received powerful inspiration from the October Revolution and from socialist development in the Soviet Union.

The development of socialist relations in the Soviet Union was carried out under extremely complex conditions, involving major difficulties and obstacles.

Productive forces were at a very low level of development and had, in addition, been devastated by wars. General backwardness was rampant in a considerable part of this vast country. The October Revolution and, later, the Soviet Union as the first

socialist country, were the targets of the combined efforts of reactionary and imperialist circles throughout the world.

It was impossible to develop socialist relations any further on the narrow material basis which socialism had inherited from Tzarist Russia. It became imperative to build up the material foundations of the new society at an accelerated pace, with priority for heavy industry as the indispensable industrial basis. The international position of the Soviet Union and the intrigues and actions undertaken by reactionary bourgeois circles against this first country of socialism, rendered the situation even more acute and gave rise to a course of development which is well known.

Under these circumstances overall social development in the Soviet Union had no alternative but to put all its efforts into the construction of the material basis required by the new society, and moreover it had to carry this out with its own resources. This was the only way to prevent the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. However, the general situation called for all-out efforts and great sacrifices on the part of the whole of the working class and working people in the Soviet Union.

Thanks to the tremendous exertions, sacrifices, and self-denial of the Soviet working people, the Soviet Union's achievements in this field during the period between the two world wars were very impressive. A strong industrial basis was created, capable not only of safeguarding the achievements of the socialist revolution, but also of guaranteeing the further development of socialist relations. Thereby firm material and political foundations for the development of socialism in other countries were also laid. These successes can be seen in the numerically strong working class and intelligentsia, etc., which have emerged. This situation radically altered the internal socio-economic structure of Soviet society and the subjective conditions for the further development of productive forces.

These successes formed the basis upon which the Soviet Union, in alliance with the other powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, was able to defeat the bloc of Fascist powers in the course of the Second World War, this being of decisive significance for the subsequent progressive development of contemporary society.

In this situation, the needs of social development demanded that the leading forces in society, the Communist Party and the Soviet State, play a pre-eminent organizational role, first in the sphere of economic life and then over the whole field of social life. This led to a great concentration of power in the machinery of State.

Manifestations of bureaucratic-statist tendencies, however, errors and distortions in the development of the political system of the State, and, parallel with this, a more acute and convulsive phase permeated with contradictions typical of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, began to be associated with this concentration of power in the machinery of State.

In the long run, this course of activity not only resulted in the enhancement of the power of the State, but also led more and more to the rule of one man. This was the soil that gave birth to the "cult of personality", along with attempts to justify it theoretically and ideologically.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet working people, in the period of Stalin's leadership, succeeded in preserving the achievements of the October Revolution, in consolidating them by successful industrialization and by raising the general cultural and technical level of the country, they succeeded in maintaining and developing the Soviet Union as the backbone of all socialist and progressive movements, in face of persistent pressure from the forces of capitalism and imperialism. Stalin, however, for both objective and subjective reasons, did not fight the bureaucratic-statist tendencies engendered by the great concentration of power in the machinery of State and by the merging of the Party and State machinery and unilateral centralism. Moreover, he himself became their political and ideological protagonist.

It was along these lines that a pragmatic revision of some of the fundamental scientific postulates of Marxism and Leninism was carried out — first in the sphere of the theory of State and Party, and then also in the sphere of philosophy, political economy, and the social sciences generally. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a political system of power in a State which is withering away, and as an instrument

of working class struggle in the process of the abolition of the economic foundations of capitalism and the creation of political and material conditions for the free development of new socialist relations, was gradually replaced by Stalin's theory of a State which does not wither away and which must strengthen itself in all fields of social life, a State whose machinery is given too great a role in the construction of socialism and the solution of the internal contradictions of the transition period, a role which sooner or later must lead to stagnation in the development of social and economic factors.

Phenomena of this type after the Second World War also began to make their appearance on the international scene, i. e., in certain elements of Soviet foreign policy and in relations between socialist countries. This was particularly evident in Stalin's action against socialist Yugoslavia, which the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union unanimously condemned as an action contrary to the real interests of socialism.

While resisting such pressure and fighting for the independence of their country, the Yugoslav Communists and the peoples of Yugoslavia were not only fighting for their right to promote free socialist development but were also making their contribution to the inevitable struggle against statist-bureaucratic and hegemonic distortions in the development of socialism and the relations between the peoples who had embarked upon the road of socialism. Their resistance was consistently socialist and progressive and, for this reason, it contributed to the enhancement and progress of socialism in the world in general.

All these and other negative phenomena and errors — particularly as some of them were transferred to and repeated in certain other socialist countries — inflicted harm both on international socialism and on socialist construction in the Soviet Union. However, they did not succeed in doing serious or lasting damage to the development of socialism in the Soviet Union, because the socialist forces in that first country of socialism had grown and become so strong that they were able to break through the barriers of bureaucracy and the "cult of personality". It was precisely as a result of this that certain distortions, which had manifested themselves under the influence of the

abovementioned negative tendencies, began gradually to be eliminated in the Soviet Union shortly after Stalin's death, and after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The high level of development of productive forces in the Soviet Union, the prevailing social influence of the working class, and the emergence of a numerically strong intelligentsia closely bound up with the socialist system, enable the successful development of that process to continue, and in this way fresh incentive is given to the advance of socialism.

Contemporary development and the results accomplished so far give the socialist forces the strength to fight, with greater consciousness, and with more persistence and greater scope, for the further promotion of socialist relations and for the elimination, frustration, or isolation of various sources of distortions in socialist development. Theories and practices which preserve certain of the transitional forms of socialist development, while depriving the working class and the whole nation of perspectives, must be criticized, broken, and discarded.

The political leadership in the socialist countries, and of socialism generally, is being faced in an increasingly urgent form with the necessity of solving these problems, which involve the most vital interests of the working people: the forms and methods of management in economic and other social functions; the democratization and gradual restriction of administrative-centralized management; the steady extension of participation by the direct producers in the management of the means of production and of the economy generally; the steady expansion of the area of social self-government, both horizontally and vertically; the advancement of the socialist system of distribution in conformity with the socialist principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work"; the steady improvement of living standards; the advancement of the forms and methods of socialist democracy in all spheres of social life; the consolidation and advancement of democratic rights and the democratic social obligations of every citizen; and other similar questions.

In settling these and other similar tasks relating to the development of socialist relations, not all the socialist countries can

proceed in the same way and at the same rate. The course they will follow, the methods they will use, and the rate at which they will proceed, depend on concrete conditions, on the relations of class forces, the level of the economic pre-conditions for socialism, the political structure, the traditions and social consciousness of the population in each particular country. But the unity of these problems as such makes them the common tasks of international socialism, and particularly of the Communist parties and socialist forces generally, which are either in power or which can exert a vital influence upon social developments. To resolve the contradictions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism means, in the first place, to solve these problems, thus securing the uninterrupted development of all aspects of socialist construction. In following this course, communists may make mistakes; but such mistakes are not difficult to rectify, for they are inherent in every advance. It is incomparably more difficult to rectify mistakes, and counter the consequences, when they have arisen from obstructions to socialist social development and from conservative clinging to forms that have outlived their day.

*The Development of Socialist Thought.
On Dogmatism and Revisionism*

The advance of socialism depends not only on objective social conditions and the determination of the workers' movement to fight in practice for the development of socialist relations, but also on the subjective abilities of the leading political forces. For this reason, steady progress and enrichment of socialist scientific thought are inseparable components of the struggle for socialism and its construction.

In this struggle the workers' movement, relying on its practical experience and on the great scientific theories and revelations contained in the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has achieved great results, under the influence of various social factors. However, under the influence of various social factors, Marxist thought in the course of the past few decades has failed to keep in step

with the advance of contemporary society, and its subsequent development has not always proceeded consistently from the basic scientific postulates and results of Marxism — these very postulates being frequently subjected to a pragmatic revision. As a result of this, many contemporary social problems have not been fully explained from a scientific Marxist point of view, nor have the laws and contradictions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism been sufficiently illuminated; thus there are many gaps in the interpretation of contemporary social phenomena. Further development in socialism categorically demands proper treatment of the laws and contradictions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and the liberation of scientific socialist thought from the pragmatic pressure of those social factors which retard its progress. Only thus will Marxist thought be able to turn to a scientific explanation of the principal social problems of contemporary mankind, to explain the laws of movement in socialist society during the period of transition, and so pave the way to socialist practice more smoothly than before.

Primarily, there are two social factors and, consequently, two ideological trends in the workers' movement, which have acted as a brake on socialist theoretical thought, and led to a revision of certain of the basic scientific postulates of Marxism-Leninism.

The first is the phenomenon of bureaucracy and statism. Closely related to this phenomenon is the tendency towards ideological monopoly, as well as the attempt to transform Marxist thought — which can retain its vitality and revolutionary character only by being continually developed on the basis of practice and experience — into a static collection of rigid dogmas and abstract truths, adjusted to meet certain temporary needs. Therein lies the source of contemporary dogmatism and the attempts to carry out specific statist-pragmatic revisions of the determined scientific postulates of Marxism-Leninism. And it is this very dogmatism which, while carrying out a profound anti-scientific revision of Marxism and Leninism, proclaims as revisionism any genuine effort towards the real furtherance of Marxist thought in contemporary social conditions.

That the development of Marxist thought had lagged behind the development of events was also due to the fact that Stalin had, within the orbit of the communist movement, authoritatively and incontrovertibly, for several decades, passed judgment on all contemporary social processes. Some of Stalin's appraisals have proved to be correct, but a number of his theoretical conceptions have been refuted in practice. In his theoretical analysis Stalin made deviations from the materialist dialectical method towards subjectivism and metaphysics. Irrespective of the character of certain of his theories, however, it is clear that such an ideological monopoly was bound to exert an influence in favour of the dogmatization of Marxism and Leninism.

Dogmatism in the communist movement was followed closely by pseudo-revolutionary sectarianism, by loss of faith in the strength of the working class, by under-estimation of, or failure to comprehend, the results of socialist development so far achieved. This situation at the same time made it possible fully to perceive the influence which socialist revolutions and the results of socialist experience were exercising upon the social development of the capitalist countries and upon the policy of the upper ruling circles, this to a great extent having altered the conditions of the struggle for socialism. Certain Communist Parties were too slow to grasp these facts; and this prevented their discovering at the right time suitable forms of struggle, and weakened the parties' ties with the people.

The second factor which had a negative effect on the development of socialist thought was the influence of bourgeois ideologies, opportunism and reformism, declassé anarchism, and so forth. These influences gave rise to attempts to revise the basic scientific postulates of socialism, that is to say, of Marxism and Leninism, along the lines of bourgeois-liberalism and reformism. Revisionism of this type, in fact, is the ideological expression of the abandonment of socialist positions, and it reveals a propensity to re-establish one or another form of bourgeois society. It attacks the revolutionary ideological foundations of the workers' movement, and, under the cloak of pseudo-liberal phrases, sacrifices the interests of the working class and socialism to the interests of reactionary social forces.

In the communist movement revisionism of this type thrives on vacillation in the face of difficulties, on disorientation caused by subjective weaknesses in the movement or by distortions in the structure of socialism. In socialist countries it appears as a reactionary obstruction to socialist development, as a deforming factor in the socialist State tending to mould it in the shape of the bourgeois political system, and as a destructive anarchistic undermining factor in the political basis of socialist society. This kind of revisionism is also one of the sources of bureaucracy, for, by aiding and abetting reactionary ideologies and the vestiges of the bourgeoisie, and, transforming itself objectively into a stronghold of anti-socialist forces, it hampers the development of socialist relations, sharpens internal contradictions and contributes to the aggrandizement of the role both of the State and of state bureaucracy.

If they wish to remain the leading force of the most progressive socialist conscious actions, the Communists must be capable of fighting both of these negative influences in the development of socialist thought and socialist construction. Persistent ideological struggle on two fronts against both the one and the other form of revision of the scientific foundations of socialism laid down by Marx, Engels and Lenin and confirmed by the entire experience of socialism to date, is one of the essential conditions for the advance of socialism in the transition period.

But at the same time Communists must repudiate all moves that will result in a warping of the legitimate struggle against both forms of revisionism, or will result in exploitation of the struggle in order to thwart the endeavours necessary for the furtherance of the scientific basis of Marxism and for the scientific, Marxist interpretation of the new phenomena characteristic of the contemporary world, which Communists must keep ever before them when carrying out their practical tasks.

The Situation in the Workers' Movement

Faced with the great tasks and opportunities offered to it by contemporary relations in the forces of society, the workers' movement stands disunited. This disunity is, primarily, the

consequence of the objective laws of contemporary social development and of the social position of different sections of the working class, and, as such, it is objectively conditioned. In spite of this, however, the working class needs at least as much unity as exists between the different factions of the bourgeoisie. Long experience has taught the bourgeoisie to find at least those basic elements of cooperation which enable it to achieve unity on the vital questions of its class interests — even though the specific interests of certain of its sections may differ widely. As an influential force, and, what is even more important, as a ruling social force, the working class is young in many countries and it has as yet not acquired much experience. That is why there still prevails among the leadership of certain sectors of the workers' movement a serious inability to grasp the social significance of the struggle for one or another approach towards unity in the movement and among progressive forces generally. Instead of being overcome, the prevailing disunity is often intensified. Instead of resisting the pressure of anti-socialist forces through mutual support between the different parts of the workers' movement on the fundamental issues of socialism and peace, the movement often with blind pragmatism throws open its doors to alien influences and interests, and whole sections of it are in one form or another harnessed to the cart of reaction.

The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that one of the fundamental tasks of the leading socialist forces — if they really wish to make a contribution to the development of socialism — is to fight persistently and uninterruptedly, irrespective of their ideological views, for the creation of such an atmosphere in the workers' movement as would be conducive to various forms of common action and to their mutual or unilateral support. This would bar the way to hostile infiltration and secure freer forms of socialist controversy within the workers' movement.

*The Communist and Other Revolutionary
Parties of the Working Class*

The Communist and other revolutionary parties of the working class have played a tremendous role in the development

of socialism to date. The Communists, under the leadership of the great figure of Lenin, were the vanguard of the October Revolution, and they ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind. The Communists were the only force capable of leading and channelling the revolutionary energies and aspirations of the broad masses in Yugoslavia, China, and other countries, of organizing them for the struggle, and leading them to victory. The Communists initiated and carried out the revolutionary expropriation of the ruling classes in many countries of people's democracy. They were, as a rule, the revolutionary nucleus, or the most determined ally, of the numerous anti-imperialist movements and uprisings. They were the most militant nucleus of the anti-fascist movement and the anti-Hitlerite war. In short, the Communists were the vanguard of those momentous events of the past few decades which have given new meaning to the whole history of mankind and directed its course anew. Rallying the most revolutionary sections of the working class, educating them in the spirit of class consciousness, helping them to understand and appreciate the historical role of the working class, the Communist Parties, endeavouring to be guided in their day-to-day struggle by the revolutionary science of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, were the leading force in the revolutionary processes which developed after the October Revolution.

This great historical role of the Communists can no longer be denied or belittled by any slanders on the part of the enemies of socialism, or by the vilifications of opportunists, philistines, and petty-bourgeois phrase-mongers; it cannot be belittled even by their own errors, however great. Had the Communists not played this role, the world would not be what it is today nor what it will inevitably be tomorrow.

In all these developments the Communists introduced and organized vital revolutionary socialist operations intelligible to the broad sections of the working people, a course of action which the people had been looking for and which they were prepared to bear on their own shoulders. This is another reason why they were victorious. In the future, too, their victories will be achieved only under such conditions.

These victories, however, were accompanied by certain negative phenomena in the international communist movement, such as bureaucracy, dogmatism, opportunism cloaked under left phrases, sectarianism, an exaggerated feeling of strength, and ideological and political monopoly, etc. As a result of these negative phenomena, certain Communist Parties failed to realize, to a sufficient extent, that the conditions of the working class struggle had altered considerably. They failed to see the consequences of the contemporary relations of social forces in the world and were, therefore, not always capable of formulating their tasks in conformity with actual developments. This, together with the influence of the bourgeois forces, led to the sectarian seclusion and even to the isolation of certain Communist Parties, especially in those countries where objective conditions, too, were unfavourable to the development of the revolutionary workers' movement. This isolation, in turn, led to tendencies among certain sections of the communist movement to wait passively for the results of international development; which meant that some Communist Parties almost reached the danger-point of ceasing to act as a revolutionary and creative factor and the driving force of social development in their respective countries.

This frequently gives rise to a helpless attitude in face of the opportunist and reformist mood of part of the working class. In this respect, too, the policy of passive expectation of external events sometimes prevails, in the hope that these events will revolutionize the working class. In day-to-day activity, this takes the form of sectarian revolutionary slogans which conceal inability for action and a tendency to mark time.

The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that the conditions of the struggle always require that every Marxist party should be capable of organizing or supporting the struggle of the working class for precisely those political and economic demands which the working people can understand and fight for in a given situation. Only through such a struggle can the Communists join forces with the working people and, on the basis of their own experience, equip them for further struggles in pursuit of higher aims. Nevertheless, many of the demands

for which the working class is prepared to fight, or for which it is already fighting, are not given sufficient attention or are regarded in a dogmatic light.

The Communist Parties can establish themselves as the most progressive factor and, consequently, as the leading socialist factor, if they regard the socialist process in its entirety — with all the diversities of its protagonists and its tendencies — and realize that different factors inevitably find expression in different conditions. This will, to a large extent, decide what place they will be able to find for themselves in this overall socialist process, and to what extent they will be capable of acting as the driving force of conscious socialist action. The conception that the Communist Parties have a monopoly over every aspect of the movement of society towards socialism, and that socialism can only find its representatives in them and move forward through them, is theoretically wrong and in practice very harmful.

The fact that certain Communist Parties are today in the process of emancipating themselves from dogmas and sectarian isolation, that they are undergoing a process of regeneration by a thorough appreciation of past experiences, and seeking their own path towards socialism, is an expression of the need to keep in step with the time and with current tasks.

Social Democratic Parties and Movements

A large part of the working class and other sections of the working masses, particularly in some highly developed countries, follow the Social democratic and similar parties. For this reason the situation in those parties should be regarded as an integral part of the present situation in the workers' movement as a whole.

In countries where developed productive forces have provided a stronger economic basis for the bourgeoisie, the workers' movement has usually followed the path of reformism, which from the outset has denied, in principle, the necessity for a revolutionary struggle by the working class to achieve power, and anticipates instead the automatic transition from capitalism to socialism by a series of gradual reforms. The main reasons

for this should be sought, among other things, in the fact that the bourgeoisie in such countries, in consequence of the revolutionary pressure of the working class, and under the influence of the October Revolution and the whole subsequent development of socialism, was compelled, and for familiar reasons was in a position, to make certain material and political concessions to the working class. This also explains why the Social democratic parties did not develop and could not develop in the economically backward countries.

Under the pressure from the working class in all spheres of social and economic life, the bourgeoisie made a series of concessions to the social democratic movement, though at the same time the influence of the bourgeoisie and imperialist circles on a part of the workers' movement increased. And this, in the final analysis, resulted in the relaxation and channelling of working class pressure. While strengthening the Social democratic parties, this situation also fostered the inclination of these parties to turn more and more to the middle classes, and induced some sections of these parties to adopt the ideology and psychology of these classes. This accounts for the constant growth of those trends in the Social democratic parties which tend to turn these parties away from the conscious systematic struggle for socialism, and transform them into the pragmatic instrument of spontaneous reforms.

In line with this, individual trends among the social democratic movements increasingly denied the right of the working class to an independent policy, thus depriving it of the prospects of independent political action while at the same time supporting, in theory and practice, bureaucratic and technocratic tendencies. The role of the administrative machinery in the Social democratic parties, and specially in the trade unions, has grown tremendously. And this machinery, too, is displaying a tendency to merge gradually with the state-capitalist machinery. This situation creates suitable soil where bureaucracy can thrive in the Social democratic parties and a specific type of reformist dogmatism can take root and grow.

History has already refuted many such dogmas. It has, for example, become ludicrous to ignore revolutions, when it is

generally known that they have changed the world. And the entire conception of a political democracy reduced to the maintenance and idealization of the bourgeois multiparty system irrespective of what actual conditions may require is a static conception which is constantly being refuted by experience. This conception does not take into account the basic laws of the movement of society. Above all, it ignores the mutual influence of the material basis of society and the political forms which have been built upon it. In fact, the advance of these conceptions fail to see, or do not wish to see, that to graft the political forms of bourgeois democracy on the new economic relations which the revolution has brought into being, can — whether they like it or not — only mean paving the way ideologically for the forces of bourgeois restoration and, in the last resort, for bureaucratic statism.

For all these reasons, certain Social democratic parties which have come to power by parliamentary means are not in a position to carry out more radical and rapid changes in social relations. They restrict themselves chiefly to superficial or very limited reforms, primarily those which the very pressure of economic factors imposes upon the capitalist order. And even the steps they do take are weighed by the influence of bureaucracy and technocracy. In point of fact, within the above mentioned framework, the same laws which are characteristic of the transition period and which act on the whole of the workers' movement, act also on the Social democratic parties.

The same factors which determine the reformist dogmatic line of certain sections of social democratic movements in internal policy, also determine their foreign political views. Some of these sections offer active support to actions of the imperialist policy of their bourgeoisie, thus safeguarding superprofits and privileges, at the expense of other nations and in favour of their own, sharpening the contradictions of the contemporary world, and increasing the danger of new wars.

Under the influence of the profound changes in the contemporary world — the real sources and causes of which are not apparent to many social-democratic theoreticians — all forms of dogmatism which arose from the first stages of the development of the workers' movement and socialism are dealt

severe blows. Thus the dogmas of social democracy, too, are beginning to break up with increasing momentum.

The dynamics of contemporary social processes will inevitably affect the subsequent development of the Social democratic parties as well. The Social democratic parties which have the following of a large part of the working class will be faced with the alternative either of engaging actively upon the course leading to socialism and the unity of the working class, or of losing their social influence.

The Role of Trade Unions

The working class carries on its struggle for socialism not only through political parties. By means of numerous large and small-scale strikes, the trade unions have, for more than a century now, been conducting a partisan war against the power of capital, undermining it continuously. The steady numerical growth and consolidation of the trade unions has transformed them into the biggest organized force of the working class.

The mounting influence of the trade unions throughout a great part of the world is an important factor, not only in the improvement of the momentary positions of the working class, but also, objectively, in the struggle for socialism. The workers' movement as a whole takes a keen interest in the development of the trade unions. Among other things this secures greater participation for the broad sections of the working class in social and political events and activities, and provides greater protection for their interests, although bureaucracy and opportunism among the trade union leadership often diminish the strength of the unions and hamper the initiative of the working class, causing it to refrain from using the objective opportunities for trade union activities that exist.

Characteristic of the present stage of the trade union struggle is the fact that the trade unions no longer limit their requests to demands for higher wages and shorter working hours, but claim with increasing determination the right to participate in the management of production and in the control of certain key positions in society.

The role of the trade unions in the organized struggle of the working class for its current economic, social and cultural claims and for stronger social and political influence is greater in countries where, owing to specific internal development, there are no classical political parties of the working class, where economic development has reached a very high level, and where the working class is numerically very strong, as is the case in the United States of America, for instance.

In socialist countries, under conditions of social ownership of the means of production, the trade unions play a great role; they play an even greater role under conditions of workers' self-management. The fact that in a number of socialist countries the trade unions have lately been assuming an ever greater role shows that in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the importance of the trade unions is not diminishing, but increasing. With the change in the social role of the working class brought about by the elimination of hired labour, with the spread of direct participation by the working class in the distribution of the social product, the role, character, and tasks of the trade unions also change. Some of the basic functions, however, such as economic, protective, and educational tasks, are retained by the trade unions and even intensified.

The international trade union movement is split by the same disunity as the international workers' movement. In this sphere, too, the League of Yugoslav Communists will fight for every possible form of unity in the struggle for the common interests of the international workers' movement, and will also lend its support to cooperation between the Yugoslav trade union movements, with the intention that this cooperation should contribute to the common interest.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will bear in mind the fact that the international trade union movement is open to the same adverse influences that are manifest in the workers' movement generally. In fighting for the unity of the international trade union movement, the League of Yugoslav Communists will not ignore the ideological and political struggle against the above mentioned tendencies within the movement itself.

Popular and Anti-imperialist Movements in the Underdeveloped Countries

A number of parties and movements, mostly those in the economically undeveloped countries, may, for a given period of time, play a positive role in the development of society and even pave the way to socialist development. In some Asian, African, and Latin American countries, a positive role in society's advance towards socialism may, at a given stage, be played by popular and nationalist movements with progressive views, which have come into being in the struggle against imperialism and capitalist monopolies. In this respect a historically progressive role is also played by all the anti-colonial movements. Workers' movements — provided they are free from dogmatism and opportunism — bear this in mind and moreover lend their support to these parties and movements as pillars of progress, as long as they remain such, and cooperate with them as with equal partners.

Forms of Cooperation Within the Workers' Movements

In view of the great number and heterogeneity of the exponents of progressive social movements, and also of the reactionary social influences which affect the workers' movement — through its disunity more than through anything else — it is essential that the most progressive and most active socialist forces, primarily the Communists, should fight unceasingly and persistently in the interest of social progress and peace, for every possible form of cooperation, coordination and unification within the struggle waged by the workers' progressive and anti-imperialist movements. These forms of cooperation cannot be laid down or prescribed in advance by any one centre. They will mature on the basis of contemporary development, the interests of the working people to establish cooperation, the need to safeguard peace and find ways and means of promoting effective active coexistence between peoples and states and, above all, on the basis of the growing awareness that support should be given to all forms of genuine progress towards socialism, and to all forms and ways of furthering socialist relations and strengthening

the socialist forces, which are penetrating the fissures of the old society, widening them, winning social positions, and fighting to attain a leading social role.

For this reason the most varied forms of cooperation, adjusted to the needs of the concrete struggle for peace and socialism, will appear in the course of practice, as indeed they are already doing. They will range from lower forms (such as parallel actions and unilateral support of definite progressive trends) up to unity of action, and even to the merging and unification of the workers' parties.

Bearing in mind these tasks of the international workers' movement, and also the fact that the vital class interests of the workers are indivisible, although conceptions on the ways to achieve them may differ, the League of Yugoslav Communists, regardless of difficulties, will make steadfast efforts for the consolidation and expansion of cooperation within the workers' movement and of international cooperation generally, for better and fuller mutual acquaintance and understanding, and for a broader and freer exchange of opinions and experiences. The Yugoslav Communists will accept and encourage various forms of cooperation, not only with the Communists of other countries, but also with various socialist and other progressive parties — individually or all together — whenever it considers that this cooperation may contribute to the consolidation of peace, to a rapprochement between different peoples and progressive movements, and to the advance of socialism.

However, while fighting to the best of its abilities for the unity and cooperation of workers' and progressive movements, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers that such cooperation should in no event lead to the abandonment of its socialist fundamentals, or to the suppression of ideological and political discussion and mutual criticism. The contemporary world socialist movement finds expression in various aspects and trends which cannot be abolished, because they reflect the complexity of existing social conditions. The ideological struggle between these different trends is, in fact, a struggle for the ascendancy of the most progressive tendencies under concrete conditions. The Communists would be renouncing their revolutionary social role if, in such circumstances, they were to abandon the ideological

struggle against anti-socialist, opportunist, sectarian-dogmatic, and other negative tendencies in the workers' movement.

Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation

The Yugoslav Communists do not make an issue of the forms of cooperation between Communist Parties, or between Communist Parties and other socialist and progressive movements, but they do make an issue of the substance of this cooperation. They are in favour of both bilateral and multilateral cooperation, on condition that it is always based on full equality, that neither side imposes its own views on the other, and that there is no interference in the internal relations of the parties involved. Furthermore, this cooperation must be in the interests of peace, socialism, and social progress generally. The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that both bilateral and multilateral forms of cooperation are essential elements in establishing the unity of the activities of the socialist forces and of the progressive efforts of mankind. If, however, the Yugoslav Communists under present conditions attribute significance primarily to various forms of bilateral cooperation, this is because of the above mentioned objective conditions of contemporary socialist development, and because the earlier forms of multilateral cooperation between the workers' parties produced, in addition to their positive aspects (when such forms corresponded to a definite historical period), also negative phenomena which inflicted considerable harm on the struggle for socialism and peace, and which the workers' movement must eradicate if it does not wish the democratic principles of socialist internationalism to be tarnished once again.

Ideological Monopoly

Most notable among these phenomena are tendencies towards ideological monopoly. Tendencies towards ideological monopoly have always been an obstacle to the development of socialist thought, and a source of dogmatism and opportunist-revisionist reaction. And such tendencies brought in their wake rivalry for an unconditional leading role in the workers' movement; and this had many negative consequences at a time when there was

not a single working class party in power. Tendencies towards ideological monopoly can inflict even greater damage once working class parties have come to power. The task of the workers' movement — and especially of the Communists of the larger, more powerful socialist countries, with greater responsibilities — is to fight, both in theory and in practice, for relations of equality. In so doing they should start from the principle that the validity and progressive nature of a given ideology, or of given forms of socialist development, depend exclusively on the vital capacity and verifiability of that ideology in practice, and not on the approval of one or another international body. Any aspect of ideological monopoly which hampered free socialist development in socialist countries would act as a brake on the development of international socialism generally. For this reason the League of Yugoslav Communists considers that those forms of international cooperation which unite, on the widest possible basis, efforts to solve common problems of the struggle for peace, of the struggle for socialism and socialist development, are specially appropriate at the present time.

In the interests of further socialist development, free socialist democratic relations between the parties of the socialist countries are essential. In the struggle for the victory of socialism, it may happen that the working class of one or another country is, for a certain period of time, the standard-bearer of that struggle, or its vanguard, or it may possess greater material power; but that does not entitle it to a monopoly position in the workers' movement, least of all to monopoly in the sphere of ideology. Past experience has shown, and is making even clearer today, that cooperation in the workers' movement is possible only between equals.

Also characteristic of contemporary development is the advent to power of a number of Communist Parties. As a result of this, the question of relations between Communist Parties appears in yet another historically new aspect.

The leaders of the Communist Parties which are in power are not responsible for their work to their membership only, but to the entire nation as well. This fact must find adequate expression in the character of their mutual relations. In their mutual relations Communist Parties in power cannot pass resolutions which are the

competence of the elective body, elected by all the citizens. The Communist Parties have often failed to take this into account, thus restricting the significance and role of those representative bodies.

To proclaim the path and form of socialist development in any single country as being the only correct path and form, is nothing but a dogma which obstructs the process of the socialist transformation of the world. The general aims of socialism are common to all, but the rate and forms of the progress of society towards these aims are and must be different, in accordance with the concrete conditions of different countries and different parts of the world. The freedom of internal socialist development and the absence of any attempt to impose specific forms on others, non-interference in the internal life and internal development of other movements, and free and equal exchange of experiences and socialist theoretical thought, should be the fundamental principle in mutual relations between socialist countries and socialist movements.

Attempts to stigmatise recognition of the diversity of forms in socialist processes as a "new" ideological phenomenon, as the birth of "national communism" have no connection whatever with the scientific explanation of contemporary socialist development. Such theories can only be conceived in the minds of dogmatists, or they are deliberately circulated by the representatives of the bourgeoisie with the purpose of creating disorientation and ideological confusion in the workers' movement. Such intentions should not prevent the elaboration of specific trends, nor should they thwart the orientation of the working class towards the problems and conditions of its own country.

On Proletarian Internationalism

Stressing that it is indispensable for Communists to fight for socialism and the construction of socialism in accordance with conditions in their respective countries, the League of Yugoslav Communists fosters the idea of proletarian internationalism among its ranks, and educates the working people of Yugoslavia in this spirit. Proletarian internationalism in its entire development to date has always been concrete. This principle includes: first, the determination of the workers' movement to develop

a consistent struggle for socialism and the day-to-day interests of the working people in its own country, the use of all forms of activity and struggle in order to increase its influence, the assumption of power and, after this has been achieved, the prompt undertaking of the development of socialism in accordance with the interests of the working people throughout the world and with the interests of peace and the general progress of mankind; and secondly, it includes the support of this same struggle in all other countries, that is to say, solidarity with the workers' movement and socialist forces of the whole world, in their struggle for the settlement of their every-day economic and political demands, for peace and for socialism.

During the October Revolution and after, when the Soviet Union was the only socialist country, the protection of the Soviet Union, as the main stronghold of international socialism, was one of the principal features of proletarian internationalism. Today that criterion is broader. Proletarian internationalism demands correct relationships, and support of and solidarity with every socialist country and every socialist movement genuinely fighting for socialism, peace, and active peaceful coexistence between peoples.

The idea of proletarian internationalism imposes an obligation on Communists to fight persistently for peace, to condemn every imperialist move and fight against it, to persevere in the attempt to create conditions in which the peoples of the world can get to know one another and come closer together in mutual association. Communists must also fight for the abolition of national and racial prejudices and all forms of inequality, chauvinism and hegemony, which are the hall marks of the capitalist system, for the strengthening of the independence and equality of peoples, for mutual peaceloving assistance and universal cooperation between all peoples everywhere; and, as far as we in particular are concerned, for the steady consolidation of the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia and their equality and unimpeded material and cultural development.

In all its relations with other communist, socialist, progressive and anti-imperialist movements, as well as in all its international relations generally, the League of Yugoslav Communists is, and will continue to be, guided by the great idea of proletarian, socialist internationalism.

C h a p t e r III

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL
RELATIONS AND THE FOREIGN
POLICY OF SOCIALIST
YUGOSLAVIA

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

Tension and Contradictions in Contemporary International Relations

Radical changes took place in international relations after the Second World War, because the balance of political and social forces in the world had altered. The world today is different from what it was yesterday.

The area of imperialist action has been reduced considerably, while that of the socialist and peaceloving democratic forces continues to expand. The colonial system has fallen apart in many vast areas of the world. Many peoples have won their independence. Entire continents which were for centuries under the rule of colonial powers and, until recently, the objects of exploitation, have become active factors in contemporary international relations. Fascism, which constituted the most reactionary force in the contemporary world, suffered the greatest defeat of all. Mankind, which has experienced the horrors of two world conflagrations, is now, with greater determination than ever before, resisting those tendencies, and forces which are steering it to the brink of new catastrophes.

The most reactionary and imperialist circles have not yet abandoned their plans for an aggressive campaign against Communism and the Socialist countries. The antagonism between the capitalist and socialist system remains the chief conflict in international life today.

The struggle of imperialism for hegemony is still a serious threat in the world today. Unequal relations between states and peoples persist, and uneven development in various parts of the world is spreading its roots — and this is fertile ground for political inequality. The old colonial system of world economy is disintegrating, the forms of colonialism are changing, but the division of the world into industrially developed powers and backward raw-material-producing countries still exists. There has been no weakening in the drive towards economic expansion launched by certain “leading” capitalist countries, which have hopes of increasing their own wealth through economic and political domination and subordination of vast areas of the world.

