




# TRUTHS AND LIES ABOUT SOCIALISM

## 1. On the socialist economy

 Synchroni Epochi

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF KNE



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# **TRUTHS<sup>AND</sup> LIES** **ABOUT SOCIALISM**

## **1. On the socialist economy**



SINCHRONI EPOCHI

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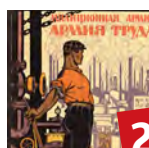
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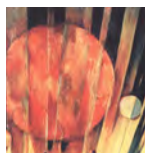
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# PROLOGUE

This current publication of the Central Council of KNE aims to contribute to the ideological and political front against the bourgeois class and opportunism concerning the issues of socialism - communism, its scientific laws and its historical contribution.

The study, the knowledge and the assimilation of the conclusions of socialist construction during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, outlined in the Resolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> Congress of KKE are basic preconditions to reinforce the struggle against the exploitation of man by man.

The publication "Truths and Lies about Socialism" is divided into three parts. In the first part that you are holding we will deal with issues of socialist economy. The other two parts will deal respectively with the issue of the worker's power and the issues of the falsification of the history of socialist construction in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The first part is divided into 5 chapters, where we develop 5 topics. We have chosen to begin every chapter quoting extracts of bourgeois and opportunist

texts in order to answer more vividly. The chapters are the following:

**1.** The purpose of the direct social production, where we deal with the argument that: without the capitalist profit as motive of production, the production results to standstill and stagnation.


**2.** "The socialization of means of production", a chapter where we analyze its elements and the process of its realization and we answer the bourgeois discussion about "statism".

**3.** Central Planning, a chapter where we analyze the Central Planning as a basic communist relation (of production) and we respond to the bourgeois and opportunist propaganda stating that the Central Planning "suffocates" economic development.

**4.** Socialism, market and commodity relations, in which we respond to the question "Can commodity - money relations exist and operate additionally to the communist relations in socialism - communism".

**5.** Does Socialism mean "isolation"?, in which we deal with the question "Can socialism be constructed in one country and if so could it be constructed in Greece?".





October, 1917- Storming the Winter Palace.  
The Russian workers and poor peasants, organized in the Soviets, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, they realized the October Revolution which overthrew the bourgeois government and created the first proletarian state in the history of humanity.





# INTRODUCTION

Young people of our age, meaning us who were born after the '80s, we have grown up and live through a period which has been marked by the overthrow of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the socialist construction states. It is a period profoundly marked by the consequences of the counterrevolution and the crisis of the international communist movement. A huge calumny has been launched against the contribution of Socialism to humanity, during the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union and the other countries was the first attempt of the workers, the salaried people, the working class to make and found the new communist society, a society without exploitation of man by man. It was a huge step of the humanity towards social progress, while its offer to the peoples of all the world was enormous.

The counter-revolutionary overthrows were accompanied by the celebrations of the bourgeoisie and their attacks on socialism-communism and its scientific laws. The capitalist restoration was propagandized as being “eternal» and final victory of capitalism against socialism. Bourgeois theorists spoke of the “end» of class struggle, the “end of history», expressing the wishful thinking of their class ... Capitalism was promoted and is being promoted as a system that allegedly adapts to the “nature» of man. The operation of the market is presented as a “natural» and “eternal» necessity. Capitalist profit is presented as the only motive for production, economic development and social progress.

Behind these “nice words» they hide the existence of capitalist exploitation, they conceal that the source of profit is the unpaid labour of direct producers, hired by the shareholders - owners of the concentrated means of production. They hide that the whole history of mankind is characterized by the succession of socio-economic systems, from primitive communalism to chattel slavery and from there to feudalism and capitalism. Today, capitalism holds the position that previously was held by chattel slavery and feudalism. It has exhausted its historical limits. The capitalists are resisting with all their forces

in the face the perspective of the displacement of capitalism, the prospect of having the same fate as chattel slavery and feudalism; i.e. that capitalism will become a thing of the past.

For the above reasons, the attack against socialist construction in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is not just about the historical aspects, but is aiming at the future, the future construction of Socialism.

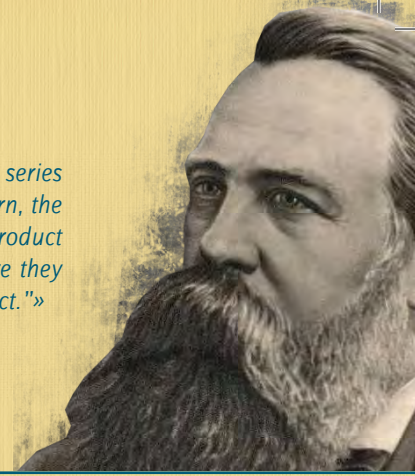
**The counter-revolutionary overthrows do not alter the character of the era. The 21<sup>st</sup> century will be the century of new socialist revolutions**

Socialism-communism is not an implementation of a “theory» that ultimately failed, as it is presented by the bourgeoisie. The necessity that arises from the development of humanity itself as a result of the long course of human history, the succession of socio-economic systems and the passage from historically lower to historically higher levels. This is an inevitable process. In other words, the same development of capitalism forms the preconditions and the necessity for the passage to a new society, the communist society.

The necessity of a class of shareholders, completely useless in the production process, ie the class of capitalists, has historically exhausted the limits of its existence. They have a parasitic role. They are completely detached from the whole process that generates wealth and profits, due to which they live luxu-

*"In like manner, production itself changed from a series of individual into a series of social acts, and the products from individual to social products. The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now came out of the factory were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them: 'I made that; this is my product.'"*

F. Engels, Anti-Dühring, "Sinchroni Epochi", p.419



rious lives; they are only interested in how fast and how large a profit they will get rather than the social usefulness of production.

A few years ago there was a Bet-office advertisement which showed a passenger on a cruise ship. The captain and crew called him "boss" although he did not realize that the ship was his property. The advertisement had the slogan: "You do not know what you own!" This is the reality of the shareholders of monopolies.

This occurs because labor in organized capitalist production acquires an increasingly social character. This means that the means of production develop and evolve so that people can operate them only in common altogether. Meaning that the production of a product-commodity is the result of cooperation and common labor of thousands, maybe millions of people, who may never meet and who may live all around the world.

Large capitalist companies, monopoly groups are formed as a result of the ten-

dency to strengthen the social character of labor, without overturning the private ownership over the means of production and capitalist mode of production. The creation of large companies, which control the whole process of production, from the production of raw material to the marketing of final product for profit, brings together different economic sectors, thousands of employees of different nationalities.

The capitalist economic crises, which are in the DNA of capitalism itself from the first moment of its prevalence, evolve in a way that reveals the historical limits of capitalism. The contradiction between the social character of labor and the capitalist ownership of its results manifests itself violently. The "continuity" in capitalist development requires the destruction of productive forces; meaning mass layoffs, shutting down companies, destruction of unsold goods, the depreciation of unused money etc.

The production and the whole society are being organized by the system on



### Some examples demonstrating the social character of production:

There is the characteristic example of companies that choose the so-called strategy of "vertical integration", i.e. they control themselves the whole production process beginning from raw materials up until reclaim (e.g. Intel, Motorola, Fujitsu, Siemens, Philips, etc.). As well as the example of companies (Dell, Gap, Nike, Cisco etc.) that extensively utilize the system of contracting, i.e. the division of the production process into several parts and the commissioning of each part to other cooperating companies worldwide. In any case, the conclusion is the following: the commodities are products of a collective, group, i.e. social labor of many thousands of workers. So, the "vertical integrated" production of Dell, Intel and Philips globally in each company requires the collaboration of more than 100,000 employees, while the production process of Siemens brings together more than 350,000 employees worldwide. Similarly, the informatics company Dell employs for the production of commodities

Number of workers in some large companies:

Vodafone:	85.000 employees
TNT Express:	82.000 employees
Microsoft:	92.000 employees
Shell:	101.000 employees
IKEA:	127.000 employees
Ford:	165.000 employees
General Motors:	210.000 employees
Toshiba:	210.000 employees

approximately 110,000 employees of the company itself, approximately 60,000 employees of QUANTA, approximately 1.2 million employees of Foxconn, approximately 50,000 employees of Solectron and several more tens of thousands of workers from other companies that cooperate with Dell.



The large monopoly groups embrace the entire planet. They have an entire global network of research, production and marketing for their products and usually operate in several fields. Hundreds of thousands of workers are employed in various sectors of production in order to produce their products.

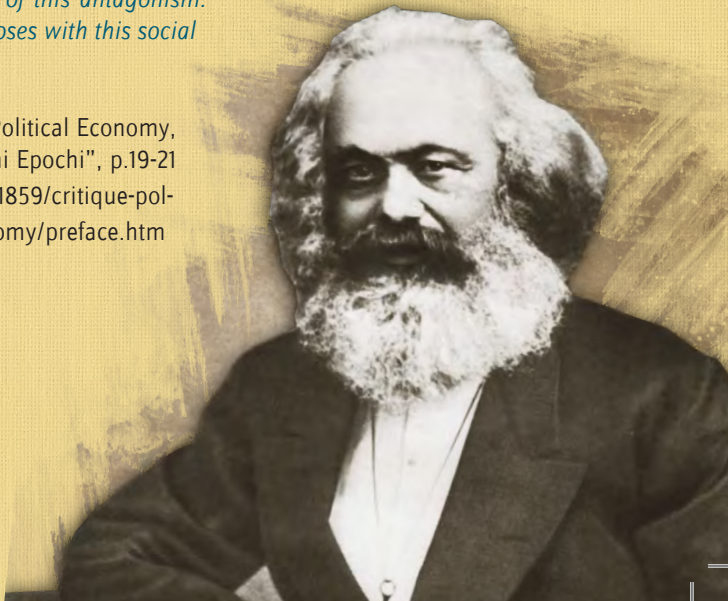
For example, on the above map from the website of the famous multinational Philips, we can observe in characteristic way the global activity of the company. The group Philips employs approximately 125,000 employees and operates in the sector of electric and electronic devices, lighting industry and medical systems industry. It owns sales and service points in over 100 countries, with 124 production facilities throughout the world, 9 research centers in Europe, North America and Asia.

the basis of the ownership relations over the means of production. The class that owns the means of production is the one that holds power as well and determines the overall set of social relations, laws, and forms the ethics according to the above. Even in its conditions of decline, this class has the means to impose its will and its interests. The overthrow of that class doesn't occur evolutionary, gradually, but in a violent and revolutionary way. This occurred even when

the ownership of means of production changed hands from one class to another without eliminating the exploitation of man; i.e. the passage from feudalism to capitalism, even though the capitalist ownership relations appeared on the terrain of the old society. And then political revolution was necessary, the political action of masses (bourgeoisie, proletarians, peasants) in order to overthrow the old power that set obstacles before capitalist development.

*"In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or - this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms - with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution.(...) The bourgeois mode of production is the last antagonistic form of the social process of production - antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism but of an antagonism that emanates from the individuals' social conditions of existence - but the productive forces developing within bourgeois society create also the material conditions for a solution of this antagonism. The prehistory of human society accordingly closes with this social formation.»*

K. Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,  
Preface, "Sinchroni Epochi", p.19-21  
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm>



Even more, the passage from capitalism to Communism requires the workers (proletarian) socialist revolution. The new society in its first immature level, the socialist abolishes the capitalists' class, but is not yet a classless (communist) society. However, from the beginning it sets the foundations for the new mode of production: social ownership of the concentrated means of production, meaning the factories, the means of transport and communication, energy, raw materials, land, the concentrated retail trade etc. central planning for producing with the objective of meeting the social needs, and workers' control in direction- administration.

The new relations of production, the communist, are non-exploitative relations, in other words, they are not based on the exploitation of man by man. Parasitism disappears. No one lives on the toil and at the expense of another.

The communist relations of production cannot appear within capitalism, because they require the abolition of capitalist ownership of the means of production, and the capitalist exploitation. Even though the objective ability for the communist relations is developed in capitalism, they cannot be imposed without its overthrow. However, the capitalist relations cannot be abolished on their own. Someone must abolish them. The only social force that has an interest for that and is able to carry it out, is the working class. In other words the class of the salaried employees who don't have ownership of the means of production, who are obliged to sell their ability to work, in order to

live, regardless if they are manual workers in industry, or specialized personnel, or work in traditional or new sectors of production. But, the working class, in order to be able to carry out this passage, it must dominate, meaning it must take the power. The workers' class with its own state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is the workers' power, which is also based on the allied, poor, populars strata, it abolishes the old social relations and it forms the new.

These relations, as it also happened with the previous ones historically, the capitalist, the feudalism, etc., they don't form instantly, but in a course of the passage from their lower to their higher phase. A basic difference in relation to all the previous revolutions, is that the communist relations are constructed through the conscious action of the revolutionary force of the society, the working class.

So, when we talk about Socialism, we refer to the first historic phase of the communist society. It is about an "imperfect" society which develops, and in this there is struggle between the "seeds" of the new, and the "survivings" of the old, throughout all the spheres of social life. There is struggle for the radical change of all economic relations and subsequently, all the social relations into communist.

