

M. D. KAMMARI

SOCIALISM
and the
INDIVIDUAL



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M. D. KAMMARI

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I

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE MASSES IS THE MAIN CONDITION FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The founders of scientific Communism wrote, in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, that it is the mission of the working class to build socialist society, in which "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

Such a society has been built in the U.S.S.R. The Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in history, the era of the genuine history of mankind, has fully and entirely confirmed the correctness of the theory of Scientific Communism.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has led to the unprecedentedly high development of the individuality of the labouring man, of his creative power, his faculties and talents, to the spring-

ing up of talented persons *on a mass scale* from the very midst of the people. For hundreds and thousands of years the toiling masses had been under the yoke of slavery and exploitation. The October Revolution freed them, for the first time in history, from this yoke and exploitation, gave them the opportunity to unbend their backs, become free, conscious creators of their own lives, the *masters* and *makers* of their own destinies.

The Soviet people took shape, grew, attained to manhood and became steeled under the leadership of the heroic Party of Lenin and Stalin, in the fire of revolutionary class struggle, in the storms of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the fierce battles of the Civil War and the war against the forces of intervention, in the struggle with famine, economic ruin, poverty, economic backwardness and lack of culture, in the fight for socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, for the abolition of the exploiting classes, for the building of Socialism, in the conflagration of the Great Patriotic War against the fascist invaders.

The great world-historic victory of the Soviet Union in the hardest of all wars in our country's history, in the history of all mankind, was a victory of the Soviet social and political system, a victory of the Lenin-Stalin policy of the Communist Party, a victory of Soviet ideology, a vic-

tory of Soviet man, of his high fighting capacity, of his moral and political qualities. During the period of the war there stood forth before all humanity in all their greatness people of a new world, people forged from Soviet steel, of Soviet tempering, of unbending will and clear conscience, with great, lofty, noble communist ideas and ideals, the ideas of Soviet patriotism, of friendship among peoples, individuals endowed with a Soviet, communist morality.

Only a generation that grew up under the Soviet system, that was steeled in the fire of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the fire of battle for Socialism, a generation of Soviet people trained by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, could pass such a severe test with credit to themselves, and not only successfully defend their freedom and independence but also save the entire world from the fascist plague. This has raised legitimate pride in Soviet men and women, in the Soviet people. In summing up the results of the great victory of the Soviet people, J. V. Stalin called upon us carefully to scrutinize their "life and work" and "award them according to their deserts."

As a result of the Second World War the Soviet state is better steeled than ever before. The international connections, the influence and the prestige of the U.S.S.R. have been widened

and strengthened; the positions held by Socialism have been consolidated.

"The question of Socialism has been put on the agenda in many countries of Europe. This is not to the liking of the imperialists, whatever their hue or shade; they are afraid of Socialism, afraid of our socialist country, which serves as a model for all advanced mankind."¹

The imperialists and their ideological servitors make every attempt to slander the Soviet people, to slander Socialism, repeating in every possible variation the fabrications dished up by the enemies of Socialism even a hundred years ago.

These fabrications come down to the following: that Socialism suppresses and expunges individuality, personal effort and initiative, capability and talent, personal rights and liberties; that it equalizes personal wants and tastes. The imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologists and politicians attempt in every way to exploit the private-property mentality and ideology of various sections of the population, particularly of the lower middle-class, in their anti-popular, reactionary struggle against the foremost forces of democracy, against Socialism. The slanderous inventions of the reactionaries, who assert that individuality

¹ A. A. Zhdanov, Report on the Journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, Russ. ed., pp. 34-35.

is suppressed in Soviet society, pursue the aim of frightening above all the broad circles of the petty bourgeoisie away from Socialism.

The high development of individuality in the U.S.S.R. tears to shreds this whole fabric of calumniations, proves the superiority of our Soviet socialist system, the superiority of our culture, the high qualities of Soviet people, the new, truly human relations between people, the new relations between the individual and society.

How are the position and the conditions of development of the individual in socialist society changing in comparison with all previous social formations, and particularly in comparison with capitalism? By what is this position determined? How do the nature and the impelling motives of the activity of the individual change, under Socialism, together with the entire aspect of individuality?

We shall dwell on some of these questions in the present article.

* * *

Bourgeois philosophers and sociologists, who conceal their real views aimed at protecting the interests of the exploiters, reason abstractly, metaphysically and idealistically about society and the individual "in general"; they evade, in every

possible way, a posture of the following question from the concrete historical and class points of view: what particular individuality and what particular society is under discussion?

Marxism rejects abstract, metaphysical and idealist reasoning about society and the individual "in general" as unscientific; and, in full accord with historical reality, it teaches that society and the individual must be examined concretely, in their coming into being and their development; that there is no fixed relation, no relation given once and for all, between society and the individual. For inherent in each social-economic formation are definite relations between people, classes, between the individual and society, relations peculiar to the given formation alone.

The defenders of capitalism were and are still clamouring that the Communists want to do away with personally-acquired, self-earned property, which forms the basis of all personal freedom, activity and independence, and hence want to do away with individuality itself. Answering this slanderous statement Marx and Engels pointed out that the Communists are not out to abolish property in general nor yet property obtained by personal labour, as the development of capitalism has abolished and continues to abolish in each day. Communism does away with *bourgeois* private property, the necessary precondition for

whose existence is the lack of property on the part of the vast majority of society. The bourgeois, however, argues that in destroying bourgeois private property Communism destroys individuality.

"You must, therefore, confess," reply Marx and Engels, "that by 'individual' you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible."¹

By freedom the bourgeois understands free trade, freedom to exploit wage labour. The bourgeoisie has resolved personal worth into exchange value and has left no other nexus between man and man than money, profit, "cash payment." It has drowned all noble, pure and lofty passions and human emotions in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has converted the poet, the artist, the man of science into its wage labourers. It has turned the family relation, the relation between husband and wife, parent and child, as well as love, honour and conscience, into objects of barter, of purchase and sale. In bourgeois society the personal labour of the worker is only a means by which the bourgeois increases his capital. The

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow 1949, p. 69.

worker lives only to enrich the capitalist. He lives only in so far as the interests of the capitalist require it.