New forms of “neo-colonialism” are springing up from ruins of the old “classical” colonialism. The economic backwardness, poverty, and difficulties of certain countries, especially those which have just thrown off the yoke of colonialism and are grappling with intensely difficult internal problems, are being exploited and having a new type of economic and political dependence imposed upon them. A new situation is thereby created whereby the countries receiving aid are bound to the countries giving aid. On this basis the hegemony of the great powers is kept alive in a new form. The struggle for this type of supremacy is being adjusted to contemporary international conditions and is often cloaked with slogans about humanism, concern for the backward areas, unselfish assistance, etc. The struggle against new forms of colonialism, domination, and hegemony is no less inevitable than was the struggle against the old “classical” colonialism.

The Second World War left many problems unsettled and their solution is being constantly deferred. The populations of Germany, Korea, and Vietnam, are living in partitioned states with different social systems and divided by artificial frontiers; and these countries constitute latent hotbeds of open conflict. In addition to this, postwar development has brought with it other vexed international questions, which become more acute whenever attempts are made to solve them from positions of strength instead of in harmony with the wishes of the people concerned for freedom and independence and a guaranteed peace in the world.

The adverse consequences of the policy of strength had an immediate effect on general development in the world after the Second World War, and they have continued to accumulate. This policy increases mistrust, encourages various war-mongering elements, accelerates the piling up of armaments, leads to the formation of various military alliances and exclusive economic pacts, to the construction of military bases and to the stationing of troops in foreign countries, to increases in military budgets, and to burdens of military and other non-productive expenditures being imposed upon the working people. The responsibility for this, today and in the future, will rest, not only with specific political circles or the specific initiators of such a policy, but also, and even more so, with those statesmen today who, in spite of the demands of the great majority of humanity for equal cooperation and friendship among all peoples and the general progress of humanity in peace and security, have advanced, and are still advancing, far along this dangerous road.

One of the consequences of these contradictions is the formation of military political pacts, in other words blocs, and the renewed armament race which, in turn, widens the economic division of the world. Normal requisite economic relations are not being established, individual areas are being autarchically sealed off, and attempts are being made to subordinate economic development to temporary political considerations. Owing to this, the free exchange of goods is being greatly restricted and the development of productive forces in various parts of the world and, consequently, world economic development, is being seriously retarded. This economic division of the world renders political contradictions in international relations even more acute.

The tendency to divide the whole world into blocs impedes the realization of the idea of coexistence, and is opposed to the complete independence and sovereignty of peoples and nations.

Furthermore, the bloc division of the world impedes the spread of cultural and other cooperation between peoples, and this aggravates mistrust and intolerance.

As long as the policy of strength continues to dominate international relations it will give rise to bloc formations, as a reflection of tendencies towards aggression, or of defence

against such tendencies. Thus a mechanism is created which impedes the free and independent development of individual countries. The existence of blocs creates conditions which make it possible for reactionary forces to suppress internal progress in individual countries, under the pretext of defence against dangers from without.

In view of all this, one cannot regard the international situation as stable. Its instability is best revealed by the alternating tension and relaxation of tension that has been discernible in international relations ever since the end of the war.

The Historical Significance of the Struggle for National Independence

The struggle for the consolidation of national equality is today a significant factor in the struggle for peace and social progress. This struggle is not in contradiction with the development of international cooperation on the widest possible front, but is, in fact, a starting point for close rapprochement between peoples, for further democratic development, for the process of progressive interlinking among the peoples of the world in an economic, political and cultural respect. Successful cooperation and the highest degree of understanding can be achieved only between independent and equal peoples.

It is true that the Yugoslav Communists are aware that today, when mankind is striving for ever greater unification and ever closer cooperation between peoples, there can be no absolute independence. On the contrary, the trend towards the integration of the world and close cooperation between peoples leads to their growing interdependence. This interdependence will materialize increasingly as a result of their common interests, and not as a result of any one people or class imposing its will and interests upon others. For this reason, the Yugoslav Communists understand political and economic independence to mean such conditions in countries or states, and such relations between peoples, as will make it possible for them to accept voluntarily and on the basis of equality those international obligations which correspond

to their own interest and to the interests of other peoples. The League of Yugoslav Communists, in addition, understands independence to mean such an attitude towards and such relations between peoples as will make it impossible for any one nation or state to impose its interests or its will on other peoples. Thus the struggle for the political and economic independence of peoples in contemporary conditions does not mean withdrawal into the framework of national frontiers but, on the contrary, the association, rapprochement and, in the final analysis, the linking together of peoples in a single world community on the basis of full equality, in accordance with their own interests and with the conscious endeavour of every member of the community to achieve this goal, irrespective of language or cultural background.

In fighting for the independence of Yugoslavia, the League of Yugoslav Communists does not conceive of independence as meaning sectarian seclusion, dissociation or isolation.

The conflict which broke out in 1948 in consequence of the resistance of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to Stalin's policy was not an expression of any desire on the part of the Yugoslav Communists to retreat into isolation, but the expression of resistance to a faulty, hegemonic policy, which, if approved, would have inflicted tremendous harm on the development of socialism. The resolutions of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties were an attempt to give the force of law to inequality in relations between socialist states, and a nullification of the independence of peoples and their freedom to develop socialist relations as a starting point for the rapprochement and closer association of peoples on their socialist road of development.

The events of 1948 were a gross infringement of the socialist and democratic principles which ought to exist in relations between two socialist states. The experience of the past few years shows that the development of relations between socialist countries should serve as a model pointing to better, more lasting, and more comprehensive relations between states. These relations must be based on the principles of independence, full equality, and respect for the specific features of each individual country.

Resistance to manifestations of faulty practice in relations between socialist countries, which has already appeared more

than once in various forms, is a reflection of the progressive aspirations of the peoples of socialist countries; and these are: to build socialism in accordance with their specific conditions, while taking into account the interests of socialism as a whole. To proclaim this policy as "national communism" can only be the consequence of dogmatic or greater-state egoistic conceptions, or else the result of ideological influences and intrigues on the part of the bourgeoisie.

The League of Yugoslav Communists is of the opinion that relations between socialist countries should be purged of these negative phenomena, which capitalism has introduced into relations between the large and the small, between the strong and the weak, the developed and the backward, the white and the coloured, and, in a cultural respect, between the developed and the less developed countries and peoples.

Problems of the Struggle for Peace

Contemporary developments show that the catastrophe of a new world war can be averted. This is made feasible by the altered balance of social and political forces in the world, and by the political awakening of hundreds of millions of working people all over the world — people who are consciously and actively fighting to avoid the general catastrophe which a new world war would bring about. The forces of socialism have grown tremendously, and they constitute a factor for peace which can exert a decisive influence on the course and forms of further social advance. Many peoples have won their liberty, and a number of new states have been born which are striving for peace and can be reckoned with the positive forces in present-day international relations. The realization that peaceful coexistence between states with different systems is both inevitable and imperative has also taken root. There are substantial possibilities for the United Nations Organization to play a greater role and exert more authority in settling international disputes and in safeguarding peace. This Organization, despite its present shortcomings which are the outcome of the influence of existing international contra-

dictions, could become the operative factor in a democratic mechanism for use, not only in suppressing war, but also in encouraging and promoting comprehensive cooperation between peoples, i. e. closer interlinking of the whole human family.

As a result of all these factors, there has been a growing awareness in the past few years, that a new world war is no longer inevitable. This conclusion does not mean a repudiation of the Marxist thesis that imperialism engenders crises and war: it means in the first place that the force and role of imperialist factors have weakened, especially in comparison with the growth of socialist and anti-imperialist forces.

The fact that states are heavily armed and that the armament race is continuing represents a serious threat to world peace today. This danger is now greater than ever before, because the greatest scientific and technological achievements, primarily nuclear energy, are mainly used in the production of weapons capable of mass annihilation of human life and great material destruction.

The policy of achieving a balance of power through armaments, namely, the policy of altering the balance of power by means of the armament race, not only makes a genuine balance impossible — a balance in the sense of a positive stabilization of international relations — but, moreover, unless it is stopped, will drive mankind into a new war.

The men in charge today of the largest concentrations of economic potential, the statesmen who decide on the future application of nuclear energy, are faced with a responsibility greater than anyone has ever had to assume in the past. Today more than ever it is the duty of people (in the interests of their own fate and the future of posterity) not to allow anyone to trifle with weapons which, if used, would bring down an appalling catastrophe upon mankind. For this reason, mankind's only escape from the present predicament is to ban the use, and stop the production, of nuclear weapons, to reach agreement on disarmament, and to preserve and consolidate peace.

The League of Yugoslav Communists is of the opinion that a resolute struggle for the defense of peace and for universal

disarmament is of greater urgency today than ever before. And here possibilities do exist for a concerted effort by all the parties and organizations of the working-class movement, by progressive people everywhere, by all sections of society regardless of class or creed. Peace in present conditions means, first and foremost, peaceful coexistence between peoples and states with different social systems. This coexistence must not remain passive, bogged down on the plains of power bloc politics; it should be active and directed towards the goal of expanding mutual cooperation between peoples. Above all it must create prerequisites for a gradual solution of disputed international questions, for disarmament, for the release of the enormous sums now being spent on armaments, for raising the economic and cultural level in the world, for aid to underdeveloped countries, for constructive and peaceful competition in economic, cultural, scientific and other spheres between states with different social systems, and for raising the level of the productive forces of society by recourse to all the latest achievements in science and technology.

Accordingly, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers that greater efforts are required to break down the existing division of the world into blocs, a situation which obstructs cooperation between peoples in all spheres of social life.

The essence of any peaceful policy designed to break down this power bloc division consists in an awareness that differences in economic and social systems need not necessarily produce bloc formations, in spite of the fact that there are forces in the world today which have a vested interest in such a division. A large percentage of the population and territory of the world lies outside the bloc framework. Socialist Yugoslavia considers that the independent policies of such states are making an important contribution towards spreading the area of international cooperation and furthering the cause of peace in the world. Although these non-aligned countries do not all pursue identical policies, and although there are differences in their relations with one or other of the power blocs, they are all concerned in breaking the present deadlock by means of multilateral cooperation between all countries irrespective of their social system.

The social-economic and political essence and functions of the existing blocs are different. The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that the Warsaw Pact and similar measures taken by the Socialist countries are a natural defensive reaction to the establishment, at an earlier date, of the Atlantic Pact and particularly to the rearmament of Germany and the setting up of military bloc organizations in Western Europe. Further, the socialist countries have, in the past few years, taken a number of steps and put forward a series of proposals designed to bring about a relaxation of international tension, thus breaking down the barriers between peoples that have been created by the blocs. The League of Yugoslav Communists will make every effort to ensure that Socialist Yugoslavia, which is outside any military bloc, continues its contributions towards the realization of this aim.

Active Coexistence

The policy of active coexistence should be founded on respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality, and territorial integrity of other countries, and on non-interference in their internal affairs. Active coexistence can be implemented only in the relations between states and peoples, not in relations between blocs. There can be no coexistence between blocs, for that would not be coexistence at all, but merely a temporary truce concealing the danger of new conflicts.

The policy of active coexistence is also an expression of the need for intensive development of the forces of production. This development has brought about, in a very real sense, the interlinking of the whole world and the close interdependence of the economies of different countries, and it shows that war is futile as a means of settling any problem or contradiction between states. In view of the inevitability of the catastrophe which the use of nuclear weapons would bring about.

The policy of active coexistence is an expression of the objective needs of the contemporary world for maximum co-operation in the economic field, for comprehensive cooperation

in cultural, scientific, and other fields. In face of the alternative, which is war or peace, the policy of active coexistence is the only realistic and peaceful policy. It corresponds to contemporary economic needs in the world economy as a whole; and here, stabilization and continuing development are inconceivable unless there is equitable and expanding, normal and free, economic cooperation all along the line of general economic progress throughout the world. One of the aims of socialism must be the economic unity of the world, a unity which will supplant the capitalist-imperialist forms of the international division of labour, and which will be based on essentially new and much more intensive relations between all national economies than was the case under capitalism.

According to this conception, the policy of active coexistence, with its emphasis on international cooperation and the consolidation of the cause of peace, not only helps to eliminate the danger of war but also creates the best conditions for accelerating the advance of socialism. The policy of active coexistence inevitably leads, in every capitalist country, to the repression and weakening of the forces which stand in the way of progress and are a potential threat to world peace. The policy of active coexistence provides a firmer base for the struggle against imperialism and colonialism; it reduces the potentialities of hegemonic policy, it saps the foundations upon which bureaucracy thrives, and enables the socialist countries to develop more rapidly and less painfully. Accordingly, this policy does not perpetuate the existing social formations but, on the contrary, tends to accelerate the process of change.

In the interests of a stable peace and healthy socialist development, it is essential that the socialist forces fight side by side with all peaceloving forces for the victory of the policy of peace and active coexistence. The world today is in dire need of efforts by all peaceloving forces, by all states and responsible statesmen, to promote cooperation between East and West. A significant role in this respect is played by the non-committed countries, which, by virtue of the fact that they are not aligned with any bloc, can contribute a great deal towards breaking down the exclusiveness of the blocs. The League of Yugoslav Communists

will in the future, as in the past, remain faithful to its principle that the foreign policy of Yugoslavia should serve precisely these aims.

*International Economic Cooperation
and Problems of Integration*

The present technique of production and the development of the productive forces make it imperative for national economies to establish firmer ties with the world economy. The general progress of individual countries depends on free international economic, technical and scientific links and cooperation. Seclusion within national frontiers, autarchy, and discrimination resulting from ideological or political motives, are contrary to the needs of the economic development of the world and injurious, not only to individual countries, but to the world as a whole.

For these reasons, general and regional amalgamations in the economic sphere, in so far as they are founded on objective economic needs and have come into existence through the development of international economic development on the basis of equality, may either immediately or in the future contribute to the process of integration in the world economy, to the mutual assistance of peoples in developing their productive forces, and indeed to their specific coordination and orientation. In such cases, regional international integration may be the first step on the road towards wider world economic unity.

Certain present concrete forms of regional integration, however, bear a number of adverse features, which are impressed upon them by the existing sharp division of the world into blocs, and by the influence of imperialism and hegemony from the strongest capitalist states. Such influences frequently transform regional integration into an instrument for maintaining the division of the world, into an instrument for preserving the blocs and establishing certain countries in a semi-dependent position. Progressive efforts for the development of general and regional economic integration must, consequently, run parallel with the struggle against these and similar influences adverse to such integration.

The successful development of international economic co-operation and integration can only proceed from the free and voluntary linking up of the economies of individual countries, in accordance with their common economic interests and with the principles of equitable democratic relations. This secures a quicker growth of productive forces in the world and the introduction of certain elements of short term planning in international economic cooperation; it contributes to the mitigation of existing international contradictions, creates conditions for assistance to undeveloped countries in the interest of all concerned and the economy of the world as a whole, and creates conditions for active coexistence and the free development of nations. The development of economic cooperation upon this basis, without discrimination, without restrictions imposed by blocs and without political conditions involving the narrow interests of individual countries, is an integral part of socialist plans for developing the economy of the world.

Socialist Yugoslavia, taking into consideration the existing situation in the world and the various adverse influences on existing forms of regional integration, has not joined any regional economic organisation. However, appreciating the favourable prospects for the development of international economic co-operation and the favourable aspects of the elements which are inherent in the present forms of integration, in spite of their shortcomings and taking into consideration her own economic and political interests and the interest of economic growth and peace in Europe, socialist Yugoslavia is encouraging cooperation with different European regional organizations, on the basis of equality and from the standpoint of mutual benefits.

Development of Underdeveloped Countries

After the Second World War, a number of new independent states came into existence. These countries began to establish

their economies in a phase of highly developed capitalism, with strong tendencies towards state capitalism at a time when capitalism as a world system was beginning to disintegrate, and socialist society to advance by leaps and bounds. For the purpose of building up the necessary economic basis for their young political independence, they have to accelerate their economic development. In so doing, they are compelled to introduce state measures into the economic life of the country.

The economically underdeveloped countries today comprize the overwhelming majority of mankind. These countries have at their disposal vast natural resources and potential. The economic development of these countries forms the basis of their political independence, and is the material condition for their genuine equality in international economic and political relations, which, in turn, constitute one of the foundations of stability and development in the world economy.

Consequently, international aid to underdeveloped countries for the purpose of their economic development is also in the interests of the world economy as a whole. International assistance can contribute to historical progress only if it is given without military or political conditions, and on the basis of democratic relations between countries. Therein lies the great progressive significance of international economic assistance through collective international actions, which are based on respect for the independence and sovereign rights of the peoples involved. Such assistance would introduce a new element into contemporary international economic relations. Apart from this, it is one of the most important economic antidotes in the present conditions to imperialism, hegemony and war.

The socialist forces are vitally interested in the expansion and consolidation of international activity of this nature.

Socialist Yugoslavia is making strenuous efforts to promote international aid to underdeveloped countries, especially through an adequate mechanism within the framework of the United

Nations. But it resolutely opposes all attempts to use international economic assistance as an instrument for the achievement of political or military ends. For this reason socialist Yugoslavia, in its foreign policy, upholds the principle that international economic assistance should be granted without any conditions.

Giving priority to collective international action, socialist Yugoslavia, however, also takes a favourable view of bilateral programmes of economic aid, provided that these do not threaten the sovereignty of the countries receiving the aid, and have no political strings attached to them.

The Foreign Policy Tasks of Socialist Yugoslavia

The foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia — based on the historical experiences of the Yugoslav peoples and their resolve to safeguard their independence and sovereignty at all costs — serves the independence and interests of the free socialist development of the country, and contributes to comprehensive cooperation between peoples.

In fulfilling its tasks, the foreign policy of socialist Yugoslavia implements the principles of consistency, frankness and independence in adopting its attitudes.

The independence of Yugoslavia's foreign policy is opposed to selfishness, national exclusiveness, narrow-mindedness and seclusion. Yugoslavia is an integral part of the European and world community and, as a socialist country, it is also part of the socialist world, that is to say, of the socialist and progressive forces of mankind today.

In accordance with the general principles of its foreign policy, socialist Yugoslavia has made, and will continue to make, efforts to develop cooperation and good-neighbourly relations with all the adjoining countries, irrespective of the social and political differences between Yugoslavia and these countries, or of differences

in their respective relations with the existing blocs. This policy corresponds to the interests of the peoples in this part of the world, and is conducive to world security and peace.

In all the neighbouring countries, just as in Yugoslavia, there are various national minority populations. Any kind of oppression of one people by another is alien to multi-national socialist Yugoslavia, which was born in the fire of the People's Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution. All peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia enjoy, and should enjoy, equal rights and duties. Yugoslav national minorities in the neighbouring countries, as well as other national minorities, provided a correct policy is pursued towards them, provided they are guaranteed democratic rights and enabled to create institutions through which they can secure their free national, cultural and economic development as free and equal citizens of those countries, can prove a powerful factor in mutual friendship and interstate cooperation. The very idea of changing frontiers by force in order to settle minority questions is alien to the League of Yugoslav Communists, which upholds the equal democratic, cultural, and economic rights of the minorities in its own country, and expects the same for the Yugoslav minorities in other countries.

In enlisting its foreign policy dealings in the service of active coexistence and the movement to abolish the division of the world into blocs, Yugoslavia is fostering, and will continue to foster, every possible form of UN activity directed to this end. Yugoslavia is, and will continue to be, engaged in the struggle to make this organization all-embracing and world-wide, thus contributing to the realization of the aim for which the organization was created. Without underestimating the adverse influences of the international situation on the organization, or its frequent unilateral bias, which is the consequence of these influences, the League of Yugoslav Communists, nevertheless, considers that the United Nations, through the persistent endeavours of peaceloving, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces, can be made,

more than has been the case hitherto, to serve the strivings of people for peace and mutual rapprochement, for cooperation and peaceful mutual assistance.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will continue to support this aspect of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and will make every effort, in close cooperation with the parties and organizations of the working class and with democratic, anti-imperialist, and national liberation movements, to give assistance to the peoples of the world in their endeavours to make war an impossibility, so that a new era of peaceful creative work may dawn. The fate of our peoples and the future of our socialist development have never before been so closely bound up with the fate of other peoples and with the successes of socialist development in other countries as is the case today.

C h a p t e r I V

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
IN YUGOSLAVIA

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN YUGOSLAVIA

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORIGINS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN YUGOSLAVIA

The Origin of the Yugoslav State and its Political-Social System

Yugoslavia came into existence after the First World War as a result of the age-long aspirations and struggle of the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian and Montenegrin peoples to achieve unity; but the new State was founded with no regard for democratic principles, under the direct negative influence of the big imperialist powers and the class interests of the domestic bourgeoisie.

While the composite state was being created, the working class and peasants in all Yugoslav areas were caught up in the revolutionary fervour prevailing in most European countries at that time. This revolutionary ferment was intensified by the powerful influence of the victorious October Revolution in Russia and revolutionary upheavals in a number of other countries.

Quite spontaneously, the working masses sought to give the new Yugoslav state, which was still in the process of coming into existence, features corresponding to their fundamental interests. But the revolutionary workers' movement lacked a leading force with a clear-cut program, conscious revolutionary orientation, and an organization capable of fulfilling this historic task. In such a situation, the reactionary ruling forces succeeded, gradually and after much bloodshed, in getting the upper hand

over the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement in the country and imprinting their own class characteristics on the new Yugoslav state.

After temporarily crushing the workers' and revolutionary mass movement, by the Proclamation of December 1920 and other measures, and thereby securing power for itself, the ruling bourgeoisie made the new state a tool for the protection of its own class interests. The workers' movement was outlawed, and, in June 1921, the Vidovdan Constitution was imposed upon the country by the Greater Serbian bourgeoisie. The blow directed against the workers' movement in 1920 was in fact only the first step toward the liquidation of all democratic resistance to the establishment of a monarchy, the rule of reactionary social forces, and a system of national inequality and hegemony.

The fear of the revolutionary mass movement temporarily reconciled the antagonisms existing among the various national bourgeois groupings; and this was to the advantage of the Greater Serbian bourgeoisie, since only they had at their disposal the political and military might and the necessary support of imperialistic forces abroad to enable them to oppose this revolutionary movement with success.

Economic and Political Dependence of the Country. Internal Contradictions

Regions with differing degrees of economic and cultural development were united in the Yugoslav state; the differences resulted from the fact that for centuries these various regions had been developing under diverse conditions and influences. As a whole, Yugoslavia was made up of economically underdeveloped areas; and the devastation of the First World War brought the country to an even lower economic level.

The position of the working class in the new state was exceptionally difficult, all the more so as foreign capitalists and the undeveloped bourgeoisie sought to extract the greatest possible profit from the backward country.

In the villages, too, extremely intensified forms of exploitation prevailed, pauperizing and proletarianizing a large section of

the working peasantry. The exceptionally small size of the holdings, general backwardness and the absence of any attempt by the bourgeoisie to take steps to improve agriculture, deprived the peasants of prospects of making a living.

Only a very small portion of the accumulated profits and extra profits was used to develop the productive forces of the country. Foreign capital, which was predominant in industry, sent abroad the larger part of its profit, in various forms, while the domestic bourgeoisie spent a considerable portion of its income for unproductive purposes or invested it outside the country.

The bourgeoisie was not capable of accelerating the development of the backward economy or of offering prospects for economic improvement and progress.

Economically, Yugoslavia became an increasingly dependent country: she had a semi-colonial type of economy; more and more of her population emigrated abroad for economic reasons; and foreign capital increased its penetration under exceptionally favourable conditions for the exploiters. Political relationships in the country also developed upon a material basis and material contradictions such as these.

The Greater Serbian hegemony and centralism caused the gap separating the component peoples of Yugoslavia to grow increasingly wider during the entire existence of prewar Yugoslavia. In this respect, only the workers' movement achieved any important results, unifying in its struggle the working class and democratic forces of all the peoples of Yugoslavia. With the exception of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, not one political party was able to develop into an all-Yugoslav party. All attempts to create new political formations along the lines of alleged "Yugoslav national unity" met with failure. Bourgeois separatist groups of the fascist type were created, but gained no great influence over the masses.

The various national fractions of the bourgeoisie, struggling against each other for dominance, sought support from abroad. Internal conflicts opened the doors wide to foreign interference by all manner of means — from economic infiltration and the corruption of leading political circles to crude political pressure and open threats. Court circles, military cliques, and the leaders

of the principal Yugoslav churches, all played an important role in the struggle to gain influence over state policy. On the one hand, corruption held sway in the machinery of state and parts of it were openly linked with various bourgeois groups, foreign capital and their economic interests. On the other hand, the state machine, being influenced by public opinion, was not always a reliable support for those in power. This process impelled the ruling circles toward increasing administrative-political centralization, which further intensified the internal contradictions.

The antagonisms between the working class movement and the ruling class grew steadily. Unemployment, class differentiation in the villages, ruthless exploitation, police terror, hunger in certain areas, a number of other unsolved social problems, the bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie on the national question — all these created fertile soil for the activities of the workers' movement, infusing the struggle of the working masses of town and village with a revolutionary intensity. The bourgeoisie crushed local unrest with resultant bloodshed among both workers and peasants.

The close links between the Yugoslav bourgeoisie and leading international imperialist forces determined Yugoslav foreign policy as well. Committed to the policy pursued by the Entente Powers at the end of the First World War, from which the Versailles arrangement also originated, living in fear of the revolutionary ferment of the masses, involved in international anti-Soviet plans and intrigues, the Yugoslav bourgeoisie was incapable of developing any kind of consistent foreign policy to defend the independence and peace of the peoples of Yugoslavia. It was, and remained, a mere pawn in the political game of the big powers, bereft of any shadow of independence in its foreign policy outlook that could be made to serve the fundamental interests of national independence. Its foreign policy was consistent only in one respect, viz., in focussing on the centres of international reaction of that time.

*Bourgeois Yugoslavia's Economic and Political Crisis.
Struggle of the Working Class and Masses of the People*

Capitalist Yugoslavia was in a state of permanent economic and political crisis.

The working masses demanded democracy, a government in which their own influence would predominate, the settlement of the nationalities' question by means of a federation of peoples with equal rights, and the satisfaction of their fundamental social and economic demands. The reactionary social and political system became more and more untenable, and a revolutionary-democratic solution more and more imperative.

The Greater Serbian bourgeoisie, in alliance with parts of the Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie, replied to the growing pressure of the working class and masses of the people by establishing, on January 6, 1929, an overt dictatorship with the aid of the monarchist-military clique. The dictatorship began with bloody retaliation not only against the workers' movement, but, in general, against the democratic strivings of the masses of the people, and especially against the aspirations of the oppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia.

The January 6 dictatorship failed to stabilize the regime. The antagonisms were too deeply rooted in the intrinsic social structure and material foundations of Yugoslavia for dissatisfaction to be eliminated or the resistance of the people crushed. Instead of solving the political and economic crises, the dictatorship merely intensified them.

The thirties ushered in a period of increasing struggle by the masses of the people to solve political, economic, nationality, and other problems. As this struggle gained momentum, with it grew the influence of the Communist Party which determined the character of the fight against the pro-fascist forces in the country and against the growing fascist danger in the world. Under pressure from the masses of the people, attempts to introduce fascism into the country failed. The main force in this revolutionary democratic movement of the masses was the workers' movement and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The political crisis, to which the bourgeoisie vainly sought a solution in line with its own interests, paved the way for the pro-fascist orientation of the regime toward the Rome—Berlin

axis; and this policy further intensified the crisis. Harassed by growing internal antagonisms, the Greater Serbian bourgeoisie sought "agreement" with the Croatian bourgeoisie for the purpose of joining forces in the fight against the working class and alienating the peasant masses from the revolutionary workers' movement. This agreement, however, did not overcome the antagonisms among the various national fractions of the bourgeoisie, nor did it solve the nationalities' question or lessen the pressure from the dissatisfied masses.

The alignment of the regime with the fascist Rome—Berlin axis, as the new centre of international reaction, endangered the very national existence of the Yugoslav peoples. It became increasingly clear that the only way out was a revolutionary democratic settlement of the antagonisms that had accumulated: the overthrow of the old ruling group and the establishment of a new government based on broad democratic unity and including the workers' movement and the Communist Party. That was the solution proposed by the Communist Party. However, not one of the factions of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie was ready or able to accept such a path, as they all lived in such fear of the masses that they shrank from any democratic step whatsoever. So the onus of carrying out this task was entirely on the Yugoslav working class, which succeeded by relying on its own strength and on militant alliance with the other working masses of Yugoslavia, especially with the peasants and the people's intelligentsia.

The Development and Role of the Yugoslav Communist Party

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which had been created under conditions of general revolutionary upheaval among the masses in the country and the world after the First World War and the October Revolution, grew and gained strength politically and ideologically, linking itself more and more with

the working classes; this development ran parallel with the developments in the internal political situation mentioned above. The origins of the Communist Party go back to the revolutionary workers' movement from which the reformist and opportunist section of social-democratic parties had separated itself. These parties from then on represented an insignificant minority in the working class of Yugoslavia and ceased playing an important role in any respect.

Bans, persecutions, prisons and other methods of terror, "legal" and clandestine murders, as well as its own ideological weaknesses and mistakes — caused the Communist Party to suffer serious setbacks and temporarily weakened its influence over the masses after the First World War. Nevertheless, it stood firm on its militant positions and, despite all shortcomings, proved itself to be the most devoted defender of the interests of the working class, the working masses and oppressed peoples. Adapting itself to the difficult conditions of underground work, it set up underground centres in the trade unions and in an extremely wide variety of political and social organizations. It was everywhere where the working masses were, everywhere where it could influence social and political trends of development.

In the necessary process of overcoming the negative ideological heritage of the past and alien influence on the workers' movement, opportunist, sectarian-dogmatic and conspiratorial-anarchist elements were gradually eliminated from the Party. Immediately before the Second World War, factional struggle at the top, which had done a great deal of harm to the Party, was finally liquidated. The most calamitous mistakes, dating from the earlier period of the Party's existence, in the fields of the nationalities' question, the problems of the village, etc., were corrected.

The dictatorship established on January 6, and the wave of terror that accompanied it, temporarily broke up a number of Party organizations; but in resisting that terror the Communists matured ideologically and politically, and the Party was purged

of the remnants of opportunism and sectarianism. Young members who had been steeled in the struggle and were not encumbered by factionalism quickly revived the Party. The unity of the Party organization inside the country created conditions for liquidating factional remnants in that part of the leadership that was abroad as well.

In 1937 a new leadership, headed by Josip Broz Tito, came to the helm of the Party. This leadership had emerged from Party organizations in the country which had already regenerated themselves in the course of formidable struggles and were, therefore, not burdened by factionalism. The unity of the Party organization led to the successful establishment of ties between the Party and the working class, to the extension of its influence on the existing trade unions, to revival of the revolutionary struggle of the trade unions, to increased activity by the youth, and to the powerful influence of the Party on a number of other mass organizations, and on the peasantry as well.

Regenerated, ideologically equipped to deal with the enormous revolutionary tasks that the development of conditions in Yugoslavia inexorably placed before the workers' movement, the Party, with a clear revolutionary orientation, adapted its working methods to the democratic and revolutionary movement of the masses. Its practical political activity and day-by-day tactics were an expression of what the working masses could grasp at that given moment and what they were willing to fight for. At the same time, through its ideological work, the Party opened up for the most progressive and most militant part of the working masses further prospects for social development, the prospect of socialism, and to that prospect it linked the struggle for the day-to-day economic, social and political demands of the working masses.

Thus the Communist Party became a powerful political factor in the country. Despite the terror that prevailed and the fact that the Party had been outlawed, it succeeded by political

activity in breaking through the limits imposed by its underground character to become the most powerful political organizer and leader of the movement and struggle, not only of the working class but of the working masses and youth in general. Such a revolutionary political force was capable of formulating the aspirations of the masses of the people in a clear revolutionary-democratic and socialist program and, as the leading force, of organizing them for the inevitable revolutionary settlement of the seething antagonisms bedeviling social relationships in Yugoslavia.

THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION WAR AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

*March 27, 1941. The Collapse of Bourgeois
Yugoslavia in April. The Occupation of the Country*

The first revolutionary thrust at the old political system took place on March 27, 1941. The putsch by the pro-Western faction of the bourgeoisie and military leadership against Yugoslavia's adherence to the Hitler bloc was outstripped by public opinion and the movement of the masses. Growing revolutionary-democratic pressure, under the leadership of the Communist Party, did not allow the putsch to remain within the limits to which its protagonists endeavoured to confine it. The Communist Party succeeded in channelling it in the direction of a more profound revolutionary development.

The Communist Party became the leading force of this development. Under the circumstance of Hitler's aggression against Yugoslavia, that revolutionary-democratic movement acquired new forms and developed in a new direction.

Under the impact of Hitler's aggression and the occupation of the country, the People's Liberation War released and brought

to the fore all the revolutionary energy that had been accumulating and deploying itself during the development of internal antagonisms characteristic of Yugoslavia before the war. It was because of this that it was inevitable for the People's Liberation War to develop into a socialist revolution.

The defensive war imposed upon Yugoslavia by the fascist aggression of April 1941 revealed all the rottenness of the bourgeois social and political system in Yugoslavia, and its total lack of ability to lead the struggle for the defence of the national interests of the people. Its military leaders were not capable of organizing even a semblance of serious armed resistance to aggression, while the political leadership began to disintegrate on the very first day of the attack.

The Communist Party, which in the period immediately preceding the war had consistently supported the defence of national independence from the threat of fascist invasion, in those critical days too, unlike the bourgeois political and military leaders who had been completely taken off balance, put into motion all its organizations and followers in an effort to mobilize the masses, to organize the industrial centres and towns, and to resist, side by side with the army, the penetration of the invaders' divisions. However, the bourgeois and military leaders, who had anticipated a quick capitulation, refused to cooperate with the Communist Party and with the revolutionary and democratically-inclined masses of the people, thereby frustrating these patriotic efforts and endeavours.

The swift capitulation in the face of the invader, and indeed the entire policy of the bourgeois leadership immediately before and during the war, revealed to the Yugoslav people a shameful picture of treason, cowardice, incompetence, and toadying to foreign imperialist interests by the bourgeoisie.

Using reactionary, fascist elements, the invaders set up puppet "national" governments in Croatia and Serbia and through them endeavoured to incite savage hatred and internecine slaughter among the peoples of Yugoslavia. The influence of these "govern-

ments", and that of similar quisling outfits in other parts of Yugoslavia, did not gain any wide momentum among the masses nor did it last long.

While one section of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie linked its fate up with the cause of the fascist invaders, another section lived in the hope that it would return to power after the war with the help of the Western allies within the anti-Hitler coalition. This latter section, represented by the Yugoslav Government-in-exile, supported the Chetnik groups under the command of officers of the former Yugoslav Army, which were attempting to provoke civil war in the country and to paralyze the People's Liberation Movement, and which were collaborating more and more openly with the occupying powers and quisling "governments", while, at the same time, enjoying the support of the Western allies who had certain postwar political aims of their own connected with them. However, owing to their political connection with the old reactionary regimes, their incitement of fratricidal war and collaboration with the invaders, the Chetniks and other similar formations soon lost all influence in the country and were annihilated in the course of the People's Liberation War.