What is actually the difference between the inferior and the superior phase of Communism? First of all they differ in the allocation of the produced wealth. In Socialism-first immature phase of Communism- a part of the social needs, that concerns the education and formation of





**«Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat»** (F. Engels, from the introduction to the work of K. Marx, *the Civil War in France*)

The Paris Commune was the first proletarian revolution that brought the working class to power from March 18<sup>th</sup> to May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1871. The Commune lived for 70 days. The revolutionized workers were slaughtered by the united armies of France and Germany bourgeois classes. Its short life accumulated huge positive and negative experience for the revolutionary strategy of the workers' class. Its experience was studied and it was a source of precious conclusions from K. Marx, F. Engels, and later V.I. Lenin.

the people, the protection of their health, their access to culture, sports and to other services, is free for all. However, a big part of the product that is destined for individual consumption, is distributed based on the principle of "to everyone according to their work", while "everyone works according to their abilities", and not on "to everyone according to their needs", which is the communist principle of allocation. This happens because the development of the productive forces and the labor productivity have not yet reached the level of the fulfillment of all the individual needs, but also because the consciousness of the working class, of the rest of the people has not developed to that level, on the matter of everyone's stance on the direct social work. Meaning on the labor whose overall product belongs to the society. The com-

munist stance on work doesn't instantly dominate. First of all, since there are deep-rooted perceptions which are bequeathed from capitalism concerning the closely personal benefit, even if that is at the expense of a colleague, in other words, because of the competition between workers. Additionally, since the working class gradually and not unified as a whole, acquires the ability to have a complete knowledge of the different sections of the production process, and the ability to have a substantial role in the organization of work, it is still possible, workers that keep an administrative role in production or workers of high scientific specialization to separate their individual or group interest from the social interest, claiming a bigger share from the total social product.

Inequalities and differences remain, like



**Miners in the entrance of a mine in Kamariza, Lavrio, 1898.**

*"The condition for capital is wage-labor. (...) The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by the revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.»*

**K.Marx, The Communist Manifesto, "Synchroni Epochi", pg. 40**

**<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm#007>**

between the workers of intellectual and manual work, the workers of high and low specialization, between the city and the village, which must be eradicated gradually and through a plan.

The historic experience has also shown that in Communism's first phase, Socialism, beside the new relations the old survive, inherited from the past, with the prospect to be eradicated during the course of the socialist construction. This happened with the agricultural production in the Soviet Union. In other words, next to the socialization of the basic and concentrated means of production, remain at first, forms of individual and group ownership in branches of the economy in which socialization is not immediately possible.

Because of that, in these sectors of production, cooperatives are made, in order for the conditions of the eradication of non-communist relations to be formed.

For all these reasons, in Socialism, class contradictions are still preserved and therefore, class struggle continues with other forms and means, with the workers' class as the leader, and with the aim of eradicating these contradictions.

As the working class corresponds to its historic role, it changes its own character as much. It not only becomes a producer of the social product, but a direct organizer of the production process.

The socialist construction in USSR, Central and Eastern Europe, and elsewhere, was a first attempt for the construction

of this new society. It was a great step forwards, a fact of epoch-making importance for the working class and the whole mankind in the struggle of liberation from the chains of exploitation. In this attempt, which took place in a multitude of difficulties, and historically unprecedented conditions, the possibility of the reversal of the course and the regression towards capitalism was underestimated at first by all the Communist Parties themselves. However,

the overthrows are temporary, they don't change the course of history, the motion of society forwards, towards the eradication of social classes, exploitation and class inequalities. Regression is not an unprecedented phenomenon in social evolution. Not any socioeconomic system was established immediately in history, and this is proven by the history of the dominance of capitalism itself.

**"Capitalism is historically outdated. The necessity and the timeliness of socialism is projected, the indomitable vitalness and timeliness of marxism-leninism, the scientific theory that proves once again its timelessness, its irreplaceable role as a theoretical instrument for analysis, knowledge, and the revolutionary change of society. The anti-revolutionary overthrows don't change the character of the era. Today's phase of recession and retreat of the international revolutionary movement is temporary. The new phase of upsurge is already maturing in the intensifying class struggle, the resistance of the international working class and the new phenomena of awakening and militant presence of peoples. The 21st century will be the century of the regroupment of the revolutionary forces, the repulsion of the attack of the international capital, of the determined counter-attack. It will be a century of a new upsurge of the world revolutionary movement and a new series of social revolutions."**

### Programme of the KKE (before the 19<sup>th</sup> Congress of KKE)

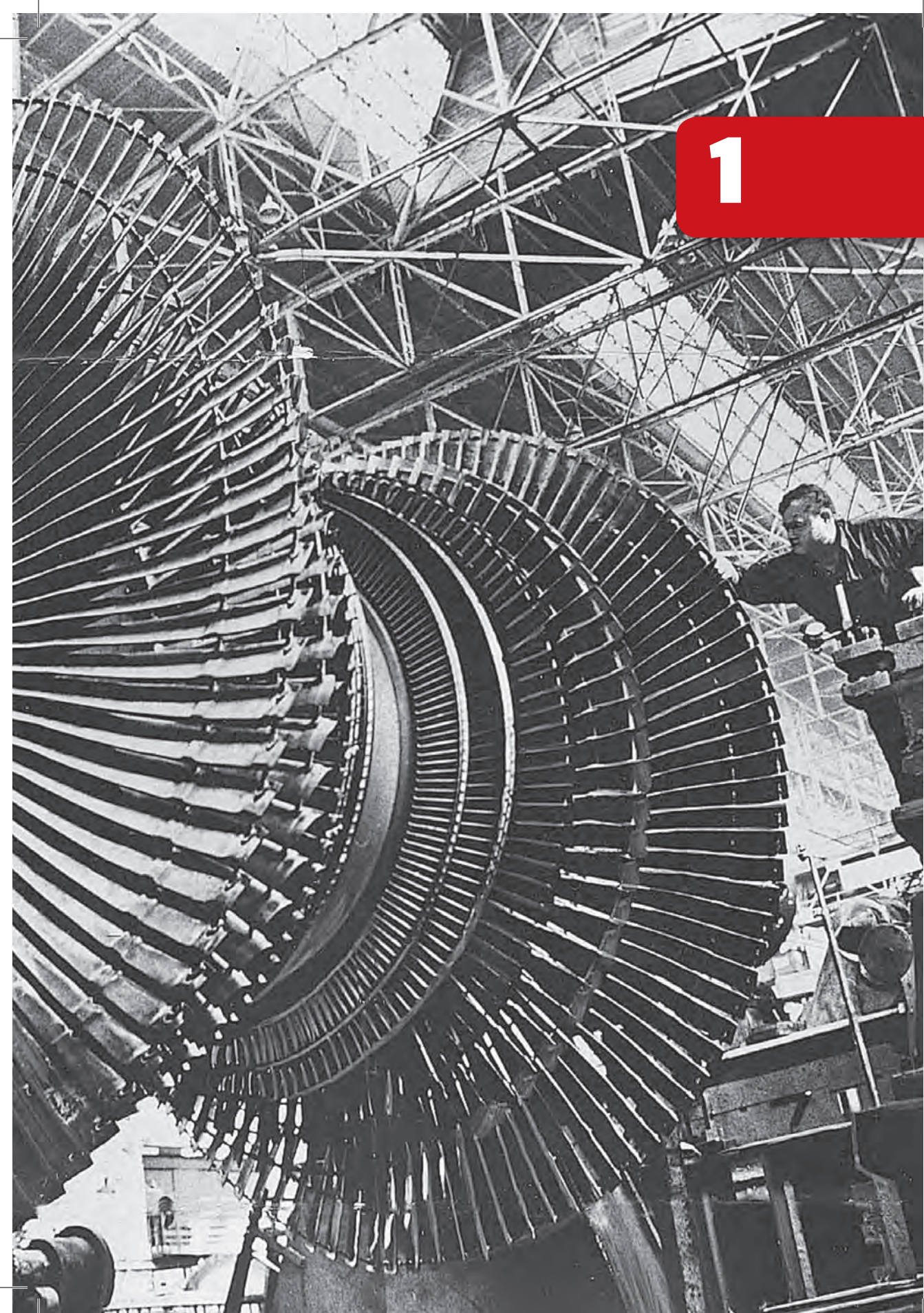
On December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1991, a day after the lowering of the flag of USSR from the Kremlin, "Rizospastis", organ of the CC of KKE, wrote on the front page:

**"The red flag with the hammer and sickle was taken down from Kremlin. We hold it high. Millions of Communists in the world hold it high. Tomorrow it will rise from many more. Comrades, KEEP THE FLAG HIGH."**





1





# THE AIM OF DIRECT SOCIAL PRODUCTION

*«A thick fat had covered and stopped all activity. Theory is perfect. The human factor is imperfect. The motive of capitalism is profit and the dream that I too can become a millionaire. The motive of socialism is the consciousness of each person... This means to work with competing criteria and to be productive so that the system will work and the society will move forwards with quick steps; a utopia for children. That's why the powerful USSR collapsed like a tower made of paper (...). The assurance that nothing can kick me out of my position creates standstill, inertia, corruption. So dramatic; so inhuman; however, so realistic. The blessing of guaranteed work for everyone ends up, under the current conditions, being a curse.»*

(Newspaper "To Vima", 20/04/2011)

## Production for the profits of capitalists...

What does the above extract state? The only motive, the only driving force of the economy and production is the aim for greater profit. They attempt to present this as a deeply elaborated thought, although it is in fact a cliché and a deeply reactionary opinion to consider that (presented as realistic) humans by nature are "imperfect" and selfish, that they cannot exist unless they work under threats to their survival, that the only creative force is the one which organizes production for the purpose of capitalist profit and the personal wealth of the owners of the means of production. If that doesn't happen then production ends up to stagnant and anti-productive. This is a convenient prettification of the exploitative system.

This opinion does not take into consideration a basic characteristic of "human nature". Humans are social creatures who develop and evolve together with the soci-

ety in which they live. First of all they form and develop consciousness from the material conditions that they experience. The relations of production have a decisive role at this point. Humans thought differently in slaveholding society, differently in feudal society and differently in capitalist society. The system of relations that they embraced, the laws and morals etc., were determined by the dominant class, meaning the class of slaveholders, the feudal lords and the capitalists respectively. The class that is dominant in each era presents its system as an eternal system. So the aforementioned opinion claims that humans will keep on having the same thoughts for eternity i.e. the thoughts they have today under capitalism, chained by the centuries of class exploitation and the consciousness that it creates. Of course if this was true then we would still be having the same thoughts as cavemen or people from the medieval period...

However, how can we explain that capitalist profit is motive for the economic development? Every form of economic activity, business activity, investment etc. takes place where the capitalist can have greater and faster profit. Where does this motive lead? This motive is the reason why in the 21<sup>st</sup> century even though science has made leaps, technology and production provide unprecedented possibilities, at the same time millions of people are starving, dying from treatable sicknesses and they cannot even fulfill their most basic needs.

Through the course of history, capitalist profit played a progressive role in the dissolution of feudal compulsion and the development of productive forces. During the past and even until today, it created to the preconditions for the expanded satisfaction of social needs. It formed, over the course of history, the working class—a social force whose social position leads it to having the historical goal of organizing production on the basis of the satisfaction of social needs. Capitalist profit itself finally becomes an obstacle in this direction and must be abolished.

Because capitalist profit is the driving force of production, the capitalist mode of production is related to economic crises that cause an enormous destruction of production; this is both a historical and contemporary phenomenon as it is clearly demonstrated by millions of unemployed in capitalist countries, by abandoned factories shut down due to competition, with decaying sectors (construction, ship building industry, textile

industry etc.), despite the fact that the aforementioned factories, if operating, could contribute to solving significant problems the peoples are experiencing. You can see an example of such destruction in a country like Greece that even though it has an area with hundreds of islands and coastlines that extend for countless kilometres, the ship building industry of the country is neglected and in 2012 there still existed isolated inhabited islands.

It is true that in capitalism there are many ways to increase the productivity of labour, to introduce new technologies into production, to carry out great leaps in the implementation of new methods, in the application of innovations etc. Nevertheless, these occur in an uneven way and do not benefit society accordingly, because their implementation has the capitalist profit as sole criterion. Let's imagine the leaps and the progress that can occur in a society that plans and develops the productive forces with social prosperity as the criterion, applying all its forces towards this direction and not towards the interests of the capitalists. For example, in the framework of capitalism, the introduction of new technologies in the process of production is at the expense of the working class. Even though the working time can be reduced and the increase labour productivity can be guaranteed, however this is not happening today. Similarly, the development of technology and science can contribute to the improvement of the current work-



## **"Built-in obsolescence"**

So-called "built-in obsolescence" or "planned obsolescence" is a method of industrial design and construction of a product in order for the product to have a specific, limited period of operation despite the fact that it could last longer. It is an "idea" developed by the capitalist companies in order to promote more new products in the market, since the old ones wear out in a short time period. These kinds of ideas emerge due to the pursuit of profits.

The American colossus in automobile sector, General Motors, was among the first to introduced "built-in obsolescence", in the 1920s. "Built - in obsolescence" is expanding to multiple sectors of production, automobile sector, household appliances, light bulbs, computer construction, software, general electronic devices, clothing industry and elsewhere. The prominent company Apple is said to be a specialist in terms of the "built-in obsolescence" of its products, as during recent years many reports and complaints appear concerning its products, because it creates products that are really expensive and difficult to repair. This is because it aims to force to buy new devices. For example, in some of its products even a battery replacement can cost as much as a new device. The company is said to be attempting to create a buying circle of 1 to 2 years for the "i-pod" (music players) and of 2 to 3 years for laptops.

This is an argument against those who claim that the capitalist profit motive and competition lead to products of high quality. Instead of creating a durable product, they create products that easily wear out; this leads to the additional waste of labour power, raw materials etc. Instead of planned and programmed development of production in order to cover all the people's needs at an increasingly higher level, there is a planned and programmed "destruction" of products to serve capitalist profit.

ing conditions, however work accidents, even fatal ones, are a daily phenomenon in industries. New breakthroughs, for example in telecommunications, that could be used in order to develop telemedicine end up being used first of all in sectors that can bring greater profits (for example technological innovations employed in new generation cell phones, digital television etc.)