"In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

"And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at."¹

Marx and Engels showed that all development of antagonistic class societies was based on the oppression and enslavement of the mass of the working people, on the suppression of the creative forces and abilities of the individual. Marx in his *Capital*—a work of genius called the bible of the working class—demonstrated with exceptional force, profundity and concreteness how capitalism subjugates the entire world of spiritual interests, inclinations and capabilities of man, converts the worker into an appendage of the machine, cripples him physically and spiritually by the entire organization, conditions and circumstances of his involuntary, exhausting work at the factory, and of the oppression,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

starvation, unemployment, insecurity and pauper's existence that are his lot. In order to make it impossible for capital to reduce them to the status of slaves, to guard themselves against degeneration and the constant threat of starving to death, the workers must of necessity unite and carry on a constant and stubborn class struggle for their rights and vital interests, establish and strengthen their class organizations, their party and trade unions capable of leading the working class to the struggle for the abolition of capitalist wage slavery, for the building of communist society. *Singlehanded the worker is powerless vis-à-vis the power of monopoly capital.* Marxism teaches that the working class can emancipate itself and all toiling humanity from capitalist slavery only by revolutionary struggle.

Explaining and developing the theory of Marxism in the struggle with the anarchists, J. V. Stalin wrote as early as 1906 that the masses were the cornerstone of Marxism, for *without the emancipation of the masses there can be no emancipation of the individual. The emancipation of the masses is the main condition for the emancipation of the individual.* The experience of the socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R. fully confirmed also this proposition of Marxism-Leninism. The emancipation and free, universal development of the individual has been realized in the

U.S.S.R. thanks to the fact that the working class set up its own state, established its leadership of society, and in alliance with all the labouring masses abolished the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man, built socialist society, transforming the working people of the U.S.S.R. into conscious and free creators of their own history.

II

THE INDIVIDUAL UNDER SOCIALISM

As a result of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., a radical change has taken place in the relations between people, and hence also between society and the individual. The character, conditions and direction of development of the individual have also undergone a fundamental change.

The basis of the relations of production, and hence of all social relations between people in the U.S.S.R., is the social, socialist ownership of the means of production. In the U.S.S.R. exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man have been abolished, as have been the causes that gave rise to classes and exploitation. The relations between people in the process of production are relations of comradely cooperation between

people freed from exploitation. In characterizing socialist society, J. V. Stalin points out that here the relations of production fully correspond to the state of the productive forces, for the *social character* of production is reinforced by the *social ownership* of the means of production. The socialist relations of production allow full scope for the development of the productive forces, and consequently also for the development of the most important productive force, the labouring masses themselves, their labour skill, their creative power and capacity. Marxian Socialism starts from the premise that the development of the individuality of the labouring man is the development of one of the most important productive forces, that people, *personnel*, are the *most valuable capital in the world*.

In speaking of the individual under Socialism, we have in mind the millions of workers, collective farmers and Soviet intellectuals who have been freed from the chains of slavery and exploitation, the millions of free and equal citizens of the U.S.S.R., builders of communist society.

Bourgeois democracy proclaims from the housetops various personal rights and liberties, but for the working people they are but empty promises, rights and liberties not worth the paper they are written on. Under capitalism, is the exploited free from the exploiter, the worker from

his capitalist employer or his underlings, the tenant farmer from his landlord, from monopoly capital and the bourgeois state, which ruin him by their taxes and monopoly prices? Is the journalist or writer free from the bourgeois publishers (the Hearsts, McCormicks and similar manufacturers of "public opinion"), who have a monopoly on all publishing facilities, who buy the conscience of the journalist as well as the product of his pen? Is the scholar free from the tycoons of capital, the proprietors of colleges and institutes, of laboratories and the wherewithal for conducting experiments and research?

What personal rights of workers and of labouring people in general are there to speak of under capitalism if they do not have the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to medical aid in case of sickness, to maintenance in old age; if their public organizations have no premises to meet in, no printing presses, stocks of paper and other facilities required to publish their own newspapers; if their organizations are harassed, persecuted, prosecuted and prohibited in every way; if working men and their representatives are constantly hounded by the police, terrorized by hired gangsters, by fascist thugs and murderers; if the toiling masses of the oppressed nations are subject to monstrous discrimination, lynching, and so forth?

What "personal liberty" can an unemployed worker enjoy, if he is unable to find a job no matter how much he tries, and despite all his knowledge and experience; if he walks the streets hungry, ready to accept work on any terms, no matter how onerous, if only to save himself and his family from starvation? And in capitalist society there are always millions of unemployed, particularly during crises. The army of unemployed exerts great pressure on those still working, each one of whom is afraid that tomorrow he may likewise be without work and will have to join their ranks. One need only ask these questions to reveal the hypocrisy and falsity of all this bourgeois twaddle about personal rights and liberties. "Real liberty exists only where exploitation has been abolished, where there is no oppression of some by others, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where people do not tremble in fear of losing their jobs, their homes, their livelihood the next day. Only in such a society is real, and not fictitious, personal and every other kind of liberty possible."¹

Soviet, socialist democracy puts the main stress on actually ensuring the genuine rights and

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Interview with Mr. Roy Howard, president of Scripps-Howard Newspapers, an American newspaper association, March 1, 1936.* Russ. ed., 1939, p. 12.

liberties of the working people. It does not simply proclaim rights and liberties but guarantees them materially, economically, by the entire system and organization of socialist economy, education and social maintenance. The Soviet system guarantees to all citizens the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to maintenance in case of sickness and old age; it ensures full equality of rights among men and women, among races, nations and nationalities, in all spheres of economic, public, political and cultural life. In the U.S.S.R. all citizens have equal rights. The Stalin Constitution, the constitution of Socialism Victorious, guarantees to citizens of the U.S.S.R. freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, and freedom of demonstrations *in the interests of the working people*, by placing at their disposal the requisites for the realization and exercise of these rights and freedoms, such as printing presses, stocks of paper and meeting halls.