After all the disillusionment they had suffered in prewar Yugoslavia, and especially at the time of its downfall, the masses of the people paid more attention to the lead of the Communist Party, more than ever before and adopted its policy, methods and plan of action for the struggle. In those days, when the German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian fascist aggressors had wiped bourgeois Yugoslavia off the map as a state, Yugoslavia existed more than ever in the common resistance of all its peoples, organized and led by the Communist Party.

Preparations of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for the Uprising. The Call to a General Armed Uprising

After the collapse of bourgeois Yugoslavia, the Communist Party called upon all the peoples and patriotic forces to unite

in a common front of struggle against the invaders and their henchmen in the country, and also to fight against passivity and the tendency to wait for salvation from abroad. The Party pointed out to the masses of the people in Yugoslavia that only by fighting and strengthening their own forces could they be the masters of their fate and escape becoming pawns in the calculations of the big powers after the defeat of the aggressors.

The Party made organizational preparations for the uprising by developing a broad network of underground military committees whose task was to form armed detachments, hide and collect arms and other war materials left behind by the shattered former Yugoslav Army, organize attacks by shock groups in the towns, and lead the local uprisings in the country-side which had broken out as early as May 1941.

The basis for these preparations was the organizational political work carried out in the preceding period, the success in developing and reinforcing the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia, which had a powerful influence among the youth, and the work carried out among the soldiers and officers of the former Yugoslav Army.

The Party knew that the future course of events would create conditions under which a general armed uprising would be not only feasible but inevitable.

The political preparations for an armed uprising against the invaders were made through efforts to set up a People's Liberation Front as the broad, nation-wide political organization of the uprising. The platform of that Front gave impetus to increasing activity both among the broadest masses of the people and also among the democratic and patriotic sections of certain bourgeois political parties, which had in the period preceding or during the war broken away completely from their treacherous or incompetent leaderships. In the People's Liberation Front under Communist Party leadership, they found the genuine political force that alone could lead the Yugoslav peoples into

an armed political struggle against the enemy, to win independence and freedom for the country and open up progressive prospects for the future.

As early as the month of May, the Party was leading armed attacks in some parts of the country. However, Hitler's aggression against the Soviet Union accelerated the creation of a situation where a general armed uprising became possible and imperative. The bulk of the military forces of the Hitler bloc was fully engaged along the main front of the Second World War. The belief of the masses of people in the inevitable defeat of the Hitler bloc, and their desire to be liberated more quickly, gave powerful impetus to their readiness to make their own contribution, in the form of an armed uprising, towards the struggle of the Soviet Union and the entire anti-Hitler coalition against the fascist aggressors and thus to bring closer the hour of their own liberation. The working class and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, in particular, were aware of the necessity of supporting, by armed uprising at a decisive moment, the first country of socialism, because its victory in the Second World War was a necessary condition for the subsequent strengthening and development of socialism in the world and thereby for the real, lasting liberation of the Yugoslav and other peoples of the world.

That is why the Communist Party, standing at the head of the liberation movement, called, on June 22, 1941, upon the peoples of Yugoslavia, upon all patriotic forces, and especially upon the working class and the working people, to reply to Hitler's new aggression by intensifying the armed struggle; and on July 4 it issued a call for a general armed uprising. The appeal came at the right moment and received mass support. The network of military committees was transformed into the leading nucleus of the People's Liberation Partisan Detachments, as the basic fighting forces of the armed uprising. Under those concrete conditions, the uprising inevitably had to assume the character of a Partisan war, which gradually enveloped all parts of Yugoslavia.

The People's Liberation War and Its Aims

The successful development of the armed struggle made it possible by the end of 1941 to proceed from Partisan detachments, which were the first military formations of the nationwide uprising, to a higher form of military organization — to the formation of the Proletarian and People's Liberation Brigades, and then on to the Divisions and Army Corps of the People's Liberation Army, which became the main striking force of the uprising. The force thus created grew to such an extent that it was able steadily to increase the area of liberated territory and to pin down large fascist forces. In this way the People's Liberation War became an important component of the armed struggle of the allied powers against Hitler's aggression. The successes in the war against the invader steadily strengthened and extended the mass basis of the uprising and the military proportions of the Liberation and revolutionary war. These successes were primarily the result of the correct policy of the leadership of the People's Liberation Movement and its close ties with the masses of the people, and of the ability of the political leadership to apply and develop the art of revolutionary warfare, that is, the specific strategy and tactics required by the Liberation War.

This policy made it possible for the People's Liberation Army to grow into a force of several hundred thousand fighting men and to become an important and extremely active military factor in the anti-Hitler coalition. The invaders were compelled to give battle when it was forced upon them on this new front and to withdraw divisions from other fronts and other occupied countries in order to put down the armed uprising of the Yugoslav peoples. The scope and military force of this uprising made it unique in occupied Europe and not only threatened the position of the Axis powers in Yugoslavia, but also showed other enslaved peoples that armed struggle in Hitler's "new European order" was possible.

The People's Liberation War in Yugoslavia would not have been fought with such perseverance and success had the Yugoslav working people not seen in it, in addition to victory over fascism, also the prospect of victory over the old, hated bourgeois order in Yugoslavia, over the system of class exploitation and national oppression. The aspirations of the masses for a new socialist order came increasingly to the fore as the armed struggle progressed.

The aspirations of the working masses for democracy and socialism were fulfilled gradually through the successes of the uprising, by way of the revolutionary people's government bodies — the People's Liberation Committees in liberated territories. These were new bodies of government, through which the will of the working masses was expressed directly. The old machinery of government was smashed and abolished, not only in form, but in its social and political structure as well. The political foundation of these new bodies of government was the People's Liberation Movement. And the fact that the guiding nucleus of that movement was the alliance of workers and peasants, and that the Communist Party was leading it, was a guarantee to the working masses that their social and political aspirations would be fulfilled.

During the uprising, as one victory over the invaders and their henchmen followed another, the machinery of people's government, the People's Liberation Committees, gradually expanded and gained strength. The year 1943 was a turning point in this respect, for it was then that the People's Liberation Movement finally asserted itself in international relations as the only force of nation-wide resistance to the fascist invaders and the only *de facto* representative of national government in Yugoslavia. The new government bodies in liberated areas, which, after the capitulation of Italy, comprized the greater part of Yugoslav territory, were linked together in a unified democratic mechanism of national government, both within the boundaries of various national territories and within Yugoslavia as a whole. This unified

mechanism of new revolutionary government was built up on the principle of a federation of equal peoples, offering prospects for the creation of a better and happier life for the vast majority of the people.

The predominance of the social and material interests of the working class and toiling masses in the policies of the people's authorities inevitably meant that the new state organization became a powerful instrument not only of the People's Liberation War but also of the Socialist revolution.

In this situation, it was essential, politically, that the revolutionary bodies inside the country should, once and for all, settle the question of the Government-in-exile in London, which stood for the interests of the bourgeoisie and Greater Serbian hegemony and which, for this very reason, was not only isolated from the masses of the people in Yugoslavia, but was also a symbol, in the eyes of these masses, of the most dangerous threat to the socialist and democratic future of the working people of Yugoslavia. A clear and final break by the People's Liberation Movement with a government of that sort and the forces it represented became an imperative condition for the future development of the People's Liberation uprising and for the further improvement of prospects for mobilizing the masses of the people.

This task was fulfilled at the Second Session of the Yugoslav Anti-fascist Council of National Liberation, in Jajce, on November 29, 1943. The decisions made by this supreme revolutionary body of people's government legalized the emergence of a new Yugoslavia as a federal, democratic state, a state of the working class and the working people, a state that guaranteed to Yugoslav society the benefits of socialist development.

The Revolutionary and Socialist Character of the New People's Government

Even while the war was still in progress, the people's government carried out a number of social reforms, although it did not

legally change property relationships. Some of those revolutionary-democratic reforms secured power for the working people and abolished various remnants of semi-feudal relations and the crudest forms of exploitation. Other reforms, especially the consistent confiscation of property belonging to those who had collaborated with the invaders (and these included most of the rich bourgeoisie), which were carried out by the new people's government, originated as revolutionary measures of a socialist character even during the war. All these measures strengthened the political and economic basis of the socialist forces in the social life of the new Yugoslavia which was emerging.

The temporary compromise between the revolutionary government in the country and the reconstructed Government-in-exile in London, which was primarily a requirement of the foreign policy interests of new Yugoslavia and not a reflection of the internal relationship of class forces, could have no influence on the course of events in the country. The entire development up to that time and the revolutionary achievements of the People's Liberation War bore witness to the leading role of the working class and its vanguard and to its revolutionary alliance with the broad masses of the people in Yugoslavia.

The subsequent revolutionary socialist transformation of new Yugoslavia thereby became inevitable.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, closely linked with the working class and supported by the overwhelming majority of the other working people, consciously, courageously, and systematically undertook the fulfillment of its historic, revolutionary task. During that process, all those elements that were in one way or another connected with the old order, with the interests of the historically obsolete, and the socially, politically and morally compromised and defeated bourgeoisie, quickly dropped out of the revolutionary government.

The road to the fulfillment of great historic tasks, the road to socialist development in the country, was finally cleared by the proclamation of Yugoslavia as a Federal People's Republic.

By virtue of the magnitude of its sacrifices and the sore labour of its struggle against the enemy in the face of overwhelming odds; by virtue of the lofty morale of the revolutionary People's Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments; by virtue of the revolutionary fervour of all active participants in the Revolution; by virtue of its success in training and steeling revolutionary cadres in the People's Liberation Committees, in the nationwide People's Liberation Front, and in the political anti-fascist organizations of women and youth; — the People's Liberation War and Socialist Revolution will go down in the history of wars and socialist revolutions as a shining example of struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, and for national freedom and equality, thus making an important contribution to the world struggle for socialism.

C h a p t e r V

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
FOUNDATIONS OF
SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN
YUGOSLAVIA

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA

People's Government and Socialization of the Means of Production

The undisputed leading role of the working class, led by the Communist Party, in the government, viz., a specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the conscious and consistent policy of socializing the basic means of production, have since its very inception given the new, people's democratic Yugoslavia the character of a socialist state — despite strong remnants of the former social relationships and the incomplete development of the new socialist forms. New Yugoslavia has consciously taken the road of building socialist social relationships and her political and economic system ensures such a development.

In its socialist development Yugoslavia has passed through several phases which are an organic part of an intergral and continuous process of social, economic and political transformation occurring on the road to socialism.

Expropriation of the Expropriators. The Role of the Revolutionary Machinery of Government

By making tremendous efforts and sacrifices, our working people have raised Yugoslavia from the ruins and in a relatively

short time have reconstructed a large percentage of prewar productive capacity. The nationalization of all the basic means of production in industry and transport, the nationalization of banks and trade, and a radical land reform were carried out. A state organization resting on the advisory participation of the working people in the management of production has been built up to manage all these branches.

A system of socialist planning was introduced, and a democratic and socialist constitutional system proclaimed, a system appropriate to the concrete state of social relationships and the social and economic strength of the revolutionary socialist forces. The political and technical machinery of government was organized. A network of social organizations based on socialist social consciousness was developed. The revolutionary leading role of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, established and consolidated during the Revolution, was extended to key state and social positions. Parallel with this, the People's Front enhanced its role as a political alliance of working people and all political and ideological trends supporting the socialist transformation of the country. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the working people, especially the youth, was one of the factors contributing to the achievement of great results. These extraordinary achievements had a decisive effect on the political stabilization of the new society and on the subsequent reinforcement of the internal unity necessary for tackling the problem of socialist development in the country.

The economic factors of socialism, however, were still weak. The country was industrially and agriculturally underdeveloped and backward, the working class was not numerous, the spontaneous small-owner tendencies were strong, and the capitalist elements very tenacious and persistent. Given such undeveloped economic foundations, it was impossible to proceed with the rapid development of socialist relations and to bring about a substantial improvement in the material position of the working people.

Such conditions made imperative constant and powerful intervention by state political measures and revolutionary pressure in the sphere of economic relationships. It was imperative for

the Communist Party to manage the machinery of government directly, and a high degree of concentration of political power in the administrative apparatus was necessary. Only in this way was it possible to destroy the economic foundations of capitalism in the country and reconstruct the economy, devastated during the war, on new social foundations so as to build up the material ground-work and pre-conditions for socialist construction.

The Working People and the Government Machinery

Such a state of affairs could only be a transitional phase. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was aware that a strong and stable society under the socialist system could not be ensured exclusively by revolutionary-administrative means. The strength of socialism lies primarily in its economic indispensability, in its inseparable links with the social and economic interests of the working masses, and in the growing awareness of these basic truths in the consciousness of the working people. A more prolonged and excessive use of revolutionary-administrative means would inevitably create tension in internal relationships, distort the action of socialist forces, and create the necessity for bureaucracy to assert itself. Therefore, as soon as there is no longer any objective social need for the state to play such a role, the Communists and all conscious socialist forces, as the driving force and fulcrum of progressive development, must increase their political activity in the sense of creating and developing forms of democracy which will enable the working class and the working people generally to take directly into their hands the management of an expanding area of social affairs in the economy and in other spheres.

Only within such a process can the working people themselves, everyone in his own sphere, consciously and spontaneously, put up a successful opposition to the pressure of economic, political and ideological remnants from the past and gradually develop into the independent, indestructible economic and political force of society that makes measures of coercion by the state less and less necessary, and finally abolishes them.

Until socialist society attains such a degree of material development and democratic stability, serious reactionary deformation of socialist relationships remains a possibility.

Laying the Material Foundations — The Industrialization of the Country

For all these reasons, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and all socialist forces in the country were soon faced with a most important and pressing task — that of strengthening the material foundations of socialism; transforming socialist factors into the leading economic force of the country; consolidating the social force and role of the working class; tightening the economic ties between the working people in the countryside and the socialist economy.

An early start was made on these tasks by certain provisions in the First Five-Year Plan for the development of socialist Yugoslavia.

In that phase, the plan for a substantial increase of the country's industrial capacity — the plan for industrialization — was inaugurated and fulfilled. Owing to certain external political difficulties against which socialist Yugoslavia was struggling at that time, the realization of this plan took longer than had been anticipated and demanded exceptionally energetic endeavours from the working people of Yugoslavia, especially the working class. The results of those efforts were of decisive significance for the future of socialism in our country. The main goal of the plan had been reached and the socialist economy became the major economic factor in the country. The economic strength of socialism thereby came more and more to the fore.

There was a considerable change in the social and economic structure of the country which resulted in an increase in the power of the working class and thereby of the political forces of socialism in general. More favourable material conditions were created for the subsequent development of productive forces and for the gradual improvement in the living conditions of the

working people, thus mitigating the contradictions between day-to-day material needs of individual working men, on the one hand, and the need for a more rapid economic progress by society as a whole on the other. The economic and political independence of the country was also consolidated. A firmer basis was created for further development in socialist relationships.

Shortcomings and Negative Tendencies during the Initial Phases of Socialist Development

Concurrently with these successes, which opened up new prospects for further development in socialist relationships, the first phase of socialist construction revealed to the working people and socialist forces in Yugoslavia many of their own shortcomings.

The inevitable concentration of efforts on the acceleration of industrialization necessarily imposed a relatively slower rate of improvement in the living conditions of the producers, at the same time giving impetus to uneven development in specific branches of the economy and creating a certain disequilibrium between commodity stock and money in circulation. Agriculture, consumer goods industries, etc., lagged behind. The problem of the adverse balance of payments in economic relations with foreign countries was intensified. Such phenomena were, however, of a temporary and transient significance, since efforts, exerted in the past period, had created the material basis for speedier and more coordinated movement in the next period.

Under such conditions, certain adverse manifestations in social and political development appeared or became increasingly in evidence: such as the flagging of initiative and insufficient control among the working people, administrative schematism, certain dangerous tendencies toward merging the Party with the government machinery and, above all, bureaucracy and ancillary tendencies toward technocracy and etatism, toward the establishment of certain economic privileges, etc. Had these tendencies developed and become dominant in the life of our society, they might have seriously threatened the ties of the leading socialist

forces, first and foremost the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, with the broad working masses.

*New Initiative by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia
in the Struggle for Socialist and Democratic Development*

The Yugoslav Communists perceived in time the historic necessity for further changes and took action to eliminate the obstacles standing in the way of future socialist development. They not only opposed tendencies to restore bourgeois political forms and futile petty bourgeois-anarchist manifestations, but they also prevented the state from developing tendencies to arrogate to itself wider functional powers and ramifications; they prevented the state from becoming, through ever increasing penetration into social life, through the growth of the state administration, the increase in the power of bureaucratic tendencies and economic privilege, and the gradual transformation of the state into a power above society, a master over the people. Thus the Yugoslav Communists have eradicated, root and branch, tendencies to conserve established relations and halt further socialist development.

The Communist Party initiated in good time a number of other measures aimed at consistency in the development of socialist social relationships in Yugoslavia. Certain changes were brought about, first of all, in the political and economic system itself and in the method of planning, that is to say, more favourable conditions for an independent and freer movement of socialist, economic and other social forces in general were created. A determined and clear lead was given to more rapid democratization and achievement of social self-government in all spheres of the life of society. Measures were undertaken to counter the tendency toward the fusion of the Party with the administrative machinery of the State, to counter the danger of the Party becoming bureaucratic. A determined struggle was undertaken against the manifestation of serious bureaucratic and etatistic deformations in the development of socialist relationships.

A great number of these tasks were fulfilled in the phase when the First Five-Year Plan was being implemented. The decisive step was taken in 1949—1950 when Workers' Councils were set up in factories and other economic enterprises. This was followed gradually by a number of other measures which changed the entire future of the political and state system.

All these historic changes were confirmed at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, when the further socialist advancement of society was also mapped out.

The development of socialist relations and socialist democracy thereby gained new impetus and prospects for ever freer creative initiative by individuals in all walks of social life.

THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT AS A FORM OF DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The Social Substance of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

The class-political substance of the people's government in Yugoslavia is the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, government by the specific alliance of the working class, as the leading force in society, with the other working people. The political forms of the government of the working people of Yugoslavia have emerged from their specific conditions and correspond to their own concepts. These forms have developed and changed and will continue to develop and change commensurate with the internal development of productive forces and socialist consciousness.

By dictatorship of the proletariat, we do not mean this or that external form of state, nor a specific method or organizational machinery of the political system during the transition period from capitalism to socialism or further to communism, but rather its social, i. e. class-political, substance. The forms, methods and machinery of the political system grow out of the specific social substance, and they can be, and inevitably are,

very diverse in various countries and periods. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the social substance of a government and political system in which the leading role of the working class is undisputed. In that sense the undisputed leading role of the working class means not merely the simple presence of a workers' party in the government, but such relationships between class and political forces in the country whereby the working class and its leading socialist forces are in alliance with other working people, are in a position to change social relationships, in accordance with their social and economic interests, and really do change them.

The fact that such a political system — with its multiplicity of democratic forms — is inevitable in the transition period results from the historic role of the working class, as the most progressive social factor in contemporary society. And that role is the political reflection of the fact that the social and economic interests of direct producers — taken *in toto* as the interests of the entire working class — regardless of the political consciousness of each individual worker in production, constitute the most progressive material incentive to social advancement, both in private-capitalist production and in socially owned means of production. The progressive role of the working class is also a consequence of the fact that this class cannot emancipate itself from exploitation without emancipating the whole of society from the pressure of the historically obsolete capitalist system and from all exploitation and oppression. That is why the working class must of necessity change not only the class structure of society but also the social relationships under which it exists as a class.

Under conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and social ownership of the means of production, the working class cannot secure its own material interests and its historic role unless it fights simultaneously to develop productive forces, to liberate all creative economic and political factors in society from the pressure of anti-socialist forces: from small-owner spontaneity, bureaucracy, conservativeness, and various forms of distortion in socialist relationships and socialist development. In this sense, the dictatorship of the proletariat is any political

system of the transition period in which the immediate and future economic and other interests of the working class, that is, of the producers operating the socially owned means of production, are the guiding principle of its entire political, economic, and social activity. It is a political system which is "merely a transition to the abolition of all classes and a transition to a classless society." (Marx)

*The Inevitability of a Variety of Forms
of Dictatorship of the Proletariat*

Diverse political forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat inevitably result from differences in the historical development of various nations, from differences in their social and economic structure, from different economic, political, and cultural conditions, different political — and especially democratic — traditions, customs, concepts, and other features, etc., and from differences in the point of departure and ways in which social transformation has taken place.

Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Yugoslavia took on a form whereby the proletariat won leading political positions by revolutionary means, but in which it had to win a decisive victory over the general backwardness upon which the reactionary forces thrived. The political forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat materialize under entirely different conditions in countries which are developed, where socialism has a strong economic basis and the working class already made social gains. The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot have the same forms in a country where the working class is becoming the leading factor in society by gradual advance and the consolidation of its positions in the system of government, as in another country where, owing to the extreme intensification of internal antagonisms, the proletariat has won power through a revolutionary upheaval, which tempestuously, like a whirlwind, has not only razed to the ground the old hated political system, but has also introduced a system of overt revolutionary dictatorship in which monopoly of power is held by the leading revolutionary forces.

The steady growth of the forces of socialism on a world-wide scale, and the increase of their influence on the general development of society, will cause an even greater abundance of diverse political forms of dictatorship of the proletariat to appear in the future — from revolutionary dictatorship to parliamentary government in which the working class and its social and economic interests wield decisive influence. It is possible for the class struggle, while developing towards a dictatorship of the proletariat, to increase this diversity even further with various transitional political forms of specific dual rule and compromise in which the growing influence of working class interests will be in evidence — until that influence becomes predominant in the political form which results from the concrete conditions of the class struggle.

THE SOCIAL ROLE AND TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST STATE

The State as a Necessary Instrument of Socialist Forces in the Transition Period

The state is the inevitable product of every class society and as such a tool of the ruling class. In Yugoslavia the state is also necessary as a general form of the power of the working class and working people.

The socialist revolution cannot, and does not, abolish the state merely with the winning of power by the forces of socialism, because this does not mean that class and social antagonisms will automatically disappear, nor is the new society capable of existing and developing without such an instrument to control internal antagonisms and contradictions. On the contrary, the state is one of the most important and necessary levers used by socialist forces to liquidate the economic foundations of the capitalist system and lay the foundations for socialist construction.

The course of the history of socialist revolutions to date has finally covered over the various anarchist theories about the abolition of the state and various petty-bourgeois utopian illusions

about some sort of society founded on abstract democratic principles. "There is no abolition of the State; it withers away" (Engels). The withering away of the state is a process that lasts during the entire epoch of transition from capitalism to communism. The period during which this process of withering away takes place is also the epoch in which the state, with its specific elements, exists and plays a definite, indispensable, positive role in society, different in various phases of development during the transition period.

It is not the goal of the revolution and the socialist state to create a new society on the basis of blueprints laid out in advance and dogmatic interpretations. Their task is simply to liberate the socialist economic and social factors that had already developed within the confines of the old society, and to be the vehicles of future socialist development, in line with the development of the social material basis and with the advancement of socialist consciousness. The state of the transition period should therefore be: an instrument for the emancipation of socialist forces from capitalism, an instrument for the defence of their free development under economic conditions resulting from the socialization of the means of production, and an instrument for the democratic organization and reinforcement of their economic and political forces.

The Process of the Withering away of the State

Outside such frameworks, in the sphere of socialist construction itself, the state will also have to be transformed to an increasing extent into a form of social and economic organization to carry out specific common social functions. It will be less and less an instrument of force, and more and more an instrument of social self-government, based on the consciousness of the common material interests of the working people, and on the concrete needs of their producing organizations.

The socialist state, therefore, is and must be a state of a specific type, a state that is withering away. Its social role and its organization must be such that this process can unfold as

independently as possible of the subjective will of the concrete protagonists of its role, and in line with the increase in the economic power of socialism and the ascendancy of socialist relationships.

The organic form through which contradictions of socialist development can and must be reconciled gradually, by evolution, is the development of democracy and social self-government in all fields of the life of society.

So far, the practice and experience of socialist development in other countries, and in Yugoslavia herself, prove not only that this process is possible and can be successful, but also that it is precisely the process which — regardless of the forms in which it manifests itself — leads to the stabilization of socialist relationships and the strengthening of their internal forces. As the socialist democratic system develops, the role of the state administration begins to diminish in the direct management of the economy, in the field of cultural and educational activities, the health services and social policy, etc. The functions connected with the administration of these activities are transferred to an increasing extent to various social self-governing bodies, which are independent or linked up into a suitable democratic organizational machinery. State bodies continue to carry out a number of functions, such as: economic planning, management of certain social funds and general proportions and ratios in the distribution of resources; but, in carrying out these functions, they are increasingly prone to shed the characteristics of political authority and become more and more joint social bodies of working collectives in enterprises and of territorial communities of producers and consumers.

Parallel with the transfer of functions connected with the management of social affairs to various social bodies, and parallel with the internal transformation in the character of state bodies, especially the representative ones, some functions retain the character of state affairs; such are: functions connected with the political system, general regulative functions and special regulative functions in the economy, maintenance of public order, inspection, security, justice, national defence, and other similar services. But even these, some more and some less rapidly, are undergoing transformation in their forms and methods,

in accordance with the dwindling of internal class antagonisms and difficulties in building the new economic system of socialism.

*Two Harmful Tendencies in the Development
of the State*

The process of the withering away of the state does not depend, therefore, on the subjective will of the leading socialist forces alone. It can only be the organic outgrowth from the emergence, development, and maturing of socialist relationships and from the growing social and economic forces of socialism in general — an outgrowth from the socialist solution of a number of contradictions inherent in the transition period. That is why impetuosity to accept artificially created forms can be just as harmful as the conservative retention of obsolete forms.

Bearing all these facts in mind, the Yugoslav League of Communists will struggle persistently, during the next stage in the construction and development of the social system, against two (at the present time) equally dangerous and harmful tendencies in the social life of Yugoslavia: first, against the tendency toward an anarchist underestimation of the role of the state, manifested in pseudo-liberal attacks on its socialist character, and against all attempts to undermine its political forces in their struggle against bourgeois counter-revolution and social demoralization; and, secondly, against the tendency to transform the state into an all-embracing force, into a force above society, which would actually liquidate the direct social influence of the working people on the policy of the state leadership, in other words, against all etatistic idolatry.

The former tendency leads to the political disarmament of the working class and socialism in the face of the enemies of socialism and when confronted with the problem of backward consciousness, both of which are still serious forces in our social life. The free play of such forces would create a number of new difficulties for our socialist society and slow down substantially the development of socialism and productive forces. It would also extend the life span of all the social antagonisms and slacken

the development of socialist democracy. Yugoslav Communists fear neither counter-revolutionary forces nor destructive anarchist and pseudo-liberal talk. But they will fight persistently against them in order that these social and political elements (whose class, economic and political interests relegate them to the past, that is, to the social order that the Revolution has destroyed) shall have no opportunity of obstructing the working people of Yugoslavia in their socialist efforts, or of increasing their difficulties which are, in any case, still considerably great in a relatively underdeveloped country such as Yugoslavia.

The second tendency leads to bureaucracy, to the alienation of the leading political forces from the working people, to the deformation of socialist development, and to the intensification of internal contradictions.

The objective origins of these social manifestations are to be sought, first of all, in the weakness of the socialist forces, i. e., in the economic and political backwardness of the country and the resulting need for a considerable concentration of power; in the economic basis of the remnants of capitalism and in pressure from small-owner spontaneity; in the intensification of internal contradictions; and in reactionary international pressure, etc. Their subjective origins may be found in ideological backwardness and conservativeness in the ranks of the socialist forces, in habits retained from the past, in the influence of bureaucratic technocracy and etatism, in the backwardness of the social consciousness of the working class, in the degree of concentration of power and economic privilege vested in the state and economic administrative machinery, etc.

Bureaucracy constitutes a great danger for socialism during the transition period. While it is still only a tendency and a sporadic manifestation, etatistic bureaucracy impedes the development of socialist democracy and the activity of socialist forces, deforms certain socialist social relationships, depriving even the working class of many of its rights and of many aspects of its leading role. Developed to the full, bureaucracy would mean a specific type of restoration of state-capitalist forms.

Such a process would unavoidably lead to an increasing intensification of contradictions between the social character

of production with socialized means of production, on the one hand, and the monopoly of the state, as an independent economic force in the field of the management of social production and distribution, on the other. This would result in antagonistic contradictions between the working people, who wish to be masters over the social means of production, and the state, in its capacity of over-all monopolist, between rewards according to work and bureaucratic privileges; this would result inevitably in social and political disturbances.

Socialist progress would, therefore, be just as impossible without the suppression of etatistic bureaucracy, which is the last offshoot of the old class system and the greatest obstacle to the advancement of socialism, as it would be without the suppression of anarchist and pseudo-liberal (conscious or unconscious) destructive attempts to undermine, through the weakening of the state, the leading role of the socialist forces in society and thereby to prepare the way for anti-socialist forces.

BASIC SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROTAGONISTS OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

The Place and Role of Communists and Other Conscious Socialist Forces in the System of People's Government

While assigning an indispensable and important place to the role of the state during the initial stages of socialist construction, and aware of the dangers of etatistic deformations which such a role can provoke in the development of socialist relationships, the Yugoslav Communists consider that the state, or rather its administrative machinery and managerial devices, can in no case be the principal instrument of socialist construction and the solution of the internal contradictions of socialist development. The machinery of state cannot be a decisive, permanent, and all-embracing factor in the development of new social relationships. In particular, the Yugoslav Communists must not, and do

not desire, to arrogate to themselves, in the place of the working class and the working people, state power by manipulating the machinery of state. Only the social-economic interests of the working class, of the working people who operate the socially-owned means of productions, and the socialist consciousness based on these interests, can be a basic, lasting stimulant to social progress.

The Communists do not renounce their leading role in society. Socialist consciousness plays a decisive role in resolving the contradictions of socialist development. But the leading socialist forces can triumph only if they act in accordance with the objective laws of development and the needs of society in general and, especially, if they act in accordance with the over-all social-democratic interests of the working class, that is, of the working people who operate the socially-owned means of production. In the struggle for the future of socialism, Communists must constantly test their political line in the light of their responsibilities to the broad masses of the working people. Learning from experience and the contradictions which appear in socialist development, they must educate the working people to take a greater, more direct, and more independent share in the management of society, and to think and act in a socialist manner, until the very last citizen has learnt to manage the affairs of the community.

The relationships between the Communists and the working masses cannot, therefore, be either the relationship between the ruling party and those who are ruled, or the relationship between teacher and pupil; it must increasingly assume the character of a relationship between equal partners. Thus, those most qualified and capable of pursuing the common interest win the greatest confidence. The Communists and the leading forces of socialism in general must, therefore, in their struggle for the advancement of socialism operate over all fields of social life, primarily through the life, work and social action of the working masses themselves. In other words, their aim must be to fight for the progress of socialism and in that struggle to realize their leading role less and less through *their power* and more and more by means of the direct power of the *working people* who operate the socially-owned means of production, and by means of the

most diverse forms of social self-government. In so doing, the Communists must strive to mobilize the activity of all factors of socialist development; they must see to it that this activity is a socialist one, by educating and training increasing masses of people for socialist management. Through such activity, the Communists and leading socialist forces will protect themselves from bureaucracy and at the same time steadily raise the level of social consciousness among the masses, aiming to bring about a gradual reduction in, and abolition of, the contradictions between the government and "the governed", between the leaders and "the led", between the state and its citizens.

At the same time, the Communists will continue their struggle to preserve the key positions of state power, on which depend the future development of socialist society and the defence of that society from attacks by the most diverse (internal and external) anti-socialist forces, and keep them in firm revolutionary hands. The great socialist, democratic, humane and peaceful goals that Yugoslav socialist society has set itself can be reached quickly and painlessly only if the enemies of socialism are prevented from introducing obstacles and dislocation into internal social life.

The Basic Protagonists of Socialist Development

Taking as a point of departure the political bases thus established, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers that the key problem and primary task of the conscious socialist forces in the development of socialist relationships during the transition period from capitalism to socialism is the discovery of the forms through which the new socialist socio-economic relationships will be expressed at the base of the society; in other words, the position of the concrete social, economic, and political factors in the basic cells of socialist society, and the basic factors of socialist advancement in the over-all machinery for management of social production and distribution and in the blue-prints of economic policy for society as a whole.

Under the conditions for building socialist relationships, when power already belongs to the working people, the funda-

mental protagonists of socialist development at the base of society are:

the producer operating the socially-owned means of production, whose work and social and economic interests based on that work inevitably make him the mainstay of socialism; whose material dependence on the enterprise makes him vitally concerned in its maximum achievement, efficient operation, and steady technical advancement; whose dependence on the general material state of the community in which he lives makes him vitally interested in developing productive forces, in increasing the productivity of labour and thereby also in raising the national wealth and in ensuring a unique and planned harmonization of relations in distribution; who examines in the light of his own work, life, and experience, all the results of the general economic, social, and other policies of social bodies and has, therefore, a profound interest in socialist, democratic control over the work of the state and economic administrative machinery and in the suppression of bureaucracy;

the working collective, as the protagonist of economic activity in the enterprise, has an interest in coordinating its individual and collective interests and in steadily increasing the individual and collective productivity of labour, because it is precisely this which makes possible a rise in the individual standard of living and further technical advance in the enterprises; for the same reasons it has an interest in cooperation among the enterprises and in economic association for the purpose of achieving maximum utilization of its own productive and other economic potentialities and those of the community; this means that the collective transforms an association of this kind not only into equipment and accessories for the use of individual working collectives in their efforts to create the most favourable business and working conditions, but also into an instrument of the community for the democratic centralization of certain social economic functions and for directing certain economic activities in the workers' collectives;

the commune, the basic political-territorial and social-economic self-governing community of the working people which — as the practical vehicle and organizing mechanism of

efforts to advance the over-all standard of society and to satisfy the social needs of the working population — becomes at the same time the fundamental factor coordinating individual and collective interests; because of its material dependence on the income of the population, it must have an interest both in raising the productivity of labour and in developing productive forces further; it is a community in which the producer is both consumer and beneficiary of social, cultural, health and other institutions, and thereby becomes concerned both with the over-all development of productive forces and with living standards; it is a community in which the working man gains insight into the community functions of coordinating individual and collective social interests and loses the feeling of being a wage-earner of the state, while the commune, in this way (parallel with the weakening of class differences and antagonisms), becomes increasingly identified with the basic cell in the community, the community of producers, and is itself transformed into the basic community of producers;

the socialist social organizations, political, economic, cultural and others, which are set up over the area of the socialist citizens specific interests; which, as such, on the one hand, satisfy the most diverse needs of the citizens and, at the same time, become the instrument of the community as a whole, of its most progressive socialist forces, in the implementation of a consistent socialist policy, in the socialist education of the masses and their cultural advancement, and in directing the conscious efforts of the entire nation toward the fulfillment of socialist tasks; which in all these ways — and this particularly applies to organizations such as the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, the trade unions, etc., — have the role of promoters of socialist thought and its uninterrupted development, without which there can be no socialism in practice either.