Additionally, how can we explain that the driving force of production is the profit of the capitalists? We are aware for example that multinational businesses adjust their research policy in order

to ensure the "built-in obsolescence" of their products. Talented scientists are not engaged in the improvement of the quality of the products, ensure that the products will be destroyed after a specific period of use, so that the consumer will have to buy new ones. This is something that we can observe, for example, in the spare parts of automobile sector, which have a specific expiration date, as well as in household appliances, computers and other products. This means that capitalism produces with aim of quickly devaluing the product in order to replace it with new ones via the market.

**B**ourgeois authors have been using up reams of paper praising competition, private enterprise, and all the other magnificent virtues and blessings of the capitalists and the capitalist system. Socialists have been accused of refusing to understand the importance of these virtues, and of ignoring "human nature". As a matter of fact, however, capitalism long ago replaced small, independent commodity production, under which competition could develop enterprise, energy and bold initiative to any considerable extent, by large- and very large-scale factory production, joint-stock companies, syndicates and other monopolies.(...)

Far from extinguishing competition, socialism, on the contrary, for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really wide and on a really mass scale, for actually drawing the majority of working people into a field of labour in which they can display their abilities, develop the capacities, and reveal those talents, so abundant among the people whom capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions(...)

For the first time after centuries of working for others, of forced labour for the exploiter, it has become possible to work for oneself and moreover to employ all the achievements of modern technology and culture in one's work.»

V.I. Lenin "How to Organise Competition»,  
Collected Works, Sinchroni Epochi, V35, p.195

The profit motive of production is incompatible with the expanded satisfaction of the people's needs. Meaning that the personal wealth of a capitalist is incompatible with the planned satisfaction of social needs.

### **...And production in order to meet the people's needs**

Under socialism, the motor force of production is the satisfaction of social needs, the guarantee of the people's prosperity. Lenin said: "*Communism is the higher productivity of labour—compared with that existing under capitalism—of voluntary, class-conscious and united workers employing advanced techniques. (...)Communism begins when the rank-and-file workers display*

*an enthusiastic concern that is undaunted by arduous toil to increase the productivity of labour, husband every pood of grain, coal, iron and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their "close" kith and kin, but to their "distant" kith and kin, i.e., to society as a whole, to tens and hundreds of millions of people united first in one socialist state, and then in a union of Soviet republics.»*

In the framework of socialism, where the means of production are socialized, the workers enjoy in many ways, in the long and in the short run, the results of their work.

The character of labour changes in order to achieve the following: "*work will stop being a painful necessity and*

*it will turn into a pleasant imperative need».* The work of every worker in socialism is the contribution to raise the society up, the contribution to planned labour. As long as the communist relations of production prevail and deepen, as long as hard manual labour and the exclusive employment in monotonous labour are being eliminated, then the communist attitude towards labour will develop amongst even wider working class forces, the remnants of capitalism that still exist in the people's consciousness, which have deep historical roots, will be defeated. It is a duty of the CP, first and foremost, to contribute to the rise of communist attitude towards direct social labour recognizing this deficiency in the first phase of Communism-Socialism when the part of the social product which is distributed is distributed on the basis of labour.

In socialism, laziness or the deliberate refusal to carry out productive duties are not rewarded. Lenin said that *"Whoever doesn't work, doesn't eat"*. Of course this "threat" was directed mainly to the section of the population originating from the bourgeois class, the various state employees accustomed to parasitic work and large salaries – a bulwark of bourgeois power –, and all those who had learned to live at the expense of the labour of others.

The communist attitude towards labour has nothing to do with what the bourgeois like to talk about, nothing to do with "inertia", "inaction", and "laziness". On the contrary, it requires that

the working class has a greater appetite to contribute to the improvement of the techniques of production. And this is because the amount and the implemented method of production, the quality of the product are related to the improvement of the people's lives, the producers themselves. Socialism can point to great accomplishments regarding the rise of productivity, the improvement of techniques in production, focusing on the collective prosperity of the people. Furthermore, individual initiative and individual contribution can acquire a new quality, as part of the collective attempt to raise the people's living conditions.

During the first years of socialist construction, examples of this were the "Communist Subbotniks", the voluntary work organized by the workers at the communists' initiative. "Communist Subbotniks" constituted a concrete effort to form the communist attitude towards labour, in which the most conscious part of the society, the communists, played the leading role. It was a contribution in order to promote the new discipline towards labour, a contribution to the development of the productivity of labour.

Additionally, a notable example was the Stakhanovite movement that developed in USSR in the 1930s. The Stakhanovite movement was a mass movement of innovative workers in socialist production that exponentially increased the labour productivity, and therefore the production, based on the application of new techniques.



However, in the course of socialist construction, not everything was easy. Problems in understanding the direct social character of labour existed anyway. The major losses during the Second World War that reached 22.000.000 dead, contributed to the loss of conscious communists and innovative workers. However, the communist attitude towards labour weakened even more when positions that considered that it is possible to integrate elements of the market into socialist construction prevailed, especially after the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU and the consequent change of line. The previous experience and effectiveness that the factory soviets, the Stakhanovite movement had in terms of the control of quality, the more efficient organization and management, the patents for saving materials and work time, were lost. Over the course of time, the group (business) profit as a motive for production (Kosygin reforms) was adopted. As a whole, with the reforms that were promoted in this direction, the social ownership of the means of production and the Central Planning, the participation of the workers in the organization of labour, and workers' control from the bottom to the top were weakened. The mistaken choices in the economy led to the retreat of the people's consciousness, in other words, the individual or group interest came ahead of the general social interest. There was an increase in the differentiation between the incomes of the workers in the same company, and an increase in

the differentiation between the workers' incomes and the income of the management staff respectively, and obviously a difference in worker's income from company to company.

Consequently, the experience of USSR shows that there were negative developments in the development of productivity and production, in the retreat of communist consciousness towards labour, when socialist construction relaxed, the scientific laws of socialist production were violated, and commodity production was strengthened. It also shows that the guarantee of the class - oriented and scientific character in the vanguard of the working class, the CP, is not a straight upward course, that the irreplaceable leading role of the CP is confirmed through its revolutionary political action and its understanding and development of revolutionary theory.

The experience of socialist construction in the USSR and other countries, despite all the problems and weaknesses, proved the superiority of socialism over capitalism, its enormous advantages for the lives of the working people.

The abolition of capitalist relations paved the way for the production and the development of sciences, with the aim of satisfying the people's needs. Everyone had guaranteed work, public and free medical care and education, provision of low - cost services by the state, housing, access to intellectual and cultural works. The eradication of the unhappy legacy of illiteracy that USSR received combined with the elevation of

## The Communist Subbotniks

During the spring of 1919, the civil war in Russia was still raging on. Tens of thousands of leading workers went to the war front to fight against the class enemies of the still fledgling Soviet power.

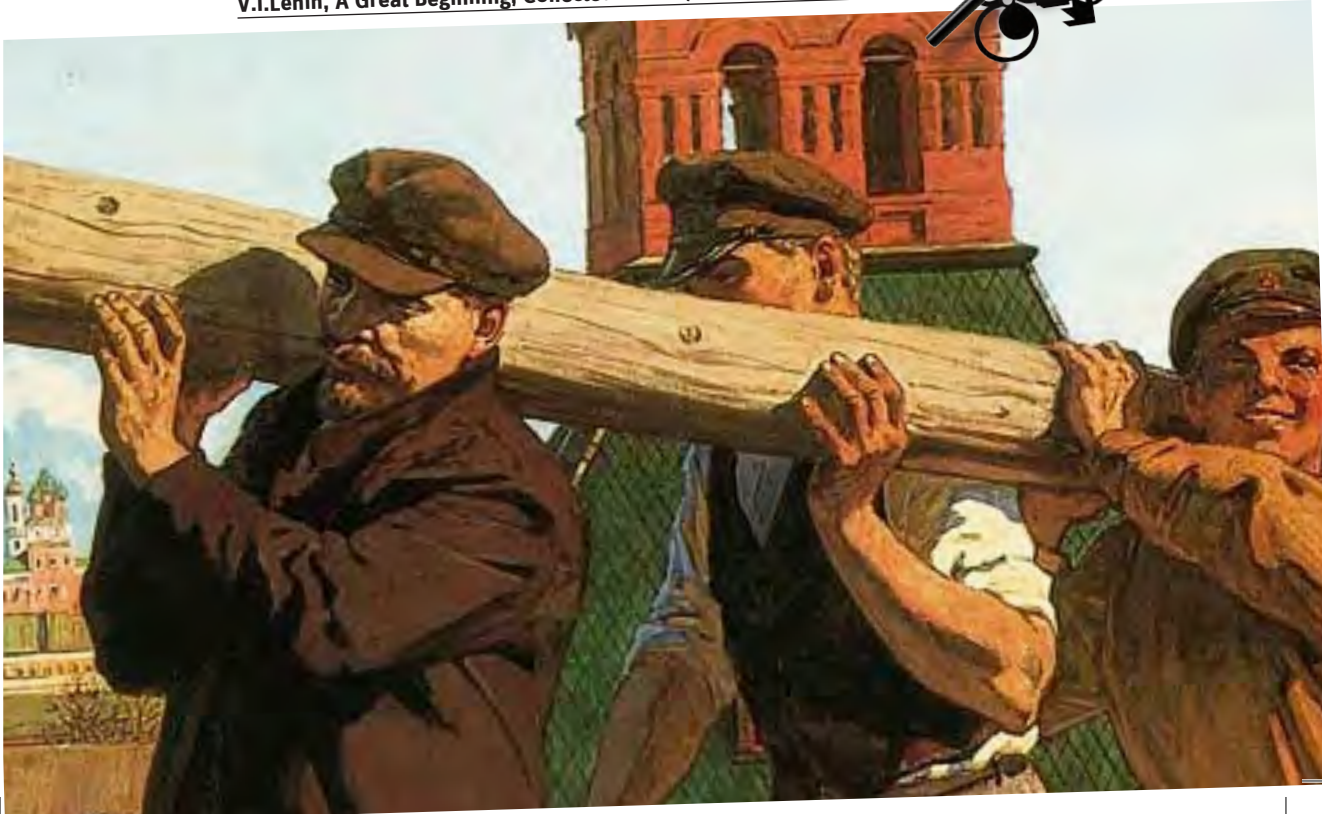
However, the Revolution was not only threatened by the resistance of the bourgeois. The needs kept on growing, also in the rear, for the equipment of the army of socialist power, and definitely for socialist construction in general that had to keep going on despite the harsh conditions. In order to deal with that situation, the workers of the railway section Moscow-Kazan decided not to remain idle especially in the face of an issue that concerned them; that issue was the outcome of war, the salvation or not of the Revolution.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> May, in a general assembly of railway workers, members and sympathizers of the CP, in the section of Moscow-Kazan, the following proposal was submitted and was voted for unanimously:

"In view of the grave domestic and foreign situation, Communists and sympathisers, in order to gain the upper hand over the class enemy, must spur themselves on again and deduct an extra hour from their rest, i.e., lengthen their working day by one hour, accumulate these extra hours and put in six extra hours of manual labour on Saturday for the purpose of creating real values of immediate worth. Since Communists must not grudge their health and life for the gains of the revolution, this work should be performed without pay"

Soon after, the railway workers in other areas followed the example of the railway engineers of the Moscow-Kazan section. The genuine enthusiasm and spontaneous contribution of the railway workers were not the only and obviously not the main elements of the Communist Subbotniks. Their establishment highlights the way that labour begins to become organized in a social way within the context of the new socialist relations of production, and how the new form of social organization of labour benefited directly and collectively the workers and the peoples of the socialist countries.

V.I. Lenin, *A Great Beginning*, Collected Works, "Sinchroni Epochi", vol.39



the general level of education and specialization, as well as the elimination of unemployment constitute great socialist accomplishments.

All the workers were guaranteed rest days every week and annual paid leave. Non-working time was expanded, its content changed. It was transformed into time for the development of cultural and educational level of the workers, the

reinforcement of their participation in workers' power.

The achievements realized in the states of socialist construction in comparison with their starting point, and also in comparison with the life of the workers in the capitalist world, prove that Socialism has the inherent potential for the rapid and continuous rise of social prosperity and the complete development of man.

*Incentives will be created for the development of a vanguard communist attitude vis-a-vis the organization and execution of labour, the overall increase in the efficiency of the collective in the production unit or social service, as a result of the different combined specialized forms of labour. The incentives will aim to decrease the number of purely and manual labours, to reduce labour time, in parallel with access to educational programmes, leisure and cultural services, participation in workers' control. We reject the monetary form of incentives.*

*The policy dictating the monetary income from labour will be elaborated based on the above-mentioned principles, with a tendency towards reducing and finally eliminating monetary income differentials. Whatever temporary deviations exist, aiming at the recruitment of experts in certain sectors of the economy, will be dealt with in a planned way, giving priority to raising the income of the lowest paid sections of the workers.*

*Central Planning aims, in the medium and long term, to develop, in a generalized way, the ability to perform specialised labour, as well as shifts in the technical division of labour, to achieve the all-round development of labour productivity and the reduction of labour time, in the perspective of eliminating the differences between executive and administrative labour, between manual and intellectual labour.»*

Resolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> Congress of KKE, Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism. publication of the CC of KKE, p.94-95.