The great rights and freedoms, won by the working people of our country in the battles for Socialism, have been inscribed on and embodied in the tables of the Stalin Constitution. This is the great charter of Socialism that so many people have been dreaming of for hundreds and thousands of years, and is today the dream of the oppressed, the exploited labouring masses all over

the world, a dream that so far has come true only in our country. The main principle of Socialism is: each works to the best of his ability, and is rewarded according to the quantity and quality of work he does. He who works best is held in greatest honour and esteem. Only in the U.S.S.R. is it possible for plain workers and farmers who yesterday were still unknown to become famous all over the country today, and to enjoy universal honour and respect thanks to their personal labour performance, their personal capabilities and heroism. Such are our Soviet celebrities, the Stakhanovites, Heroes of Socialist Labour.

The leading posts in the U.S.S.R. are held by the most devoted, most fit, most capable and energetic citizens, men and women who hail from the people and have been promoted or elected to these posts. Persons who do not justify the confidence reposed in them by the people may be recalled at any time and replaced by others more energetic, more capable and more devoted to the interests of the people.

The status of women in society is one of the most important criteria, or measuring rods, by which to judge the true nature of any civilization or social culture. The emancipation of women tremendously accelerates the progress of civilization. Chernyshevsky wrote in his novel *What Is To Be Done?* that nature endowed woman with a keen,

penetrative mind, but that this mind remained unused by society; that "the history of mankind would be advancing ten times as fast if that mind were not spurned or killed, but functioned." Everyone knows what the position of the working woman was in tsarist Russia and what it still is in all capitalist countries, inclusive of the "western democracies," as they are called, which flaunt their "civilization." During the thousands of years comprising the periods of slavery, feudalism and capitalism, working women have had to endure a double yoke: class oppression and enslavement within the family. Hard, exhausting labour in field and factory and dull drudgery in the house; poverty, unemployment, undernourishment, complete rightlessness and debasement, eternal fear of the morrow, worry about the future of their children, destruction of the family, prostitution, tragic death from starvation, suicide after killing their children—such is the graphic picture of the lot of millions of working women in the "civilized" countries of capitalism, not to mention their colonies. It will, therefore, be readily understood that women, who make up half of the human race, could not stand aloof from the tremendous changes worked by the Great October Socialist Revolution, but were bound to and did constitute a great and active force in it. V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin teach that the suc-

cess of a revolution depends on how consciously and actively women take part in it.

The working woman in our country has grown up, been trained and steeled in the fire of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the fight for Socialism, which brought her freedom from every manner of oppression and exploitation, and full equality with man in every sphere of life—economic, social, political and cultural. The Soviet authorities during the first few months of their existence repealed the shameful laws of the bourgeois-landlord state relevant to the family and marriage, which gave legislative sanction to woman's lack of rights in the family and in society. Furthermore, they established equal pay for equal work, and passed special laws protecting the rights of mother and child.

"During two years," wrote Lenin in 1919, "Soviet government has done more in one of the most backward countries of Europe for the emancipation of women, for placing them on an equal footing with the 'stronger' sex, than all the advanced, enlightened 'democratic' republics of the whole world taken together have done in 130 years,"¹ i.e., since the French Bourgeois Revolution of the end of the 18th century. But this was

¹ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, 3rd Russ. ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 518.

merely the *beginning* of complete actual emancipation of women and of all toiling people from every kind of oppression and exploitation.

Only the building of Socialism ensured the real unfoldment of all the creative forces and capacities, talents and gifts with which the mass of working women are endowed. On the kolkhozes alone tens of millions of peasant women were put on an equal footing with men, became really equal, free and independent fashioners of their own lives. Already at the First Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers Stalin pointed out that the kolkhoz movement had advanced a number of remarkable and capable women to leading positions, that the womenfolk on the collective farms had long ago forged ahead, from the ranks of the backward to the forward, that they constituted a great force on the kolkhozes, that it would be criminal to keep this force down, that one should be bolder in the promotion of women and in making use of their organizational abilities. The kolkhoz movement has since brought to the fore a mass of women organizers and leaders of collective farming and cultural advancement.

According to the figures for 1946, over 350,000 women work as agronomists or as heads of field brigades and stock farms.

More than 250,000 girls and women operate

tractors and combines. And this army is constantly on the increase.

The Soviet system has radically changed the status of woman, has created all the conditions necessary for her cultural growth and all-sided development, and has tremendously increased her participation and enhanced her role in the whole of the social life of the countryside as well as of the town.

Tsarism considered it superfluous to give working women an education. Institutions of higher learning were altogether forbidden to them. This barred them from highly skilled work, from science, from culture.

Soviet rule has opened to all working people the portals to education, to science, to culture.

In 1914, under the tsar, women formed only 15 per cent of the student body. In 1928, under Soviet rule, women already accounted for 28 per cent of attendance at higher educational institutions and in 1940 for 49.3 per cent; while at the technicums (professional high schools) the figures were 37.6 per cent for 1928 and 51.6 per cent for 1938.