If all these factors operate freely within the boundaries of common interests, then the *state*, as their common instrument, will also be an important factor in the advancement of socialism. And vice versa, if an excessive concentration of power in the hands of the state machinery and etatistic bureaucracy impedes or obstructs the action of the fundamental factors of socialist development, then the state becomes an independent economic

force, and bureaucracy begins to stifle initiative in the basic socialist factors and to become the source of distortion in socialist relationships. In other words, such a political system begins to hinder normal socialist development. That is why the position and relationship of the producers, working collectives, economic organizations and communes, as the basic social factors, reflect the character of social and economic relationships in general, and the degree of development of the socialist system in particular.

The Free Community of Producers

The socialist state is, therefore, in form, an organic outgrowth of the needs of these socialist factors, that is to say, the state must be organized in such a way that, first, it makes possible their free action within the framework of the generaleconomic plan and unified system, and that, secondly, it secures the gradual development of society as a whole — through such free action by the basic socialist factors — into a socialist community of producers. The community of producers is not just a name for a specific organizational form, or for a territorial-political community of people. It signifies the kind of social and economic relationships in which class antagonisms, as well as antagonisms between town and village, between physical and mental labour, between the organizers of production and the actual producers, between management and execution, disappear. Under such relationships, society becomes to an increasing extent an organization of equal working people in which, in the final analysis, each of them — whether in a producing organization or not — has his own place as an active factor in the struggle for the further development of productive forces and for the satisfaction of man's vital needs. In this way, the difference between the direct producer and the working man outside the direct process of material production is eliminated, and the whole social community becomes a community of producers. This process of social transformation will, in the entire epoch of socialism, be the fundamental characteristic of social development towards full realization of the basic social and economic goals of the working people — towards communism.

C h a p t e r VI

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
SYSTEM

S O C I A L A N D E C O N O M I C S Y S T E M

SOCIAL OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND OTHER FORMS OF OWNERSHIP

The Social and Economic Substance of Socialism

Every historical form of society is characterized by specific social relationships, of which the basic ones are the relationships among people in production and distribution of the social product. Socialism brings with it new social relationships, substantially different from those under capitalism. Socialism is not merely "a policy on behalf of the masses" and a struggle for "a large slice of bread", although a rise in living standards is a characteristic of the socialist economy. Socialism cannot be equated with the realization of the principle of equality and freedom, although the striving for equality and freedom is a vital element in its ideology. Neither is the substance of socialism reflected merely in the material, economic advancement of society, although the development of material productive forces is one of the fundamental preconditions for socialism, because such a highly developed system cannot be achieved under conditions of economic underdevelopment.

Socialism is a social system based on the socialization of the means of production, in which social production is managed by associated direct producers, in which distribution is effected in accordance with the principle "to each according to his work", and in which, under the leadership of the working class (which

is itself changing as a class), all social relationships are gradually freed from class antagonisms and from all elements of the exploitation of man by man.

The introduction of social ownership of the basic means of production, and the management of social production by the associated working people, as producers and consumers, creates the conditions necessary for the elimination of anarchy in production and periodic economic crises, manifestations which are inevitable in capitalism. The fundamental internal contradictions typical of capitalism, which make planning under capitalism impossible, disappear. The basic aim of the capitalist form of production, viz. acquisition of profits and accumulation of capital, also disappears, while production as a whole is organized in accordance with the needs of the people.

The Forms and Role of Social Ownership

The form of socialization of the means of production may be different in the course of development from indirect social, or state, ownership (which is characteristic of the first phase of social development) toward maximum direct social ownership, managed ever more directly by the emancipated and associated working people. Social ownership of the means of production develops in line with the increase in the material, social and political power of the socialist society. Therefore, every form of social ownership contains, to a greater or lesser degree, remnants of state ownership, as long as social appropriation is being carried out through, or in the presence of, social forces in the form of the state or political authorities.

From the economic point of view, social ownership makes it possible to direct production in accordance with the needs of the people, with a view to satisfying these needs to the fullest possible extent. At the same time it prevents alienation of labour surplus from the producer by putting him in the position of deciding on the utilization and distribution of the social product and, at the same time, of appropriating directly one part of

the social product that he produces under socially organized production.

Social ownership of the means of production was achieved in Yugoslavia through a revolutionary transformation. In Yugoslavia, it encompasses all the means of production, except of the means used for private labour by peasants and craftsmen. Social ownership of the means of production in Yugoslavia has not only liquidated private capitalist ownership, it has also become the firm foundation and guarantee of social relationships in production, whereby there is a gradual disappearance of conditions making possible any monopoly of ownership, including economic and political monopoly, that is to say, monopoly not only by the individual but also by the socialist state.

The actual social substance of this process is the development of self-management by the producers in production, of self-government by the working people in the commune, district, republic, and federation, and clear delimitation of rights and duties among all those bodies. This is what makes it possible for the community, and equally for the individual producer, to influence, in a certain way, both production and distribution, as well as the allocation of the social product. These relationships are not absolute, they are even contradictory; but they must gradually, without any doubt, develop in the direction of greater direct influence by the working man and greater harmony with the needs of society as a whole. Under such relationships, which to an ever increasing extent transform society into a real community of producers, conditions are created whereby the free and conscious development of each individual becomes the condition for the free development of all.

The League of Communists considers that social ownership over the means of production is the inviolable basis of the socialist order in Yugoslavia. Only through the progressive development of social ownership can conditions be created for a continual increase in the economic power of the socialist community, and thereby for a better life and increasing freedom for the working man. Work under such conditions is no longer simply a struggle for subsistence, but a satisfaction to Man, the conscious creator.

Property Relationships in Agriculture and their Transformation

Property relationships in agriculture have a special importance in the social and economic system in Yugoslavia.

The problem of land ownership and its forms has been posed in diverse ways in the various countries building socialism. Nevertheless, the essence of the matter is that the process of socialization of the land is an integral part of the development of socialism. This process, however, can unfold in different ways, depending on the concrete social, economic, and political conditions in each country.

A radical agrarian reform was carried out in Yugoslavia, resulting in the restriction of land holdings to ten hectares of arable land; and this substantially decreased possibilities for capitalist tendencies to assert themselves in the sphere of private agricultural production.

In view of the fact that private landholdings in Yugoslavia are almost exclusively of the type of small or mediumsized holdings, the League of Yugoslav Communists believes that the process of socialization of land will not develop in the future either by way of enforced general nationalization, or other similar means, but primarily through the socialist transformation of agricultural production on the basis of increasingly stronger socialist forces in the economy, particularly in agriculture, and through the gradual socialist transformation of the village, by unification through cooperatives or through cooperation between the peasants and the socialized sector in agricultural production. This cooperation is based primarily on the use of modern means of large-scale agricultural production, which can be exclusively socially owned.

The process of socialization of land will also unfold through the development and expansion of socially owned agricultural enterprises and through the influence of socialist industry and trade on economic relationships in agriculture.

Such a development will be also stimulated by the subjective efforts of the leading socialist forces.

Despite the existence of private land ownership, land is considered to be common property. The entire population has an interest in its proper cultivation, and it must therefore be under the general control of society. This enables the community systematically to create, stimulate, and foster the most diverse elements of large scale socialist agriculture, by way of suitable general economic policies, especially in connection with capital investment and credit, and by various planning, state-regulatory and technical-organizational measures, thereby continually stimulating and advancing the socialist transformation of the village.

At the same time, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers it imperative for the peasant to feel secure on his land, to rest assured that his right of possession is legally protected and that no measures of expropriation (except in cases fully established by law, when a general social need is indicated) can deprive him of his land while he is cultivating that land. He himself, while looking after his own interests and those of the community and using his own discretion, should voluntarily make the decision regarding his entry into a socialist cooperative and large-scale socialist production, which alone can extricate him from his backwardness and poverty.

Private Ownership in the Field of Craftsmanship and Its Transformation

The existence of private ownership by individual craftsmen over the means of production suits specific social conditions and requirements. Craft activities, based on these personal means of labour, which cannot become a source of exploitation of others, are included in the socialist economy insofar as the craftsman produces and renders services through his own personal labour.

There are, however, still remnants of hired labour and the exploitation of the labour of others in the private crafts, as is the case in private agriculture in Yugoslavia.

The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that all these remnants of the old system should be gradually eliminated

from our social relationships. In this respect, every possible effort should be made to transform small-owner production into socialist production by stimulating the progress of productive forces in that field. In line with such a development, administrative measures by the socialist state aimed at abolishing, once and for all, the right to employ labour for private gain in the sector of small-owner production will serve their purpose.

The socialist state should take the most determined administrative measures to check any attempt by small-owner production to become a nucleus for the assertion of capitalist tendencies. With this in view, the League of Yugoslav Communists considers it necessary in the present circumstances to augment the rights of working collectives in the management of larger private craft-workshops as long as they continue to exist as such.

Personal Ownership by Citizens

The League of Communists considers that private ownership by citizens of various consumer goods and utilities, upon which a richer and more comfortable life depends, constitutes an essential personal right and an incentive to creative personal initiative.

If the character and scope of the right to personal ownership is to remain socialist, then this right must not be allowed to lead to personal enrichment as a result of the exploitation of others, it must not have sprung from privileges of any sort, and it must not restrict others in the enjoyment of these same rights; in a word, it should restore the individual to society rather than enclose him in spheres of selfishness and seclusion.

Labour must be the source of personal ownership. Such ownership is not abolished in socialism, but it must be protected and continually extended, because socialism, taken as a whole, is directed not only toward the general progress of society, but also toward the achievement of the personal happiness of Man. In that respect, it is typical of socialism that it embodied a constant striving to satisfy human needs, activities, tastes, desires, etc., to the utmost extent.

THE POSITION OF THE PRODUCERS AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE

The State and Production

On the basis of social ownership of the means of production, not only the private owner but, in the final analysis, the state itself, is excluded as an intermediary between the producers and the means of production. The producer becomes the mainstay of the social function in the management of production and at the same time an active participant in the function of distribution of the social product. As a political power the state has less and less to do with direct production.

State bodies are, however, still an important and necessary factor in carrying out a number of social functions connected with the economy and other spheres of social activity. The role of the state in that field of social relationships is not a consequence of the political power it holds, nor of economic monopoly, but of the fact that the state itself is changing, viz., that in this field it is becoming, and must increasingly become, a system of territorial-political self-governing organization of producers and consumers and their social-economic community at various levels, from local council to federation. This also indicates that the commune, as the basic territorial organization of producers and consumers, is a necessary factor in the social regulation of production and distribution as well as in the change of role played by the state organization in socialism. One of the functions of such a changed state is to decide on affairs of joint interest both to the producers, and citizens in general and to their territorial-political unit. Such, then, being the character of these functions, — although for the most part they still take the form of acts of political power — they are no longer concerned with the direct management of production, with all those matters which producers and citizens and their direct representative bodies are in a position to take care of themselves, but rather have the character of planning and control, coordination and regulation.

Direct Producers in Production and Distribution

Such a role by the state is determined principally by the new position of the producers both inside and outside the economic set-up. Actually, the new social position of the producers under conditions of socialist construction, and their changed relationship toward production, results both from the fact that the producers have been transformed from wage earners into the direct managers of production and distribution and from the fact that through such management they are able to fulfill the personal requirements of everyday life, namely, higher earnings, and a higher personal and general social standard. Under conditions of the commodity character of production, the producers associated in working collectives necessarily organize themselves into an independent economic organization and enjoy their social rights and fulfill their obligations in managing production by entering into mutual business relations. Since, however, the producers' personal interest does not under such conditions depend on the results obtained from any one individual assignment, but on the work of the entire collective, on the operation of the enterprise, on its funds, on the economic development of the commune in which they live, on general economic conditions and market situations, on the community as a whole, on its economic policy, etc. — this personal interest is at the same time a permanent incentive to personal initiative and to conscious and active participation by the producers in the management bodies, primarily in the workers' councils, the commune, and the councils of producers, and through them in the entire machinery of government and social self-government.

Taking such premises as a point of departure, the League of Yugoslav Communists believes that the producer and the working collective must have maximum independence in their work and business dealings, i. e. in production and in disposing of certain enterprise funds, always provided that such independence comes within the compass of the over-all social interest, as indicated in the social and economic plan guiding economic development and in other decisions by leading social bodies. And that means that the producers and the working collectives

can, within the framework of the Plan and Law, directly and independently manage production, unite, merge, and cooperate with other organizations in accordance with the requirements of production, and independently and freely develop their creative initiative in order to increase the productivity of labour and total production. Under conditions of socialist self-government, the working people must be given a genuine opportunity to make decisions pertaining to the creation and total distribution of the social product. Only under such conditions can the working man gain complete insight into the essential movement of material forces and thus set himself free, that is to say, by adjusting his work and social activity to the requisite material framework of society, he becomes master of his own fate.

*The Abolition of Hired Labour Relationships —
The Liberation of Labour*

The individual producer and the working collective directly influence their own material position. Labour becomes free, and labour relationships lose the character of hired labour relationships. At the same time, such free creative labour becomes a factor both in the material progress of society and in the constant advancement of socialist relationships among the people. Conditions begin to be created for the gradual abolition of the contradiction between mental and physical labour. Society as a whole becomes more and more a community of producers in which all are interested in the most efficient possible management of affairs and the most productive labour by each and all. The results in this sphere of material and social relationships determine, in the final analysis, not only the degree of material prosperity, but also the degree of real liberty enjoyed by the individual.

Under conditions where everyone works according to his ability, and where the personal income of the individual and the conditions for development in the economic organizations depend on the intensity and quality of their work and the measure of success they achieve in their business operations, every effort by the individual producer and the entire working collective toward greater satisfaction of their own material wants, through

more productive labour and better operation of the enterprises, is also an effort for the benefit of the general social interest and for the more rapid general advancement of society. Only if such interest by the direct producers is aroused and transformed into the basic material factor of economic progress, can maximum results be achieved by the planned and regulatory measures which the community, as a whole, consciously undertakes in order to direct economic development, advance production, develop productive forces, and further advance socialist relationships. Socialism cannot subordinate Man's personal happiness to any kind of "higher aims", because the highest aim of socialism is Man's personal happiness. On the other hand, however, no one has the right to pursue his own personal interest at the expense of the common interest of all.

However, in emphasizing the personal and material interest of the working man, as the driving force behind his creative activity as producer and social being, the League of Yugoslav Communists does not believe that this factor automatically solves the problem of social progress, or that it exhausts the substance of personal life. On the contrary, as a conscious social being living under conditions of socialism, Man will free himself to a growing degree from blind subordination to material processes and become to an increasing extent the master of nature and of his own material position. That is why ideological and moral factors, spiritual creativeness, and even material sacrifices for the purpose of achieving certain ideological, moral, cultural, and political aims, acquire growing significance in the movement of society. It is precisely these factors that personify social consciousness and become a spiritual driving force and the steering mechanism of practice.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will spare no efforts to educate man in the spirit of precisely such aspirations.

Under conditions of social ownership of the means of production, emancipated labour is the only factor promoting both the reproduction of the free individual and of socialist relationships and socialist society. That is why any restriction of the freedom of labour must necessarily lead to the deformation of socialist relationships.

Labour has become the only possible source of material existence for a man who is capable of working. Society is not responsible for the consequences befalling a man who does not want to work.

This does not mean that society is exempt from the necessity of pursuing a suitable social policy and of adopting regulatory measures in the sphere of material relationships and in other fields, in order to direct the distribution of the labour force and cadres, to concern itself with the welfare of people who are not capable of working, and to fight against parasites of various categories who, although fit for work, endeavour to live at the expense of others.

An integral part of the personal rights of the working man who operates the socially-owned means of production is his right: to employment, to a personal income appropriate to his work and the work of the entire collective, to participation in the management of the social means of production, to security in case of accident at work, to protection in case of illness and to family insurance in case of death, to protection during employment and to other social, economic and political rights which grow and develop on the basis of social ownership and steady expansion and enrichment of the economic foundation of the socialist society.

THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY AND ITS INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS

The basic social-economic forces in Yugoslavia are: the working class, the peasants and other sections of society which secure themselves a place in society by their work. The powerful social-economic and political development of Yugoslavia has manifested itself not only through the elimination of the exploiting class as a social and economic force, but also through changes in the position and structure of the working class and peasantry and in changes in their interrelationship.

The Working Class

First of all, a vital change has been effected in the social position and role of the working class. From a numerically small and exploited class in prewar Yugoslavia, the working class has, under the new conditions, grown parallel with the economic and political changes in the country and has assumed the leading role in the system of self-government and in social and political life in general. As a result of the new position of the producer in production and distribution, and, firm in its devotion to the program for the socialist transformation of the country, the working class is becoming more and more conscious of itself, and of its political responsibility and social tasks.

The working class of Yugoslavia is still young and certain sections of it are quite new. It is recruited mostly from the villages; and this is why many backward concepts are prevalent in the ranks of the working class. Its economic, technical and other kinds of knowledge are not equally distributed among its members and are not always sufficient for a modern expanding economy, such as is, and must be, the economy of a socialist country. Certain sections of the working class are therefore frequently unable to grasp the necessity for this or that economic or social measure, or the reasons behind difficulties and methods of solving concrete problems. And the internal relationships themselves, with their remnants of economic inequality, bureaucracy, antagonism between mental and physical labour, etc., and the whole machinery of distribution based as it is on the principle "to each according to his work", which, although economically essential during the present phase, inevitably leads various sections of the working people into inequality in their material circumstances, create conditions which produce certain contradictions within the working class itself; and these in turn are reflected in the attitude of certain sections of that class toward the solution of specific social problems.

For these reasons, it is not impossible even under present conditions in Yugoslavia for disputes to arise between the individual workers and the management bodies in the enterprises, or between the collectives and higher social bodies. On the

contrary, such disputes are not only possible but inevitable for some considerable period while socialism is developing. Nevertheless, the character of such disputes is changing. They are no longer class conflicts between those who sell labour and those who buy it, nor conflicts between workers and a state which has superseded the capitalist but retains internal relationships similar to the previous ones. Now disputes arise mainly when within the specific social regulatory machinery a particular working collective is no longer able to function as a fully running concern and thus justify its position of equality with others.

The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that disputes arising out of such contradictions do not in themselves constitute a threat to socialist relationships. Such disputes are a reflection of contradictions in the development of economic relations in the socialist society, and can be resolved through the machinery of socialist democracy and patient political and ideological work by Communists and all conscious socialist factors. These factors, however, may lead to more serious dislocations if they become an implement for the penetration of alien influences, and if they reflect a temporary disorientation in the ranks of the working class. That is why this is one of the main fields of action for the leading political forces of the working class and socialism.

The position and role of intellectual workers in society change with the development of productive forces and with the advance of socialism. Under capitalism, part of the intelligentsia was linked with the bourgeoisie and participated in the distribution of capitalist profits, while the other, larger, part was always on the threshold of proletarianisation, and even became proletarianized. Under conditions of socialist construction and the gradual weakening and disappearance of the antagonisms between mental and physical labour, the intelligentsia merges, and should merge, more and more with the working class, or rather it becomes an integral part of the new structure of the socialist society emerging from the new social and economic relationships.

This process is the basis for increasingly close ties between the intelligentsia and the conscious socialist forces and their active efforts to build socialism.

One section of the intelligentsia is in its mentality still turned towards the past, towards the obsolete social relationships and ideologies which correspond to those relationships. The Communists will persevere in their efforts to maintain firm ties between the intelligentsia and other sections of the working people, to strengthen and stimulate its important role in the building of socialism and the culture of the socialist epoch and steadily improve its standards of living, directing the solution of everyday contradictions through the machinery of socialist democracy itself. But they will, at the same time, resolutely oppose any attempt — conscious or unconscious — to establish, under the catchword of “the exceptional role” of the intelligentsia in society, material privileges which are incompatible with socialist relationships, or to undermine with abstract slogans about liberty and democracy the concrete efforts of the socialist forces, efforts whose aim is to build socialism and thereby create conditions for the steady advancement of real democracy and the steady expansion of Man’s real freedom and creativeness.

The Peasantry

In line with the increasing power of the economic forces of socialism, important changes are also taking place among the peasantry. The greater part of arable land in Yugoslavia is owned by the individual peasant producer and his household. Under this form of land ownership, certain opportunities still exist in principle for capitalist tendencies and relationships to appear. But in practice, in view of the small size of the holdings, the existence of a relatively low land maximum, and the impossibility of private ownership of machinery for large-scale agricultural production — the private land holding in Yugoslavia has in the great majority of cases been reduced, for the most part, to the personal labour of the owner and his family. Although it represents, under certain conditions, a serious hindrance to the development of productive forces, the private land holding, through its increasingly close ties with the socialist economic sector and especially through its increasing dependence upon

the use of the socially-owned means of production, will gradually change its nature and become an integral part of large-scale socialist agricultural production. On the one hand, this creates conditions for its socialization in a form which will serve the interests both of the community and of the working peasant, and, on the other hand, it serves the increasing rapprochement and merger of the working peasants with the working class and other sections of the working people.

The Communists will make a stand against capitalist tendencies in the village and against those negative manifestations of private-owner mentality which produce narrow, selfish, and even anti-socialist actions and which could, as such, weaken the political unity of the working people and become a stronghold of reactionary political forces. The Communists must not underestimate such tendencies and manifestations. They are a serious social factor causing obstructions and delays, and creating economic disproportions and difficulties, political vacillation, etc.

However, although such tendencies exist, they do not represent a force that would inevitably threaten the alliance created between the working people of town and village during the Revolution and in the course of socialist construction to date. The large majority of peasants belong to the category of the small holder, living only on his own labour, whose small land holding is only a condition for such personal labour on his part and who, as such, has a vital interest in the abolition of all exploitation and in increasing the power of workers and peasants; this fact creates all the conditions for a much firmer consolidation in the future, of the unity of interests between the working people in town and country and thus, also, of their political alliance. The contradictions which will crop up in these relationships will be solved within the framework of socialist democracy, and by the systematic activity of socialist society in developing modern large-scale agriculture and carrying out the social transformation of the village.

It is precisely because of this that the peasants must be in a position of equality with the other working people in the political and economic system of our society, and they must have corresponding freedom of economic and social activity.

It is necessary for the peasant to have such a political status so that he will under the concrete conditions have a personal interest in making every effort to increase the productivity of labour and consequently to team up more and more with large-scale socialist agriculture, which alone makes such an increase possible and at the same time opens up for him the prospect of emancipation from backwardness, primitive labour, and poverty.

Other Small Owners

Under conditions of socialist construction, the working class, the working peasants, and the socialist intelligentsia, are joined by the craftsmen and other small owners — especially in the sphere of small-scale catering and other similar services — who live on their own labour. In the course of further social development this section of the working people will link up increasingly, in various forms, with the large-scale socialist economy and merge with the working class, i. e. with the entire socialist structure of our society.

There still exist in this sector, however, remnants of capitalist relationships and tendencies towards self-enrichment by the exploitation of labour and tendencies to evade social controls. The League of Yugoslav Communists will fight for the gradual liquidation of such relationships, both by economic measures and by appropriate administrative means at the disposal of the state.

The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that personal labour with personally-owned means of production — within the limits of the social plan — must remain free and unencumbered by any administrative interference, other than the regulatory functions which are imperative and of general importance for the achievement of the social plan, for correct business relationships and ensurance of equal conditions, rights and obligations in the economic sphere. The state will also have to use administrative means to prevent tendencies for such small-owner activities based on personal labour to be extended to include

employment of the labour of others; otherwise, the door would be open to capitalist relationships.

Remnants of the Bourgeoisie and of its Influence

In Yugoslavia, the bourgeoisie has been liquidated as a class not only politically but, through the nationalization of the means of production, in the social-economic sense as well. There is no longer a place for the bourgeoisie in the social-economic structure, because the prevailing social relationships exclude all the conditions for its reproduction as a class. But the remnants of the influence of the bourgeoisie on social relationships and the consciousness of people have not yet disappeared. In this sense the remnants of the bourgeoisie still exist and are politically active, striving to exploit all the internal contradictions of the community in their own interests and working for a restoration of the old order.

Now that the bourgeoisie has been liquidated as a class, its remnants endeavour to maintain and re-establish themselves through private-owner relationships and through certain relationships and manifestations in the new society, such as bureaucracy, shortcomings in the system of distribution which still here and there tolerates the acquisition of material privileges, the remnants of capitalist methods in trade, and other various remnants which derive from commodity-financial relationships. As such, the remnants of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois mentality still tend to provoke certain contradictions and conflicts and other forms of distortion in socialist relationships.

In the light of these facts, tendencies to establish economically unjustified material privileges in the machinery of economic and state administration must be regarded as an attempt by remnants of the bourgeois class to restore and entrench themselves in new social forms. Furthermore, the presence of remnants from the past, the pressure of the small-owner mentality, and the inadequate development of productive forces, introduce into the social and economic structure elements of social parasitism which are, in

point of fact, merely a particular pattern of exploitation of the working people and establishment of social privilege. Idleness, living at the expense of others, harmful activities in the pursuit of personal gain, shady speculations, etc., are not merely negative, antisocialist manifestations, but also factors which bolster up the remnants of backwardness and retrogression.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will continue to carry on a vigorous campaign against all such manifestations and tendencies, and against any attempt at political assertion by the remnants of the bourgeoisie. However, political, administrative and economic measures towards that end must be accompanied by a further development of democracy in the political and economic system, so that any tendencies in our economic relationships to which the remnants of the former society might attach themselves are rendered incapable of asserting themselves.

Bureaucracy

During the transition period from capitalism to socialism, bureaucratic tendencies emerge as a serious social factor; and the struggle against bureaucracy is of decisive importance. In the transition period between capitalism and socialism, bureaucracy occurs principally as a tendency for the government to become the starting-point of a process whereby the state apparatus would gradually acquire the decisive role in production and social relationships generally, and, as monopoly manager, would replace the power of the former capitalist in production, thereby becoming an independent and decisive economic factor in society — increasingly restricting freedom of labour and of the direct producer — and, in the final analysis, deforming the development of socialist relationships.

In Yugoslavia, the League of Communists, with the support of all the working people, has eradicated this process, root and branch. This, however, does not mean that these tendencies have been completely liquidated or that remnants of bureaucracy in varying degrees of strength will not continue to occur as serious impediments to the development of socialist relationships. To-

day, these tendencies in Yugoslavia take the form of arbitrary behaviour by certain bodies: the underestimation of the necessity of co-ordinating social and personal interests, the subordination to some sort of "higher socialist aims" of the problems connected with the everyday needs of the working people, the neglect in developing institutions of socialist democracy; further, they take the form of bureaucratic centralism, egoistic particularism and nationalism, and attempts to weaken and disintegrate workers' self-management, etc. In current everyday practice, these tendencies also appear in the form of irresponsible utilization of social funds, excessive disparities in wage scales and premiums, extortion of material privileges linked with certain positions, in the formation of narrow cliques in the management of enterprises and economic and administrative institutions, in arbitrary acts by executives, etc. Apart from this, in everyday practice, these tendencies in the majority of cases take the form of a bureaucratic attitude towards social problems, such as: a pen and paper solution of issues, a heartless attitude towards people, absence of a feeling of responsibility towards burning questions, a civil servant attitude towards work, etc. These are the most typical outward manifestations of bureaucracy and it is through them that certain individuals fall prey, unconsciously and gradually, to the process of bureaucratization. For precisely these reasons, there must be constant and concrete opposition to such manifestations.

Since bureaucracy is a product of the inevitable transitional role of the state in economic relationships, it will continue to manifest itself as a tendency as long as it is necessary for the state to play such a role, and it will diminish to the extent in which economic relationships become a matter for the producers themselves and their self-governing social bodies.

Consequently, bureaucracy appears as a tendency in the social relationships of the transition period. The young socialist society is unable to liquidate overnight all the remnants of capitalism and the manifestations of bureaucracy. These manifestations of society in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism can die out only in the course of a long process of social development. For this reason the Yugoslav Communists

will energetically oppose any attempts by the loud-mouthed spokesmen of reaction and destructive anarchism to make use of such inevitable but temporary manifestations for the purpose of attacking socialism itself. The task to be achieved does not consist in thundering against bureaucracy, or in demagogic and anarchist criticism of the role of the socialist state, or in concealing the fact of the existence of bureaucracy, but rather in a steadfast and ceaseless struggle by the socialist forces for the purpose of gradually overcoming all the remnants of class society and thereby also of bureaucratic elements in the social organism.

The Communists must be constantly on the watch and must carry on a persistent struggle against all manifestations of this kind, all the more so as some Communists also become vehicles for such tendencies. The most important weapon in this struggle should be the development of socialist democracy and social self-government, that is to say, the development of the most diverse forms of social control by the working people and, in addition, control through certain institutions in the social public services; such controls will eliminate any opportunity for arbitrariness in the administration and irresponsible expenditure of social funds by a social or state body. At the same time, the Communists should struggle consistently against manifestations of material privilege, unjustified economic inequality, abuse of power and executive position, the formation of cliques, favouritism, irresponsibility toward representative bodies, etc. They must also direct the vigilance of the people in this direction and suppress all attempts to silence necessary and justified criticism. The development of socialist democracy and of frank and responsible criticism in all democratic bodies of management, and in social organizations, is one of the most important instruments in the struggle against bureaucracy.

INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM AND THEIR SUBJUGATION

The social and economic system in Yugoslavia is neither a harmonious "social symbiosis" nor an idyllic order, selfsatisfied

with its "ultimate perfection". The working class, the basic force of socialist society, promotes and guarantees socialist development. But, within this very social-economic structure of the country, there are a number of class, economic, social, political and ideological contradictions which can acquire an antagonistic character under certain conditions. Under such conditions, the irrepressible, inexorable and guided development of socialism is at the same time objectively retarded, restricted, and fraught with difficulties and problems which must be continually thwarted by new ideological, political, and material victories on the part of the socialist social forces. And it is precisely this problem that constitutes the dialectics of social movement and progress.

As a new society, still underdeveloped and still a class society, socialism in Yugoslavia is developing side by side with the existence of a state and its specific significant role, and within the framework of commodity production. Distribution is carried out through the medium of money in accordance with the principle of remuneration for work performed. Under these conditions, contradictions between the collective and individual interests of producers, the state and social self-government, the commune and higher communities, coercion and freedom, general policy and the personal self-determination of the man, etc., appear, are transcended, and re-appear.

The essence of socialism does not consist in the enforced or apparent abolition of these contradictions by an omnipotent state. In a socialist society, the internal contradictions are resolved less and less by antagonistic reactions, characteristic of class society, and more and more by conscious action on the part of the leading social forces and by uninterrupted evolution.

Aware that as long as the state exists, the danger of its becoming an independent power and thereby intensifying certain contradictions in socialist development and transforming them into antagonistic ones is not averted either, the League of Communists believes that in the present socialist phase of development in Yugoslavia the role of the state will be a positive one to the extent to which the state itself develops into a democratic mechanism through which the interests of the basic socialist factors, the producers, working collectives, communes and society

as a community of producers, will be expressed and coordinated. In other words, the role of the state will be progressive insofar as the contradictions that appear on that basis can be resolved democratically without impeding, on the one hand, the independence of the socialist producers and their economic and social initiative, and without permitting, on the other hand, the inevitable contradictions to develop into anarchy and antagonistic conflicts, which would lead to the destruction of the foundations of socialism.

It is precisely these contradictions that make it inevitable that the independence of the producers in production should be framed within certain centralized economic institutions and functions of society and the state, while the power and economic functions of the central social and state bodies are restricted by the independence and self-government of the producers and of the basic factors of socialist material development.

In addition to the economic organizations managed by the Workers' Councils, the territorial-political units, of which the self-governing commune may be considered the corner-stone, have a particular role and place in pursuing the personal and common interests of the producers and consumers in Yugoslavia. In such socialist communities, social problems, economy, and culture, become a matter of common policy, while policy is transformed into social activity which does not direct people's attention towards the various party leaderships, as is the case under conditions of bourgeois democracy, but turns their attention to public affairs which are their own concern, that is, orients them directly towards these. By this very fact, the working collectives, with the Workers' Councils and communes, become the basis and the point of departure for further construction inside the entire political framework of socialism and for the final ascendancy of the common interests of free citizens over elements of spontaneity, anarchy, and bureaucracy. In that sense, this kind of political system of the socialist state, based and developed on social self-government, replaces the political system of the bourgeois multi-party state, but is incomparably more capable than the latter of resolving at the very base of society a number of social contradictions that arise during the process of gradual

development, viz. by peaceful social evolution and the democratic struggle of ideas.

New Relationships Among People

The future development of socialism will alter the social structure in Yugoslavia; and this structure will gradually lose its class and antagonistic features. It will be characterized more and more by an increasingly free and powerful social and economic unification such as is required by the developed division of labour, and which is effected in harmony with the common interests of society and the personal interests of its citizens. From such foundations spring the elements of the new civilisation which is being built consciously by millions of people in accordance with their needs.

It is inevitable that new humanist qualities in the relationships among people should gradually emerge from such social and political relationships. The new, basic social role of the factories, cooperatives, communes, schools, social organizations, and the family as well, consists in the development of relationships of sincerity, trust, humaneness, understanding, tolerance, and mutual cooperation and help, in short, human sympathy and comradeship among people. It is in such a spirit and in such a way that the struggle of ideas, criticism, methods of political action, etc., should grow and mature. The point at issue here is not a question of making a choice among various party leaderships, as is the case in a bourgeois-democratic state, but the attitude towards the specific social problems that are being solved. Under socialism, Man must feel that he is his own master, but not as a selfish and isolated individual. Man becomes his own master and achieves a degree of freedom in accordance with his participation in the various forms of common struggle, cooperation, and assistance, which are all founded on the feeling and conviction of the community that Man is the greatest good.

THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Such social relationships are a starting-point in the economic system, just as the economic and the political systems in turn affect the appropriate expression and development of social relationships, essential for the construction of socialism.

The economic system in Yugoslavia is founded and evolves on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production, the conscious, planned supervision of economic development, and the commodity character of production; the latter being an aspect of the present level of development among the productive forces.

With the development of the productive forces and socialist social relationships, society will pass beyond the commodity aspect of production.

The Substance of Conscious, Planned Guidance

Social ownership of the means of production makes it possible, indeed imperative, for the economy of society, in the interests of the individual producer and working man, to be a unified whole, based on a highly developed division of labour. Such unity in the economy requires a specific harmony among the activities of various productive and other economic branches and units, and between production and the requirements of the people. Such harmony is achieved by a consciously planned guidance and development of the economy as a whole, on the basis of scientific and expert analyses of the material forces of economic life and activity. The economic substance of planning, therefore, consists of a consciously organized division of social labour, organized in accordance with the goals of the economic policy of the socialist society. Planning in the economy is a necessary factor in the development of the socialist society.