### The Stakhanovite movement

The Stakhanovite movement was named after the miner Alexey Grigoryevich Stakhanov. During the night from the 30<sup>th</sup> August to the 31<sup>st</sup>, in 1935, he broke every record extracting 102 tons of coal during his shift (in 5 hours and 45 minutes), when the norm was 7 tons! He accomplished this higher productivity of work with his technical specialization (in 1935 he completed the school of mine loaders) and the innovations that he was able to apply to his work. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of September 1935 he achieved a new record extracting 227 tons of coal in his shift.

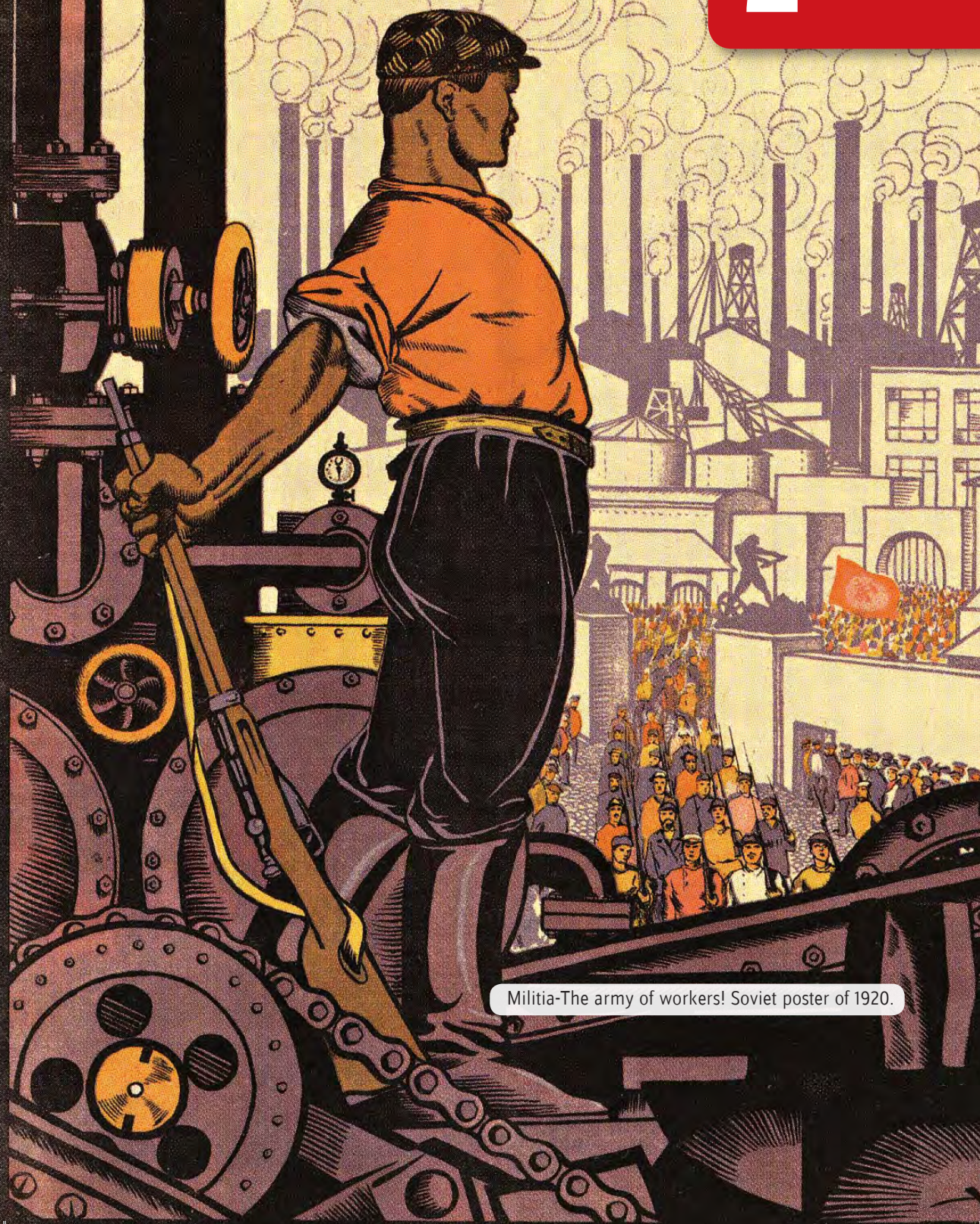
The Stakhanovite movement was a mass movement of innovative workers of socialist production, which was based on the implementation of new techniques. It exponentially increased labour productivity, and therefore production as a whole. The rise of productivity that it accomplished was ten times greater than before. It was a deeply revolutionary movement, because it rose from the bottom-up, from the workers of socialist production themselves, with the aim of satisfying the needs of the Soviet people, of improving their quality of life.

Stakhanov explained: *"The Stakhanovite work doesn't require great physical effort. It only needs a collective understanding of every piece of work and the elaborate study of every machine and its technique. The Stakhanovite system is a combination of physical and mental work. It provides a practical solution to the creative ideas of man».*



# МИЛИЦИОННАЯ АРМИЯ

2



Militia-The army of workers! Soviet poster of 1920.



# THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

*«[...] the anti-developmental states of soviet existing socialism. Here both the economic and political system remain close. There is no differentiation between those two institutional areas since the bureaucratic logic of central power dominates over the economic sector. The state, instead of being a lever, is the main obstacle in the developmental process.»*

(“To Vima”, Newspaper, 8/11/2009)

## What is the socialization of the means of production?

Much ink has been spilled about the “anti-developmental model of the USSR», about the “state that controls everything in the economy», about the “stagnation that objectively occurred in the USSR», because of the large state. The bourgeois refer to the economy of USSR, describing it as an “ineffective economy», a “society lacking of freedom». Indeed, they name “the controlled and planned from the state economy» as an “element of totalitarianism» (text book of Sociology of 12<sup>th</sup> Grade of General Education), obviously talking about the Soviet Union.

From the standpoint of bourgeois literature and science, which is an apologist of the capitalist ownership of the means of production, the socialization and social ownership of means of production and produced wealth become “demonized”.

Socialization is the new social relation that initially replaces the capitalist owner-

ship in the concentrated means of production and thereafter every form of private ownership in the means of production.

Socialization means that the means of production become the property of the society, which sets them in motion on the basis of a central plan with the active participation of the working class in planning, decision making, implementation and control, with the purpose of the expanded fulfillment of social needs.

With the socialization of means of production, the worker, the direct producer, sets in motion the means of production, now as a collective owner. With the transition to new, superior, communist relations of production, the productive potential also becomes liberated; while now it suffocates under the chains of the capitalist, exploitative relations. A new, rapid growth of production occurs, and at the same time, a higher level of prosperity is achieved, with the fulfillment of the social needs.



**T**he formation of the communist mode of production begins with the socialization of the concentrated means of production, with Central Planning, with the allocation of the labour force in the different branches of the economy, with the planned distribution of the social product, with the formation of institutions of workers' control. On the basis of these new economic relations, the productive forces, man and the means of production, develop with rapid rates; production and the entire society become organized. Socialist accumulation is achieved, as well as a new level of social prosperity.»



Resolution of the 18<sup>th</sup> Congress of the KKE, Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism. A publication of the CC of the KKE, pg.23.

### How is the socialization of the means of production implemented?

The socialization of the means of production in Socialism is implemented by the workers' state.

Workers' power implements the socialization of the means of production: defending social ownership, setting the goals of economic plans on the basis of the laws of Central Planning (what needs exist, what is the production potential, where, how much and what will be produced, what kind of labor force is required etc.), based on the mobilization of the workers in the production unit, where the core of workers' power is established. This is where workers' control and the participation of working class in power takes place.

The role of revolutionary workers' power (dictatorship of the proletariat) is not only to prevail over the counterrevolutionary action of the bourgeois class. Its basic duty is the construction of the new relations, the elimination of contra-

dictions and inequalities that socialist construction inherits from capitalism. The vanguard role in this direction is being assumed by the leading force of the class that is in power, namely the Communist Party.

### Socialization and the bourgeois argument about "statism".

When the bourgeoisie talks about the state, they hide its class character. In other words, that the state doesn't exist in a vague way, but it exists in order to serve the interests of the social class that dominates at the level of the economy. The state is a product of the class division of societies, the division between exploiters and exploited, and it is always the state of the dominant class. Never in the course of history, has any state expressed the interests generally "of society as a whole". Every state is a class state.

The state in capitalism, expresses the general interests of the capitalists' class,

and its mission is to ensure the general conditions of the existence of the capitalist system on the terrain of its domination. The bourgeois state establishes by law and institutional framework, capitalist ownership and exploitation, it forms the capitalist, state, administrative, repressive etc. mechanisms, it guarantees the minimum ability of the labor power to reenter the process of capitalist exploitation (through health, welfare, and education institutions), it creates the conditions for the profitability of capital, not only to remain at the same levels, but to expand and grow. As a result, the bourgeois argument about "statism", about the relation of the state generally with the economy, is misleading.

The bourgeois intervention supports capitalist development in many ways. Through the general state functions that ensure the long-term interests of the capital, but also with specific, more direct state interventions when it is needed.

We observe today state reinforcement packages, tax exemptions, incentives for big businessmen. Every state intervention,

whether that intervention has the character of promoting state capitalist ownership in some sectors or the character of the so-called "privatizations", or in general the reinforcement of so-called private "initiative", it always has the same purpose, the reinforcement of the capitalists.

Let's see for example how the Greek state acts to ensure the interests of the capitalists and to guarantee their profitability. During the last years, in the context of capitalist crisis, the bourgeois state has provided state packages, worth of hundreds of millions of Euros, for the reinforcement of banks, directed through that way towards industrialists and big businessmen. The state does that, to ensure the so-called "liquidity" of the banks, in order for the financial system to support the investments of the capitalists. This support from the side of the state is implemented as well with the form of "fresh" state money directly given to the funds of bank groups as well as with the form of state guarantees in order to facilitate the loaning of the banks.

Another form of support are the well-





### The example of state investments in the railroad


Capitalist development required a wide railroad network that could ensure the fast and cheap transport of products and workers. At a specific point in the course of capitalist development onwards, it was not convenient for capital to carry out the implementation, integration, and maintenance of such networks, as it was much more profitable to invest in other sectors of the economy. On the other hand, the abolition of the railroads would have had negative results for the total course of capitalist development. And without any hesitation, in nearly all of Europe, that particular sector of economic activity fell into the hands of state. In France, the nationalization of the railroads was implemented in 1938, in Germany during the 1920's, in Sweden from 1938 to 1949, in G. Britain in 1948. Finally, in Greece already in 1920 we have the inauguration of the Railroads of the Greek State, the precursor of Railroads Organism of Greece, with the objective of integrating all railroad transport. Therefore, state monopolies were created in railroad transport that fulfilled the demands of capitalist development of that period.

On the other hand, during recent decades in the whole capitalist world, the tendency for the gradual dissolution of state monopolies has emerged, as well as the so-called "liberalization" and privatization of state businesses that were involved in these sectors. This specific alteration reflects the conditions formed in these decades. Particularly, the creation of a large surplus of over-accumulated capital is expressed, which cannot find profitable way out through the manufacturing sector, as well as the consequent decline of the average rate of profit makes its appearance. Bourgeois management, responding to those developments, attempts to ensure new fields of investment activity for the monopoly groups. The direction of capital investment towards sectors that formerly were the responsibility of state monopoly businesses expresses exactly this tendency. A series of technological changes that change the operating conditions of sectors or their relative importance to capitalist reproduction play a supportive role.

Kommounistiki Epitheorisi, issue 1/2011  
 "The liberalization policy of railroad transport"







known exemptions and tax breaks provided to the capitalists by the state. For example, the tax exemptions given to ship owners are huge.

The course of capitalist development in Greece confirms the above. For example, after the Second World War and the struggle of the Democratic Army of Greece in our country, strong government support and protection was necessary in order to achieve capitalist recovery and reorganization. The bourgeois state actively intervened with investments, infrastructure works, state ownership and monopolization in certain sectors (eg energy), implemented measures to facilitate the accumulation of domestic capital etc. In other words, what is called "public sector" is actually the bourgeois state, the state of capitalists which always intervenes for their interest. This process works both ways: the intervention in favor of privatization or nationalization of a company according to the situation in a particular large company or according to the current aims of capital. It's just the two sides of the same coin.

Apart from direct privatization, the bourgeois state ensures an entire framework and legislation in favor of the so-called "liberalization of markets". A typical example is the sector of electricity power production.

We are not referring only to the issue of the selling off of the Public Electricity Company as a state capitalist enterprise but also to the formation of conditions for the establishment and operation of companies which are involved in the

sector of electricity power distribution. It is an example that highlights how the state, in the strategic energy sector, played significant role having the state monopoly and making investments to ensure first and foremost electricity for the production needs of capitalist development (industry, etc.) and of course for consumption by the people. Capitalism considers that the consumption of electricity by the people is not only a matter of the satisfaction of a need for the reproduction of labor power, but also an issue of the market and profitability. Let's consider that the development of an adequate electricity network and the power supply of the houses has created new opportunities and needs which contributed to the development of new activities, for example production and selling of domestic electrical appliances. Today, some decades afterwards, taking into consideration that the preconditions have been ensured, the bourgeois governments form a framework for the "liberalization" of electricity power in order to "give space" to private entrepreneurship and initiative.

### **"State Property" in capitalism and socialism**

Any measure of state intervention on the terrain of capitalism, aiming the support of capitalist relations of production, has nothing to do with the socialization of the means of production, which takes place in Socialism through the workers' state.