No wonder, therefore, that the women in the U.S.S.R. are rapidly catching up with the men in the most diverse spheres of skilled work, in science and in culture. In tsarist Russia women scientists could be counted on one's fingers, and

they had to go abroad to get their scientific schooling. Thus, Sophie Kovalevsky, "queen of Russian mathematics," a Russian scientist of world renown, failed to receive permission to engage in scientific work since, as the chief of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich, explained, women were completely barred from holding chairs at our universities, regardless of their capabilities and learning, for which reason "there is no place for Madame Kovalevsky in our country."¹ In 1929, women already constituted 22.8 per cent of scientific workers in the U.S.S.R.; in 1940, 37 per cent. In 1945, scientific workers included 33,000 women; in 1947 already 35,000. About 4,000 women scientists are at work in the institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. alone. Their number comprises 9 Corresponding Members, 57 Doctors of Science and 546 Masters of Science. A variety of nationalities are represented. Soviet women have been awarded 237 Stalin Prizes for outstanding work in the spheres of science and technique, literature and art.

Women in the U.S.S.R. take an active part in the whole social and political life of the country. Over a million women are members of our glorious, heroic Party, the Party of Lenin and

Stalin, the Party that leads and governs the socialist state. Approximately half a million (over 480,000) women have been elected to local Soviets of Working People's Deputies in accordance with the Stalin Constitution. Fifteen hundred and four women deputies were elected to the First Convocations of the Supreme Soviets of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and 1,738 to the Second Convocations; 227 women deputies were elected to the First Convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. and 277 to the Second Convocation.

In the East woman had for ages been the slave of the family. She had no right to sit at table together with the men. Today, however, one-third the number of deputies to the local Soviets in our Turkmen and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics are women.

These are all "dry figures," but behind them we sense the triumph of Socialism, the victory of the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin, the high development of the individual and of the personal capacities of the working people of the U.S.S.R., the high development of their creative activity, their patriotism and heroism. What else could be the meaning of the fact that about 120,000 women, heroines of the Patriotic War, have been decorated by the Soviet government for their excellent work and meritorious service in connection

¹ Nina Popova, *Women in the Land of Socialism*, Moscow 1949, p. 82.

with the national defence, with increasing the might of the U.S.S.R., while the lofty title of Hero of the Soviet Union has been conferred on sixty-nine women? Soviet women have brought forth from their midst such heroines of socialist labour as Maria Demchenko, Marina Gnatenko, Praskovia (Pasha) Angelina, Anna Yutkina, Yekaterina Baryshnikova, Anna Garmatyuk, Tatyana Baikova, Yekaterina Nartova, Pelagea Serebrenichenko, Vera Chumakova, Pelagea Vargina, Natalia Korolyova and hundreds of others.

Never have the creative forces, abilities and talents of the working youth grown—nor can they grow—so impetuously in any country as in the Land of Socialism.

Capitalism strips young working men and women not only of the right to work, to rest and leisure, and to education, but even deprives them of what they value most: the joys of life, the beauty of youth, bright dreams of love, of happiness. It stifles their noblest impulses, the desire to serve their country, mankind; condemns them to a cheerless life of hard, involuntary, slavish labour, to poverty and unemployment. To be the life-long wage slaves of capital, to enrich by their labour, by the sweat of their brow, the parasites and exploiters, to serve as the cannon fodder of capital in its predatory, rapacious imperialist wars, to die in order to protect the sordid, criminal in-

terests of the exploiters, or, after becoming invalids, to drag along until death in abject poverty—such is the lot assigned to young people of the labouring classes in the capitalist countries.

On the other hand, the entire set-up of the capitalist world—its system of politics and training—corrupts the youth, cultivating, as it does, egoism, careerism, cruelty, animal instincts, contempt for and hatred of people, racial animosity, etc.

Nothing of the kind befalls the happy generation of our glorious Soviet youth engaged in building, together with their fathers and older brothers, a new, bright world, the beautiful edifice of Communism. They are not haunted by the fear of finding themselves part of the "surplus population," in the ranks of the army of unemployed. Soviet youth need have no fear of failing to find employment for its creative powers and talents.

All roads that lead to real creative labour, to education, to physical and mental development of every description and to the manifestation of all its creative forces and gifts in any walk of life—all these roads to a bright future are open to the youth in our socialist land. It enjoys the love and devoted care of the entire people, of the Soviet state, of the Communist Party, which inculcates in our youth the loftiest, noblest human sentiments and qualities, instills in its mind the great-

est, purest ideals, trains it to be cheerful, buoyant in spirit, optimistic, courageous, steadfast of purpose, bold, active, possessed of initiative, wholeheartedly devoted to its people, its socialist motherland. Such is the training imparted to our Pioneers and Young Communist League members, the younger Stalin generation.

Our youth will be found in the foremost ranks of the active builders of Communism. It continually replenishes the army of Stakhanovites, innovators, rationalizers, designers, inventors, seafarers, flyers, parachutists, men and officers of the Soviet Army, and the ranks of our Soviet intelligentsia: teachers, physicians, technicians, engineers, architects, scientists, artists, actors, musicians, etc. It is the youth that built and builds bridges and canals, palaces and mines, railroads and power stations, giant plants and entire socialist cities, that drains bogs, irrigates deserts, makes roads over mountains and tunnels through rocks, prospects mineral deposits deep underground and investigates the stratosphere high in the air. It subdues the severe Arctic, the North Pole, turbulent rivers and waterfalls; it wins world records and vigilantly guards our socialist country. The unexampled heroism and high morale of our Soviet youth, its grit, manliness and wholehearted devotion to its people and its socialist home were evidenced by the immortal exploits of

Soviet warriors at the front, of young partisans in the enemy's rear, and by the whole Soviet youth in the country's rear, at the labour front, during the Great Patriotic War. Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chaikina, Alexander Matrosov, and the heroes and heroines of Krasnodon were all representative of our glorious Soviet youth. The glory of their deeds will never fade.

In the face of these facts, of what importance are the mouthings of the bourgeois "critics" of Socialism who continue to spread the lie that Socialism means the suppression of the individual, of personal initiative, etc.!