The experience of Yugoslavia, and that of a number of other countries, indicates that a social-economic plan, no matter how "perfect" it may be, cannot exhaust the limitless possibilities,

forms, and initiative, afforded by the spontaneous development of economic forces. That is why the economic system and plan must not deprive the working man, enterprise, and other social-economic units, of that essential degree of independence without which no conscious initiative is possible and Man ceases to be a creative being. They must not suppress either the individual or the collective material interest of the producers in their production and work, that is, the incessant desire for a higher degree of material prosperity which is one of the driving forces behind their activity.

It is only under such conditions that conscious planned guidance from the centre can be confirmed and corrected in actual practice, and, vice versa, the movement of the vehicles of socialist practice given direction that has been tested. The concrete, quantitative relationships between these two factors of socialist movement cannot be established by some sort of perpetual rule. They must be determined by socialist people through their practical experience, by debating controversial issues, and through the medium of social criticism; and here the governing factors are the objective possibilities, and the insight, and socialist consciousness of the people.

This means that society's mastery over objective economic laws must, by and large, be achieved by stabilizing the basic proportions of social production and distribution. In this way the ground is prepared for supervising the development of productive forces and building a framework in which free action by individuals, working collectives, and communes, can be effective.

Accordingly, the conscious and planned activity of the producers is not completely exhausted: each of them, each unit and institution in the overall social and economic mechanism — according to its position, the nature of its functions, and the material possibilities at its disposal — plans and endeavours to produce a maximum of most effective results. Thus a new social organization of labour emerges which, in its own particular way, links planned supervision with free socialist initiative, the conscious factor with spontaneity conceived as the free operation of socialist economic factors, while supervised by plan and restricted by material resources.

Social-Economic Plans

The social-economic plan in Yugoslavia has both an economic and a political significance. Economic — because it sets out and specifies the basic aims of the community's economic policy, and political — because, in framing a material and economic-political structure for the activities of producers and self-governing social bodies, it ensures complete freedom of movement for the socialist forces, and a steady rate of progress in socialist relationships, while offering increasing possibilities for the individual working man to assert himself as a conscious creator.

In character and methodology, economic planning in Yugoslavia has always reflected the level of development in the economy, in social and economic relationships, in the pattern of organization and methods of running the economy within the framework of the enterprises, the various bodies, and indeed of the entire national economy.

During the initial period, when the state, or rather its machinery, ran the economy directly, the basic feature of the plan was that, in the process of social production, the links between production and consumption were secured primarily through direct distribution and detailed assignment of tasks to each productive unit. Social capital accumulation was centralized and distributed directly from one place. This method of running the economy, and the corresponding system of planning necessary under the specific conditions in Yugoslavia where no efforts were being spared to accelerate the elimination of economic backwardness, gave rise to certain adverse manifestations in the course of development.

Yugoslavia's present social plan establishes the basic proportions of social production and distribution, taking into consideration, within that framework, the free initiative of economic enterprises under the prevailing market conditions and certain regulatory measures taken by the state. The finance and credit system, and the other means of economic intervention, are an integral part of the entire mechanism of the planned

supervision of the economy; and they ensure the fulfillment of tasks set by the plan. At the same time, the social plan as such provides a framework for specific regulatory interventions by social bodies in economic relationships.

The main stress of direct intervention by the central social and state bodies should be on solving the structural problems of economic development and securing general conditions for economic stability, preservation of the unity of the system, equal conditions for economic activity, and stability of rights. Through the social plan, the central bodies should supervise the capital investments of economic organizations and other social factors. Apart from this, they should undertake suitable measures to secure a certain measure of permanent assistance by society as a whole to the economically underdeveloped parts of the country.

The social plans of the various people's republics, districts, and local authorities, are primarily programs for the development of productive forces and concrete economic-political and social security tasks in the appropriate territorial units. The material basis for these plans is, and should be, the income earned in these areas under equal conditions for all citizens and all economic organizations. As such, the social plans of the republics, districts and local authorities are an essential condition for self-government in those areas.

A new social organization of labour emerges from such a system of planning and distribution. It unifies socially-planned supervision and socialist freedom of initiative for the direct producers. The interests of society are secured by the supervision of development through a minimum number of planned and regulatory measures; personal interest requires an adequate share for the producer of the income earned and sufficient leeway for personal initiative in economic activity.

Planned economy, and socialism to boot, do not mean transformation of the entire society into a machinery in which each person is given concrete and detailed instructions as to what he should do. On the contrary, it should ensure the maximum possible liberty for the individual in the production and consumption of goods. In that sense, freedom of initiative by the socialist producer and citizen represents an incomparably greater

economic force and higher consciousness than does capitalist private initiative, which is confined within a limited circle of owners of capital and their entourage. It is precisely for this reason that socialism in economic competition with capitalism must emerge triumphant.

*The Independence of Enterprises and Associations
in the Economy*

In addition to the social plans, an important instrument of the economic system is to be found in the plans of enterprises, which are adopted within the framework of proportions and regulatory quotas and measures, provided for in the social plan. In their plans, the enterprises have to make independent basic decisions regarding production and turnover, funds, investment, utilization of capacities and their regular renewal and replacement, personal incomes of the workers, association with other enterprises, and other important problems within the scope of their operations.

Such planning should also be made possible by clearly established relationships between the enterprises and society, or rather various social bodies, from commune to federation, for the purpose of consolidating the independence of the enterprises, that is to say, they should make independent use, but within the framework of certain social regulatory measures, of the funds they have earned, after meeting their obligations to the community. Such planning should create greater material interest on the part of the working collective and by that very fact give it incentive for greater productivity of labour and more efficient utilization of the socially-owned means of production managed by the working collective.

The adequate independence of the enterprise makes possible a maximum diversity in forms of cooperation and association among economic organizations.

Under conditions of technical progress in production and the social division of labour, comprehensive consolidation of cooperation among enterprises is imperative. The various associations of enterprises are a direct sequel to the operation and planning of the enterprise, from which it follows that the direct influence of the enterprises and their requirements finds full expression in such economic associations, which are run primarily on the basis of voluntary cooperation among the enterprises. The plans of such associations are based on the plans of the enterprises and supplement them. Their material basis is provided, first and foremost, by the resources of the enterprises.

For the purpose of mutual cooperation, the study of common development problems, the application of modern technology, etc., socialist enterprises associate in chambers and economic associations.

The community should stimulate and assist all these forms of association and, at the same time, take appropriate measures to prevent tendencies towards monopoly and bureaucracy in those organizations. There must also be guarantees that the influence of Workers' Councils on the leading bodies of each association can be exerted to the full.

The Basic System of Distribution

In the economic system of Yugoslavia, in harmony with the new relationships in production and distribution, all the socialist factors — from the individual and the working collective right up to society as a whole — directly participate in the distribution and independently dispose of that part of the income which, by law and in conformity with the plan of the community, belongs to them on the basis of the results of performance and business operations in the economic organizations. Self-management by workers on the basis of social ownership of the means

of production consists, under the conditions of commodity production in Yugoslavia, of such relationships in production and in society which make it possible to realize the principle of remuneration "to each according to his work" in forms which correspond to the level of development achieved by the productive forces. In the distribution and exchange of productive goods they are ensured a corresponding higher remuneration for more intensive and better work in the enterprise, while, on the other hand, the working collectives which are more successful in satisfying social needs and which make a bigger contribution towards resolving vital problems in the economic development of the country, are provided with a broader basis for increasing personal earnings and given a material incentive by the community to increase their initiative and expand their activities.

Similarly, with the further development of cooperatives and cooperation among individual producers and the social sector, with the development of large-scale agricultural production, conditions are created for making the distribution of personal incomes in this field, too, increasingly dependent on the success achieved in production and in satisfying social needs.

Within this framework of relationships in the system of distribution, the working man has, and must have, increasing opportunities — by working at his job and by taking an active part in the management of the enterprise, commune, and society as a whole — of making a whole series of direct and practical decisions relating to his personal position, his income and the general distribution of the social product, while perceiving and consciously recognizing the requirements of the general development of society, especially the need for further development in the forces of production. The emancipated worker becomes an independent creator and manager in his own material and political interest, as well as in the interests of society. He no longer regards society through the prism of a wage that some power outside production has determined for him. His income depends primarily on his own efforts and the success of the entire economic organi-

zation. That is why he comes, to an increasing extent, to regard his personal income as a function of the over-all advancement of society and its requirements.

Determined in such a way, the personal income of citizens should be the basis for the income of the commune, which serves the common needs of its citizens. Not only the personal, but also the social consumption of each political-territorial unit should depend on the productivity of labour and the efforts to develop productive forces. The question of assistance to underdeveloped communes must be the constant and particular concern of the district and higher bodies of the socialist community.

The Character and Role of Markets

At the present stage in the development of material productive forces — and in the economic system of Yugoslavia — the laws of commodity production are in operation. As long as commodity production has an objective basis, an absolute negation of the laws of value and other laws of the market would not strengthen, but rather weaken, the socialist elements in the economy, obstruct the freedom of individuals and enterprises, impede the development of productive forces, and give rise to forces outside production that would play havoc with it. However, under a social system in which expanding social production is planned, where the gross social output is distributed by plan and a fundamental policy of credit is pursued, the market cannot in principle be an anarchic one. Through suitable economic measures and regulatory machinery, society must establish the material relationships in the economy and thus enable the process of reproduction to unfold normally and wield its decisive influence over the price structure.

In this sense a relatively free but simultaneously controlled market should be one of the instruments of the social plan and economic policy.

Stimulating initiative on the part of all the protagonists of economic activity, such a market has a positive influence on production, on its structure and rate of increase, and in particular it stimulates the development of productive forces. However, complete success in this respect will be ensured only if all the necessary social measures are taken to prevent uncontrolled manifestation of anarchical elements and non-socialist tendencies, which are still penetrating into certain parts of the market.

The relationship between planned supervision and free operation of the market is not absolute and immutable. It is determined by the concrete material relationships in the economy in certain phases of its development, and that is why current practice must continue to settle this question in the light of the concrete requirements of society.

C h a p t e r VII

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF
GOVERNMENT OF THE
WORKING PEOPLE

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

THE SOCIAL SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN YUGOSLAVIA

The Political Form of People's Government in Yugoslavia is a System of Socialist Democracy

The League of Yugoslav Communists maintains, as a starting point, that the steady development of socialist democracy, as a specific form of social and political relationship under the conditions of socialist construction, is an inevitable historical process during the transition period from capitalism to socialism, and further to communism.

Socialist democracy differs in essence from bourgeois democracy. From bourgeois democracy it inherits those positive and lasting achievements in the field of personal rights which mankind has realized in its development to date, and certain organizational political forms which continue to be valid in socialist conditions. But, while bourgeois democracy was the political framework of social relations based on capitalist private ownership and exploitation, that is to say, on the rights, interests, and needs of free action by the capitalist owner (and accordingly all its forms were adapted to these relations), socialist democracy is a political framework comprising such social relations as take shape and develop upon foundations of social ownership over the means of production, and hence its forms are adapted to the rights, interests, and necessary freedom of action for the executors and agents of socialist social-economic development.

The system of socialist democracy vastly extends genuine democracy for the working people and must continue to do so in every field of social life. There will be genuine democracy for the masses when they are in a position to participate in the daily management of the economy as well as of state, political, and other public affairs, when they can express and defend freely and as directly as possible (albeit with a feeling of full responsibility for the common interests of society) their interests and needs as well as their views regarding the general interests of the community. Because of this, socialist democracy must, both in substance and in form, become more and more of a direct democracy, based on the most varied forms of social self-government.

Socialist democracy is necessarily an all-embracing direct type of democracy, as distinct from bourgeois democracy which, in theory and practice, is and remains an indirect democracy and a democracy by representation, the actual government being the "élite" of the party leaderships. Furthermore, as distinct from bourgeois democracy, which is relatively exclusive, socialist democracy strives to develop as "a democracy of all the people for all the people", as a fully developed system of unrestricted social self-government.

Socialism and Bourgeois Democracy

The League of Yugoslav Communists repudiates the "theory" that the working class should necessarily accept the system of bourgeois democracy as its own political system. This dogma is not only backward, unscientific, and refuted by practice, but also a serious impediment to the development of socialist thought. The system of bourgeois democracy, notwithstanding the advantages it has over other forms of bourgeois dictatorship, is, nevertheless, merely a specific form of political monopoly distributed among the leaderships of political parties. By means of a sharp division between the legislative and executive power, which is firmly in the hands of civil servants closely connected with the ruling class, the political forces of the bourgeoisie assure themselves the leading role.

Such a system excludes, in principle, any direct influence of the masses on the government and is adjusted in such a way that top party circles govern instead of the people. For this reason the system necessarily strives to bring about the maximum concentration of social functions in the hands of the central bodies of the state and the greatest possible restriction of every form of self-government.

During the past few decades — with the rise of monopoly capitalism and state capitalist tendencies — these features of bourgeois democracy have been even more in evidence. The steady increase in the role of the state machinery, and its increasing amalgamation with the leadership of the political parties, has led to an even greater isolation of the masses of people from any direct influence on state institutions and to an increasingly palpable degeneration of the multi-party system, to a diminution of the real role of parliament, which is evidence of the profound, incurable crisis of the entire bourgeois parliamentary system.

Consequently, the system of bourgeois democracy is quite unsuitable as a long-term instrument for the socialist forces even though they should have it completely under their control. Socialism requires the stimulation of the masses, their direct influence on the management, and the gradual transformation of the state into a specific mechanism of social self-government. The very system of bourgeois democracy is a barrier to this process. Because of this, as socialism develops, the bourgeois system will have to be changed even in those countries where it may be the legal and political pattern in the initial stage of socialist development. And here, too, at a particular stage of social progress, the existing pattern of bourgeois democracy will inevitably become too circumscribed and, as such, an obstacle to further social development. Unless the leading social forces manage to adapt the old pattern at the proper moment to the new relationships and requirements, the obsolete political pattern of bourgeois democracy will inevitably become the source of etatistic bureaucratic distortions in socialist development.

Even less can this system be regarded as the presumptive development of democracy in countries where the socialist forces

have triumphed by virtue of a revolutionary political change and general nationalization of the means of production. Any attempt to impose upon the new society, under such conditions, the old political pattern, which would inevitably also assume its former social substance, is reactionary and counter-revolutionary.

Accordingly, bourgeois democracy can by no means replace socialist democracy. Any attempt to present and defend this transitory and restricted form of democracy as "the most democratic" political form for every social system is completely spurious. Further efforts to present the system of bourgeois democracy in an unaltered form as "the most democratic" political system are, objectively, merely the expression of an endeavour to preserve the leading role of the bourgeoisie and state-capitalist bureaucracy. This dogma helps to conserve the forces of capitalism, and blurs, in the eyes of the working class, the socialist horizon and the prospects for social progress in general.

Any criticism of the political system in socialist countries aimed at restoring the political system of bourgeois democracy, and not at furthering the development of socialist democracy along its specific and proper road, constitutes an obstacle to social progress and objectively plays a counter-revolutionary role.

Socialist Democracy as a Direct Democracy

The League of Yugoslav Communists is also of the opinion that the proclamation of absolute monopoly by the Communist Party of political power as a universal and "perpetual" principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist development is an untenable dogma.

In the heat of revolutionary struggle for power and its consolidation, the leading role of the Communist Party in the workers' movement may temporarily assume the character of a maximum of concentration of power in the hands of the party for the purpose of establishing the new regime and creating the basic political conditions for socialist development. But the

power of the party cannot be a substitute for all the initiative of the masses and all the varied social development through which the creativeness of the new society finds expression. It is for this reason that continuing the work of democratizing the revolutionary system of government and persuading the leading socialist forces to rely directly on the activity of the masses are regarded as among the foremost tasks after the victory of the revolution. In Yugoslavia this process has developed in the form of mobilizing the masses — with their various ideological and political views, but united in the common ideal of socialism — through the People's Front and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. In other countries this may find expression in other forms, such as alliances and coalitions with other socialist and progressive movements, with peasant parties and the like.

What is most important in all this is the fact that the working class cannot become master of its own fate, and consequently the main driving force of social progress, unless it secures direct control over management of production and distribution. In this function, no regime of state control over the private owner, no state machinery or state manager, can be substituted for the working class. The further development of the existing forms of democracy towards forms which are an organic component of new socialist economic relations is an indispensable condition and integral part of socialist progress.

Hence, the Communists are not faced with the alternative of a multi-party or a one-party system. Both alternatives may be valid during a particular period in socialist development in different countries. They are faced with the problem of deciding what new forms of democracy should be brought into being by socialist development; what new forms are required by social relations based on social ownership over the means of production? When referring to the multi or one-party systems as initial forms of socialist democracy, one should not lose sight of the fact that socialist democracy does not exclude, but rather presupposes a variety and versatility of concrete forms of democracy in different countries, and in a single country, during various phases of socialist development.

The Role of Socialist Political Organizations

Socialist democracy does not involve the abolition of political organizations in general, much less does it involve the abolition of the social role of the conscious socialist forces, which in Yugoslavia are embodied in the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the trade unions, etc. As necessary organizational factors of social consciousness, and as a platform for the airing of divergent points of view, thus giving expression to objective social contradictions, such organizations promote social development. There is no doubt that in the future, as class antagonisms and outside pressures diminish, the pattern of political organizations and manifestations of political activity generally will become incomparably more diversified and free. But such organizations will gradually lose their character as components and instruments of government and become, to an increasing extent, social organizations for scientific research and the supervision of social progress, for the social education of the working people, for ideological, political, and technical assistance to citizens in their social activity, etc. It is precisely this process which leads to a direct socialist democracy with no political parties, a democracy which is framed to allow for the gradual withering away of different functions of the state and their transformation into functions of social self-government.

Progress in political relations is closely bound up with progress in the economic relationships of society. Society cannot skip any of the stages along this road. Any venture into abstract forms, as is the case with lagging behind, must inevitably result in social disturbance. The historic progressive character of the leading conscious socialist forces is tested precisely according to their ability to continue at the head of the uninterrupted process of harmonizing the forms of socialist democracy with the successes achieved at the socialist economic base in the development of socialist economic relations.

Guided by these principles, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which the People's Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution brought to the fore and raised to the leading position

in socialist construction as well, undertook practical measures, both during the People's Liberation War and Revolution and after victory, to pave the way for the formation and development of a democratic mechanism that would enable the broad masses to be a continually active and decisive political factor, participating daily in direct economic management, in the affairs of state, and in the discharge of other common affairs of society.

A number of tasks has already been carried out in this direction. During subsequent development in the political system of socialist Yugoslavia, the Communists will fight steadfastly to secure consistent safeguards for such a course of development.

Social Self-Government

The social-political foundations of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia consist of workers' self-management, embodied in the Workers' Councils and other self-management bodies of producers, self-government of the working people in the basic units of the social system, the communes, and of the most varied forms of social self-government by bodies comprising the interested citizens and organizations.

The development and expansion of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia is a process which depends primarily on measures for strengthening, perfecting, and carrying forward the development of the fundamental organizational political elements of the social-political system; it also depends on the entire political and economic system being brought into line with what is required for maximum congruity and freedom of action by the creative socialist forces. This process must at the same time involve a further stage in the emancipation of the political system from various vestiges of the bourgeois state mechanism still surviving in our society; that is to say, a further stage in the organic transformation of the whole socio-political system in line with socialist economic relations in the making, developing and coming to fruition under the conditions of social ownership over the means of productions.

Upon the foundations of workers' management and the socialist communes a general process is developing in Yugoslavia through which a new political pattern of society is taking shape, a process characterized by a system of social self-government.

This process is evolving in two directions: in the field of social-economic and political relations between people, and in the field of management of affairs. Both processes are closely connected and inter-woven.

Economic and Political Relations Between People

The process in the field of relations between people comes into play through the development of economic relations and democratic rights of self-management in the enterprise; that is to say, relations between the producers, between individual producers and the working collective as a whole; between the working collective and the community, or its leading bodies; and, in particular, between the working collective and the individual working man, on the one hand, and the commune, as the basic community of the working people, on the other. Furthermore, it comes into play through the development of economic and political relations in the commune itself; in relations between individuals and the community; in relations between individual bodies such as the councils of producers, housing communities, various bodies of social self-government, etc.; in the development of relations between the communes and the districts, which are steadily becoming associations of communes; and in relations between the communes and the respective republics. The same process comes into play in the development of relations of equality between the peoples of Yugoslavia, and also in the development of relations between the individual republics and the Federation as the representative of the common economic and political interests of the working class and nationals of Yugoslavia. And, finally, it comes into operation through the structural development of the republican and leading federal bodies and their mutual relations, a development that embraces

increasingly comprehensive democratic forms and secures increasingly close links with the mechanism of social self-government in general and the commune in particular.

The struggle to perfect all these relationships and guide them towards an increasingly comprehensive democracy and self-government, in conformance with the reinforcement of the social material base and the enfeeblement of the vestiges of internal class antagonisms, is at the same time a struggle for increasingly developed and stable socialist relations between people.

The Management of Affairs

The process of development of the most suitable social machinery for the management of affairs in conditions of social ownership over the means of production comes into operation, in the first place, through a divergence between management by technical procedure and general economic and political management in the enterprise, and, secondly, through the development of production, business cooperation, various forms of vertical association among the various branches of the economy, and other social activities.

Vertical association of basic institutions of social self-government by creating higher formations (chambers, economic associations, various forms of production and business unions and syndicates, higher institutions of social insurance, etc.) constitutes a democratic form of the merger of those specialized, technical and coordinating functions by which modern society has to exercise centralized management. The social and democratic character of such a merger is shown by the fact that it is not mechanical, it does not operate by means of administrative measures from without, but only in the interest of the associated producers and citizens, through a form of voluntary cooperation, without depriving the relevant institutions and organs of the working people of the essential functions of self-management.

This process is also developing in the fields of education, science, culture, public health, social insurance, and social welfare,

and in other fields in which various institutions perform public functions and public services. Functions of management have been given, with an appropriate share of rights and with attendant cooperation, both to the representatives of the working collectives and to the representatives of the social community. These organs are elected and dissolved by the citizens concerned with the operation of corresponding public services who participate in a broad supervisory capacity in the organs of management. At the same time the state administrative organs in the fields of education, culture, public health, social services, etc., assume, to an increasing extent, both in composition and in function, the character of organs of social self-government.

Finally, this process also comes into operation through the development of various forms of social supervision and cooperation by the citizens concerned with enterprises and institutions. In the commercial field and in some other fields, self-management by the working people is supplemented with such bodies of social self-government as the consumer councils, consumer cooperatives, and the like; and in the economic organizations engaged in educational, cultural and other activities (publishing houses, newspaper enterprises, various motion-picture enterprises, etc.) it is supplemented with bodies composed of representatives from cultural and educational walks of life in general, while not altering the status of workers' management. Such forms of social self-government help these organizations to perform their public functions in accordance with the requirements and interests of socialist society.

The machinery of social self-government also embraces apartment buildings, and numerous other matters of common interest in residential areas.

All these relationships and institutions are the result of the direct needs of labour and business dealings in the various enterprises and organizations; and also of the direct living requirements in the home and in the spheres of consumption, culture, recreation, social needs, etc. Thus, they must necessarily be extremely varied both in organizational forms and in methods of operation.

To fight for the steady advance of all these relationships and institutions means, at the same time, to fight for better business

dealings in enterprises and organizations, for a better supply system, for better technical and cultural development, for the suppression of bureaucracy and conservatism, for a more rapid and adequate solution of social welfare problems, etc., and also for the steady advance of socialist and democratic relationships between people.

*Social Responsibility and Systematic Discipline
in the Implementation of Plans*

Self-government does not mean absolute control over affairs. It presupposes a systematic discipline both within the economic organizations and in the distribution and expenditure of social resources in general. The community must have the necessary administrative and social instruments and bodies with which to ensure the necessary social discipline and responsibility. Without these relationships, the machinery of social self-government might be distorted into arbitrariness and irresponsible utilization of social property, which would gravely dislocate the development of socialist relationships.

One of the fundamental conditions ensuring the proper functioning of the entire system of self-government is, therefore, a highly developed sense of responsibility on the part of all who are elected to the bodies of self-government — responsibility towards the working people who have elected them and the community as a whole. Only a sense of responsibility and advanced unified social control can give assurance that everyone in the system of self-government will keep within the framework determined by common interests, by the interests of every working man and the progress of the whole community.

The Workers' Councils

The Communists will devote special attention to the development of the Workers' Councils. The Workers' Councils are

democratic, economic-political organs of social self-government through which the direct producers — within the framework of the unified social economic plan, and in conformance with the general interests of the community expressed in the unified economic system — manage the enterprises independently and take a decisive part in the development of the productive forces. The driving force behind the activity of the direct producers in the Workers' Council, aimed at raising the productivity of labour and speeding up development of the productive forces to an increasing extent, is their determination to improve their own living conditions and the general material standards of the social community by means of improved individual labour, greater business efficiency in the enterprise as a whole, and rapid general economic progress in the social community; and their determination to develop freely their individual creative abilities and propensities, in accordance with the general interests of the working people.

The Workers' Councils are neither representatives of the owners, nor collective owners of the means of production. They manage the means of production on behalf of the community, being stimulated in their work by their own material and moral-political motives. This is precisely why they are the most suitable social-economic instrument of struggle against bureaucracy and selfish individualism.

Workers' management of enterprises is the operative aspect and acid test of the social character of ownership over the means of production, and the fundamental form of direct incorporation of, and participation by, the working people in the management of the economy. Upon these foundations social production is most directly related to the real needs of the people, while the products of human labour simultaneously enter the domain of both social and personal appropriation by the workers. Social relations in production and distribution, and gradually in every fundamental sphere of social organization, acquire an increasingly mature socialist composition.

Now in charge of the means of production from which he had been excluded by the social class-pattern of property relations, the producer occupies an active position in society. He is

becoming increasingly aware that the fulfillment of his individual economic and social interests depends directly on raising the productivity of his own labour, on increasing production in the working collective, and on continuing to develop the productive forces in the commune and in the whole country. Precisely because of this, the Workers' Councils provide and will continue to provide production and the economy with new incentives which make it possible to accelerate the development of the productive forces. Under these conditions the producer himself, and the working man generally, gradually determines the subsequent process of Man's emancipation and the humanization of social relations.

In their further development the Workers' Councils must make a special effort to raise the productivity of labour by adopting modern techniques and up-to-date technology in production, by reducing the costs of production, by improving the organization of the enterprise and of labour, by introducing modern methods of management and internal supervision, and by improving working discipline. To this end they must also improve their internal system of distribution by ensuring adequate individual and group incentives on the basis of the principle: to each according to his labour. Likewise, they must ensure rational utilization of the enterprise funds earmarked for the promotion and rationalization of production, for consolidation and expansion of capacity, and for promotion of the productive forces generally; and they must prevent waste and unproductive expenditure of these resources. In order to improve the efficiency of the working class in economic management and increase the productivity of labour, the Workers' Councils must occupy themselves systematically with the economic instruction and technical training of existing cadres and of new ones. The Workers' Councils must also strive consistently to enforce any measures necessary for health and technical safety. Generally, they must take action to improve the living and working conditions of the workers; and they must take action by themselves, and together with the communes, to solve questions of better nutrition, housing, health, and other problems of general living standards.

The Commune

The commune is the basic political-territorial organization of self-government by the working people, and the basic social-economic community of the population on its territory. The Communists must devote special attention to the development of the commune.

Being the basic social-economic community, the commune is the cell in the social organism in which relations in production, distribution, consumption, and other basic daily social relations between working people, are established and promoted. Self-government by the working people in various social fields gives the commune a democratic structure and is the fundamental and most prominent organization of self-government on a territorial basis.

Since the working people in the commune are both producers and consumers, and are responsible for the efforts made to raise the general living standards of the community, the commune is also the basic framework within which individual and collective interests are brought into harmony.

Within the unified economic area of Yugoslavia, which is based on a unified economic plan and enjoys a uniform system of distribution, the communes must have every opportunity to develop production and the productive forces in accordance with the material resources available under given conditions. In distributing the available resources, they may find, in accordance with their specific conditions, the corresponding most favourable relations between further development of the productive forces and expansion of the material base, between increasing personal consumption and investment in establishments of the social standard and expansion of other non-economic activities.

As a political mechanism of government — realized through the people's committees, broad political and technically qualified boards, meetings of voters, referendums, local committees, housing communities, and other forms of direct government — the commune is the most prominent institution of direct socialist democracy, holding, as it does, the reins of government of the working

people through, and for, the working people. Increasingly assuming management of social affairs, and having the means to do so, the commune is neither merely nor primarily a school of democracy; rather, it is democracy itself; it is the basic cell of self-government of the citizens over common affairs.

*The Prospects for Future Development
of the Commune*

The future development of the commune must aim primarily at achieving increasingly intensive development of the productive forces, a steady increase in the productivity of labour, and, consequently, a higher income for every worker in the commune. These are the aims of every action taken by the commune to improve general social, individual, material, and cultural standards. For this reason, all those organizations and services in the commune which are concerned with direct daily assistance and service to the citizens and his family in their material, cultural and other requirements, and which, in view of the full material and political participation of the citizens themselves, will directly contribute to a higher standard of living, should continue to develop and expand. This is the way to create a social technical base for family life.

This is the direction in which the housing communities must also develop, combining the general efforts of the commune in this sphere with the action and initiative of the citizens concerned, with a view to mutual cooperation in the management and solution of everyday problems affecting the life of the family, particularly in the sphere of child care, housekeeping, various services, management of the housing fund, housing construction, direct social and health welfare of the members of the housing community, etc. Services managed by various bodies of citizens are to become gradually an important part of the network supplying the population and the public services.

Given this development, the commune will gradually cease to be an administrative unit in a territorial area and become a specific social-political form of organization of the people for

the purpose of managing common social affairs. This is the body from which the entire democratic socialist mechanism is growing and developing, linking the working class, i. e. the producers, with all the other working people who, by their labour, also contribute substantially to the development of the productive forces and to higher general productivity of labour.

By this course of development the commune, together with the Workers' Councils and the entire organization of social self-government, will establish itself to an increasing extent as the basic feature of the community of producers.

In its entire activity the mechanism of the commune must continue to develop as a public organization, responsible both to the meetings of voters and to society as a whole, always subject to public criticism by the citizens and their organizations, and to the supervision of superior organs in order that maximum compliance with the law may be secured. In the statute of the commune every citizen should find his rights and his duties, as well as his opportunities for participating in government over the commune, and through it and the other organs of social self-government, over society as a whole.

The Council of Producers

In present conditions, an important role in the development of socialist democracy is played by the councils of producers in all the representative bodies, from commune to Federation.

The councils of producers originated in the Yugoslav system of social self-government as a specific democratic form ensuring the leading role of the working class and its close connection with the other working people in the specific conditions and specific period of socialist development in this country.

The councils of the producers are also fighting the adverse influence of backward social relations upon the democratic organs of social self-government, with the result that the need for direct administrative interference, especially in the economic field, is steadily diminishing.

The councils of producers play an important economic role by virtue of their vital connections with practical matters and with the requirements of the productive and other economic organizations, cooperatives and economic and social institutions. The councils of producers make a substantial contribution to the work of linking the centre with the base, adopting adequate and beneficial social economic measures, eliminating administrative methods and bureaucracy in economic relationships, and organizing the general economic training of the direct producers and other working people in the economy.

At a later stage in the development of the councils of producers this latter economic function will become more and more important, while the former one, i. e. the function of ensuring the leading role of the working class, will gradually decline.

The Central Social and State Organs

Since the socially owned means of production are the property of all the working people in this country, and since the social product is their own personal and joint product, the Federation is not to be considered merely an amalgamation of peoples and people's republics, but rather, to an increasing degree, a new type of community, the protagonist of specific common social functions, a community of producers of the highest order.

The people's republics are also developing in the same direction, but on a national scale, while ensuring at the same time specific national, political, economic, and cultural requirements and rights.

The central organs of government (federal and republican), as well as the provincial, regional and district organs, must grow organically out of the economic and political foundations of our society: out of the self-governing commune, out of workers' management of the enterprises, and out of the fundamental institutions of social self-government in general. There lies, as indeed it must, the essence of democratic centralism in the areas where such centralism is indispensable.

Accordingly, the higher authorities — republican and federal — continue to an increasing extent to be in charge of duties and

functions in the common interests of society as a whole: viz. the security of the socialist order in general, the fulfillment of the social plan in the economy, a unified system which will afford equal conditions and equal rights and duties to all, freedom of labour and equal political conditions for every citizen in the country.

Such a democratic unification of the basic institutions of self-government, from the Workers' Councils up to the Federation, and the development of relationships between the representative bodies and organs of social self-government, indicates not only that socialist self-government does not mean "the wrecking of national unity", but, on the contrary, that it is in fact a form of genuine democratic unification, thus contributing significantly to the growing stability of our society.

In the course of further development this process will inevitably produce and seek new forms and methods. The Yugoslav Communists will continue to work steadily for a gradual development of the whole state and social system that will correspond to the objective conditions and subjective abilities of the socialist forces. In these efforts the Communists will devote special attention to furthering the development and enhancing the role of all the representative bodies, adapting to an increasing extent their organization, structure, and methods of work to what is needed for a maximum of free and direct influence by the socialist social base upon the leading social organs.

*The Personal Rights of Citizens and the Part
Played by the Rule of Law*

The social-economic system of socialist democracy can be created and promoted only by the active, materially and morally interested individual, man and citizen. This renders the personal, political, social, economic, cultural, and other rights of the citizen, an integral part of the political organization of Yugoslavia.

The Communists will continue to work for a development of socialist democracy that will increasingly guarantee individual independence and freedom of expression in thought, religion and other persuasions, in the formation of associations catering

for various economic, political, social and cultural, technical, scientific, sports, and other interests, and in defence of the inviolability and integrity of human dignity and the human personality. The working people of Yugoslavia began to enjoy these rights to a fuller extent only under the new political system, and they have at the same time gained a number of other democratic rights, which are arising from socialist economic relationships and advanced social self-government. These achievements and the principles of the system afford citizens full equality in law and before the courts of justice; and no public or covert forms of discrimination are exercised in any national, religious, racial, or other respect.

*The Social-Economic Foundation of
Personal Rights*

Stressing the importance of these and other personal rights of the person and citizen, and emphasizing that their realization cannot be postponed until some "higher stages" of socialist development, since these rights are a necessary component of socialist democratic movement and a condition for further development of socialism in general, the League of Communists has always maintained that the full realization of human rights is necessarily dependent upon a corresponding social, material and political foundation; that is to say, it is necessary primarily to abolish all those social relations which might engender actual inequality, injustice, favouritism, and subjugation.

The prerequisites for the establishment of freedom for all can be created only by abolishing freedom for the oppressors, or for those forces which strive to restore oppression. Freedom cannot be achieved by an abstract formula. It springs from specific social relations. It is for this reason that all progressive people, and primarily the Communists, link the significance of the struggle for human rights and freedom with the social, political, cultural and ideological changes, and with the struggle for the establishment of a social and political order that will render these rights an instrument of the creative and conscious ascendancy of Man, and thereby of his freedom and dignity.