However, the confusion between those two different social relations is being intensified by the fact that often the policy of nationalization, implemented by the state, or the demand for the nationalization of certain sectors, is considered by social-democratic and opportunist forces as a policy in favor of the popular interests or even as a “step” towards Socialism. The opportunist forces speak highly of the acquisition of companies by the state, in conditions of capitalism. They present the public sector and the acquisition of companies by the state as something progressive and radical for the people. So, they present an alternative form of management of the capitalist system as something that can be in favor of popular interests.

However, the aforementioned opinion of “nationalization” prevailed for various reasons after the Second World War, even inside many Communist Parties, which considered that direct state investments can be part of a process that facilitates the transition to socialism. In this way some Communist Parties justified the support for the acquisition of companies by the state, by bourgeois governments, and this was one of the conditions of participation of the Communist Parties even in bourgeois governments. The existence of an extensive capitalist state public sector was historically combined with gains for and concessions to workers, along with cheaper energy and water bills etc. The gains of the workers in capitalist states of Europe starting from the end of World War II do not prove the ability of manage-

ment of capitalism in favor of the popular interests. This was the result of fierce class struggles and of the existence of socialist construction, that terrified the capitalist states and at the same time served as a beacon of hope for workers and poor people. The bourgeois state through various concessions achieved to assimilate workers'-people's forces. The reintroduction of proposals for restoring some former Public Companies of Common Welfare or some banks to bourgeois state property, constitute another formula of capitalist management which, of course, cannot be implemented to the extent that it was implemented during the past. Besides, the so-called “public companies” are just capitalist stock companies of which an important percentage or its majority belongs to the bourgeois state. Such proposals were bankrupt many years ago. The opportunists selectively support some state monopolies leaving untouched other monopolies and consciously show that there is difference between the private ownership of the means of production and the state capitalist ownership.

The resistance to privatizations and “liberalization” of markets on the part of working class is on the basis that the removal of any protection of these markets is accompanied by intensification of exploitation and brings additional burden to workers and poor popular strata. For that reason, resistance should be accompanied by the propagation of the aim of socialization of the means of production, of central planning of energy, telecommu-

nications, and transport , on the basis of the workers'-people's needs.

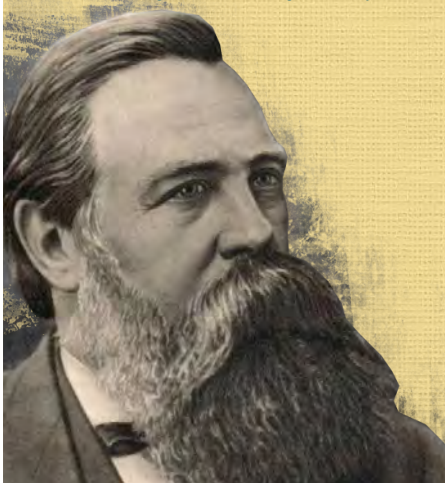
State capitalist ownership in its essence does not come into conflict with capitalist private property, because both are based on the exploitation of salaried employees. "Public property" belongs to the capitalist state, the collective capitalist, it is capitalist property, not the people's, it does

not generally belong to the workers. Of course, the so-called "public" / state capitalist ownership as well as the "private" / capitalist property "belong" to the workers because it is they who built them with their blood and sweat. They belong rightfully to the workers because they are the result of their own work, which benefits directly or indirectly the capitalists.

It is significant how Engels responded to those who considered nationalizations as being a socialist measure:

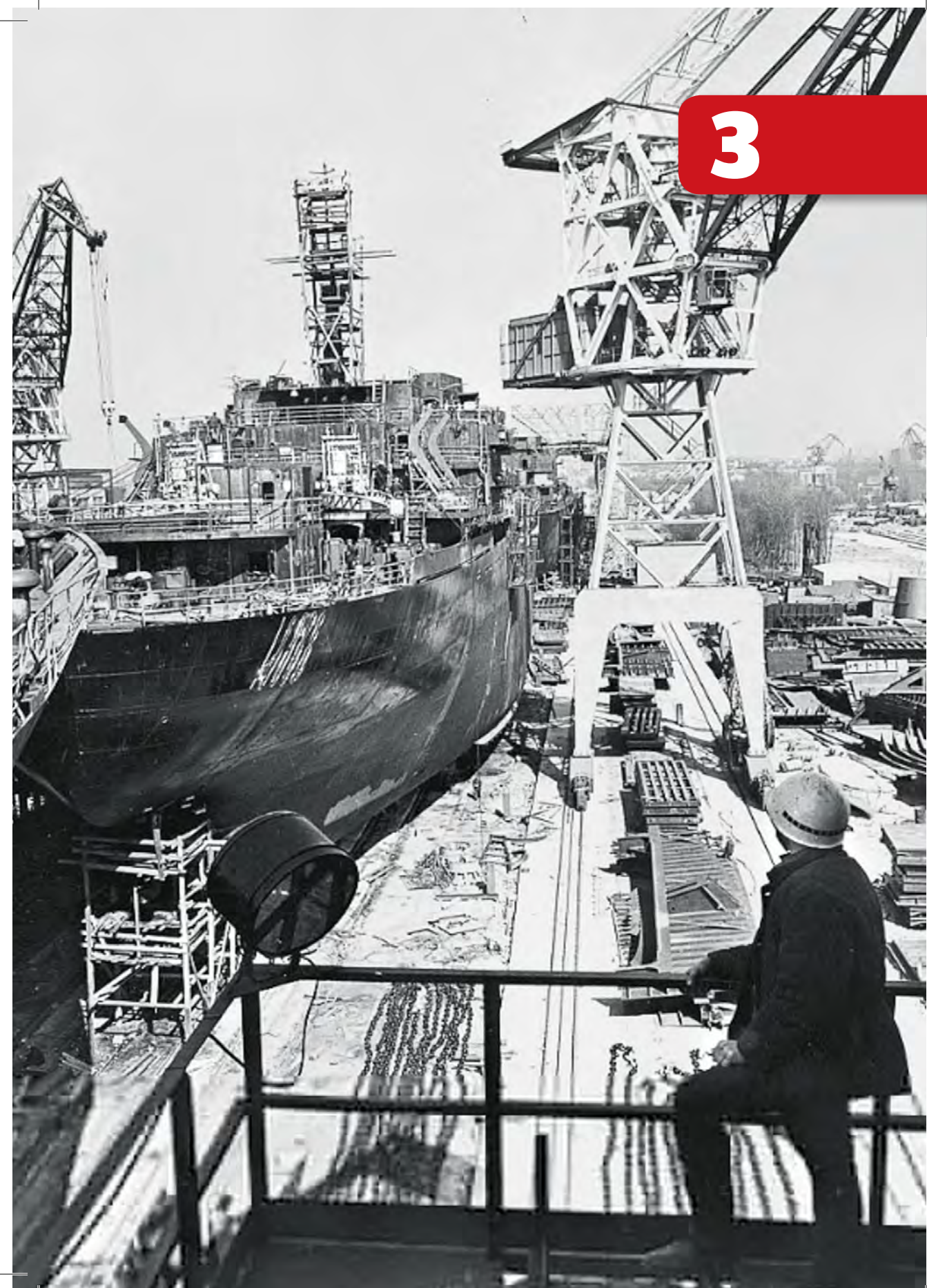
**B**ut, the transformation – either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into State-ownership – does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts, this is obvious. And the modern State, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern state, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine – the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. (...)Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines; if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines, simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war, to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a new source of income independent of parliamentary votes – this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the Royal porcelain manufacture, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Frederick William III's reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.»

F.Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*,  
Sinchroni Epochi, p. 97-99.





3



# CENTRAL PLANNING

*"We will see that there was a combination of political authoritarianism and substitution of the market by central planning as a method of allocation of resources and distribution of goods. What was the result of this combination? The inevitable decline."*

(Newspaper "To Vima", 8/11/2009)

Not by any chance, much ink has been spilled and is still being spilled in order to attack and distort Central Planning, as a scientific law of the communist mode of production. Bourgeois and opportunist forces use and overemphasize in their attack against the scientific laws of socialist construction, the mistaken view that was formed within the ranks of many Communist Parties concerning Central Planning, a view that claimed that Central Planning is a technical "instrument" used in economy or a non-objective plan.

They characterize Central Planning as "irrationality", because the production units were not connected through the market, it didn't at all allow for private business initiative, it abolished competition and therefore it "strangled" the incentives for the introduction of new technologies into production. That is why they claim that it led to low quality means of production, and resources that also ended up in low quality products. The Central Planning is labelled as being a type of "economic dictatorship" of the central power.

## What happens in capitalism?

The bourgeois class conceal the fact that today, on the terrain of monopoly capitalism, there is indeed a plan at the level of a company, of a monopoly group. The plan concerns many factories owned by the same capitalist, main shareholder or group, in which the supply, production, and marketing are planned. For example, a food monopoly plans the quantity of commodities that it will produce in a year, and therefore the supply or production of raw materials, how many work hours are required etc. It designs the research for future products and also when they will enter the market; it can also include the agricultural production of raw materials and a marketing network of distribution. A series of transactional activities, previously carried out between individual producers, today, can be coordinated and planned under the guidance of a single monopoly group.

However, despite the competition there

Siemens is an integrated technology company with a clear focus on the four Sectors Energy, Healthcare, Industry and Infrastructure & Cities. These Sectors are sub-divided into 19 Divisions.

**SIEMENS**



## The production on the level of a monopoly group

Monopoly groups plan the production in a long term way and organize the work scientifically. They usually extend their activities into by n many sectors developing subsidiary companies with the aim of controlling the production beginning from raw materials up until the commercial release of the product. Certain monopoly - giants extend their activities even in different sectors controlling, in that way, a huge part of production.

We have the important example of the Germany monopoly Siemens for the organization of production at the level of a monopoly. It employs 360.000 workers from 140 countries and possesses 285 production facilities around the world.

Based on the organization chart of its structure, presented on the website of the Siemens group, it seems that it is managed by a Managing Board with a small number of members, and a 20-member Supervisory Board, and it expands to 4 basic sectors with their respective supervisory bodies and managers. Every one of the 4 sectors (energy, healthcare, industry, infrastructure & cities) is subdivided into various divisions. For example, the energy sector is subdivided in the following divisions: energy services, fossil power generation, oil & gas, solar and hydro energy, and wind power. There are also cross - sector services and activities, like financial, real estate etc. The structure is completed with the local branches of the company which exist in about 190 regions around the world.

Let's look at an example from our country. The Greek ELLAKTOR-(holding company of the well-known construction company-AKTOR) is active mainly in the construction sector. It is present in 14 countries and in 2011 had a turnover of 1,2 billion Euros. Its activity, through subsidiary companies of the group, extends into various sectors related with construction (like quarries, roadways, and tolls) but also into energy, waste management, real estate market, casinos, gold mining etc.



**C**entral Planning expresses the conscious mapping of the objective proportions of production and distribution, as well as the effort for the all-round development of the productive forces. It is for this reason that it should not be understood as a techno-economic instrument, but as a communist relation of production and distribution that links workers to the means of production, to socialist bodies. It includes a consciously planned choice of motives and goals for production, and it aims at the extended satisfaction of social needs (basic economic law of the communist mode of production). The guiding laws of Central Planning cannot be identified with the plan existing at any specific moment, which should reflect in a scientific way these objective proportions."



Resolution of the 18th Congress of KKE, Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20th century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism. A publication the CC of the KKE, pg.26

are also agreements between monopolies (cartels), that control the distribution of markets, and the preservation of prices at high level. Occasionally, these agreements are uncovered through the intervention of other competitors.

However, the bourgeois' state also plans, while serving the concentration and centralization of capital, its total reproduction on the basis of the national economy, or on the basis of EU criteria. This is the role, for example, of NSRF 2007-2013 (National Strategic Reference Framework) implemented by the Greek capitalist state that distributes funds and financing, it also distributes resources originating from the EU for the development of capitalist activity.

It is a planning that doesn't have as its aim the satisfaction of social needs, but capitalist competition, the greatest possible profit of the most powerful capitalist owners and to support them so that they can constantly achieve this. That's why, it is a planning that cannot eliminate com-

petition, but on the other hand it serves it. It cannot ensure even development; it cannot deal with the imbalances in production. The pursuit of the greatest percentage of profit imposes the fierce competition between capitalists concerning who will be weakened or strengthened, who will achieve a greater percentage of profit, who will gain new market shares. Therefore, central planning cannot be a scientific law of the capitalist mode of production. That is the reason why no plan in capitalist production can abolish anarchy and unevenness.

### Central Planning, a basic communist relation

However, what occurs, as mentioned above, in terms of the planning at the level of a specific monopoly, occurs in the framework Socialism at the level of society as a whole.


Central Planning is a necessity for the proportional production so that its final



Capitalist competition for the pursuit of profit, anarchy in production and capitalist agreements, for example those at the level of the EU that are determined by the strongest, are responsible for the decline of whole sectors in our country. The textile industry is a significant example.  
Picture of the factory of TRIKOLAN, part of LANARAS group in Naousa

result ensures the expanded social prosperity. It is a communist social relation because it organizes direct social labour, the union between the direct producers and the means of production that constitute social ownership. In other words, factories, machines, tools, natural resources etc., in order to be used in productive way by the working class, must be set in motion and be used by the working class with the aim of guaranteeing the extended satisfaction of the needs of society. In order for this to be achieved, it is necessary to know the proportions that exist between sectors of production, in specialties of the work force, for example in the sector of production of the means of production, meaning machines, tools, etc. and in the sector of production of consumer products.