The bourgeois "critics" of Socialism are continually arguing that the Communists want to destroy individuality, to bring everyone down to one level, to "equalize" inclinations, tastes and even capabilities. In order to scare the people away from Socialism they tell them that it is something like the drab life of the barracks where everything is subordinated to the principle of equalization. This is a defamation of Socialism; it attributes to Socialism the vices of capitalism. Indeed! It is capitalism that subjects the working people to a regime of barrack life, that levels them down and *impersonalizes* the bulk of them, that suppresses their every inclination, capability, or natural gift, converting the personal dignity of man into exchange value, turning not only the phys-

ical but also the intellectual workers—poets, writers, artists, scientists—into its wage slaves. Lenin and Stalin repeatedly ridiculed the attempts to charge the Communists with intending to bring inclinations, tastes and capabilities down to a common plane. They described these attempts as a slander and as ignorant fabrications of enemies of Communism.

In concretizing the Marxist-Leninist understanding of equality, J. V. Stalin emphasizes that by equality Marxism means not equalization of individual requirements and individual life, and not a levelling of inclinations, and capabilities, but the *abolition of classes*, i.e., “(a) the equal emancipation of all working people from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; (b) the equal abolition for all of private property in the means of production after they have been converted into the property of the whole of society; (c) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to the amount of work performed (*Socialist society*); (d) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to their needs (*Communist society*). Furthermore, Marxism proceeds from the assumption that people’s tastes and requirements are not,

and cannot be, identical, equal, in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism or in the period of Communism.”¹

Socialism denotes an immense step forward, an advance of world-historic importance, in the realization of real social equality, of actual equality of sexes, nations and races.

But the first phase of Communism cannot yet ensure complete equality, for the productive forces are not yet sufficiently developed to satisfy the requirements of all in full. It is therefore necessary to proceed on the principle of payment according to the quantity and quality of work performed, strictly differentiating between simple and skilled labour. Therefore it is unavoidable that differences in the material condition of people should still remain. Some are better off than others. But these differences no longer determine the position of people in society, as the means of production are in the hands of society. Hence all have an equal right to work, to rest and leisure, to education; all have the most ample opportunity to display their talents and capabilities. “*It is not property status, not national origin, not sex, nor office, but personal ability and personal labour, that determines the position of every citizen in society.*”²

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, pp. 502-03

² *Ibid.*, p. 551. Italics mine.—M. K.

This proposition, laid down by Comrade Stalin, is a development and concretization of the basic principle of Socialism: each must work according to his ability and is remunerated according to the quantity and quality of work performed. This proposition clearly and distinctly, beyond all peradventure, determines the *importance of personal ability and personal labour* in socialist society and at the same time *determines the law of development, growth and promotion of the individual under Socialism*.

Marxism established scientifically that the relations between people in society are determined by their relations to the means of production, by property relations.

In an antagonistic social formation the relations of people to the means of production cannot all be *alike*. Here one part of society, the exploiters, possesses all or the principal means of production and subsistence, and on this basis subordinates, enslaves and exploits the majority of society, the working people, who have been deprived of the means of production and are therefore compelled to submit to the minority. In such a society the status of people is, therefore, determined not by their personal ability or personal labour, as the apologists of the exploiters assert, but by their property status. Civil rights are commensurate with the property owned. This was so

in ancient society, under slavery, and in feudal society, during the middle ages, when political status was determined by the amount of land owned. Status is similarly determined in bourgeois society. It is generally known that it is people from the "better," the ruling classes, or their underlings, that are advanced to the leading posts, the key positions, in slave, feudal and bourgeois society and state. As these societies are characterized by the existence of class and national oppression, the disfranchisement and oppression of women, privileges for members of the respective ruling class, nation, race, church and religion, the status of people in these societies is determined by their property and class status, their estate, office, national origin, sex, religious conviction, etc.

The privileges of the ruling classes, estates, castes and nations are consolidated by the entire economic and political system, by right and law, are sanctified by the dominant morality and religion. The thinkers and legislators of the slave, the feudal and the bourgeois state consider this "order" "eternal," "natural," the only "reasonable" and "conceivable" order.

True, the defenders of capitalism argue that under capitalism everybody possessed of energy, initiative and ability, even if he owns no fortune, can "get rich," "get on in the world," and achieve

a position in society corresponding to his abilities. And examples of such cases of "success" are usually adduced to prove the point, as, for instance, the case of a poor man who became a millionaire or of a bootblack who rose to be a famous inventor. However, the fact that under capitalism only extremely few individuals can ever "make good" or "get on in the world," and even they only by exploiting and ruining a mass of working people—that fact is discreetly passed over in silence.

Apologists of capitalism of the type of Sombart, Spahn and their ilk sing the praises of what they call the particularly great "creative power" and "ability" of the magnates of finance capital—the Krupps, Stinneses, Morgans, Rothschilds, Rockefellers, Fords, etc., in an attempt to show that they are entitled to hold the dominant position which they occupy in society. But to what else do the "creative power" and "ability" of the capitalists amount to if not to the art of squeezing surplus value from the labour of the wage workers they exploit? As for their dominant position in society, that is determined not by their personal labour and their personal ability but by the amount of capital they own. This is what determines a person's "value" in capitalist society. Capitalists dominate in economic life, set policy, govern the state, not because they possess special

ability but because they own the means of production. Their ownership of the means of production enables the capitalists to exploit the labour of millions of people and to lord it over society. The workers, on the other hand, are compelled to work for the capitalists and live in poverty not because they do not want to or lack the will or the brains to work for themselves, but solely because they are deprived of the means of production and subsistence.

The bourgeois critics of Socialism have claimed, both in the past and now, that Socialism leaves no room for competition, emulation, for the display of personal ability and personal initiative, that such initiative is possible only under capitalism, when there is private property and "free," bourgeois competition.

In reality, however, as V. I. Lenin proved, capitalism has long ago replaced "free competition" by the rule of monopoly capital (the banks, trusts, big corporations, etc.), by the dictatorship of a handful of magnates of finance capital over society.