Civic Association

Yugoslavia's political system is being increasingly enriched with new forms of free civic association. This system is the product of a new social political structure, which is taking shape on the basis of the social-economic and other material and moral interests of the socialist working man, and its main service is in the sphere of self-government.

The free associations are an independent and autonomous product of socialist democracy. Through them the citizens exercise a direct and decisive influence on policy and on the use of material means in various fields of social activity. Through them knowledge, technical help, scientific analysis, and ideological teaching, are brought into the daily social, economic and political life of millions of people.

In the final analysis, the significance of all these new democratic forms and rights belonging to the working people lies, irrespective of their existing relative underdevelopment, primarily in the fact that they constitute a natural means of individual action by the producer, creator, Man, which is not only recognized as such, but actually adopted. Through his own activity and social status, the citizen of the socialist country recovers his alienated personality, which every class system has turned into the property of the private owner or the state; and, being social, he becomes more and more his own master, and, being his own master, he becomes more and more social.

The Rule of Law

In ensuring the personal rights of the citizen and consolidating socialist democracy and the socialist-economic system in general, the consistent implementation of the principle of the rule of law is of major political significance.

The legal system in Yugoslavia protects, and must protect, the citizen from the arbitrary action of any social factor or state body. It guarantees, as it should, the full responsibility of any executor of social functions, from the highest to the lowest, for conduct towards citizens. No one must be allowed to impose

upon any citizen of Yugoslavia any liabilities other than those provided for under the law. Only the law can establish responsibility and sanctions, and only the judiciary can ensure, in accordance with legal procedure, the enforcement of justice and the rule of law. Court procedure must be based upon the principles of full respect for the law and the independence of the judiciary in all courts rulings.

All this renders the rule of law an integral part of, and a prerequisite for, socialist democracy, in addition to its being a safeguard against abuse, bureaucracy, and arbitrary acts by individuals.

The rule of law is ensured neither in isolation nor primarily by the existence of an objective legal system and judiciary organs, though these factors have always played, and they still do, their specific role in the social-political development of Yugoslavia. The rule of law must be based to an increasing extent on social solidarity, on the socialist synthesising of common and personal interests, and on the consciousness of the socialist man which inevitably emerges from such social relations. The role of law must increasingly become an inner need of collectives and of individuals and a sense of what is essential in personal conduct — factors which are making their appearance in the process of liquidating social antagonisms and personal selfishness.

THE STATE ADMINISTRATION AND] THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE'S [ARMY

The Position and Role of the State Administrative Machinery

Within the framework and under the influence of the development of socialist democracy, the mechanism of state authority is also subject to change, both in structure and as regards its position and role in society.

A series of functions formerly discharged by the state machinery have been transferred to self-governing bodies and into the hands of the citizens, the working people, and their organs. The state machinery is increasingly becoming the direct instrument of their will. Government is increasingly becoming unified,

and, consequently — in perspective — less a power of the state and more a unified mechanism of social self-government, with its specialized public services.

Acting in accordance with the Constitution and the law, and tending, as it does, to assume the functions of organs of social self-government, the state administrative machine must be an instrument of socialist society in the true sense of the term and not a power dominating it.

The state administrative machinery is responsible for highly significant social tasks. If it were not for a whole range of regulatory, control, and protective functions in the state administration, life in society and unhampered development of our political and economic system today would be inconceivable. In carrying out these tasks the state administrative organs must have full authority and a corresponding, legally determined, independence to enforce indispensable regulations and combat violations of the law and damage or threats to the socialist order and the national independence of the Yugoslav peoples.

In the sphere of safeguards for socialist development and security for the citizen, a major role has been played by the organs of internal security, which operate within the law and are responsible to the representative bodies and their executive councils. As long as society is exposed to the pressure of anti-socialist forces, the organs of internal security will be a significant, indeed, indispensable weapon of socialism.

The Communists will continue to lend every necessary political support to the state administrative organs in the discharge of their duties, and will use their good offices to encourage efficiency in the machinery of the administrative organs and a sense of devotion to the cause of socialism, and to ensure they remain fully law-abiding and responsible to the people.

*The Yugoslav People's Army the Guardian of the
Independence and Sovereignty of Socialist Yugoslavia*

The origins of the armed forces of the peoples of Yugoslavia, i. e. the Yugoslav People's Army, are to be found in the People's Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution. In the postwar

period they were built up, directed, and educated to be the staunch champion of the independency, integrity, and sovereignty of Yugoslavia as a socialist country. Precisely for this reason the Yugoslav People's Army constitutes a force for peace, devoid of any aggressive character.

In view of the present international situation, bedevilled as it is with acute antagonisms and tendencies to resolve disputes by force of arms, a strong army is an absolute necessity and the whole nation has to be in a permanent state of readiness to defend its socialist country. The present international situation necessitates the expenditure on defence of a comparatively large percentage of the national income and imposes upon citizens many obligations and tasks with regard to the defence of the country. Our working people realize that defence of the social fatherland is the greatest duty and highest honour of any citizens. For this reason, they consciously endure the burden of these obligations, convinced that only by organizing nationwide resistance will they be able to put up a successful defence of their freedom and independence.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will rear the citizens of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, especially the youth, in a spirit of Yugoslav socialist patriotism, devotion and dedication to the interests of their peoples, in a spirit of readiness to sacrifice everything in defence of the freedom and independence of socialist Yugoslavia.

In character, the Yugoslav People's Army is a people's socialist army. The steady growth of all factors ensuring its combat readiness and socialist character, and above all its indissoluble links with the interests and life of the people, has an important effect on the future of the Yugoslav People's Army, ensuring that it will gain in strength. In this respect the members of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army must continue to spare no effort to become proficient in military science and skill and in combat techniques; they must further improve political consciousness and ideological education; they must strengthen the spirit of comradeship and mutual confidence; they must develop conscious military discipline, and by their own example ensure firm moral-political unity in every military unit.

The Yugoslav People's Army must continue to play an active part in the future development of socialism; one of its tasks is to provide for tens of thousands of young soldiers a rigorous and intense education in the spirit of the brotherhood and unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav socialist patriotism; other tasks are the activities of its standing forces in social and political organizations, and the participation of its members in various operations of socialist construction.

Furthering the Forms of Socialist Democracy

The Communist Party, later the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in its preparatory work for the Revolution, during the Revolution and during socialist development, acted on the principle that socialism is not created for the sake of abstract aims, but for the sake of living people. Accordingly, its aim was and still is, that socialist development should be something close to the working people of Yugoslavia, not only in content and in the material advantages offered to people, but also in form, by adapting itself to the way of life and to the culture of the Yugoslav peoples. The League of Yugoslav Communists considers that such a policy was one of the chief reasons for its success in the past and, considers that it will continue to be indispensable in the future.

The efforts made so far by the Communists and all the socialist forces in Yugoslavia in building a political system of socialist democracy have yielded great results and have confirmed the correctness of the road along which the League of Communists has been leading the working people of Yugoslavia.

The search for new roads of social progress by developing a wide-scale mechanism of social self-government is inevitably followed by setbacks, errors and shortcomings; but these have been brought very rapidly to the surface by experience, and this will be the case in the future. The Communists must continue their energetic endeavours to utilise experiences gained as an incentive for the further advance of the whole political system, for the correction of errors and omissions, for the suppression of all that is backward and obsolete.

C h a p t e r VIII

THE FEDERATION AND
RELATIONS BETWEEN
THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA

THE FEDERATION AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA

SELF-DETERMINATION AND EQUALITY OF THE PEOPLES

One of the fundamental contradictions which sapped social political life in prewar Yugoslavia was the unresolved nationalities' question.

During the whole period between the two wars, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia consistently pursued, in its political activities, a national policy whose fundamental principle was the recognition of the individuality, equality, and self-determination, of all the peoples of Yugoslavia — Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins — and of their unity on the basis of a federal state. Such a policy and the consistent struggle for its implementation was one of the chief reasons why the Communist Party won the confidence of the masses of all the peoples of Yugoslavia and succeeded in attracting them to its program and leading them into the common struggle for liberation and the creation of a new Yugoslavia.

During the People's Liberation War, in the common struggle for liberation, strength was instilled into the aspirations of the Yugoslav peoples for unification in a common state of equal peoples, in a new, people's democratic and socialist Yugoslavia, on the basis of the full application of the right of self-determination.

The unity of Yugoslavia is possible only on the basis of free national development and full equality of rights for Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, and Montenegrins, and indeed for the national minorities. These are the grounds for socialist Yugoslavia's existence; and there was no alternative to the creation of a federal state of equal and sovereign peoples.

The rights which ensure all the peoples of Yugoslavia free material and cultural development and equality are laid down in the Constitution and guaranteed by the status of the people's republics and by other institutions of the federal state. These rights are respected and put into practice in all internal relationships in the Yugoslav community, including relationships between citizens, and indeed in international contacts.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will continue to keep a careful watch to ensure that these achievements of the Socialist Revolution and socialist development are respected, consolidated, and expanded.

The Material Foundation of National Equality

Equal political and cultural rights are not the only aspects of the independence and equality of the peoples of Yugoslavia. There must also be a solid material foundation.

This foundation is provided, in the first place, by the unity of socialist social-economic relationships based on the social ownership over the means of production, unity of the economic system, a unified Yugoslav market, and equal rights and obligations for the basic economic units (economic organizations and communes). Deriving from these relationships is the system of broad self-management by producers and working people in the fields of production and material relationships. And here, management of the means of production by the working collectives and their participation in the distribution of the surplus

product, in self-government in the communes, in social management of social funds in the commune, both in the district and in the people's republic, are part of the material basis for equality among the peoples of Yugoslavia. This task in our nationalities' policy is made easier by the fact that there is equal participation by representatives of all the peoples of Yugoslavia — through the political mechanism of the Federation — in the management and disposal of the resources of the Federation either by means of the budget, the social plan, or directly by supervision of various economic and budget funds.

Finally, the people's republics all have their share, under equal conditions in the general scheme, in the distribution of income accumulated from production and labour in their particular territories and they make use of the federal credits accessible to all of them under the same conditions. Thus the republics have complete independence in determining the program of their economic development, within the general outline of the federal economic plan.

*A Constant Watch Kept on the Problem of
Speeding up Economic Advance in
Underdeveloped Areas*

Equality of rights, however, would be no more than a formality for some parts of Yugoslavia if the socialist community were not to remember that, owing to specific historical conditions, they have lagged behind in their economic development. The necessity for sound economic development over the whole country and the indispensable condition of brotherhood and unity among the peoples of Yugoslavia require that the political and legal equality of the peoples of Yugoslavia be gradually supplemented by economic equality.

Because of this an essential element in Yugoslavia's economic policy and in its very economic system involves keeping a constant watch on the problem of speeding up economic development in the backward areas. Capital investment in this field must in the first place be earmarked for developing the productive forces, which will set up an independent material base in these areas, and only in the second place should it take the form of budget subsidies to ensure a definite level of social services and social welfare.

Yugoslavia's economic prosperity and the sound development of its economy are possible only if the total wealth of the whole country is increased and if the productivity of individual labour is continually raised. More rapid economic development in the underdeveloped areas results in a greater contribution to the Yugoslav community and is at the same time an improvement in the material conditions of all the peoples of Yugoslavia and of the entire working class. That is why the concern of the community for the solution of this task is not an end in itself, but a means to the material progress of the whole country and an economic necessity for all the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The task of promoting the development of backward areas should be solved within the framework of the unified economic policy of Yugoslavia and in accordance with the interests of Yugoslavia's economy as a whole. The fulfillment of these tasks, therefore, must not be to the detriment of the essential, regular development of the productive forces in the other areas of the country or the optimum potentialities of Yugoslavia's economy as a whole.

Any other policy would, in the final analysis, diminish the material possibilities for solving the problems of the underdeveloped parts of the country. Only a harmonious economic development in all the people's republics and in all areas of Yugoslavia, which will be evidence of the most favourable results of Yugoslavia's economy as a whole, offers firm foundations for the realization of a genuine socialist policy in regard to the nationalities' question.

BROTHERHOOD AND UNITY AMONG THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA

Inasmuch as the equality of our peoples is not based merely on formal rights, but is primarily ensured by a material foundation, by social-economic relations, by the socialist system itself, the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia is not merely an aspect of the national-political interests of the individual nationalities, it has become a factor in the social and material interests of every individual working man. It is based on the fact that the means of production are social property and can be utilized for the maximum well-being of all the peoples of Yugoslavia only as a result of the peoples' common efforts and cooperation. This being so, it is only in socialism that the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia assumes its full meaning and acquires strong social-economic foundations.

It is upon the foundations of social ownership over the means of production and implementation of the principles of workers' management and social self-government that a system of social relations is being built which will open a wide range of possibilities to the individual producer, to each economic organization, and to the commune, for satisfying to an increasing extent on all sides their own direct material, moral, and other interests, while at the same time serving the general interests of the socialist community. The producer as an individual, wherever he may obtain employment, enters into relations of equality with all the other producers. His right to participate on equal terms in the work of all the organs of workers' management and social self-government is guaranteed. This constitutes a new link binding all the citizens of Yugoslavia together upon a firm socialist economic foundation.

The elementary interests of the social development and material progress of the working class and working men of all the nationalities of Yugoslavia, therefore, require all-around inter-relationships among all these nationalities. Joint management of

a whole range of economic and social functions is essential. The League of Yugoslav Communists encourages and supports processes of social unification, for they not only fortify the independence and strength of the Yugoslav socialist community of peoples, but they are also in harmony with the progressive aspirations of humanity for closer relations among the peoples of the earth.

Yugoslav Socialist Patriotism

Common interests are already in evidence (and this is becoming more widespread) in the general social cultural consciousness of the working people. This is the foundation upon which socialist Yugoslav consciousness, Yugoslav socialist patriotism, is developing; and this is not incompatible with democratic national consciousness, but it is its necessary complement on the international level in the conditions of a socialist community of peoples. Thus, it is not a question of creating some new "Yugoslav nation" to take the place of the existing federation of peoples, but of the organic growth and increasing strength of the socialist community of producers, working men, and the entire population of Yugoslavia, and of the acknowledgement of their common interests within the framework of socialist relations. Such Yugoslavism is not only compatible with the unhampered development of national languages and cultures, it actually presupposes such a development.

In this spirit, socialist Yugoslavism as a form of socialist internationalism, and democratic national consciousness imbued by a spirit of internationalism, are not separate manifestations, but two facets of a single process. Any absolutist tendencies towards either one or the other would inevitably result in a deviation leading either to reactionary nationalism and chauvinism, or to no less reactionary greater-state hegemony and the negation of the principles of self-determination and equality of peoples.

The Rights of the National Minorities

Within the community of the Yugoslav peoples the national minorities have also found their place. In a socialist and democratic state the members of national minorities enjoy all the political and economic rights provided by the socialist community for all its citizens; and thus unimpeded development of their national cultures and national characteristics is guaranteed.

The Revolution has brought about a thorough transformation in the position of the minorities and their role and status in socialist development. The population of the working class and intelligentsia has increased rapidly among the minorities; members of the national minorities participate in large numbers in all the organs of social self-government; their socialist consciousness has increased, viz., their awareness of the unity of interests among all the peoples of Yugoslavia in the struggle for socialism. All this ensures the participation of the national minorities on terms of equality in Yugoslav socialist development, and it ensures a future for their socialist national cultures.

During Yugoslavia's postwar socialist development, this attitude towards the national minorities has at no stage of development depended on Yugoslavia's inter-state relations with the neighbouring countries. This was particularly in evidence after 1948 — a further proof of what results may be obtained from the consistent application of socialist principles. As a result of such a policy the unity of the national minorities and their alliance with all the other peoples of Yugoslavia gained greatly in strength.

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE SPHERE OF NATIONALITIES POLICY

There is no national question in Yugoslavia today in the sense of a problem of national oppression or national hegemony.

The guarantee for this is the entire political and social system, which assures all the peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia equality and the right of each people to decide its own fate.

Negative Manifestations in Nationality Relationships

But this does not mean that all the factors which might have a negative effect on relations between the peoples of Yugoslavia have vanished.

In the first place, political and ideological vestiges of bourgeois nationalism are still active; in present-day conditions they draw fresh encouragement from bureaucracy which, as such, always assumes trends of particularism upwards, while being centralistic downwards. In present conditions in Yugoslavia, nationalism is either a cloak concealing anti-socialist tendencies and selfish and particularistic interests, or evidence of uneven economic development in different parts of the country.

Bourgeois nationalism in present conditions is an anachronism, it is reactionary and extremely damaging to the development of socialist relations. It could undermine many achievements of the People's Liberation War and Revolution, it clouds the socialist horizon, weakens the unity of action essential for socialist development, and becomes a stronghold for every possible anti-socialist manifestation, thus exerting a harmful influence on the future of socialist development.

Another factor which may exert a harmful influence on relations between the various nationalities in Yugoslavia can be found in tendencies towards bureaucratic centralism and their ideological-political manifestation — viz., greater state hegemony.

If such tendencies should establish themselves, they might undermine the democratic achievements of the Socialist Revolution, deform relations between the various nationalities in the country, jeopardize their equality rights and open the

doors to nationalist hegemonic tendencies, thereby substantially inhibiting and distorting the development of socialist relations.

The difference in the level of economic development in various parts of Yugoslavia may also affect the development of relations between the Yugoslav peoples. These differences give rise to contradictions, the effect of which, under certain conditions, might be a form of nationalism, or a weakening in the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia, or even a slackening in socialist development. Consequently, the ceaseless efforts at gradually eliminating the material sources of these contradictions is an imperative task for the socialist forces, not only in order to ensure genuine equality between the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also in order to guarantee that development of socialist relations in the country will continue unhampered.

The Consolidation of the Spirit of Socialist Internationalism

In their daily activities the Communists of Yugoslavia will combat, by every ideological and political means available, all sources and manifestations of nationalist, chauvinist, and particularistic-egoistic tendencies, and tendencies towards bureaucratic centralism and greater-state hegemony. They will actively resist any attempts to exploit the material contradictions which socialist Yugoslavia has inherited from the past, and any attempts to foment nationalism, chauvinism, and particularistic egoism. Among the broad masses the Communists will promote a spirit of rapprochement, mutual understanding and mutual assistance among the peoples of Yugoslavia, the idea of brotherhood and unity, and the ideas of proletarian internationalism and rapprochement and friendship among peoples in general; at the same time they will combat any incitement to hatred, or national and racial prejudice, and any tendencies toward national privileges.

In this struggle the Communists will be guided by Lenin's familiar principle, and in the various component people's republics they will above all foster the idea of unity and brotherhood among the peoples of Yugoslavia and socialist internationalism, while in the central bodies they will keep a close watch on all the constitutional, political, ideological, and economic elements which safeguard for all the peoples of the federal socialist community their full equality and unimpeded development, and they will resist all tendencies towards hegemony which might threaten the unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia. In other words, the Communists will pursue a ceaseless ideological struggle against everything that is narrow-mindedly nationalistic, and against anything that threatens the unhampered development of each nationality.

C h a p t e r IX

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND
EDUCATIONAL POLICY

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

General Questions of Economic Policy

The essence of socialist economic policy is concern for the needs of the people and steady improvement in the material and cultural living conditions and labour of the working people. This is the vital difference between socialist society and all former social systems.

Steady improvement in the material living conditions of the people, however, necessarily depends on the uninterrupted development of the productive forces of society and on raising the productivity of labour. Only by steadily increasing the production of material wealth is it possible to guarantee substantial improvements in the living conditions of the working people; and this, in turn, is an essential factor in, and a prerequisite for, stimulating the development of the productive forces and increasing the productivity of labour.

The development of the productive forces of society is all the more significant for Yugoslavia as the country inherited an underdeveloped economy from capitalism.

Since the war, Yugoslavia's economic development has got the economy moving out of its stagnation, has greatly increased the productive forces and created material conditions for the further development and improvement of living conditions.

Since the war Yugoslavia has almost doubled her national income per head of population, has laid firm foundations for industry, expanded her power and raw material bases, and considerably altered the economic structure of the population. The results which have been accomplished are very important, and the worst difficulties have been overcome; but the degree of development is still such that great efforts will be necessary in the future, and an intensive program of investment, for subsequent development of the productive forces. Whether future development will proceed at a quicker or slower pace will depend on all of us, on each individual citizen. Thus, however intensive the investment program may be, since it involves withholding part of the social product from direct consumption by the population, investments must, in principle, always be appropriated in such a manner as not to defeat the purpose for which they were intended. Because a rise in production is only a prerequisite for a constant and overall improvement in living and working conditions.

Therefore, our economic policy will be confronted first of all by two tasks:

firstly, the basic division of the social product between consumption and capital accumulation funds must be such as to take into account the need both for accelerating economic development and for raising consumption in harmony with the pace of this development; and

secondly, while the system, institutions, and measures for the planned regulation of economic processes are being evolved, an appropriate system of distribution should also be steadily built up to ensure that the tenets of economic policy once established will not be subject to laissez-faire infringements.

Investment Policy

If the development of the productive forces is to be proportionate to the efforts being made, the appropriations for this development must be employed rationally, because available resources are limited and, at the same time, intensive development

of the productive forces is essential. Under such conditions the question of the investment structure is of particular significance. It is essential in economic policy to devise and introduce the most efficacious criteria for investment expenditures and the necessary machinery for directing their course and ensuring that the tasks set will be carried out.

The system of self-government in the enterprises, in the communes, etc., together with the system of marketing and market control, must, in their development, make for the most rational and economical investment of socially owned funds, and must undertake the construction of a system of social records and investment control which should operate autonomously and independently of subjective factors.

General economic policy should, with its measures of planned regulation and direction control, dovetail development between the different fields of the economy and different parts of the country, and between the economy as a whole and other social activities. This compatible development is a fundamental condition without which the economic criteria of efficiency and investment expenditure cannot find adequate expression. Such development is the only foundation for a maximum increase in production and the productivity of labour, for expansion of the material foundation of labour, and for ensuring the further unimpeded development of socialist relations. Development is essential in all branches of the economy enjoying favourable conditions for rational production, and in those branches upon whose progress the economic growth of the country as a whole depends. Such intensive investment is also required in order to gradually diminish the great discrepancies between the level of development in the economically underdeveloped and in the economically advanced parts of our country.

The Immediate Tasks

Hitherto, the emphasis of development has been on a number of specific lines of direction for economic policy during the

ensuing period. First of all, Yugoslavia must continue its industrialization policy; and this implies introducing modern means and methods of production into all fields of the economy. This policy of economic development will be combined with the further intensive transfer of labour from agriculture to other economic fields where the productivity of labour is considerably higher, while at the same time efforts will be made to raise the level in agriculture as well.

Yugoslavia must continue to make every effort to develop power and raw material resources. During the postwar period Yugoslavia has considerably developed her power resources, but these are not yet adequate; for the further progress of the economy and of society this intensive expansion must continue. The country possesses favourable conditions for this advance.

Today, particular emphasis is laid on the development of agricultural production as a basis of raw materials and foodstuffs. Development should proceed in step with the socialist transformation of relations prevailing in the countryside.

Transport facilities must be expanded and improved in order to ensure a regular and speedy commodity exchange that will satisfy the expanded needs of industrial and agricultural production and facilitate the functioning of the unified Yugoslav market.

In order to step up productive capacity in industry, the building trade, and agriculture, and to raise the standard of living, it is also necessary to expand and develop the craft trades and to establish a network of modern mechanized services and additional craft workshops for the needs of economic organizations and for services to the public. To this end the commune must earmark funds needed for further expansion of existing social capacities and for the organization of new ones.

In order to eliminate discrepancies between the production of consumer goods and the means of production, efforts must be made in the future to raise the level of production where it increases the supply for public consumption compatible with general economic development and with the general requirements of the country.

At the same time it is necessary to develop a system of planned regulation and direction control in the economy. The methods of regulation must be steadily improved and dovetailed with the progressive tendencies of development in socialist relations. The mechanism of centrally planned regulation must be adapted to self-government in the enterprises, and in the communes, etc.; but, at the same time, it must also be sufficiently efficacious to direct the course of economic development. When determining relations in the distribution of the product between the funds at the independent disposal of the workers' collectives and of the community and those which, as federal funds, are utilized in the processes of dovetailing and direction control as provided for in the plan, economic policy must take into account that these relations will, on the one hand, ensure conditions for general economic development and, on the other, offer ample material conditions for the development of the enterprises, communes, and communal economy.

Raising of the Productivity of Labour

Raising the productivity of labour, increasing commodity output per worker and inhabitant, must, primarily, depend on the development of the material productive forces. In its future development Yugoslavia will effect an increase in the productivity of labour by introducing mechanization on as large a scale as possible, by installing automation and, generally, by taking advantage of up-to-date scientific and technical achievements in productive processes and in the organization of production. But, in the present situation, a better organization of labour, technical training of working people, rationalization of man-hours, development of discipline and proper working habits, also yield considerable internal reserves for raising the productivity of labour.

In order to ensure steady development in labour productivity, it is of paramount importance to work out in detail and apply a system of remuneration according to work. This involves not

only the introduction of adequate and appropriate production targets and scales of remuneration for each job in the enterprise, but also adequate remuneration of the social effect of labour in the working collectives and other fields and branches of the economy, which must be achieved by dovetailing and stabilizing relations in the market and in the fundamental distribution of the social product. The principle of remuneration according to work means, in point of fact, that remuneration must be in proportion to output, that the amount of personal income earned by the working people must depend on the productivity of their labour and, consequently, that throughout the whole economy workers' personal income must increase in proportion to the greater productivity of labour.

Higher personal earnings, therefore, must depend primarily on three factors: on the general increase in the productivity of labour throughout the country, on the results of the individual working collective in this field, and on the labour productivity of the individual working man. The economic policy of society must ensure that these factors are continually in evidence, in their due proportions, in the standard of living, thus making it possible for the worker consciously and in a planned way, by working at his job and participating in the organs of social management, to make for specific social material targets, both personal and in the common interest. Such a principle gives assurance that the basic task of socialist economic policy shall be steady improvement of material and cultural conditions in the life and work of the working people. Only such a system of remuneration can give the working collectives and working people a permanent incentive to improve their work. Any excessive funnelling of funds obtained through higher labour productivity into the capital accumulation fund must result in friction between individual and general social interests and, consequently, in political and social difficulties.

In this system of remuneration it is essential, in view of the present level of economic development, to draw distinctions between personal earnings according to qualifications, according to output, and according to the level of responsibility; but here society must suppress any extremes which may occasionally

result from the application of this otherwise correct principle. In this respect an equally damaging role may be played both by the tendency towards absolute parity of personal income, which results in a decline in the productivity of labour, since it discourages a working man's ambitions to become more skilled and productive, and also by an excessively wide gap between personal incomes, which leads to material privileges for one section of society and thus to distortions in socialist relations.

Improvement in Living Conditions

The steady improvement of living and working conditions for the workers, housing, health and cultural conditions, and a higher technical, political, and general cultural level, directly affects labour output. Economic policy must be such as to raise productivity of labour not merely through material incentives, but also through better general living and working conditions for the working people.

Accordingly, with the aim of increasing labour productivity and achieving steady progress in the economy and society, the remuneration of the working people, their living and general social conditions should improve constantly and in proportion to the advance of the productive forces of social labour. This must to an increasing extent become a reality in the economic and general social progress in the country, since it is, in fact, an essential element of socialist relations. The rate of improvement in living conditions, and the pace of achievement of the basic goal of socialist economic activity, depend on the level of labour productivity. Consequently, a rise in productivity is also a condition for the acceleration of this pace.

The League of Yugoslav Communists, in its endeavours to raise the socialist consciousness of the working people and, in particular, to explain the socialist system must, therefore, start from this mutual connection and inter-relation between the development of the productive forces and productivity of labour, on the one hand, and the living conditions of the working

people, on the other, this being one of the fundamental laws of the socialist economy. This law is at the root of our system of socialist relations in production, and at the same time it must be the main principle in our economic policy.

But, in order to improve the living conditions of the working people, it is necessary to pay particular attention to certain problems of economic policy on which this improvement depends directly.

In the first place, there is the need for an effective solution to the housing problem. Housing conditions, especially in the towns and industrial and mining communities, are still difficult. The inherited supply of houses was small, and, furthermore, it was substantially destroyed and damaged in the war. With the rapid development of industrial centres and towns, and the general increase in the level of the needs of the population, this problem, in spite of substantial investments, has grown more and more acute from year to year.

The housing problem, and the problem of the rational maintenance of the existing supply of houses, became less acute after the introduction of the housing levy and the formation of housing reserves; and the establishment of self-government in the housing communities also had a beneficial effect; but economic policy during the coming period must make an even more determined attack on this problem.

It is necessary to initiate a more thorough approach to the problem, to work out construction programs, to eliminate any factors which delay construction or make it more expensive, and to discover methods for mobilizing to a far greater extent the initiative and resources of the population in the housing drive.

The standard of living of the working people is closely connected with improvements in various social activities and with the expansion of their operational field. Health insurance and social security, education, the activity of cultural institutions, etc., all have a direct bearing upon the improvement of living conditions for the working people and upon their standard of living.

*The Active Part Played by the Communes
in Raising the Living Standards of the Population*

Of great importance for the living standard of the population are the activities in the communes themselves. Not only housing conditions, but also the communal services — transport, craft jobs, sanitary services, etc. — are an essential element in determining the material and cultural level of the population. As the population of the towns grows, these communal activities become increasingly important. On the other hand, the development of the communal system, and the allocation to the communes of large material resources for the development of the economy and employment, for the housing fund, and for various public services, etc., have given a strong impetus, which should increase in the future, to the development of communal economic and social institutions and to the improvement of living conditions in the towns. In addition, this system of financing communal activities in proportion to the personal incomes of the citizens should make it possible for communal activities to develop more harmoniously, not only in line with general progress in Yugoslavia's economy, but also side by side with the development of the social-economic structure of the population in the commune, with the increase in productivity of its labour, and with its own requirements. On these grounds general economic policy and, in particular, the conscious political forces in the communes must stimulate economic development in the commune and the expansion of communal activities.

Various home-help services have contributed to improvements in the living conditions of citizens. To this end, even more intensive efforts will be needed in order to build up a broad network of various services and household supply establishments, cheap catering services, various social institutions for looking after the children of employed parents and for the care of the aged and physically unfit, and the like. A steady improvement in the organization and conditions of supply throughout the commune is also essential. In solving these and similar questions the organs of the commune must rely on the broadest participation

by the citizens concerned. For this reason it is necessary to secure and organize various forms of cooperation and self-assistance, such as the housing communities and other forms of civic association.

Promotion of communal activities is very closely bound up not only with the living standards of the population, but very often with the development of various branches of the economy. Often underdevelopment of communal economy has been to blame for the inadequate utilization of available productive forces. Finally, the communal economy is also of great significance for the development of the commune, which is the basic unit of our socialist society.

Supplying the Population

Trade has made significant headway, especially during the period of workers' self-management. But, notwithstanding, there is still evidence that trade is lagging behind general economic development and behind the need for better consumer supply. This especially goes for farm produce trading. Such a lagging behind is mainly in evidence in the material-technical conditions for trade, and in the capacity of the sales network, in particular. Besides this, owing to discrepancies in production, owing to the incompleteness of the economic system and to subjective deficiencies in commerce, in some fields of trade there are signs of uncontrolled laissez-faire trends and various non-socialist manifestations. This has an unfavourable effect both on the provision of an adequate structure of consumption and on the firmness of market conditions and prices.

In order to improve conditions of consumer supply, and give impetus to production, it is indispensable that greater attention than hitherto should be paid to the development of trade during the ensuing period. For this, it will be necessary both to expand the sales networks — the shops, the department stores, etc., and to effect a steady improvement in the professional efficiency of the employees, and here, in particular, it is essential to bring

the technical conditions of the commercial services up to modern standards by building ware-houses, cold storage plants, transport facilities, and other installations.

In order to promote the development and improvement of commerce and to maintain a hold on prices, it will also be necessary, first, to take various organizational measures (particularly in the peoples' committees) to ensure the supply of the population, and then to enforce corresponding regulatory measures and strengthen social control over commerce by means of appropriate forms of consumer organization.

Yugoslavia's International Economic Policy

In the struggle for economic progress, Socialist Yugoslavia must rely primarily on her own resources and pursue a policy that will also ensure new economic independence.

But this does not mean that Yugoslavia should isolate herself from other countries, or from the world economy, and pursue an autarchic policy. On the contrary, a policy of autarchy would only increase the economic burden of the working people and retard the development of the productive forces. Socialist Yugoslavia has to join in international organizations of labour, and in all forms of international economic cooperation, on terms of equality which contribute to her economic progress and the acceleration of the productive forces, and which in no respect threaten her independence and socialist order. Yugoslavia should enter into such cooperation on terms of equality with all countries (regardless of their social system) which want to cooperate and have an interest in cooperating with its country in such economic exchanges and complementary reciprocity.

In accordance with the policy of economic independence, and in line with closer adherence to the world market, it will be necessary to reach an even balance of payments with foreign countries as soon as possible and to maintain it. To this end, it is necessary to stimulate development in branches of the economy, and to undertake economic and other measures, which will ensure the fulfillment of this task.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

The country has entered a stage of economic growth when the acceleration of agricultural development is essential in order to ensure a more even development of the productive forces, to satisfy the growing needs of the working people, and in order to create more favourable conditions for the socialist transformation of the village and social development in general. Agricultural development can only be accelerated by means of large-scale up-to-date techniques and a scientific production organization. This requires corresponding investment of social means in areas of agricultural development which can more quickly and thoroughly overcome the effects of laissez-faire and ensure a high level of production, while reaching the targets of socialist transformation in the countryside.

Economic development to date in Yugoslavia has created, in addition to social-political conditions, the initial economic material conditions for the development of up-to-date socialist agriculture. The general development of the economic forces in Yugoslavia, and the growing total national income produced primarily by the country's industrialization, are gradually providing agriculture with modern means of production.

A network of socialist agricultural organizations has also been developed, providing a sound starting base for the more rapid and successful development of socialist forms of production in agriculture.

The Creation of Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture — the Only Way to Progress in Agricultural Production

The general economic uplift, and the growth of socialist social relationships that has already taken place in other fields of production, make it essential that in all branches of agriculture there should also be a speeding up of the process of transition from backward methods to scientifically organized and high-yielding methods of productions. Only modern agriculture with

its high yield per worker and land unit can ensure getting the best out of favourable soil and climatic conditions, thus making it possible to effect a steady improvement in food supplies for the population, to supply processing industries with agricultural raw materials, and to increase farm exports.

The obtainment of higher yields depends upon a more comprehensive scientific and technical organization of production in agriculture, the elimination of backward technological methods, the application of modern means and processes of mechanization, the use of chemicals, high-quality seeds, highly productive livestock, soil reclamation projects, etc.