Therefore, for the production and distribution of the social product, a specific central plan is required based on the scientific laws of Central Planning, according to the specific level of development of production, of labour productivity, which must be prioritised. Central Planning, is able to produce and distribute the necessary means of production to all the sectors. The distribution of the workforce is planned and it is not done through the market. The education of the necessary scientific and work force is planned and programmed, aiming for the development of production, social services, protection- defence from imperialist attacks etc. As a result, every young person, not only has the right to a general education, but also to specialization, technical or academic, but also



has guaranteed work based on their education in order to contribute to the development of social prosperity.

In this way, the anarchy that characterizes capitalist production can be overcome. For example, today in the 21st century, there are workers who face the intense problem of housing, who rent or are “chained” to a mortgage, or even young people and young couples who are forced to stay with their parents because they cannot afford a house of their own, without mentioning the thousands of impoverished and homeless. And all of the above, at the same time when thousands upon thousands of houses remain unsold. This is “irrationalism”! Central Planning is not “irrationalism”, because it will control the satisfaction of this basic need. Is it really irrational to offer these houses for the satisfaction of housing needs, and it is not irrational keep them unsold because the manufacturing company, or the estate agent, etc. Cannot make enough profits from selling them? Is it also irrational to build new houses with modern technical standards? Is it irrational that the above will allow many unemployed builders, electricians, and engineers etc. to work, while now they remain unemployed because the pursuit of capitalist profitability is the criterion of production? Isn't it irrational when several sectors, useful for the satisfaction of social needs, have almost disappeared from our country

Or have been transferred abroad on the basis of the criterion “how much profit each sector gives to the capitalist”?

We have the example of textile industries that fled Greece and were installed in other countries with cheaper workers, and at the same time we import fabrics, clothes, shoes while we could produce them.

This is the “irrationalism” of capitalism, i.e. that the need of a person to have a house, to be educated, to be treated when sick, to have work, is determined by the profitability of a capitalist company of one or another sector, while there is plenty of scientific, technological potential and pre-conditions for the satisfaction of social needs. Irrationalism or better yet decay is what characterizes the lives of the majority of people, controlled by the decisions of the parasite owners-shareholders, who live around the world and decide on the basis of the profitability of their stocks.

Central Planning not only activates the socialized means of production, but it distributes the produced social product: the consumer products among all members of society, the necessary means for the free satisfaction of all needs in Education, Health, Welfare, Culture, Athletics, for infrastructure works like anti-earthquake/flood/fire housing projects for the people. Central Planning can ensure the development of research and science and the prompt introduction of new technologies into all sectors of production, in transport, and telecommunications in the distribution sector, social services, administration, anything that affects the development of productive forces and labor productivity.

The centrally planned development of social prosperity is expressed through



the reduction of daily working time and the increase of non-working time, in order for the workers to rest sufficiently, to practice sports, to enjoy all kinds of artistic creation, but more importantly to exercise control, to participate in the bodies of administration and power, to contribute to the construction of their own society. Of course all this does not mean that Central Planning and its connection to the specific duties, decisions and plans of workers' power is an easy task at all. On the contrary, it is a difficult process, requiring the maximum ability of workers' state and first of all of the Communist Party, which has the leading role. It is required that the Communist Party achieves and maintains a high theoretical and political level, the use of science, knowledge of the scientific laws of socialist construction for them to be reflected sufficiently in the central state plan. Also this process does not exclude errors or omissions in each specific state plan. Taking into consideration the experience of the socialist construction in the 20th century, we observed on many occasions the violation of the scientific laws of Central Planning. Some violations resulted from theoretical deficiencies others resulted from political opportunist compromises. Deficiencies and mistakes are inevitable, and even individual political deviation, however it is important to recognize and correct them promptly. The correct application and specialization of Central Planning in each sector or region, the functioning of workers' power and workers' control,

plays an important role in this direction.

Hence, the dilemma for the working class and the popular strata lies between the perpetuation of capitalist anarchy, competition, unevenness and imbalances that result in unemployment and the destruction of productive forces, and the Central Planning on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production.

### **Opportunist criticism against the socialization of the means of production and Central Planning**

"The rush to surpass small production in the name of fighting the capitalists remains, having as it characteristic example the forced collectivization of agriculture and the rapid elimination of small and medium enterprises in the secondary and tertiary sector, resulted in the loss of the advantages of small production (...)

The factors that led to the slowdown of economic growth in the USSR had impact. One of them was the excessive centralization of plans, bureaucratic processing and multiple control indicators, which did not allow much flexibility and initiative in the activity of the socialist companies, while the exclusion of small production deprived possibilities for the use of production on the basis of low to high volume production complementing each other. "(www.iskra.gr, site connected to the Left Current of SYRIZA, now LAE).

At the same time that the opportunists put forward the objective of nationalization in the framework of capitalism and



Voting in Kolkhoz in 1929

even consider it as a measure in favor of the people and "a step" towards socialism, when talking about nationalization in Socialism, they change their tune and try to prove that the nationalization implemented by the workers' power and socialization are not the same thing. Their criticism ignores the fact that over the course of advancing from the lower to the higher phase of communism, the communist relations of production deepen and socialization stabilizes and expands.

Opportunism accepts the existence of multiple forms ownership relations, not just non-capitalist forms of private ownership of means of production, but also argues that socialized units can be "autonomous" from Central Planning, can have individual commercial transactions between them that allows the detachment

of part of social product by managers or group of workers.

Today, various opportunist currents promote in many different ways the "self-management" of production units in capitalism as an alternative economic model. These positions are a mixture of reformism, anarchism and in the end are petty bourgeois. They forget that cooperative types of ownership relations are a precursor of capitalist corporate ownership; they facilitate the concentration and centralization of capital. Self-management with capitalist relations in production (like the factory occupations projected today, especially in Latin America), in the best case means that the production unit is a joint-stock company whose shareholders are the workers who "self-manage" it. It acts



## The example of “occupied” businesses in Argentina

We can draw conclusions, concerning the outcome of this view from the example of the phenomenon of “occupations” of businesses that developed in Argentina under conditions of capitalist crisis (1998-2002) and uncontrolled bankruptcy (2001). It concerns nearly 150 companies that their owners abandoned. These were mainly small or medium - sized factories, with obsolete industrial equipment, employing 60 workers on average, connected to the internal market and vulnerable to the “opening” of economy carried out by bourgeois governments during the mid-90s.

Most of these companies, occupied by employees, did not survive. A few that survived to this day have done so with a state subsidies under conditions of state protection within the framework of the capitalist market. In many cases workers who participated in this “project” made significant efforts, undertook to repay the debts of the capitalists who had abandoned them, to settle unpaid electricity, water and gas bills, in order to operate them.

“Zanon ceramics” is an example of a company that survived and was converted into a cooperative, financed by the bourgeois state. The workers made “efforts and sacrifices” in order to become ... cooperative self-employed members of the company, protected by the bourgeois state so that they could cope with the requirements of competitiveness and profit of capitalist market. The next step will be re-conversion into capitalist corporate business.

**Kommunistiki Epitheorisi, issue 4-5/2012**  
**“Line of assimilation or rupture; the experience of Argentina”**



as a capitalist company in a capitalist environment, under conditions of competitiveness and pursuit of profit, which ultimately involves the cooperative members themselves. That's why sooner or later their share composition will change to the benefit of some and at the expense of others . This is clearly capitalism.

On the other hand, when we are referring to socialist relations, the supporters of self-management try to separate and oppose the collective interest of the workers' collective from the interests of the society as a whole, which can be expressed only through the state of working class, the dictatorship of proletariat. Otherwise,

every workers' collective would promote its individual interest in production, in distribution, etc. We cannot speak about socialization if production units are detached from central planning. The communist relations are completely incompatible with the private ownership of the means of production and to the same “group ownership” and the group interests are in contradiction with the interests of society.

The implementation of workers' control makes sense only in conditions of social ownership of the means of production.

How will workers' control develop? What kind of workers' control is it when

it is developing on the basis of means of production which are owned by capitalists? The workers' control is not control by the workers under alien (i.e capitalist) ownership but under "their own" ownership, collective ownership. It is control over the management- administration. Along with the development of effective participation of employees in the administration of the socialist units from the bottom -up comes the limitation of the detachment of managing-administrating personnel from the group of the workers of the unit, and then the workers' control progresses to real self-government, a feature of communist ownership relations.

Socialist construction of the 20th

century offers both positive and negative experience over this issue. Workers' control can only be based on the universal socialization of concentrated means of production and their integration into Central Planning. In the 1960s there was a discussion and implementation of measures regarding the so called "self-maintenance" of companies. Furthermore and in combination with other measures, the market was strengthened, which eventually led, as we were approaching the 1980s, to the weakening of the social character of ownership and the workers' control eventually attained a purely formal character.

**"R**evolutionary workers' power will be based on the institutions that will be borne by the revolutionary struggle of the working class and its allies. The bourgeois parliamentary institutions will be replaced by the new institutions of workers' power.

The nuclei of working class state-power will be the units of production, workplaces, through which working class and social control of the administration will be exercised. The workers' representatives to the organs of state-power will be elected (and when necessary recalled) from these "communities of production". Young people that are not engaged in production (e.g. Students in higher education) will take part in the election of representatives through the educational units. The participation of non-working women and retirees will take place in a special fashion, utilizing mass organization and the units providing special services.

The exercise of workers' and social control will be institutionalized and safeguarded in practice, as will the unhindered criticism of decisions and practices which obstruct socialist construction, the unhindered denunciation of subjective arbitrariness and bureaucratic behavior of officials, and other negative phenomena and deviations from socialist-communist principles."



Resolution of the 18th Congress of KKE, Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20th century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism.

A publication the CC of the KKE, pg.96







# SOCIALISM, MARKET AND COMMODITY RELATIONS

*"The commodity-money relations mediate in all phases of reproduction of the social product, between the state and the socialist enterprises, among socialist enterprises and between enterprises and citizens, through money and all categories of commodity production (prices, costs, credit, profit etc.). Meaning that their utilization in socialism is included in the objectives of the plan and it is an important mechanism to regulate the economy and to facilitate the rapid introduction of new technology and innovations, measuring the efficiency of the means of production (objects and means of labour), as a motive for improving product quality and services, to encourage the activity of small producers, improving product distribution and trade mechanism, ensuring beneficial cooperation with foreign capital, etc. The main objective in their use is the most effective promotion of the aims of socialist society and not the submission of socialist society to market laws (...) »*

([www.iskra.gr](http://www.iskra.gr), site connected to the Left Current of SYRIZA, now LAE)

This view argues that commodity-money relations are one of the scientific laws of socialism, so they harmoniously coexist with socialization and Central Planning. It claims that their existence gives impetus to the construction of the new society. First of all, let's see what happens to the products of socialist-communist production.

## **Are the products of socialist - communist production commodities?**

The aim of production determines the character of the product. The products of socialized production are produced with aim to constantly satisfy the needs of the society at a higher level. That means that the products of direct

social production are not produced for trade, sale and purchase. They are distributed according to the social needs and a large part of them according to work during the first, socialist phase. Although sometimes the mechanism of distribution may resemble the market process (shops, prices), nevertheless these products are not commodities. To obtain a consumer product, the worker in social production will go to the state store, he will give "money", that resembles money only in terms of form, however it actually symbolizes the individual contribution of the worker to social labour, and he will get the sufficient quantity of product that he is entitled to. So we have neither money nor salary as happens in the framework of capital-

**"T**he wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as "an immense accumulation of commodities," its unit being a single commodity. (...) A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another. (...).

As a general rule, articles of utility become commodities, only because they are products of the labour of private individuals or groups of individuals who carry on their work independently of each other. The sum total of the labour of all these private individuals forms the aggregate labour of society. Since the producers do not come into social contact with each other until they exchange their products, the specific social character of each producer's labour does not show itself except in the act of exchange. In other words, the labour of the individual asserts itself as a part of the labour of society, only by means of the relations which the act of exchange establishes directly between the products, and indirectly, through them, between the producers. To the latter, therefore, the relations connecting the labour of one individual with that of the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things."

K. Marx, Capital, Sinchroni Epochi, vol. 1, pg. 49,86

ism, but money income acquired from work, which expresses the individual contribution to social labour and shall have as much quantity of product as he deserves. Consequently we do not have money or salaries, as we do in capitalism, but money-income, obtained by work. This happens in conditions of difficulties regarding an important part of personal consumer products but also due to the lack of communist attitude both towards labour and the use of its products. Central Planning determines the individual contribution to social labour and accordingly the individual access to consumer products for each worker based on several criteria, the most important of which is the general working time.

### **Are there commodity relations in socialism?**

Commodity relations exist in socialism as a legacy of capitalism. They exist as communist relations, the socialization of the means of production have not prevailed everywhere, i.e. there are sectors of economy which are not completely socialized and there still exists individual or collective ownership of means of production (e.g., the agricultural economy of the USSR). There is also the dimension of foreign commerce, i.e. products produced for the commerce of socialist economy with capitalist countries, which is necessarily under the system of international trade. Of course these transactions are made in a planned way by the state.



This means that there is a section of the products intended for exchange/for sale, which means that these are commodities. This is the material basis of the existence of commodity relations. At the same time this means that there is a social force, meaning vehicles of commodity relations, who own means of production and appropriate part of the social product in different way than the workers of the socialized sector of economy. In general, communist relations and commodity relations cannot "coexist" complementarily on the terrain of the socialist economy. They operate in an antagonistic way and will not coexist indefinitely. Either the communist relations will expand through the deepening of socialization and Central Planning or over time the commodity relations will be strengthened and eventually the communist relations will be overthrown- a violent return to capitalism.

### **What happened in the USSR and other states of socialist construction during the 20th century?**

Today there is historical experience; it is not just a theoretic discussion. We draw our conclusions over the course of class struggle during socialist construction, its reflection in the ideological and political struggle against the revisionist and opportunist expressions within the Communist Party itself. Let's see what happened in the USSR.