"Under *such* capitalism, competition means the incredibly brutal suppression of the enterprise, energy and bold initiative of the *masses* of the population, of the overwhelming majority, of ninety-nine out of every hundred toilers; it also means that competition is superseded by financial

fraud, despotism, servility on the upper rungs of the social ladder."¹

Socialism, on the contrary, by abolishing the exploiting classes, the enslavement and exploitation of the toiling masses by capital, "for the first time opens the way for competition on a really mass scale."²

The Great October Socialist Revolution is the greatest supersession in man's history of *involuntary* labour, of labour performed for exploiters, by *labour that is really free and creative*, and based on all the achievements of science and technology. *For the first time* in history, after thousands of years of involuntary labour, of labour for exploiters, the toiling masses have won the great right to work for themselves, for their own society and state, won the right to be masters of their own lives, of their own destinies, and of the material and spiritual values they create. *For the first time* in history men of toil have been able to straighten their backs and become really free people. Precisely here do we find the deep, inexhaustible source of mass socialist competition, shock-brigade work, the Stakhanov movement, emulation among the masses, discovered by the Great October Socialist Revolution, and

powerfully developed particularly after the building of Socialism in our country. It is a peculiarity of our Soviet revolution that as it progresses it continually *augments the mass* taking part in this movement by drawing into it the very "lowest" of the popular masses, their bottommost strata, until it comprises the whole of the people. From the first communist subbotniks in 1919 to the socialist competition and shock-brigade work of the "year of great change," and then to the Stakhanov movement as a higher stage of socialist competition, after the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the victory of Socialism, on to the great nationwide patriotic movement during the Great Patriotic War and to new and higher forms of the Stakhanov movement after the war, to competition among Regions and National Republics, to obligations undertaken by entire branches of industry calling for the fulfilment ahead of schedule of the Stalin Five-Year Plan as well as to individual obligations by workers and kolkhozniks pledging yearly plan fulfilment ahead of schedule and higher crop yields—such are the most important, the principal landmarks in the development of socialist competition. This unfolding of competition is remarkable confirmation of the words of the founders of scientific Communism to the effect that the more profound the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Two-vol. ed., Vol. II, Moscow 1947, p. 256.

² *Ibid.*, p. 328.

social upheaval, the broader the mass participating in this upheaval.

Competition is a powerful motive force for the development of socialist society, the development of the initiative, energy, powers, abilities and gifts of the broadest masses of the people. Competition is the basic method and form of socialist and communist labour. This makes plain the entire significance of competition for the all-sided development of man in the very process of labour. Labour created man, labour is the basis of the whole life of mankind, of all its culture, science and art; labour is the basis and principal condition of all of man's physical and spiritual powers, abilities and talents. Competition reveals the inexhaustible reserves of the "latent" forces of Socialism lying dormant in the popular masses. J. V. Stalin characterized socialist competition as the *basic method of the building of Communism*. As early as 1930, at the Sixteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin showed that socialist competition between factories and mills and the wide development of shock-brigade work had become a most important factor of our development. Already at that time not less than two million workers engaged in competition and more than a million workers formed shock brigades.

"The most remarkable feature of competition," Comrade Stalin pointed out, "is the radical

revolution it creates in men's views of labour, because it transforms labour from a disgraceful and painful burden, as it was reckoned before, into a matter of *honour*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valour* and *heroism*. There is not and there cannot be anything like it in capitalist countries. There, under the capitalists, what is most desired, and earns the approval of society, is to have an income from investments, to live on interest and not to have to do work, which is regarded as a contemptible occupation. Here, in our U.S.S.R., on the contrary, what is becoming most desired, and earns the approval of society, is the possibility of being a hero of labour, the possibility of being a hero of the shock-brigade movement, surrounded by a halo of respect, the respect of millions of toilers."¹

This is an actual possibility, which millions of toilers are converting into a reality.

Consequently, both the character and trend of development and the significance of both personal ability and personal labour change radically under Socialism as compared with capitalism and other antagonistic formations of society.

Under Socialism personal ability and personal labour serve the toilers themselves, serve the whole of society, the whole of the people, and do

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, 10th Russ. ed., pp. 393-94.

not serve to enrich a clique of exploiters, as happens in all antagonistic formations of society.

In the antagonistic formations every advance in the sphere of production means at the same time increased exploitation of the working people, a step back in the condition of the exploited masses. Science and technique develop here only because otherwise the personal enrichment of the proprietors and the exploitation of the toilers would be impossible. It is precisely this contradictory, antagonistic nature of progress under capitalism that bourgeois scientists gloss over somehow and avoid mentioning; they try to represent matters as if all the big discoveries and inventions directly benefit all mankind and not merely the small clique of exploiters. In exposing this false liberal-bourgeois palaver about progress, Marxism shows that under capitalism progress serves primarily as a means of enrichment, of increasing profits, of intensifying exploitation and enslaving the masses. Such is the role played by the invention of new machinery, the rationalization of labour, the discovery of new power resources, etc.

The greatest discovery of modern times, nuclear energy, the result of many years of strenuous research by scientists of numerous countries, has been made use of by the reactionary circles of the U.S.A. and England as an instrument of im-

perialist policy, of diplomatic pressure, of blackmail, as a means of preparing new predatory imperialist wars of annihilation aimed at the sovereignty and freedom of peoples. It is these purposes that, willingly or not, the scientists and inventors serve under capitalism!

The Soviet state, on the contrary, places all discoveries and inventions at the service of the toilers, at the service of the people. Back in 1918, V. I. Lenin said at the Third Congress of Soviets:

"Formerly the whole of man's intellect, the whole of his genius, created solely for the purpose of giving to some all the benefits of technique and culture, and of depriving others of what they needed most: enlightenment and development. Now, however, all the wonders of technique, all the achievements of culture, are going to belong to the whole people, and never again will the human intellect and genius be converted into means of violence, into means of exploitation. We are aware of this, and is it not worth while to work, to labour with might and main, for the accomplishment of this grand historic task? The working people will consummate this titanic historic labour, for in them lie dormant the great forces of revolution, regeneration and renewal."¹

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 3rd Russ. ed., Vol. XXII, p. 225.