Accordingly, agricultural production can be advanced only by engaging the socialist forces and by building up a modern, large-scale socialist agriculture.

The improvement of agricultural production and its socialist transformation are only two facets of a single process. All prospects of advancing agriculture through capitalist development and through the enrichment of one section of the agricultural producers at the expense of others are, under present conditions in Yugoslavia, both economically and politically impossible.

The Socialist Transformation of the Countryside

The agricultural policy of the League of Yugoslav Communists involves the gradual socialization of the production process in agriculture by developing the means of production within the framework of the present socialist agricultural organizations and other socialist forms, which will emerge during the development of this process itself without compulsory interference with individual land ownership. The socialist transformation of agriculture is indispensable for any qualitative improvement and for the creation of better living conditions for the agricultural producer. The gradual attainment of this goal is one of the most important tasks for the Communists and for all the socialist forces during the coming period of socialist development.

The consolidation of socialist relationships in the countryside is linked with the development of socialist agricultural organizations, with modern means of production and technical personnel, with the growing influences of these organizations upon methods of cultivation and land husbandry, with the increasing pressure upon the individual producer to participate, in his own interests and those of the development of socialist agricultural organizations, in the multifarious forms of socialist cooperation.

The chief protagonists of expanded reproduction, and the organizers of modern agricultural production, are the organized socialist forces in agriculture. These are, for the most part, agricultural estates, peasant working cooperatives, general farming cooperatives, and cooperative farms. During subsequent development, priority will be given to the forms which produce the best results in raising production and furthering the socialist transformation of the countryside; that is to say, to those which are in the forefront of the campaign for higher yields, for profitable husbandry, for adopting modern means and methods of production; which exercise an influence on the development of socialist relations in the countryside; which are in the forefront of transcending private owner *laissez-faire*, and of attracting the working peasants to large scale socialist agricultural production.

The Yugoslav Communists will, therefore, promote the development of socialist agricultural organizations and forms of association among individual producers, which will lead to the maximum growth of agricultural production and which will be accepted voluntarily by working peasants in their own interest.

The Role of the General Farming Cooperative

The general farming cooperative is one of the suitable forms through which small-holder *laissez-faire* is gradually superceded and large-scale socialist production developed. The activities of the general farming cooperative must be directed towards forms of cooperation in production which will result in a substantial increase in production and increase the funds of the

cooperative, and in this way create conditions for modern socialist large-scale production. Only such forms result in greater productivity of labour and lower production costs. The material interests of the individual agricultural producer, and the economic interest of the community which invests socially owned funds in agricultural development, should provide the decisive material-economic stimulus for various forms of association between the individual farmer and the cooperative. Such an individual economic interest will convince the farmer of the advantages of the large-scale socialist farm over the backward unorganized small-holding.

The basis and aims of such cooperation are provided by a technical substructure quite different from the one upon which present peasant production rests; this enables quantitatively higher yields per unit of capacity to be obtained, labour can be mobilized, and various forms of land merger achieved. The cooperatives must socialize the process of labour, gradually transform one operation after another into a social process of labour, thereby effecting the structure of production and planning, and gradually transforming the structure of agriculture as a whole.

With the increase of the cooperative's share in the socially owned means of production, this type of socialist agricultural organization will to an increasing extent become the vehicle for expanded production and the organizing mechanism for modern large-scale production, trade, and manufacture. To this must be added the conscious political activity of the socialist forces and the corresponding general economic policy of the social community (the plan, regulatory measures, social supervision over land cultivation, credits, prices, taxes, etc.).

The major question of land disposal in such conditions comes down to the degree of development and the ability of the cooperative to cope with the process of production, while the question of land rent, which is gradually becoming the last form of private land ownership, will be solved with the development of the productive forces in agriculture and in accordance with the general economic development of the socialist economy.

It is essential that all these processes should come into operation only as a result of the peasant's own voluntary consent.

And it is actual experience that will open the eyes of the peasant to the truth, which is persistently emphasized by the League of Communists, viz., that the working peasant will lead a better life only under conditions which appertain to the development and increase of modern large-scale agricultural production.

The Role of Socialist Agricultural Estates

In the present phase of the development of modern socialist agriculture, the socially owned agricultural estates, and the advanced working cooperative and cooperative farms, have a particularly significant role to play. These estates have reached a stage in which intensive endeavours are being made to produce yields that are indicative of a qualitative change — high productivity of labour and profitable production.

Their example and productive capacity will give impetus to the modernization and intensification of agriculture as a whole. Their results today give the main weight to the decisive evidence in favour of large-scale socialist estates in every branch of agriculture as opposed to the small, fragmented individual holding.

Political and Cultural Progress in the Countryside

The process of developing modern socialist agriculture will have a profound effect on the entire development of socialist relations, as well as on the standard of living and cultural level in the countryside. Scientifically organized production by modern methods will gradually sweep away the discrepancies between labour in industry and labour in agriculture, since the various processes of agricultural production are becoming increasingly industrialized. Under such conditions the productivity of labour in agriculture will on the average gradually approximate the productivity of labour in industry.

General technical and cultural progress — such as electrification, modern transport, the press, radio, television, etc. — is also

leading the agricultural producer along the road to more productive labour and a more civilized way of life. Self-management by the producers in the large-scale estates, cooperatives and their establishments, is becoming a growing force in the development of modern agriculture. As agriculture in general develops, the differences in the way of living between the urban and rural population, and the contradictions and differences between urban and rural interests, will diminish. In this way the working peasant becomes more deeply involved in new production relations, thus changing his social nature, his way of life, and his whole mentality.

In the struggle for such a development, an extremely important role is being played by the Communists and by all other conscious socialist forces. In particular, the political and social organizations in the countryside and in the agricultural communes must supervise the extremely complex process of developing modern socialist agriculture and the socialist transformation and cultural advance of the countryside.

SOCIAL POLICY

Between the two world wars, Yugoslavia was one of the most backward countries in Europe in regard to its attitude to people and their rights to security in the event of sickness, old age, or incapacity, and in regard to mother and child welfare. The devastation left by the war — one million seven hundred thousand killed during the war, an immense number of disabled and wounded, hundreds of thousands of war orphans — aggravated the problem of social welfare even more and confronted the people's government with extremely difficult tasks.

Even during the war, and especially after it, the League of Yugoslav Communists set to work solving social problems which were a direct consequence of the war and a remnant of the system of exploitation.

The welfare of wounded ex-servicemen, of the families and children of fallen fighters and the victims of fascism, is constant and systematic. By investing substantial funds for the expansion

of the material foundations of public health and various aspects of material security for citizens, by enacting modern legislation and encouraging the expansion of social activities by citizens in the organs of social management, significant successes have been achieved in the field of social welfare. However, in spite of these successes social policy is still faced with major problems.

Further Tasks in the Sphere of Social Security

Social policy is faced, above all, with the following tasks:

welfare of the working man and his family, attention to their every-day needs and subsistence, their rest and recreation, etc. Housing and communal policy must in this sense be permeated by the spirit of socialist social policy;

provision for every member of the community of living and working conditions that will preserve and improve his physical and mental health;

provision of medical security and help in preventing disease and treating the sick;

making it possible for every working man to participate in the life and work of society, by solving any social problems still existing as vestiges from the past or arising as new ones;

helping people, both specific categories and individuals, who are in particularly unfortunate circumstances as a result of accident, disease, invalidhood, deficiency, old age or adolescence, as a result of external or indeed sometimes internal causes; besides offering material help, social security must, above all, make it possible for all such persons to join in social life and productive work by providing them with education and technical training, systematic rehabilitation facilities and the chance to obtain new qualifications and adapt themselves to society; further, social security must, to an increasing extent, be responsible for solving difficulties and satisfying the needs of the individual, regardless of whether they arise from objective living conditions or from constitutional causes — physical or mental.

In the realization of the different forms of social security, the spotlight should be focused upon the activities of the communes, of the housing communities and a series of other social organizations, which in their program and day-to-day work in the region of a commune, fulfill social tasks.

The funds controlled by society are, under present conditions, the most appropriate material basis for various kinds of social security. The most rational utilization of available resources is effected through social management of these funds and of the individual health and social institutions.

Social Insurance

Social insurance for employed working people is a major achievement of the Yugoslav working class. Social insurance in the case of illness, industrial accident, invalidhood, and old age, is in the present stage a right arising out of employment and the contributions of the insured. This must be developed further to include the whole population and to introduce new forms of insurance. In this respect the task of gradually introducing social security into the villages is of particular importance.

The health insurance of the whole population, as the first phase in the further extension of social security to include the present uninsured section of the population, must be based on the contributions of the insured, and must be carried out in conformity with generally accepted and valid principles, and in proportion to the growth of material resources.

Tasks in the Sphere of the Health Service

Activities in the field of health should — in addition to the curing of illness, the rehabilitation of the sick, and activities for

preventing disease — be directed even more towards the maintenance and improvement of the physical and mental health of all the working people.

Efforts to carry the health services a stage further will involve first of all: the perfection of the health service and improvement of its organization; the increase and extension of health institutions, particularly those concerned with preventive medicine, thus dovetailing the development of the health network with the increasing requirements of various areas resulting from economic development and altered population structure; the maximum advancement of scientific research in the field of health; an increase in the production of medicaments; the training of health personnel in general, particularly the training of assistant medical personnel and auxiliary staff. Particular attention should be devoted to the education of the broad masses of people in health and hygiene.

The Position of the Family

By abolishing patriarchal family legislation, introducing social security and assistance to the family, creating material and other conditions for the economic emancipation of women, developing various institutions for assisting the family with the welfare and education of children, establishing the social technical base of housekeeping, and emancipating the family from the pressure of backward housekeeping, — the socialist society provides a new foundation for material and family relations, for new morals in personal relations, for the return of Man to his true human nature, without exploiting and humiliating anyone else.

Simultaneously with its emancipation from the drudgery of backward housekeeping, the family expands, enriches, and instills strength into its internal human relations and is a source of happiness to its members. In the absence of the compulsion of a society based on private ownership, and all the prejudices linked

with it, the working people freely base their marital and family life on mutual love, comradeship, and respect, and on love for their children.

The alteration of marital and family relations is an historical process in the course of which the objective, material obstacles, with all the backward habits, prejudices, and ideas, which are particularly deeply rooted in the field of these relations, must be overcome.

The rapid pace of industrialization and the change in the structure of the population, the rapid development and growth of towns, the influx of the rural population, especially young people, into the towns, the lack of accommodation and overcrowding, the insufficiently developed communal services, and changes in family relations — have created and are still creating new personal and family problems, problems of adaptation to new circumstances and new ways of life, and negative social phenomena, etc.

The League of Yugoslav Communists is aware of the profound processes developing within the family, and of its needs and opportunities. The League of Communists constantly bears in mind the necessity of harnessing the subjective forces, and creating the necessary material conditions, in order to emancipate the family from the burden of technically backward housekeeping, all this concurrently with the material development of the country as a whole.

One of the most important problems in this complex is the promotion of social child welfare. Without decrying the importance of the family with regard to the education of children, which is irreplaceable, the League of Communists will make efforts to develop, now and in the future, the most comprehensive forms of social welfare for children, which will also provide educational facilities which the family, consisting, as it does, of parents and children, cannot offer the child, especially when the mother is employed. The establishment of a variety of children's institutions and amusement and recreation facilities, play-grounds, and the like, where children can spend part of the day and enjoy collective life and social education, is in the interest both of the family and of society. The direct participation of parents in the promotion

of social welfare for children, and their participation in the management organs of all children's institutions will offer the best means of discovering family needs and potentialities, and, at the same time, of creating uniformity in social and family education.

In the course of these profound changes in family life which are now taking place, internal conflicts are inevitable. These lead to individual problems and difficulties, which sometimes assume the character of social phenomena (divorces, children born out of wedlock, and the like). Social security must take the form of individual intervention and help in every single case where disturbed family relations cause social problems.

Self-Management in the Field of Social Security

In order to solve the afore-mentioned problems it is necessary to carry out further expansion in the network of social services and institutions with social management, especially the network of various consultation-centres. Special care must be devoted to recruiting technical personnel for social work.

The communes will continue to be vehicles of this social policy; and within the communal framework direct welfare of the individual, of the housing community, and of the economic organizations has its place. In all these measures of socialist social policy, the social organizations will continue to play an important part. In the direct welfare of the working man and his family, however, it will be the trade unions, above all, as the mass political organization of the working class, which will be concerned. The activities of political and social organizations, of self-managing bodies and citizens, also play their part in stimulating the steady growth of initiative, the direct fulfillment of tasks, a better use of material resources, and a steady improvement in the work of organizations which are already successfully operating according to the principles of social self-management. Thus, the mechanism and conditions are created in which civic activity, side by side with investment of material resources, assumes a prominent role in the further development and activities of the social policy services.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE

Revolutionary changes in the social economic structure of Yugoslavia have also caused many and various qualitative changes in the sphere of the social superstructure. These changes have opened up great opportunities for free and universal development in education, science, and culture, on the new ideological foundations of socialist humanism.

The struggle for ideological socialist transformation requires organized and systematic activity on the part of the League of Communists and all progressive socialist forces in the country. In order to carry this ideological socialist transformation of the country into mental and intellectual spheres, full attention should be devoted to the expansion and development of the material-technical basis of all branches of culture, by ensuring objective opportunities for the broadest strata of the population to acquire general and technical knowledge.

The essential features of the development of cultural creative abilities are:

free development of national cultures on the basis of equality of rights and creative cooperation among the various nationalities;

socialist democracy in the school and educational system in general, and in scientific, artistic, and all other cultural institutions;

the emancipation of educational, scientific, artistic, and all other cultural life from the administrative interference of government authorities, of statist and pragmatist conceptions of cultural life — through building up and perfecting the system of social self-management in educational, scientific and all other cultural institutions and organizations;

a critical Marxist attitude towards the cultural achievements of all nations, towards the cultural heritage of the Yugoslav peoples, towards the struggle against the bourgeois class mystification of the history of culture and of cultural values, and also against the ignorant, primitive, and sectarian underestimation of the cultural heritage of the past, which the socialist society,

being the natural historical heir of the cultural heritage, accepts and cultivates, as one of the elements for the building of a classless civilization.

In revolutionary social practice the general enlightenment of the people has increased enormously. The struggle for new social relations is freeing the people's consciousness from naive and ignorant faith, and from obsolete religious and mystical narcosis, from spiritual laziness, and from various fetishist delusions. This struggle is spreading general knowledge and introducing new social habits, on the basis of rich scientific and technical experience; and it is leading to the attainment of higher economic social standards which are the basic and paramount prerequisite for Man's enjoyment of a fuller life.

In this process the progressive orientation of the majority of the Yugoslav intelligentsia is also very much in evidence, as is its active social-revolutionary spirit, which developed under the ideological influence of Communists in the struggle against the bourgeois regimes of prewar Yugoslavia and against the fascist occupation and counter-revolution, and which today, within the framework of socialist development, has found full and unhampered opportunities for the development of its creative abilities.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will continue to fight for the creation of the most favourable material and social conditions for intensive development in the cultures of the Yugoslav peoples, and in the sphere of scientific and artistic creativeness, for the development of general cultural training and knowledge available to the greatest possible number of working people.

In continuing to build the basis of a modern education, the League of Yugoslav Communists will pay special attention to: raising the levels of basic modern education for all inhabitants, with a view to changing the qualification composition of the population, training citizens for responsible functions in the mechanism of social self-management, and, in general, creating conditions for a richer and more cultured personal life for citizens;

creating equal opportunities for every young person to choose his career, continue his education, and improve his knowledge to the utmost according to his capabilities and interests.

The gradual closing of the gap between mental and manual work, and the abolition of the moral and social degradation of manual work inherited from the class society, constitute one of the fundamental principles on which our socialist system of education is based. For this reason the system of adult education is an essential complement and expansion of the education and technical training of the working people. It is upon this foundation that the system of general education, accessible to all, should be built.

The System of Education and Training

The system of general education and training in Yugoslavia will continue to be developed in such a way as to serve the general aims of our socialist community and to make a maximum contribution to the creation of material and cultural wealth and to the development of socialist relations.

The basic aims of education and training under present social conditions in Yugoslavia are the following: to develop a creative attitude among the younger generation towards their future profession and towards work in general; to develop socialist social consciousness, and to qualify young people for participation in the social life of the country and in the organizations of social self-government and management; to acquaint young people with the achievements of our own peoples and of all mankind in various fields of social, scientific, technical, artistic, and other cultural creativeness; to develop the spirit of brotherhood and unity among the Yugoslav peoples; to develop internationalism, the spirit of international solidarity of the working people, and the idea of equality, and rapprochement among all nations in the interests of peace and progress

throughout the world; to adopt the principles of a scientific, materialist outlook on the world; to develop a comprehensive, active personality together with the intellectual and moral qualities required by the citizen of a socialist community; to improve physical health, particularly through the development of physical culture and education, as a condition for normal creative life.

If the schools are to be capable of fulfilling such tasks, it is indispensable that they should, through their organization, through the methods of their work, through their entire activity, always be in a position to improve, to keep abreast of developments in society, to satisfy the needs which are ceaselessly growing. Of special importance is the interconnection between the school and the social-economic situation in the country, the ability of the school to reflect in its curriculum the concrete needs of the younger generations and to bring them into harmony with the requirements of society; the ability to arouse the interest of the youth for all the knowledge necessary for his present and future material, cultural, and moral-social progress. Teachers in our schools must take a lively interest in modern developments and the results of modern science, in social practice and art, and must apply these results to their educational work.

In the task of linking the school with the needs of society and of strengthening the social role of the school, the school-boards attached to educational institutions are playing an exceptionally important role. Linked with the commune and with the economic and social organizations, these boards are becoming to an increasing extent places for consultation and cooperation among all the factors concerned: teachers, parents, and the young people, in addition to the social organizations and state bodies directly concerned.

Educational Activity Among the People

The low educational and cultural level in many fields, evident throughout the country, among the bulk of producers, the

agricultural producers in particular, which is a heritage of the past, is a major obstacle in the way of a more rapid development of the productive forces of society and general socialist transformation. This state of affairs directly affects the development of culture itself, for the immense creative energies of the people remain dormant.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will continue its efforts to stimulate development and expansion in the network of institutions concerned with raising the cultural and educational level of the broadest masses of people, such as the press, the publishing world, radio and television, the cinema, the theatre, public libraries, picture theatres, cultural centres, workers' and popular universities, cultural-educational and other organizations which cater for individual activities and amateur talent, etc. The Communists will advocate a more judicious and rational investment of the material funds of the community, and will concentrate on pressing forward with institutions and forms of cultural activity which have the most beneficial and extensive influence on the cultural standard of the people.

The struggle against primitiveness and, in general, the struggle to build up a more up-to-date organization of education and training, and to encourage the spread of cultural habits, is inconceivable without modern technical and cultural resources. In this sense it is particularly important to provide our schools and other educational and cultural institutions with the technical equipment that will make learning and the acquisition of knowledge more easily accessible and comprehensive. In addition to this, the development of such media as motion pictures, radio, and television, is creating new, enormous opportunities for the acquisition of new knowledge, for the expansion of culture habits and for nations to get to know each other. All this involves making efforts to raise the level of general and personal consumption by society during the coming period, so that, in proportion to society's material opportunities, the general technical and cultural standard may be raised and better conditions created for a more extensive and comprehensive use of technical and cultural resources both in public and privately.

Science and Art

The role of science in modern society has assumed great significance. Science has become one of the fundamental factors determining the entire potential and strength of a country. Scientific and technical development, and the advance of industrial production, have coalesced into a single process, so that science has become one of the strongest levers of development for the material forces of society. Under these conditions the next stage in the development of the productive and other forces of the people depends to a large extent on the ability of the community to make the results of scientific thought and practice as widely accessible as possible. Constant improvement in conditions for the advancement of science in all its fields is one of the tasks of the League of Yugoslav Communists.

Socialist society must, and it alone can, release a maximum of creative force in the sphere of science, and provide scientific research workers with all the facilities and complete freedom for enlisting their abilities to discover the laws and forms of natural and social phenomena, in order to reconcile the subjective work of the social forces with objective development. Science should be within the reach of every citizen in the country who is endowed with scientific capabilities and inclinations.

Modern science in some fields can successfully accomplish its task only by united efforts, and with the cooperation of a whole army of scientific research workers, all free to pursue their individual creative course.

Socialist society devotes special attention to the progress of social and political sciences. Advance social and political sciences, which reveal and determine the laws of the development of modern society and of its consciousness, are a powerful factor in progressive social development and the development of Man's social being.

In harnessing science to the needs of society, an important role is played by the social management of scientific institutions, through which the general interests of society are dovetailed with the concrete interests of scientific work. In this inter-connection,

freedom of creative scientific work is guaranteed, while scientific research is provided with the maximum of protection against administrative and other unnecessary interference.

The League of Yugoslav Communists has always attached great importance to the development of national cultures and art, and has supported and encouraged with material and political resources a more extensive and comprehensive development in every form of cultural and artistic creativeness.

In the system of socialist democracy, intellectual creativeness is being emancipated from class determinations and limitations: Man's social significance is beginning to alter qualitatively, and concrete conditions are being created for his genuine emancipation. Maximum development of human creativeness is becoming both the end and the means of all social movement; and in this way parity is achieved between social individual interests and social general interests, the common aim. Socialist relations in the struggle to transcend former capitalist social relations emancipate and assert Man's human consciousness, his ideological, intellectual, and creative being.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will continue its efforts to make art and culture in general the property of the people in a real sense, and to provide a solid foundation for cultural creativeness by giving due recognition to cultural achievements and, above all, by stimulating cultural and artistic initiative and activity among the broadest masses.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will give its support to the work of building material foundations for such activity, of creating and expanding various cultural institutions, such as the theatre, the cinema, radio and television, art galleries, museums, libraries, reading rooms, etc. It will encourage the activity of social organizations engaged in cultural and artistic fields, and will use its influence to bring about a situation in which the activities of the different nationalities in Yugoslavia are imbued with their own national characteristics and, through close interrelation, cooperation, and exchange of experience, with the socialist community's spirit of unity.

*Social Self-Government in the Fields of
Education, Science and Culture*

The organs of social self-government in educational, scientific, and cultural institutions and organizations, are an exceedingly important field where the Communists can use their influence and can work for the spread of socialist views on education, science, and art, for the development of their own social role, for the creation of the best possible material and social-political conditions for their speedier development, for the organization and mobilization of the broadest sections of the people in the struggle for a higher and more comprehensive cultural renaissance.

C h a p t e r X

THE SOCIAL ROLE AND IDEO-
LOGICAL FOUNDATION OF
THE LEAGUE OF YUGOSLAV
COMMUNISTS

THE SOCIAL ROLE AND IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF THE LEAGUE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS

The League of Yugoslav Communists grew out of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia; it is based upon, and is an extension of, the latter's revolutionary and Marxist traditions.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia always faithfully served working class interests and aspirations, which themselves correspond to the objective interests of all other sections of the working people of Yugoslavia. The League of Yugoslav Communists has been, and continues to be under present conditions, the representative of the interests and aspirations of the working class and all other working people in Yugoslavia.

The leading social role of the working class is based on the fact that its class interests are identical with the interests of the progress of mankind in general and, as such, are the main driving force behind the most progressive social changes.

Unity of outlook on fundamental internal and foreign policy problems, on essential questions in the struggle for socialism, is an indispensable condition for unity of will and action on the part of the Communists. The principles of democratic centralism are an expression of, and constitute the most adequate organizational condition for, ideological unity and unity of action on the part of the League of Yugoslav Communists. Democratic

centralism implies freedom of debate within the organization of Communists, while decisions, binding upon everyone, are adopted and action is undertaken on the basis of comprehensive exchange of opinions and resolutions passed by the majority. The consistent implementation of the principles of democratic centralism contributes to the best possible selection of Party personnel, and mobilizes Communists against bureaucratic tendencies and petty bourgeois anarchy.

The Building of Socialism — the Conscious Transformation and Supervision of Social Development

The starting point for the activities of the Yugoslav Communists is to be found in the social-political conditions created by history. The struggle for the building of socialism consists of conscious supervision and transformation of the development of the social picture.

The complete social-economic picture of Yugoslavia today is the product of two processes: long historical development, marked by class and national oppression, and powerful revolutionary transformation, carried out under the ideological and political leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, in the course of the Liberation War and during postwar socialist construction.

The social picture of Yugoslavia at the moment is coloured, in the first place, by profound changes in the economic-material and political foundations of society, by the numerical growth and intensified social role of the working class, by the growth of socialist consciousness among the broadest sections of the working people, by changes in the way of life, in ideology, and in moral concepts.

But elements of our past heritage, remnants of the old society, still exist and operate within the social pattern, giving rise to and fostering negative ideological and political phenomena. The fact that in the past the working people were denied any

influence over the administration of social, economic, and public affairs, and are therefore lacking in experience and the necessary cultural background, provides a breeding ground for tendencies towards a relapse into bourgeois individualism, particularism and self-interest, an irresponsible attitude toward public property, lack of consideration for others, bureaucratic tendencies, etc.

In so far as objective reality everywhere operates blindly by the force of laws inherent within it, reference may be made to two kinds of spontaneous forces in the pattern of our society: small-proprietor and bureaucratic spontaneous forces which unite within themselves inherited, backward, and obsolete tendencies and are therefore retrogressive; and socialist spontaneous forces which spring from socialist relationships and, impelled by objective laws, affect the social being and the consciousness of people in the sense of transforming them and leading them onto the road of progress.

Communists — the Vanguard of Socialist Movement

The Yugoslav Communists took over the leadership of the revolutionary activities of the working people, developing their socialist consciousness, mobilizing them and organizing them for the task of transforming the social scene and leading onto the road of progress. The Yugoslav Communists will remain in the vanguard of the advance of socialist development, testing the correctness of their policies and actions in the light of practical experience and studying the results of that practical experience, which will inevitably contain, amongst other things, elements of the unforeseen, and therefore of blind spontaneity. In overcoming negative spontaneous symptoms, the more the Communists in their practical activities rely on the study of socialist theory and practice in all fields where the struggle for socialism is developing, the more they keep in touch with the scientific achievements of progressive social thought as a whole, and the more they themselves contribute to its further development, the greater will be their success.

The Future Development of Marxism

The scientific and theoretical foundation for the practical activities of Communists is Marxism — the study of the basic laws of the development of nature, society and thought, and of the inevitability of the victory of socialism, teachings which were founded by Marx and Engels, and, under new conditions, through the experience of revolutionary struggle, were further developed by Lenin and other Marxists. These teachings have been tested and taken a stage further by the theory and practice of the workers' movement of the whole world and by the actual process of building socialism.

Marxism is not a system of dogma or established doctrine, but a theory of social processes which is in the course of developing through successive historical phases; therefore it implies the creative application of scientific theory, which will continue to develop, primarily through generalization of practical experience in socialist development and achievement in the scientific thought of mankind. "We in no wise look upon Marx's theory as being something final and inviolable. We are, on the contrary, convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone for the science that socialists must advance in all directions if they do not want to lag behind life ... We do not pretend that Marx or Marxists know all the concrete aspects of the road to socialism. That is senseless. We know the direction in which that road goes and we know what kind of class forces lead the way, but, concretely, practically, only the experience of millions once they set to work will show that". (Lenin).

Supporting the view that the more courageously and impartially scientific thought devotes itself to the search for truth, the more will its development correspond to the genuine interests and aspirations of the working class and the working people in general. The Yugoslav Communists make no pretensions to possessing any kind of monopoly in this sphere, but they are working for the continued and uninterrupted development of Marxism, and its enrichment by an increasingly profound understanding of the objective social pattern. Neither the League of

Yugoslav Communists as a whole, nor its various bodies, consider themselves arbiters in the fields of Marxism-Leninism or any specific social science. They apply, or rather adapt, the results of scientific research according to the interests of society and the degree of social consciousness among the most progressive section of the working class and of working people in general, and according to the material possibilities that exist for society. Science is its own arbiter, while the decisive criterion for objective truth in the results shown by social science must depend on whether they do or do not correspond to the realities of the existing situation; and this is put to the final test in social and scientific practice itself.

The Leading Role of the League of Yugoslav Communists and Its Continual Conscious Activity

Due to the specific developmental features of the revolutionary processes in Yugoslavia, in which the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and later the League of Yugoslav Communists, has shown itself to be the only real force rallying the broad masses of the people in the struggle for liberty and social progress, the League of Yugoslav Communists has won and retained the specific role of leadership in the system of people's government in Yugoslavia.

Due to the diminution of social antagonisms and the consolidation and development of socialist relationships in present conditions, the League of Yugoslav Communists has been becoming an increasingly minor factor in the power of the state and an increasingly major factor in the formation and development of socialist consciousness among the working people, who now have a direct share in the conduct of government and act in their own material, intellectual, and social interests. The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia formulated the leading role and position of the working class party in social life precisely within the meaning of such principles. Significant progressive changes were also introduced into methods of work.

The decisions adopted by the Sixth Congress made important adjustments in the attitude of Communists towards changes in the objective conditions of social life. In accordance with these changes and in order to stress their historical significance, at the Sixth Congress the name of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was changed to the League of Yugoslav Communists.

In the future the leading political role of the League of Yugoslav Communists will gradually disappear as a more comprehensive pattern of direct socialist democracy grows and gathers strength. This disappearing process will go hand in hand with the objective process of the withering away of social antagonisms and all forms of coercion, which have emerged, historically, from these antagonisms.

But constant, conscious activity by Communists throughout the whole fabric of social democracy and in all the organizations of the working people is needed in order to achieve these aims. The antagonistic forces have still not been weakened to such an extent that they have ceased to be a danger to the existence of socialism. For this reason the working class cannot give up the weapon of its class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leading role of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the struggle to overcome the social material factors which in one form or another are still exerting pressure on social relationships in Yugoslavia in the shape of tendencies towards the restoration of capitalism, or towards bureaucracy or state-capitalism.

The Growth of Initiative Among the Masses and Constructive Debates on Socialist Postulates

The League of Yugoslav Communists is not seeking monopoly rights for itself in governmental and social self-governing bodies on the communal, district, republican, or federal levels, but is fighting for the implementation of socialist principles in their policies and practices. The decisions made by self-governing bodies in enterprises, by communes, and by district, republican, and federal social and state bodies, should be the result of an

active socialist debate both in the governmental bodies and in the social self-governing bodies, as well as in the organizations of the League of Yugoslav Communists and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

Through political mobilization of the masses for an attack on fundamental problems in socialist development and in the position of working people, the League of Yugoslav Communists exerts a forceful influence on the development of socialist consciousness among the masses, and the development and consolidation of the political and ideological unity of the working people, thus preparing and educating the public for social self-government. The League of Yugoslav Communists thus steadily strengthens the influence of socialist forces on the social-political system as a whole, and this enables the public to increase its control over the work of governmental and social self-governing bodies.

The basic principle governing the work of the League of Yugoslav Communists — as regards governmental and social self-governing bodies — is not one of domination, but of stimulation of activities and initiative among the public, and of setting an example through the personal conduct of its members in carrying out the tasks of socialist construction, in the struggle to protect the interests of the community, and in the development of new-type socialist relationships among people.

The Yugoslav Communists do not play the role of a superior elite out of contact with the people; on the contrary they are an integral part of the working people and on an equal footing with them; in theory the Communists "are the vanguard of the mass of the proletariat by virtue of their understanding of the conditions, course, and general results of the proletarian movement" (Marx). Any lagging behind the consciousness of the masses, or failure to note and take advantage of material opportunities, leads to impairment in the organizational role of the Communists as the conscious subjective factor in socialist development. But impetuosity to go beyond the limits of the material potential and consciousness of the masses, in other words to adopt postulates and standpoints that do not correspond to actual conditions in material production and to the moral-psychological state of the masses is equally detrimental in this respect. The

League of Communists has worked steadily to eliminate these two extremes and weaknesses, and will continue to pursue such a policy in the future. Only a realistic policy can be progressive and serve the interests of socialism; it must combine thinking with practice, words with deeds, aspirations with opportunities. By means of such a policy socialism gains ground, in that it is achieved hand in hand with a fuller and more extensive participation on the part of the working people, and in this way general and individual interests are brought into harmony.

By means of such a policy and under the social conditions now being created in Yugoslavia under the leadership of the League of Communists, the personality of Man — the citizen of socialist Yugoslavia — is becoming emancipated and is attaining full stature; human relationships are emerging with the hallmarks of humanity; and socialist humanism is being created. The concept of freedom is acquiring a concrete meaning and embodiment, in contrast to the abstract freedoms of bourgeois society which are conditioned and thus limited by capitalist relationships. Conditions are being created in which careful consideration is given to everyone's opinion, because individual opinions, with the consolidation of the material basis of socialism, will grow up on the foundation of increasing coordination between the personal and common interests of citizens and will thereby contribute to the growth and expansion of socialist relationships in all fields of social activity. Thus a new attitude toward diversities of opinion is arising, and the essence of that attitude is more comprehensive than the bourgeois principle of tolerance, restricted as it is by the framework of the class interests of the capitalist class and its state. In our social and political system, platforms for constructive and creative debate along socialist lines are becoming increasingly widespread. The purpose is to solve social contradictions, to facilitate and accelerate, in accordance with existing opportunities, comprehensive socialist development.

The platforms for this debate and for social criticism change and adjust themselves to the objective situation, which also changes. In the conflict of class antagonisms, in war and revolution, social criticism had to be most severe in its form. Today, the pattern of social criticism is growing out of a situation in which the

idea of socialism has triumphed, out of an economic and social mechanism that cannot develop successfully without an incessant thrashing out of various points of view.

The Transition of Government on Behalf of the People into Government by the Working People

The role of the Communists in the development of socialist relationships required that the emphasis of their work should lie, not in state administration in the narrow sense of the word, but rather in strengthening the representative and self-governing bodies of government. Activity by Communists in the organizational and functional mechanism of government bodies at a certain historical stage was imperative. However, with the growth and expansion of socialist relationships, the retention of the old working pattern would have led to a fusion of the Communist organizations with the state machinery and to the growth of bureaucracy within their ranks.

Faith in the decree as an all-in-all deforms Communists. It weakens their sense of responsibility towards the masses, and leads to their stagnation and regression in ideology and morale, because under such conditions Communists lose the habit of fighting for their convictions, and thereby also of testing, as a regular daily routine, the correctness of those convictions in practice and through a thorough ventilation of conflicting opinions. The state administration should be transformed into a machine of experts subordinated to elected self-governing social bodies, while the Communists should strive to keep the work and decisions of those democratic bodies in harmony with what is needed for the development of socialism and its defence against anti-socialist tendencies.