The critical assessment of socialist construction shows that the social basis of commodity - money relations, the existence of forms of private ownership, mainly in agricultural production, were strengthened after the end of Second World War, along with the entry of new countries into socialist construction. The Communist Party of the USSR could not confront promptly, in a clear theoretically and decisive political way the pressure to accept the theory that

Registration of new members to the kolkhoz of the Parfedevno village in Moscow in 1930.



commodity relations are one of the scientific laws of Socialism, which finally was adopted in the 1950s and 1960s and led to the weakening of communist relations. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (1956) was the turning point and constituted a congress where the right opportunist deviation prevailed and resulted in a change in the correlation of forces in the confrontation that was carried out over the whole previous period, marking the turning point in favor of the theoretical and political positions that supported the utilization of mechanisms of the market in socialist construction. Soon after, weaknesses and delays that socialist construction was facing, originally productivity of labor in agricultural, and especially in livestock production, gradually were to be solved by political choices that substantially weakened the communist relations. Thus, after 1956, and especially during the 1960s, the policies that were implemented in the USSR and other states of Eastern and Central Europe included the weakening of Central Planning, the establishment of the "system of economic accounting" of socialist production units. This system essentially rendered the socialist units independent of Central Planning. Also, criteria of the market were established, like profit and competition as instruments for the evaluation of the performance of production units. The aim of the gradual transform of the agricultural cooperatives into social ownership was abandoned. Additionally, in the name of incentives, the income differences between workers in social production widened and especially the income of the

executives' stratum was increased. The viewpoints regarding socialist commodity production and the operation of the law of value as law of socialist economy were generalized. Actually, the direction of the expanding

and deepening of socialist relations was stopped, and the scientific laws of the socialist construction were violated.

The role of the commodity-money relations was from the first moment an element of controversy in the USSR. These reforms were promoted in order to solve problems; however, there were other directions and proposals that were rejected, such as proposals for the application of computers and information technology for improving the technical elaboration of data, for the control of products' production with quantitative and qualitative criteria. The prevalence of the so called "market" perceptions had as a consequent effect the appearance of phenomena that weakened communist consciousness, the communist attitude towards labor. As far as that situation wasn't corrected, economic problems kept on accumulating, and the result was that during the 1970s, for the first time, there was stagnation in the soviet economy. Therefore, these problems were not the result of the development of the communist relations, but a result of their retreat before the market, of the illusion that Socialism can be combined with market.

The root cause, which led to the overthrow of Socialism in USSR and in the countries of Eastern Europe, was the violations of the scientific laws of socialist construction. The results show the failure





of the positions stating that Socialism can be compatible with market.

Let's not forget that socialist construction requires the consciously planned intervention of the leading social force, the working class, and especially its vanguard. When the CPSU lost this role, it was inevitable that it would evolve into a party of betrayal, of counter-revolution.

Besides the historical experience of USSR and other socialist countries, there is also today's experience in China in

relation to the existence of commodity relations and the so-called "Market Socialism". The implementation of such directions throughout the previous years, not only led to the weakening of socialist relations, but also led to the complete prevalence of capitalist relations, without significant changes in its political system. It is characteristic that the CP of China has decided to accept capitalists into its ranks, a fact that shows the level of mutation of the CP of China.

**F**ollowing World War II and the post-war reconstruction, socialist construction entered a new phase. The Party was faced with new demands and challenges regarding the development of socialism-communism. The 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956) stands out as a turning point, since at that congress a series of opportunist positions were adopted on matters relating to the economy, the strategy of the communist movement and international relations. The correlation of forces in the struggle being waged during the entire preceding period was altered, with a turn in favor of the revisionist-opportunist positions, with the result that the Party gradually began to lose its revolutionary characteristics.

Social resistance (by kolkhoz peasants, executives in agricultural production and in industry) to the need for an expansion and deepening of the socialist relations of production was expressed, at an ideological and political level, through an internal party struggle at the beginning of the 1950's. The sharpened debate, which ended with the theoretical acceptance of the law of value as a law of socialism, signified political choices with more immediate and powerful consequences on the course of socialist development, in comparison with the pre-war period, when the material backwardness made the effect of these theoretical positions less painful.

These forces were expressed politically through the positions adopted in the resolutions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, a congress which proved to be one of supremacy of the right opportunist deviation. Political choices were gradually adopted that expanded commodity-money (potentially capitalist) relations, in the name of correcting weaknesses in Central Planning and in

the administration of the socialist productive units. It was in such a way that, at a theoretical level, theories of "socialist commodity production" or "socialism with a market", the acceptance of the law of value as a law of the socialist (immature communist) mode of production, which operates even in the phase of socialist development, prevailed. These theories constituted the basis for the formulation of economic policies."

Resolution of the 18th Congress of KKE, Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20th century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism. A publication the CC of the KKE, p.36, 48





5



"Comrade Lenin clean up the world from rubbish». Soviet poster of 1920

**Тов. Ленин ОЧИЩАЕТ  
землю от нечисти.**

## SOCIALISM MEANS "ISOLATION" ?

*"It's the soviet model of state "socialism" that they propose us " ... they never understood these phenomena like a reallocation on a global scale of labour, capital and wealth, based on competition. They preach ceaselessly that competition is the implacable enemy of the "working class" and offer us an isolated society and state, outside the great developments of our era. "*

(Newspaper "Kathimerini", 25/10/2009)

A socialist revolution in a state results in its disengagement from the international capitalist market, regardless its position within it.

Often the argument is put forward that the construction of a socialist society will lead to the isolation of Greece, without international allies, making it unable to have economic transactions with other states, leading to its economic isolation. Similarly, they claim that the position of the Communist Party of Greece concerning the disengagement from imperialist alliances, the EU and NATO, also leads to isolationism.

The bourgeois class uses such arguments in order to terrorize the people and to trap them within the one-way street of capitalist development and its integration into the international alliances - "wolf packs" - of the capitalists.

### **How does participation in capitalist alliances such as the EU and NATO, affect the workers' popular strata today?**

For decades the bourgeois class promotes the argument that we should be

grateful as Greek people that our country belongs to the European Union and NATO, that they ensure our economic development and stability, the safety of our country etc. According to the situation they were either claiming that within the EU we would "live prosperously", or calling upon the people to make sacrifices for "convergence" with the other European economies, sacrifices in favour of the "common currency" etc. Certainly, they also used the funds of EEC - EU to buy off sections of the people.

The EU is an association of European capitalist states, an alliance based on the common interests of capitalists against the people, although based on fragile compromises between capitalist states, between sections of European capital which are in competition with each other in the pursuit of profit. This competition is sharpened in conditions of capitalist crisis. As a result, the centrifugal tendencies within the EU are strengthening.

The participation in the EEC - EU served first and foremost the long-term interests of the Greek plutocracy and guaranteed its political power.



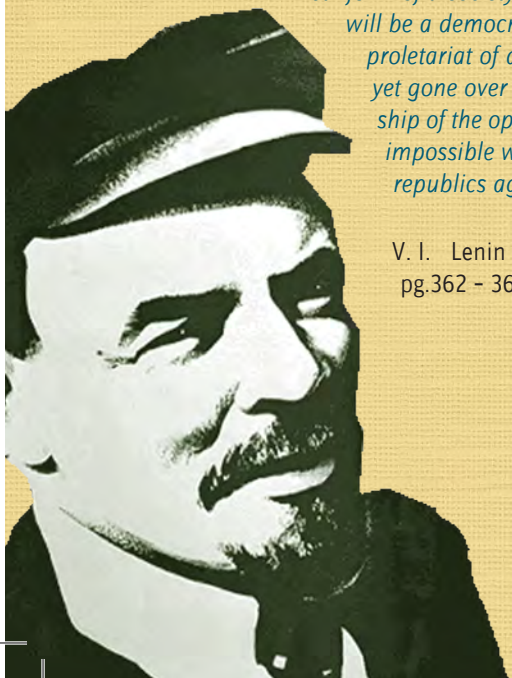


**F**rom the standpoint of the economic conditions of imperialism—i.e., the export of capital and the division of the world by the “advanced” and “civilised” colonial powers—a United States of Europe, under capitalism, is either impossible or reactionary(...)

Of course, temporary agreements are possible between capitalists and between states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the European capitalists ... but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe(...)

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country alone. After expropriating the capitalists and organising their own socialist production, the victorious proletariat of that country will arise against the rest of the world—the capitalist world—attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, stirring uprisings in those countries against the capitalists, and in case of need using even armed force against the exploiting classes and their states. The political form of a society wherein the proletariat is victorious in overthrowing the bourgeoisie will be a democratic republic, which will more and more concentrate the forces of the proletariat of a given nation or nations, in the struggle against states that have not yet gone over to socialism. The abolition of classes is impossible without a dictatorship of the oppressed class, of the proletariat. A free union of nations in socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and stubborn struggle of the socialist republics against the backward states.”

V. I. Lenin “On the Slogan for a United States of Europe” Sinchroņi Epochi, V.26, pg.362 – 363





The EU is a spearhead in the attack against the people by the Greek and European bourgeois class. The national and European apparatuses of the bourgeois class plan together, in the medium and long term, the measures against the people of Europe in favour of the "competitiveness" and profitability of capital. They come to agreements - conventions and anti - people long-term programs, like the White Paper, the Treaty of Lisbon during the past and today the so-called EU-2020 strategy.

Each blow against the rights of the popular strata concerning employment, pensions, welfare, insurance, health, education, has been approved by EU decisions. The central strategic objective was and still is to reinforce and strengthen the monopolies of European states, and that is the reason why their policies attempt to reduce the price of labour power to support the competition of European capital against the capital emerging from the former socialist countries, from China, India and elsewhere that already exploit a much cheaper labour force.

The "market deregulation policy" and strategy that aims to strengthen the European monopolies also brought benefits to Greek monopolies (banking, industry and definitely the ship owners) and some intermediate strata. At the same time the above resulted in extremely negative

consequences for the small and medium farmers, the tradesmen and shopkeepers, who are experiencing a catastrophe today.

The production and development potential of the country was seriously affected, due to the acceleration of the deregulation of capital and commodities. Major sectors of manufacturing industries (textiles, clothing, shipbuilding, production of means of public transport etc.) shrunk al-

though during the past they used to be vigorous. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has contributed to the destruction of productive forces (landfills, unsold

agricultural products, shutting down of several production units' e.g. tobacco drying facilities, sugar or tomato paste factories) and affected negatively as well the live stock farming. The irrationality and imbalances in agricultural production were reinforced, which resulted in large deficiency in certain products, surplus in other, especially those destined to be exported and overall were more exposed to global market circumstances and in EU quotas. Hence, the agricultural trade balance went negative. Agricultural products are exported as raw materials (e.g. olive oil) in order to be imported as processed consumer products. All the aforementioned are the gains of the people thanks to the participation of the country in the EU.

**The realization of socialist revolution and socialist construction, as part of the international revolutionary process, is the "national" duty of each Communist Party.**

It is a fact that neither the EU is a "peaceful" force, as the bourgeois parties were claiming, or an opponent of the US in favour of people, as opportunists were claiming. It turned out to be a dangerous imperialist power, based on the estimations of the Communist Party of Greece from the very beginning of its existence. The governments, "centre-left" and liberal, played a leading role in the dissolution of Yugoslavia and bear serious responsibilities for declaring war in 1999. They participated in and supported the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. They deployed occupation troops in the Balkans, in countries of Asia and Africa. They waged war in Libya. The EU has formed its own "European army" and rapid intervention forces to suppress popular movements.

### **Will a Socialist Greece be isolated?**

Socialist construction will not last in only one country for a long period of time. It concerns other countries whose peoples under the appropriate conditions will choose the path of socialist revolution. Moreover, this is possible because the objective factors of a national crisis, the revolutionary situation, are formed by the contradictions of capitalism and the inter-imperialist contradictions. Nobody knows in which country it will start first and in which country the socialist revolution will manifest itself first.

A series of countries can be affected, regardless of the fact that the socialist revolution will manage to be victorious

in one or more countries in the beginning. At the end of the First World War, the socialist revolution in Russia in October 1917, although it was the first, it wasn't unique. In 1918 and 1919, socialist revolutions were carried out in Germany, Hungary, Finland, and Slovakia but they were defeated, and at the same time mass and magnificent workers' mobilizations and actions in various countries such as the occupations of factories in Italy took place. If the link in the chain breaks not in one but in a group of countries, and the revolution is victorious, it means that socialist construction will proceed from even better positions along with the opportunities for cooperation between these countries.

The economy in a socialist Greece will be structured on a completely different basis. The workers'-peoples' power will utilize the domestic productive potential, which is currently subjugated to capital and stay unutilized if it doesn't bring high profits. The effort to fully utilize the productive potential of the country will have as a goal to decrease or even to eliminate, where possible, the dependence on imports, which means dependence on capitalist countries.

The KKE has fought firmly for many decades against the view, which is also promoted today, that Greece cannot produce and doesn't have potential. Greece has unexploited mineral resources, an essential precondition for the development of industry (bauxite, nickel, zinc, gold, marble, lignite, and an enormous potential for the production of hydroelectric energy). It



Greece has all the preconditions for the development of its productive potential. It has raw materials, mineral resources and a specialized labor force. The KKE has fought firmly for many decades against the perception that says that Greece has no productive potential. The innovative position of the Party since the 1950s concerning the potential of developing heavy industry is of historic importance. A complete development of the productive potential of the country for the people's benefit can only be achieved within the framework of the socialist economy.