We already have before us remarkable results of the great renewal and regeneration of the whole life of the people, predicted by Lenin, of the high development of all its potent creative powers, abilities, talents and gifts; of the florescence, on this basis, of science, literature and art, the florescence of the cultures of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—national in form, socialist in content—the high development of individuality and personal ability, initiative and energy of millions upon millions of people.

From what has been said above it is now clear that *the role of the individual and of personal initiative in the development of society does not diminish but increases under Socialism, and undergoes a qualitative change.*

The history of hitherto existing old society has proceeded spontaneously, blindly, without being directed by singleness of purpose, a single plan, a single will, nor can it proceed otherwise, since private property disunites people, splits society into antagonistic classes with opposite and irreconcilably hostile interests and aspirations. Hence society cannot have a single aim, a single plan, a single will. The clash of the different, opposite, irreconcilably hostile interests, aims and aspirations of people leads to results which frequently are the very opposites of what was desired. In a society that develops spontaneously, not only the

toilers but also the ruling classes are slaves to "blind necessity," slaves to the spontaneously operating laws of development. Under capitalism people are dominated by the anarchy of production, competition, periodic crises with all their consequences. Many leaders of capitalism, from those most talented to the most maladroit, have endeavoured to eliminate, or at least forestall and mitigate, economic crises, to introduce planned production and at the same time preserve the fundamentals of capitalism. However, they all failed in their attempts. Nothing came of their scheming and nothing can come of it, for it is not only a question here of the personal qualities of these leaders, of their ignorance of the laws of capitalism, but of the very system of capitalism. The point is that capitalism, like all previous formations, limits to a minimum the scope of conscious, planned activity of people, not only because of the spontaneity of its development but also because of the low level of development of the productive forces, the division of labour which enslaves and cripples man, the antagonism of its classes and the enslavement of the labouring masses.

The socialist revolution and the building of socialist society signify a tremendous historic leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom. Socialism puts an end to the operation of the blind, spontaneous laws of development of

society, the anarchy of production and crises, subordinates the development of economics to the principle of guidance according to a plan and of raising the material and cultural level of the masses. Socialism does not divide but unites people, establishing an indestructible moral and political unity of all society, of the whole people, a unity that has no precedent in history, a unity of the people and the state, a unity of the Party, the government and the people, a unity of the leader and the people, of the individual and society, a unity of the aim, plan and will of all the people. This unity is a powerful motive force for the development of socialist society. Equipping the masses with knowledge of the laws of history, the laws of the development of society, the Party of Lenin and Stalin embodies this unity in its program and policy and thereby enables the masses to make their own history freely, i.e., with an understanding of the laws of development of society and, guided by a single aim, a single plan and a single will, to achieve the results desired with ever-increasing success. Socialism provides innumerable and constantly expanding opportunities for the display of the creative initiative of the masses and of individuals, for really free competition on a mass scale, for the rapid growth and development of personal ability and talent among the popular masses.

Under Socialism there are always more opportunities for the manifestation and development of personal ability and talent than any individual can use. For the first time in history a society and state have been established which do not cramp the initiative and creative faculties of the masses, but, on the contrary, give maximum encouragement and assistance to the development of such initiative and faculties. For the first time they come out against reaction, inertia and stagnation of every description, and against all adherence to hidebound routine, simultaneously giving utmost support to the initiative displayed by innovators, inventors and rationalizers. They seize upon and lend their support to all that is most progressive, advanced, new, growing, young, viable, to all that is loftier, more perfect. Under Socialism exceptional importance attaches to the *force of example*, to convincing the masses with the aid of the best examples of creative labour, of the organization of public and private life and culture, because never before in history have all the achievements of science and technology, all that which has been created by the genius of man, served the whole people, been made use of, not by a handful of exploiters, but by the people for the betterment of their life.

Socialism creates *people of a new type*, comprehensively developed, capable of administering

social production and of displaying personal initiative in the development of the creative energy and initiative of the entire mass of the people. The organizing force that directs and develops this initiative is the Party of Lenin and Stalin. It is guided in its activity by the Leninist-Stalinist principles of raising, selecting, promoting and allocating cadres in such a way "that each feels he is in the right place, that each may contribute to our common cause the maximum his personal capacities enable him to contribute, and that the general trend of the work of allocating cadres may fully answer to the demands of the political line for the carrying out of which this allocation of cadres is made."¹

Here, too, instead of the domination of spontaneity, accident and private interests we have planned, organized work in the interest of the whole of society. In the speech he delivered at the 1933 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), on "Work of the Rural Districts," and in his Report at the Seventeenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin showed that the victory of Socialism does not diminish but enhances the role and responsibility of our organizations and our leaders in the development of socialist society, in acceler-

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, 11th Russ. ed., p. 596.

ating the forward movement. Why? Because all development proceeds under the control of the Soviet state, under its guidance. Hence there is an enhancement of the part played by the subjective factor, the part played by the consciousness, the organization of the masses. The energy, capacity, and ability of the leaders to organize the efforts of the masses is likewise becoming more important. Socialism demands that the national economy be conducted according to a plan. Planned leadership demands that the leading role of Party and state be enhanced. The success of Socialism depends on who heads our organizations and how they lead the masses. The socialist system requires of necessity that the Party and all our organizations should carefully study the merits and demerits of all our personnel, of each one individually, should know in what position his faculties would most readily develop and be most useful to the cause. The Party teaches that cadres must be fostered with great solicitude, like that of a gardener raising flowers; that each promising worker should be helped to develop his abilities and that no time should be grudged on "bothering" with promising young cadres; that new cadres should be promoted boldly and in time so as not to allow them "to stagnate in their old posts and grow stale."¹

¹ *Ibid.*

J. V. Stalin teaches us how to *combine the old and new cadres* in the one common symphony of the leading work of the Party and the state, to combine the *experience* of the old cadres with the energy of the young cadres, *fostering the sense of the new* as a valuable quality in every Bolshevik. Thus the peculiar features of the Soviet system do not diminish but increase the role and importance both of the masses of the people and of individuals, of the leaders, the role of our organizations.