The mechanism of the political and economic system established in Yugoslavia puts a decisive check on the growth of bureaucracy in the League of Yugoslav Communists. The League of Yugoslav Communists by consciously transferring to society and its bodies, in accordance with the consolidation of the socialist

base of society, a series of political functions which, for reasons of historical necessity, it exercised at one time and still does within certain limits, and by directing the development of the social system towards socialist democracy, is not only paving the way for the more comprehensive development of socialism, but is protecting itself from bureaucracy and political isolation, from using peremptory methods, and from the danger of being transformed from the revolutionary, conscious force of society into a brake upon its further development. Certain measures have played an important role in this sense, such as: the development of socialist democracy in the economic and political system of democracy which makes possible maximum self-government by the working people, through the corresponding bodies of self-government, and secures their right to full control over the functioning of the government machinery; organizational measures which have led the Communists to transfer the main part of their activity to representative and self-governing bodies and organizations; the abolition of Party — State parallelism; the adaptation of the organizational principles of the League of Yugoslav Communists to new conditions and new tasks.

The Yugoslav Communists will continue to be a dynamic force in the work of representative, social, and other government bodies, if their activities are centred in the area where the working people live and work, and if they remain under the latter's direct control in their many-sided efforts to achieve Lenin's principle of "the transformation of government for the people, into government by the working people".

*The Communists in Workers' Management
and Social Self-Governing Bodies*

The work of Communists in the enterprises, and especially in the Workers' Councils, is particularly important for the growth and development of workers' management. The organizations of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the enterprises are endeavouring to educate the maximum number of workers to

grasp the significance of the steady growth and development of the productive forces, of raising labour productivity, as a condition for overcoming the fundamental difficulties of socialist construction, improving the living standard of the working people, and securing uninterrupted development and consolidation in socialist relationships.

In stimulating many-sided activity in workers' management and social self-government bodies, in the Workers' Councils, the councils of producers, economic organizations, and in various fields of social self-government in the communes, the Communists should encourage these bodies to become popular schools of socialism providing the working people not only with a wealth of practical experience in management and administration of public affairs, but also with opportunities for increasing their understanding of the problems facing them, while simultaneously helping them to advance and develop ideologically and in the general sphere of culture.

*The Role of Communists in the Socialist Alliance
of the Working People of Yugoslavia*

The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia is a development under conditions of socialist construction of the structural forms of broad nation-wide mobilization which, under the aegis of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, was a feature of the struggle against the anti-people's regimes in bourgeois Yugoslavia, forms which were developed and consolidated during the armed struggle against the fascist invaders and their collaborators in the ranks of domestic reactionaries, and which subsequently played an exceptionally important role in the postwar period of reconstruction of the country and in the first phase of socialist construction. The immediate predecessor of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia was the People's Front of Yugoslavia, which was the first political-organizational form of the class alliance of the broadest sections of the working

people, united in the common cause of liquidating the obsolete and building up new socialist social relationships.

The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia is developing, under conditions of socialist construction, into a nation-wide socialist parliament, and it is the most appropriate pattern for the political interlinking of the real social protagonists of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia. The ideological and political basis of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia is to be found in the principle of the necessity for building socialism, and in the defence of the achievements of the Revolution and social ownership over the means of production, which within its framework guarantees the broadest possible free exchange and ventilation of divergent opinions in all fields of the social-political life of the country. As such, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, while guaranteeing the principle of unity among the socialist forces, makes it possible for every member of the public who is in principle in favour of socialism to be politically and socially active, and for the ventilation of divergent opinions to be as widespread as possible. Such a type of organization in the political life of the masses is in fact, under present conditions, best suited to a political system characterized by an increasingly widespread application of the methods and forms of direct democracy, i. e., the most direct participation of the public in the administration of the community. Precisely for this reason the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia is the political foundation of direct, socialist democracy.

The League of Yugoslav Communists is an integral part of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. The activities of members of the League of Yugoslav Communists are constantly subjected to the judgment and appraisal of the working people. The members of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia draw the strength of their socialist convictions from the Communists, and transform these convictions into the broad socialist consciousness of the working people.

The Communists have secured the leading role in the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, not by imposing on others their ideological and political views, but by the strength

of their convictions, which are based on scientific comprehension of the contemporary social scene and its fundamental tendencies; by the constant interlinking of revolutionary theory with practical work on the transformation of social relationships, side by side with assistance to the working people in the complete enjoyment of their democratic rights; by the ideological and moral enrichment of the figure of the Communist to whom communism, that final emancipation of man, is the highest aspiration both in public and private life.

Yugoslav Trade Union Federation — an Integral Part of the System of Direct Socialist Democracy

The League of Yugoslav Communists, being the leadership of the working class in Yugoslavia, pays special attention to communist activities in the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation. The Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, a working class social political organization operating on a voluntary basis has, by virtue of its place in society and its functions, a very important part to play in the system of workers' and social self-government, and it is an integral part of the system of direct socialist democracy. Continuing the best traditions of the progressive trade union movement between the two wars, the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, as the unified organization of the workers and employees, serves both the personal interests of its members and the general interests of society. Realization by the working class of its right to manage the enterprises and have a direct share in the distribution of the social product has brought about changes in its basic social position, and has made a particularly valuable contribution towards eliminating the remnants of hired labour. By that very fact, it has substantially coloured the changes in the character, role, and tasks of the Trade Unions. Despite these changes the Trade Unions retain their basic functions: economic, protective, and educational.

The development of the system of self-management, especially in the enterprises and the communes, enables, in fact requires,

the Trade Unions to play a greater part than was the case previously in the economic affairs of the country and of each individual enterprise, and to be as active as possible in giving consideration to, and deciding upon, all essential economic and social security problems.

Within the scope of these functions, the Trade Unions are encouraging workers and employees to play an active part in self-governing bodies; they help the working class to decide its own problems for itself through the Workers' Councils, communes, and other public bodies; they fight for the full realization of democracy in management and for the suppression of bureaucratic tendencies. Thus, the Trade Unions participate not only in the construction of the social system — through which productive forces can develop fully, and the working class and the individual human being can be emancipated — but also in the direct settlement of the demands and needs of workers and employees.

As the interests of the working class in Yugoslavia are no longer in danger either from private capitalist owners and rulers, or from administrators, the working class no longer has any need of a protective organization of the classical type. The Trade Unions, in conjunction with a number of other political and social bodies and organizations, are the representatives of the concrete, everyday common interests of the working class in relation to individual collectives or individual workers, as well as representatives of individual workers or working collectives in relation to society as a whole, to the commune and other specific social bodies. The Trade Unions exercise the important function of dovetailing interests within the working class itself, and particularly the function of establishing uniform principles with regard to the wages' policy, the development of internal relations in the enterprises, and the attack on the problems of the general living conditions of the working people. For this reason the Trade Unions must be an active factor, not only in the enterprise, but also in determining the policies of economic associations, chambers, and communes.

The Trade Unions operate as organizations exercising protective and controlling functions in society. They freely take up

the cause of individuals and collectives; they do their best to ensure the rule of law, and to correct and eliminate any possible injustices and errors. The Trade Unions also share the initiative for the passing of regulations and measures by government organs and self-governing bodies in the communes and enterprises, through their direct participation in the drafting of regulations and decisions concerning the working class, and through their participation in the enforcement of such regulations and decisions. In this way, the Trade Unions also carry out the function of public control over the self-governing bodies.

Within the scope of their general concern for the living and working conditions of all employed persons, the Trade Unions have also taken over the role of initiators and organizers of certain services to meet housing, food, social, health, cultural, communal, and other needs of workers and employees; to secure daily, weekly, and annual rest periods; to organize sports, recreation, and so on.

For all the aforementioned reasons, the fundamental basis for the functions of the Trade Union is no longer simply the economic establishment in which the worker is employed: it is also, to the same extent, the commune in which he lives, with all its auxiliary bodies and organizations, from the house committees and the local housing communities to the various councils in the people's committees, to economic associations and chambers, and the management boards of various social institutions, whose work has a direct bearing on the life of the working people. This means that the task of the Trade Union is not simply to protect the overall, concrete, everyday interests of the working people, but also to pursue practical organizing activities in all spheres where problems relating to the everyday interests and life of the working people are being tackled, or where policies having a direct bearing on the position of working people or on their internal relations are being evolved.

Although the education of the working class is the task of the socialist community as a whole and all its institutions and organizations, the Trade Unions play an important role in this field, too. The social-economic education of the working class, its training for management, and the raising of the general

level of its socialist consciousness, are among the foremost tasks of the Trade Unions. Education and expert training of workers and employees, qualifying them for more productive and better quality work, encouraging the working class to participate as much as possible in the cultural life of the country and to make their influence felt on cultural and educational policy — all these are also fundamental tasks of the Trade Unions.

Bringing Youth to the Fore on all Sides and in all Fields of Social Life

In comparison with the prewar and wartime generations, the present generation of young people is growing up and maturing under completely different social conditions for the moulding of concepts and aspirations. Young people today are being educated under the constant powerful influence of revolutionary change in all fields of life, which guarantees them an increasing range of opportunity for work, for systematic schooling, for a free choice of career, and for wider opportunities to assert themselves in all fields of social activity. Present social and material conditions are a base for further progress by the youth. Young people have a vital interest in the steady and smoothest possible development of socialism, which will secure for them a more complete fulfillment of their ambitions and aspirations. That is why the youth are an important progressive force in the struggle for the further socialist transformation of society.

The present younger generation is living under conditions that are not yet homogeneously socialist, at a time marked by the contradictions of the transition period, and accompanied by the continuing presence of various sources of non-socialist ideological and educational influence. Thus it is necessary to repudiate the erroneous belief that young people automatically become socialist by the simple fact that they live in a socialist country and can, therefore, be left automatically to the process of education. It is the duty of Communists and all socialist factors

to work deliberately and in an organized manner for the socialist education of the younger generation.

The best way of carrying through the social education of young people is to mobilize them for the aims and duties of socialist construction, to entrust them from their early youth with a share of, and direct responsibility in, social self-governing bodies; in other words, to link the youth directly with the problems of society and to work on the concrete problems arising from the practical social conditions under which the young people of today are living. Abstract lectures having no connection with real life cannot influence the formation of the consciousness of young people. Education, supported by responsible activities in society, will train young people for this task, while shaping their consciousness at the same time. Since the relationships existing in society are a prime factor in the education of the youth, educational methods should rest precisely on these relationships and on the position of youth in them.

The League of Yugoslav Communists advocates forms of educational work corresponding to the vital interests and aspirations of youth itself, and to the goals of socialist development. In subsequent development, it is necessary to improve the conditions already created, in which the young people, as an active element of society, will participate en masse and fight for the strengthening of socialist relationships, thus acting as one of the important factors in socialist development.

Carrying on the revolutionary traditions of the Young Communist League of Yugoslavia, the People's Youth of Yugoslavia, a unified political and educational organization of young people, plays an important role in the socialist education and training of the youth for the widest possible participation in the social and political life of the country. It fosters creative activity, social responsibility, and discipline in work, among the young citizens who, through this, their own organizations, are serving their apprenticeship politically and ideologically, and are training themselves for the administration of public affairs. The People's Youth of Yugoslavia also lends its support to raising the general cultural level, encourages cultural pastimes among young people, and is an advocate for the adoption of

scientific and other achievements of modern civilization, and for the thorough training of youth for participation in production and public life in general. Various specialized social organizations to which a large number of young people and children belong (physical culture, scientific and technical, cultural and educational, holiday, scouting, and other kinds of organizations) are of great importance not only because they satisfy the working needs and interests of their members, but also because they promote socialist character-building among young people.

The Problem of Equality of Rights for Women

The struggle for the complete emancipation and development of the human personality, the struggle for the widest possible active participation by working people in the management of social life, involves further progress in ideological, political, and general educational work in order to eliminate the remnants of unequal relations among people in general and between men and women in particular. The problem of equality for women in Yugoslavia is no longer a political problem, nor a problem of the legal status of women in society; it has for the most part remained a problem because of economic underdevelopment, primitive conceptions, religious ideas and other conservative prejudices, and because of private property relationships, which still influence the life of the family. Backward housekeeping methods and the existing material problems of the family make it difficult for women to take their full share in the economic and social life of the country; they create a conflict between the role of women in society and in the home. Backward housekeeping also interferes with the social activities of all the other members of the family.

These problems are acutely aggravated by the speedy industrialization of the country and the change in the social structure of the population. At the same time, the material development of the country offers opportunities for the creation of a technical basis for socialized services catering for domestic needs; and

in this way the conflict between women's participation in social life and their position in the family can be resolved, and the family's living standards raised.

In the concrete fulfillment of these tasks, an important role is played by the bodies of social self-government in the commune, particularly housing communities and the social organizations.

Communists in these bodies and organizations should fight for the creation of conditions needed for a smooth development of the family, and opportunities to create such conditions are not lacking at the present time, particularly in the field of housing construction, in establishing networks of child institutions within the framework of the economic organizations and housing communities, in setting up communal services and the like, and all these things will contribute to the real equality of women and men and their participation in public life as equal citizens. In the ideological and political fields, the Communists are carrying on a campaign, and will continue to do so, against all backward conceptions regarding the relationship between the sexes, which still exist in our society as a legacy from the past, and against distorted ideological and moral conceptions which, under the pseudo-revolutionary slogan "destruction of class morals", in fact advocate amorality in relations between the sexes.

Work and Role of Occupational Art and Other Associations

The numerous social organizations to which the working people of Yugoslavia belong — the occupational, scientific, art, and professional associations enrolled in the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia — are not mechanical transmitters and automatic executors of ready-made decisions adopted by the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. The work of these organizations depends primarily upon the conscious activities of their members. Membership in the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia is not incompatible with the independence and self-government of these organizations. On

the contrary, it helps them to integrate and link their activities with the activities and aims of the overwhelming majority of working people. The social pattern of recruitment and organization will develop and improve continually, while the advancement of socialist democracy will give impetus to the perfecting of the pattern. Its socialist character, and activities in implementing the general line of the League of Communists, depend to a large extent on the influence and conscious activities of Communists and other socialist-minded citizens who work in these organizations.

*The Resolute Struggle of Communists Against
Anti-Socialist Manifestations and Tendencies*

In contrast to the unity and cooperation among the broadest sections of the working people, who are the social protagonists of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia, there are also anti-socialist forces in our society; they are either the remnants of the earlier social-political relationships prevailing in our country, or they are evidence of the insufficiently developed material and social-economic basis.

The roots and exponents of anti-socialist tendencies are as follows:

members of the dispossessed exploiting classes, exponents of capitalist tendencies in the village, the small number of the working class and tendencies toward small-proprietor *laissez-faire*, reactionary elements in the church, foreign agents, and reactionary influence from abroad;

the ideological and political backwardness of certain sections of society, which keeps appearing on the scene because of material backwardness, primitiveness, and the reactionary ideological heritage of the past;

the uneven economic and cultural development in various parts of Yugoslavia: this causes certain antagonisms which give birth to and foster chauvinism, provincialism, egoism, and other backward tendencies;

bureaucracy, as a social phenomenon and a conservative tendency which has a negative influence on the development of social relationships, tending to distort them in the direction of state-capitalism; certain forms of resistance against the development of socialist democracy; lack of contact with the working masses, careerism, spontaneous tendencies to retain and gain special privileges;

narrow-minded individualism and destructive anarchistic tendencies among certain sections of the petty-bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia who often make much of their false liberalism and "progressivism" while actually preaching a passive, scornful attitude toward the problems of life and society, often lowering themselves to the positions of the reactionary forces.

Anti-socialist manifestations in our social life, regardless of whether they have come down to us from the past or are emerging now, will continue to contaminate individual Communists and will also be in evidence to a greater or lesser extent in the work of the League of Communists.

For this reason, the League of Yugoslav Communists must be capable of detecting in time and analyzing the causes and roots of shortcomings in its own work and of carrying on a ceaseless campaign to eliminate mistakes, omissions, and shortcomings, in the work of individual organizations, individual bodies, and the League of Communists as a whole.

Mistakes and shortcomings develop: in an environment that is becoming apathetic to the day-to-day problems of the life and work of the public; when problems are solved by routine, rather than by a comprehensive analysis of, and acquaintance with, the facts; when too much confidence is placed in the power of decrees, rules, and regulations; when attempts are made to solve social-political problems by technocratic methods; when individuals use their past service to cover up weaknesses in their present work; when complacency, selfishness, and the conviction that they are indispensable in their jobs prevail among individuals.

If Communists want not to lag behind, they must be constantly on their guard against being contaminated by bureaucracy; they must not begin to swim down the stream of petty-bourgeois

ambitions and concepts; they must always be fighters, aware of their own weaknesses and all the non-socialist manifestations in the surroundings in which they live.

Anti-socialist forces and phenomena will continue to manifest themselves in our development, to a greater or lesser extent, for some time to come. It would be most dangerous for the activity of Communists to think that the present and future difficulties will be easier to overcome than those of the past. We have overcome many previous difficulties by constant struggle and unity in our ranks, by ceaseless activity, by dynamism in our work, by continual replacement of what is obsolete, by tireless efforts for improvement and progress, by taking greater precautions against negative manifestations and by criticism of our own shortcomings, by constant struggle against conservatism and stagnation in our concepts. These characteristics must continue to develop and must be handed on to the younger generation. Any weakening in the critical attitude towards the results of one's own work, towards negative manifestations in our development, towards manifestations that obstruct that development, creates favourable conditions for the operation and development of anti-socialist tendencies and forces.

The present international situation, the difficulties faced by world socialist development as a whole, the difficulties of our own development — all these factors create a favourable atmosphere for anti-socialist tendencies. The present and immediate future hold out for Communists no hope of relaxation or cause for self-satisfaction, but rather point to the fact that we are living in a period of ceaseless, tenacious struggle and constant endeavour to overcome obstacles and difficulties in order to secure smoother and quicker socialist development.

In carrying on its resolute campaign against anti-socialist forces and influences, the Communists must at the same time prevent pressure on anti-socialist forces from being transformed into administrative pressure and a form of bureaucratic domination in the sphere where the social forces gathered within the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia are engaged consciously in building up socialist relations. Under present conditions in Yugoslavia, the focus of struggle against

anti-socialist phenomena and tendencies is to an increasing extent being transferred to the mechanism of socialist democracy, to the voters' meetings, to the social self-governing bodies, and to social and political organizations. Outside that machinery, there is only a very limited sphere in which anti-socialist tendencies can come to the fore, because in practice the development of socialist democracy includes to an increasing extent the activities of all citizens. Hence the importance of the success of communist activity in all the numerous cells throughout the entire system of our democracy. The existence of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, and of other forms of organization of the working masses in our country, guarantees a wide measure of freedom for the exchange of opinion and the ventilation of differing viewpoints on questions related to socialist relationships and socialist development in general. In defence of that freedom, the Communists must oppose all attempts by the anti-socialist forces to exploit for their own advantage differences still existing in social-economic and ideological-political matters among various sections of the population and to bring reactionary ideological influence to bear on some of the more vacillating supporters of socialism in the social self-governing bodies and in our system of democracy as a whole.

The League of Yugoslav Communists will emerge victorious in the ideological struggle as long as it remains in close contact with the working class, as long as it keeps in step with the working class and fulfills in practice its historical role, as long as it adopts and applies the achievements of contemporary human knowledge, as long as all its activities are imbued with mobility, dynamism and the determination to remain — ideologically-politically and culturally — the vanguard of society in socialist development.

*Policy of the League of Communists
in the Field of Science, Culture and Art*

The ideological struggle of the League of Yugoslav Communists accelerates the development of an ideological super-

structure and contributes to the emancipation of creative forces in science and art. Taking the view that the more courageously science and art seek and discover, each in its own way and by its own means, the truth about nature and society, about Man as a social being, about the relationship of Man to the complex problems of nature, human society, and Man himself in his spiritual make-up, the better they will serve the real interests of social progress, the League of Yugoslav Communists is out to further real freedom of creative work in science and art. Taking conditions in society, and the important role of science and art in society as a starting point, the League of Communists repudiates all pragmatic distortions of Marxist viewpoints on the role of science and art in society and any transformation of science and art into an instrument of short-term political interests. At the same time, the League of Yugoslav Communists opposes "theories" that, in the name of abstract concepts of freedom, actually abolish true freedom of scientific and artistic creation, and in practice subordinate them to reactionary political tendencies. The development of consistently socialist relationships and socialist democracy in this country requires that the ideological role of the League of Communists should not be the role of a dogmatic arbiter in respect of scientific and artistic trends, schools, and styles.

The policy of the League of Yugoslav Communists in the sphere of science, philosophy and art is inspired by the desire and determination to spread as widely as possible popular education in the spirit of the Marxist outlook upon the world, to stimulate the greatest possible degree of scientific and artistic activity, while developing and directing controversy and the competitive spirit in art and culture towards the progressive development of socialist ideas, thus liberating both science and art from any constraint that might check their progress.

The development of socialist ideas is in many ways conditioned by the development of socialist scientific thought. It is therefore necessary, in the interests of the new Man and of the freedom of scientific and artistic creation, for Communists to make ceaseless efforts for the development and theoretical

enrichment of Marxist thought in the field of creative activities and culture.

The League of Communists, whose fundamental aim is the struggle for socialism, is waging an ideological war against all manifestations which belittle faith in Man, his creative forces, and his ability to change the world and to make human life rational, substantial and humane for all, and against attempts, made under the guise of the freedom of science and art, to bring reactionary and anti-socialist concepts to the fore or to undermine the moral-political foundations of socialist society.

The Ideological Struggle by Communists Against Religious and other Delusions and Prejudices

While consistently adhering to their Marxist-materialist outlook on the world, the Yugoslav Communists are aware that religion, which springs from, and is maintained under, specific historical conditions of material and spiritual backwardness among the people, cannot be eliminated by administrative means, but only by the uninterrupted development of socialist relationships, by the spreading of scientific knowledge and the general elevation of human consciousness; by these means the real freedom of Man can be attained progressively and the material and spiritual conditions favouring various delusions and illusions can be liquidated.

Marxism, as an outlook on the world and the ideological basis of practical activity by Communists, is incompatible with any kind of religious conviction whatsoever. Therefore, membership in the League of Communists precludes religious beliefs of any kind. While using ideological means to fight against all kinds of prejudices, and relying thereby on the achievements of the natural and social sciences, the Communists at the same time respect the right of the citizens of Yugoslavia to belong, or not to belong, to any one of the religious communions recognized by the Constitution and laws, and also to practice their religion without prejudice to their social and political

rights as a result of their religious convictions and religious practice. The Communists will, however, oppose determinedly any attempts to exploit religious feelings for political ends or to make the church a rallying point for anti-socialist forces.

Considering that religious sentiments are the personal and private concern of the individual citizen, the Communists support the consistent application of the principle of religious freedom and the consistent implementation of the principle of the separation of church from state, and of the school from the church.

*Close Ties between the Communists and the
Broad Masses of Producers — an Imperative
Condition for Socialist Development*

In this magnificent struggle to blaze a new trail, mistakes and waverings within the framework of the socialist movement itself are possible, even inevitable. The League of Communists believes that all kinds of negative social tendencies with roots in the existing antagonisms in society, and all the mistakes and waverings within the ranks of the socialist movement itself, can be overcome: by a system of checks with the results of practical experience; by keeping in the closest possible contact with the movement of the working masses; by vigorous, uninterrupted, creative endeavour and ideological struggle on the part of the most conscious socialist forces to change everything that has become obsolete and is impeding progress.

The League of Communists has always endeavoured to make a critical appraisal of the results achieved in the social development of the country, and to encourage wider development in socialist relationships. For this reason, the concrete forms of the political and economic system in socialist Yugoslavia will continue to develop and steadily improve in accordance with the achieved degree of material development and practical experience in the day-to-day struggle for the construction of socialism.

The socialist orientation of the leading revolutionary forces in a socialist country during the transition period does not by itself safeguard socialist society from manifestations of malformation in social relationships tending towards bureaucracy and statism, from the tendency of transitional forms in the development of social relationships to stagnate, and from other manifestations that might hamper and deform the development of socialist forces. The socialist orientation is not by itself sufficient to check spontaneous tendencies toward the restoration of certain capitalist or state-capitalist relationships, which result from an insufficiently developed material and productive basis. The League of Communists believes that the safest defence against both kinds of danger, is firstly, the constant extension of participation by the working people in the direct management of the means of production and in the distribution of the social product, and, secondly, the consistent replacement of outgrown forms in the socialist political order by increasingly advanced and democratic ones.

The Communists of Yugoslavia also believe that the pace at which socialist democracy develops depends not only on the subjective abilities of the leading socialist forces, but also on the constant growth of the material factors of socialism, and on objective conditions and the historical circumstances under which socialist development in the country is unfolding. Therefore, the League of Yugoslav Communists, in applying new and more advanced forms, will always make every effort to ensure that society does not lag behind, or run ahead of, the limits set by the concrete material and social relationships and by the level of development in socialist consciousness. The Communists in Yugoslavia are aware that the first and the second tendency are both obstacles in the way of socialist progress. For these reasons, Communists will persevere in the struggle against both conservatism and anarchistic-phrase-mongering flights into abstract spheres.

The constant close association of leading political and social factors with broad masses of producers is a prerequisite for sound socialist development. Such an inter-relationship secures the mutual influence of social-economic interests of the working

class originating from social production and of the conscious leading forces of the working class.

For this reason, it is, and will continue to be, the considered opinion of the League of Yugoslav Communists that such close inter-relationship is an indispensable condition for socialist development.

At no stage in its development can socialist society, regardless of results achieved, be satisfied with itself. More than any other society, socialism must stand for steady progress, constant movement, and a ceaseless campaign against ideological conservatism and tendencies toward any kind of stagnation.

Socialist Man — A Free Creative Personality

The historic task and ultimate goal of the conscious activities of Communists is the transformation of the contemporary social scene, which bears all the marks of the transition period, into one in which classes and all traces of exploitation and the oppression of man by man will disappear; in which Man, as a free creator, will stand face to face with nature and, stripping off layer after layer covering its laws, will subordinate it to himself and his own free and purposeful activity; in which his own social relationships will increasingly become the result of his own free action, while objective forces which had previously governed historical development will come under the control of the people; in which "people themselves will with full consciousness write their own history", and "the social causes which they put into motion will, by and large and in ever growing measure, bring the results they want." (Engels)

The Laws of Social Movement and the Goal of the Revolutionary Activities of Communists — The Creation of a Communist Society

The laws of social movement and the goal of the revolutionary activities of Communists are the creation — on the basis

of an abundance of products — of a free Communist society and of a free personality; a society without a state, classes, or parties. “The kingdom of freedom actually begins only where work ceases to be determined by misery and external necessity; in the very nature of things, therefore, it lies on the other side of the sphere of material production itself. There begins the development of human power, which is an end in itself, the real kingdom of freedom.” (Marx)

Communism, as the society where real human history is only beginning, can, by securing the leading role for the working class in directing the movement of society, be achieved first of all:

by the constant development of the productive forces, for which unprecedented prospects are opening up, especially through the application of the most recent discoveries in the field of science and technology;

by constant improvement in the people's living standards and, in the final analysis, by the creation of an abundance of manufactured goods, which will enable society to unfurl banners bearing the words: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs;

by self-government of the direct producers and by their free, creative initiative in harmony with both public interests and their own individual interests, achieved through social ownership over the means of production;

by the steady development of socialist democracy, which will secure an increasingly free and comprehensive development of the social being.

Important and responsible tasks lie ahead of the League of Yugoslav Communists as a whole, and each Communist individually in the coming period.

We are living in the most fateful and magnificent period in the history of mankind. Contemporary achievements of the human mind and hand have surpassed the boldest dreams of visionaries; Man is conquering the Universe; he is becoming

the master of undreamed-of energies capable of emancipating the whole mankind from humiliation, poverty, and want, and from all its material-technical limitations.

The uninterrupted process of raising the productivity of labour and eliminating discrepancies between mental and physical labour has made a qualitative leap forward. Through the channeling of the achievements of nuclear physics, electronics, and automation, toward perfecting production, each individual is offered the prospect of developing his creative abilities to the maximum. Under such conditions, the degradation of man to the position of a hired labourer and mechanical tender of machines becomes even more absurd than before. Man's forces and creative power have advanced to such an extent that capitalist social relationships have become unbearable chains. The contrast between interstate relations and the growth of productive forces is becoming increasingly untenable. Economic, technical, and scientific power in all its aspects not only increases the chances for achieving unity in the world, it actually makes them categorically imperative. All this enormous material and technical advance provides increasing scope and momentum for creating the material premises for communism. It is only the backward social and political relationships in the world that are to blame for the fact that the power of atomic energy brings fear for the future, that the spectre of war and destruction is hovering over mankind today.

We are living at a time when freedom or slavery, poverty or wealth, regression or progress, war or peace in one country, or along one boundary, directly affect the life and future of all people and nations, of the whole of mankind.

We are living in a period of the most profound, most comprehensive revolutionary changes in human society. Socialism in the most diversified aspects is, through the operation of the objective laws of social development and through the revolutionary activity of the working class, becoming a world system.

The genesis of socialism, the birth of a new world and new forms of life is not, and cannot be, devoid of pain and drama, suffering and stumbling, because that is the way it has been with everything great that has been born or created in life and in society. But mankind has already got a firm foothold on the shores of a new era.

We are living at a time requiring maximum and organized social, political, and creative activity by men to overcome the antagonistic contradictions of the contemporary world and to direct social development towards progress and peace, towards liberty and a happier life for all.

We belong to a working class and peoples who, by their Revolution and the creation of socialist relationships, have entered upon a new epoch in their history. We belong to peoples who, by their struggle for liberty and progress, during the past two decades, have reached the peaks of moral and political achievement in the present-day world.

Hitherto, in all our movements, in our conscious socialist activity, in the joys and sorrows of mankind, we Yugoslav Communists have always faced every situation squarely, courageously, and with our heads high.

We have always fought for our right to be an equal member of the international workers' movement, of the socialist and all the progressive, peaceloving and democratic forces in the world; ideologically we have shown solidarity with, and have always given our assistance to, every action for peace, freedom and socialism, according to our strength and capabilities; we have rejoiced at all victories won for freedom, democracy and socialism, and have drawn moral strength and experience for future work from such victories. When our posterity reads the history of the struggle for socialism, they will not be ashamed on our account. What we have been so far, we shall continue to be in the future— faithful champions of internationalism, and friendship and fraternity among nations.

We have already won decisive battles for the kind of future we want. But we are not satisfied with what we have ac-

complished; we are undertaking even more complicated and difficult tasks. The unity of our ranks is evidence that we shall succeed. The aims and ideas inscribed in our Program are becoming the guiding star in our struggle, an obligation and honour in the revolutionary life of every Yugoslav Communist.

In order to carry out our historical role in creating a socialist society in our country, we must spare no pains to that end, we must remain critical of ourselves and our work, be uncompromising toward all kinds of dogmatism, and stay faithful to the revolutionary creative spirit of Marxism. Nothing that has been created should be so sacred to us that it cannot be transcended and superceded by something still freer, more progressive, and more human.

CONTENTS

	Page
(Introduction).....	5
Chapter I	
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY	13
Chapter II	
THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM UNDER NEW CONDITIONS	43
Chapter III	
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA	75
Chapter IV	
THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN YUGOSLAVIA	93
Social and Political Origins of the Socialist Revolution in Yugoslavia	93
The People's Liberation War and the Socialist Revolution	101
Chapter V	
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA	113
The People's Government as a Form of Dictatorship of the Proletariat	119
The Social Role and Tasks of the Socialist State	122
Basic Social and Political Protagonists of Socialist De- velopment	127
Chapter VI	
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM	135
Social Ownership of the Means of Production and Other Forms of Ownership	135
	271

	Page
The Position of the Producers and the Role of the State	141
The Structure of Society and its Internal Contradictions	145
Internal Contradictions in Socialism and their Subjugation	154
The Economic System	158
Chapter VII	
THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT OF THE WORKING PEOPLE	169
The Social Substance of Socialist Democracy in Yugoslavia	169
Social Self-government	175
The Personal Rights of Citizens and the Part Played by the Rule of Law	186
The State Administration and the Yugoslav People's Army	189
Chapter VIII	
THE FEDERATION AND RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA	195
Self-Determination and Equality of the Peoples	195
Brotherhood and Unity among the Peoples of Yugoslavia	199
The Tasks of the Communists in the Sphere of Nationalities' Policy	201
Chapter IX	
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY	207
General Questions of Economic Policy	207
Agricultural Policy	218
Social Policy	223
Education, Science and Culture	229
Chapter X	
THE SOCIAL ROLE AND IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF THE LEAGUE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS	239

CORRECTIONS

<i>Page</i>	<i>Paragraph</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Reads</i>	<i>Should read</i>
6	1	4 from top	community, the liberation	community, the revolutionary struggles of the working class, the liberation ...
10	1	6	the country; to foster	the country; to stimulate ideological activities within the League of Communists; to foster ...
13	2	3	countries, enormously	countries, organized production on a scientific basis within individual factories, enormously ...
14	2	3	concentration	centralization and concentration
15	3	3	monopolies, their	monopolies on international scale, organization of international monopolies, their ...
16	4	2	capitalism and	capitalism, crises and ...
21	2	8	the role	the independent social role ...
22	3	18	and political	military and political
23	3	4	in a privileged	in a certain sense a privileged
23	5	4	to „bribe“	to, in a certain sense, „bribe“
25	1	11	after word inevitable, add following paragraph:	These tendencies reflect the maturing and strengthening of „Those elements of new society, which have already developed within the womb of old bourgeois social order which is already in its stages of decay“ (Marx), elements which penetrate with increasing persistence through all the pores, of the social system of capitalism intensifying its general crisis and increasingly strengthening and broadening the consciousness of the inevitability of the socialist transformation of society and the inevitable struggle for such transformation.
26	1	2 from top	the crisis	the general crisis ...
29	1	2	stage,	stage, especially in the less developed countries,
29	2	12	strength	foundation,
30	1	5	the capitalist	the picture of the entire world, the capitalist ...
31	2	2	consists	reflects the interweaving and mutual interlinking ...
32	2	4	practicable it is for	capable is ...

34	2	4	..	is	was ...
47	2	5	..	potential	position ...
48	1	5	..	position in	position in society in ...
66	4	7	..	the above mentioned	all reactionary and anti-socialist ...
83	1	11	..	the blocs	the blocs. However, efforts of all peoples and all factors, who cherish peace, are necessary for this purpose.
102	5	2	..	in Croatia and Serbia	in Croatia (Ustashi) and Serbia (Nedic and Ljotic forces)
117	4	4	..	control among the working people	control by the working people
126	4	last		state-capitalist forms	state-capitalist relationships
151	4	4 from top		bourgeois class	class and its ideology ...
159	3	2	..	stabilizing	establishing
161	3	3-4	..	social security tasks	social tasks
171	2	11	..	entire bourgeois parliamentary system	entire system of bourgeois democracy
177	3	4-5	..	management of technical procedure	management of the production
202	3	7	..	particularistic interests or	particularistic interests, or as a spontaneous form of negative reaction to possible tendencies toward bureaucratic centralism and hegemony, or
210	5	7	..	social capacities	socially-owned capacities
217	3	3	..	ensure new economic	ensure her economic
217	4	6	..	international organizations of labour	international division of labour
217	4	13	..	with its country	with her
226	3	8	..	material and family	marital and family