*History Essay of KKE, Volume B'(1949-1968),  
"Sinchroni Epohi", pg. 101-166*



has rich oil and gas reserves in the North Aegean Sea, in Rhodes', south of Crete, in the Ionian Sea, and in the Gulf of Patras. There is a high wind power potential and geothermal springs, especially in the Aegean Islands.

It has the base to develop industry, it has an experienced and numerous work force, with an improved educational and specialization level, and numerous scientific personnel, of which a significant section is forced to immigrate for scientific work with better conditions. It has potential for production of modern products, machines, tools and appliances.

Certainly, there will be products or raw materials which the Greek economy won't be able to produce (at least in the beginning). Therefore, the need to develop commercial, economic relations with other countries, on the basis of mutual benefit, will objectively exist, since the socialist Greek economy will have useful products and services for other economies, even capitalist economies. These transactions will have the character of interstate relations. The capitalist world is a world characterized by contradictions between capitalist states, and this gives the opportunity for fissures in their economic cooperation



## The international impact of the October Revolution

The victorious socialist revolution in Russia had a tremendous international impact and a decisive influence on the political movement of the working class around the world. Revolutions followed in Finland, Hungary, and Germany.

The international impact of the October Revolution is portrayed in the map, as well as the activity of the international movement against the imperialist intervention against the young - then Soviet Russia, during the years 1918-1920.

- The territory of Soviet Russia under the stranglehold of the imperialist intervention and white terrorism. August 1918.

- Protest activities and demonstrations.

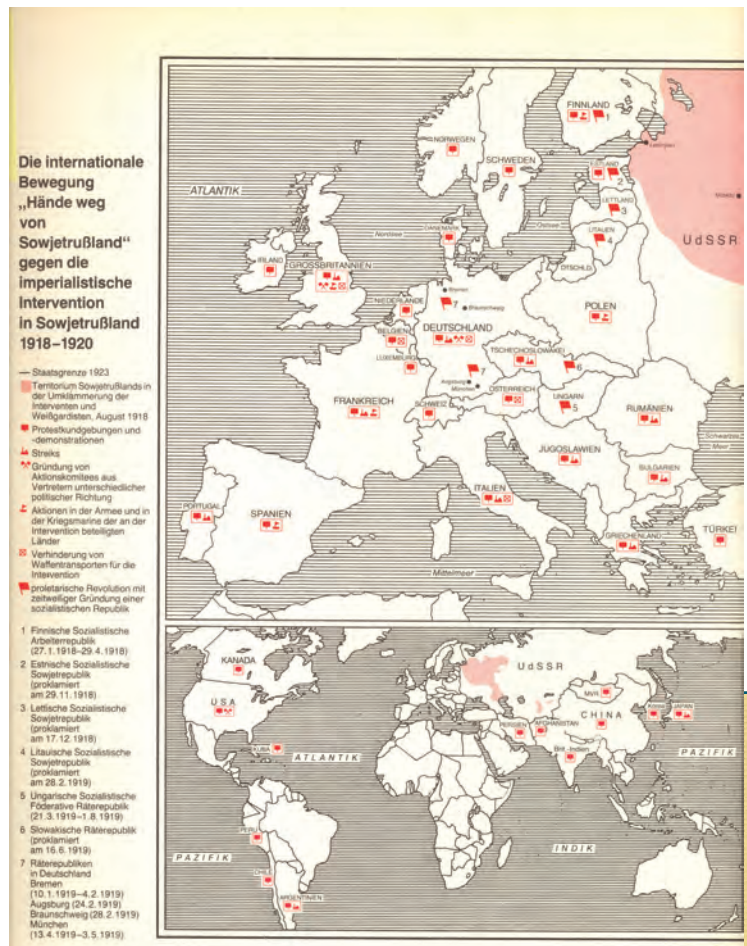
- Strikes.

- Creation of action committees for the support of Soviet Russia.

- Actions of opposition to the intervention in the army and the navy of the capitalist states.

- Impeding of the transport of weapons for the intervention.

- Proletariat revolution and proclamation of socialist power
  1. Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic (27.1.1918-29.4.1918)
  2. Estonian Socialist Workers' Republic (proclaimed on 29.11.1918)
  3. Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (proclaimed on 17.12.1918)
  4. Lithuanian Socialist Workers' Republic (proclaimed on 17.12.1918)
  5. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Republic (21.3.1919-1.8.1919)
  6. Slovak Socialist Workers' Republic (proclaimed on 16.6.1919)
  7. Soviet Republics in Germany:
    - Bremen (10.1.1919-4.2.1919)
    - Augsburg (24.2.1919)
    - Braunschweig (28.2.1919)
    - Munich (13.4.1919-3.5.1919)



Communist International 1919-1945, section 2: The international impact of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, "Synchroni Epochi".



and in the pursuit of more favorable, economic transactions.

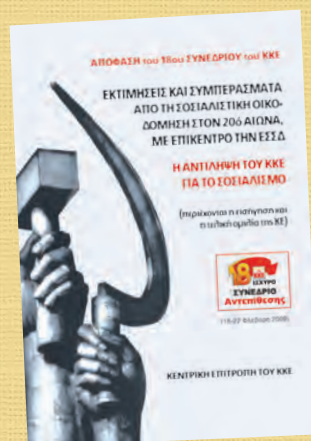
Let's examine an example. One of the most beloved arguments of the bourgeois is that a socialist Greece, disengaged from capitalist alliances, won't be able to meet its import needs in vital raw materials, like oil and fuel, and it will be on the brink of disaster. But today, the majority of oil is imported from Russia and Iran. Why would a socialist Greece, disengaged from the EU(which competes with Russia and Iran), not be able to negotiate for oil imports with these countries? On the contrary, this will be done on better terms than today, with cheaper prices because, for example, it won't be bound to the embargo that the EU has imposed on Iran's oil, as an element of international imperialist competition. And vice-versa, in the past socialist USSR was in need of agricultural products of capitalist Greece and there were similar economic transactions.

No one says of course, that socialist construction, especially in its beginning, will be a path covered in rose petals. peoples' power must be determined and guarantee the popular participation and initiative in order to overcome difficulties that will exist due to the obstacles that the capitalist surroundings will create. This fight and the sacrifices that the people will make will be for their own interests, not like today when they bleed and are sacrificed on the altar of capitalist profit. Aside from the fact that especially today, in the period of crisis, not even the capitalists say that the path they suggest is "bloodless" for the people. They constantly call them to accept a new massacre of their rights in order to continue to live in a regime of salaried slavery, which continuously worsens. The sacrifices that the people will make for their own power and their own economy will be the only ones that will be in their own interests.

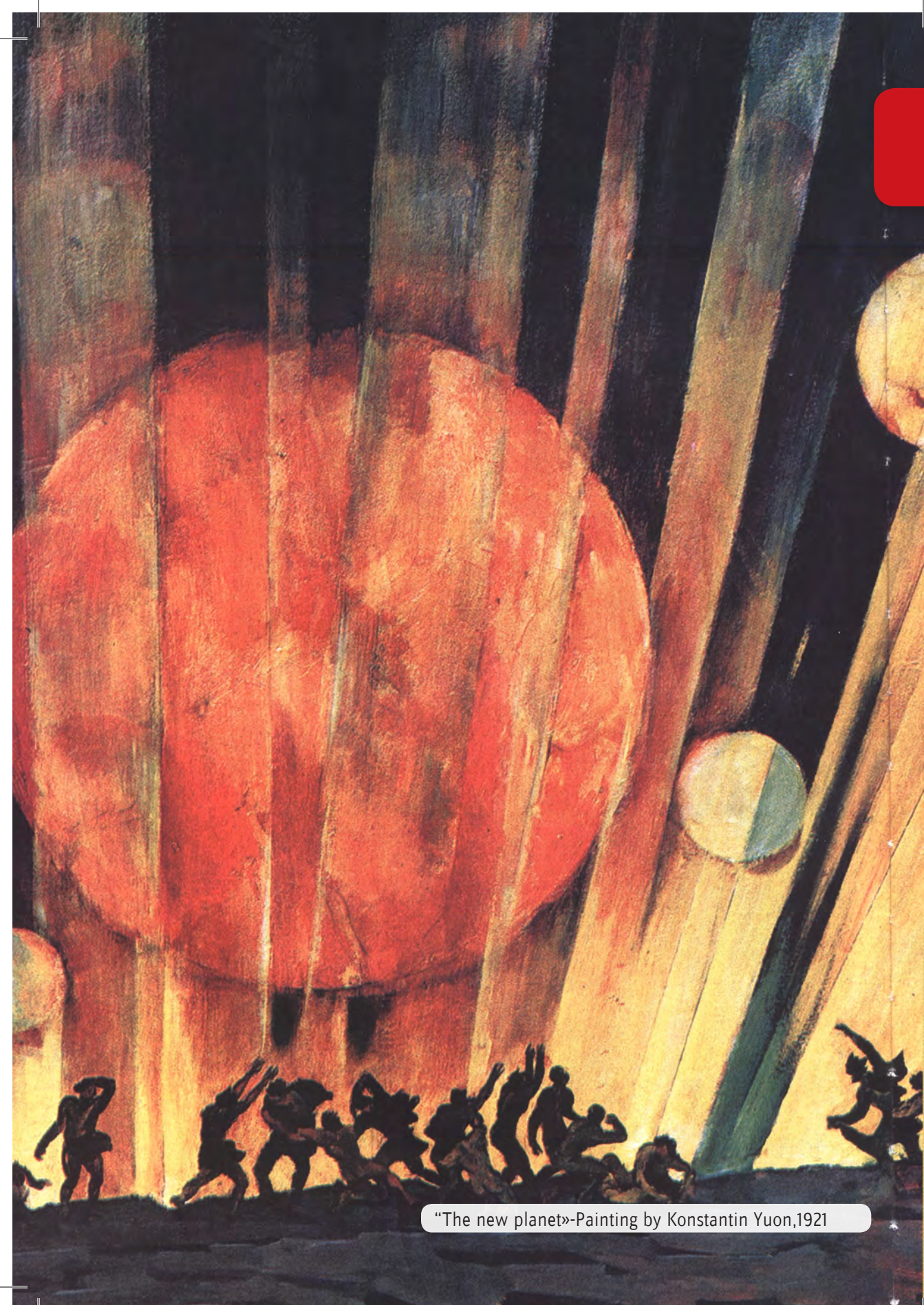
**T**he victory of the socialist revolution, initially in one country or in a group of countries, springs from the operation of the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism. The preconditions that bring socialist revolution to the agenda do not mature simultaneously worldwide. The imperialist chain will break at its weakest link.

The specific "national" duty of each CP is the realization of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction in its own country, as a part of the world revolutionary process. This will contribute to the creation of a "fully consummated socialism" within the framework of the "revolutionary collaboration of the proletarians of all countries".

Resolution of the 18th Congress of KKE, *Assessments and conclusions on socialist construction during the 20th century, focusing on the USSR. KKE's perception on socialism.* A publication of the CC of the KKE.pg. 86-87







"The new planet»-Painting by Konstantin Yuon,1921



# EPILOGUE

The development of capitalism and the class struggle inevitably brought Communism to the historic forefront in the mid 19th century. The first scientific communist program was the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" which was written by K. Marx-F.Engels 160 years ago in 1848. The first proletarian revolution was the Paris Commune in 1871.

The 20th century brought the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917, which was the starting point for one of the greatest accomplishments of civilization in human history, the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Subsequently, after the Second World War, power was achieved with the purpose of socialist construction in several countries in Europe, Asia, and also in the American continent, in Cuba.

Despite the problems of socialist countries, the socialist system that was formed during the 20th century proved the superiority of Socialism over capitalism, the enormous advantages that it provides for work and the life of the workers.

The level at which the steps in socialist revolution and construction took place, the milestones and the turning points vary in this first historically extensive effort for the construction of the new society, whose seeds were all around the world, from Russia to the edge of Asia, from the Balkans and Central Europe to the Caribbean.

Reviewing the historic cycle of these revolutions we can say that the new element did not obtain quickly the required strength and maturity in order to guarantee its irreversible victory over the old element.

The defeat of the new element is historically finite; the historic victory of Communism against capitalism is inevitable for social progress. The KKE understood this issue even during the difficult years of 1990-1991. The events and the developments that followed justified the predictions and assessments of the KKE, and also confirmed the reactionary, counter-revolutionary character of these developments.

## ***In Praise of Communism***

*It's sensible,/anyone can understand it./It's easy./You're not an exploiter,/so you can grasp it./  
It's a good thing for you,/find out more about it./The stupid call it stupid/and the squalid call it  
squalid./It is against/squalor and/against stupidity./The exploiters call it a crime.  
But we know:/It is the end of crime./It is not madness, but/the end of madness./It is not the riddle/  
but the solution./It is the simple thing,/so hard to achieve.*

BertoltBrecht





**CENTRAL COUNCIL OF KNE**  
**TRUTHS AND LIES ABOUT SOCIALISM**  
**1. On the socialist economy**

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This current publication of the Central Council of KNE aims to contribute to the ideological and political front against the bourgeois class and opportunism concerning the issues of socialism - communism, its scientific laws and its historical contribution.

The publication "Truths and Lies about Socialism" is divided into three parts. In the first part that you are holding we will deal with issues of socialist economy. The first part is divided into 5 chapters

1. The purpose of the direct social production
2. "The socialization of the means of production"
3. Central Planning
4. Socialism, market and commodity relations
5. Does Socialism mean "isolation"?

The other two parts will deal respectively with the issue of the worker's power and the issues of the falsification of the history of socialist construction in the 20th century.