III

THE UNIVERSAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL, AND THE TRAITS OF THE NEW MAN

Universal development of the individual, of all physical and spiritual faculties, of all potentialities, proclivities, abilities and gifts of the working people—such is the general, steady trend that follows from the inner laws of development of socialist society. This trend finds its most general expression in the process of overcoming the contrast between physical and mental labour on the basis of raising the cultural standard of the working people to the level of that of engineers and technicians. The overcoming of this contrast

is the historical task of the building of Communism; the accomplishment of this task is one of the most important conditions and premises for the transition from Socialism to Communism.

Socialist production, which develops according to a plan, in the interest of all society, under the leadership of the Party and the state, requires people that are universally developed, capable of directing the processes of production and of consciously, actively taking part in the whole of social life. Such cadres of workers, *workers of a new type*, socialist society creates for itself by virtue of historical *necessity*. It creates them by the planned abolition of the old division of labour, which enslaves and cripples people physically and spiritually. This old division of labour is expressed in the distinction between town and country, between physical and mental labour, in man's lifelong attachment to one narrow profession or trade. It is around these contrasts and contradictions, in which at the same time are expressed the antagonism and struggle of classes, that the entire history of class society revolves. Capitalism raises these contrasts to their highest pitch. Development of the productive forces and division of labour engendered private property and classes. Division of labour developed subsequently on the basis of private property and the class division of society, the toiling masses having to bear the

brunt of the burden. Physical labour, and all duties without any rights, fell to the lot of the exploited masses, while mental labour and all rights became the monopoly of the exploiting classes. But division of labour enslaves and cripples not only the workers and all labouring folks, but indirectly also the exploiting classes and their intelligentsia. The bourgeois is spiritually enthralled by his passion for filthy lucre, i.e., by his property. In quest of profit he loses his human features.

The so-called "educated classes," the bourgeois intellectuals, the specialists, people engaged in mental work, are enslaved by "their manifold local limitations and one-sidedness," by "their own physical and mental shortsightedness, ... their stunted specialized education and the fact that they are chained for life to this specialized activity itself—even when this specialized activity is merely to do nothing."¹

Marx and Engels pointed out that socialist production, and the administration of this production, cannot be carried on by people who know only their own narrow profession. Capitalism turns the worker into an appendage of the machine, and, if it were possible, would relegate the thinking, insubmissive worker altogether to

the "surplus population," replacing him by some automaton, a robot.

Socialism, on the contrary, transforms the worker from an appendage of the machine into a skilled craftsman, organizer, technician, into an engineer supervising machines. Automatic machinery here serves to increase the productivity of labour, to render it easier, to cut down the necessary working time and lengthen the leisure time required for engaging in mental work, for education and the universal development of individuality.

But the all-sided development of the individual in socialist society by no means militates against the *necessity of specialization*, of each worker making a profound study of some particular specialty. The essence of all-sidedly developing the individual is not at all the training of dilettante jacks-of-all-trades. At the Eighteenth Party Congress Comrade Stalin said:

"The training and moulding of our young cadres usually proceeds in some particular branch of science or technology, along the line of specialization. This is necessary and expedient. There is no reason why a man who specializes in medicine should at the same time specialize in physics or botany, or vice versa."²

¹ F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow 1947, p. 436.

² J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, 11th Russ. ed., p. 598.

Socialism demands a high degree of knowledge and craftsmanship in any branch of science and technique. On account of the complexity of each branch of modern science and technology, as well as the rapid pace at which they develop, much time and energy is required to become proficient in any of them, and the newly accumulating facts in the given branch of science and technology require constant study. With the present level of development of science and technology encyclopedic minds, such as were possible in Aristotle's or Leonardo da Vinci's day, have become impossible in ours.

Socialist society needs specialists proficient in some branch of science or technology. But the Soviet specialist differs fundamentally from the bourgeois specialist, who shuts himself up in his narrow specialty; he, on the contrary, combines the profound study of his particular specialty with the study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, with the study of the science of the laws of development of society; he is a *socially minded specialist*, a *specialist of a new type*. Only this type of specialist can successfully advance science and technology, administer socialist production, freely orient himself as to the conditions for the development of production, understand the needs of social development and successfully build communist society. *The Soviet system has reared and*

brought to the fore workers, specialists, scientists, writers, artists and political leaders of a new type, men and women wholeheartedly devoted to their people.

Our Stakhanovites are *a new type of worker*, are workers of socialist society. The Stakhanovites are people of culture, of technical training, setting examples of accuracy and superior craftsmanship; they personify the new, communist attitude toward work. They are people who have mastered the technique of their trade, who "have got their technique at their fingers' tips," who can squeeze the last drop of good out of it, who know "all the tricks of the trade." The Stakhanovites are *innovators, revolutionists* in the organization of work and the utilization of equipment. They constantly perfect methods of work, discover new, more rational, higher-grade forms of organization of production. They shatter the old technical production standards by establishing such high productivity of labour as is impossible under capitalism, as is feasible only under Socialism and is needed for the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. This transition implies the complete abolition of the contrast between physical and mental labour, the cultural and technical advancement of the working class to the level of work of engineers and technicians. The great historic importance of the Stakhanov movement

consists precisely in the fact that it materializes this cultural and technical advancement of the working class, prepares the conditions for the transition from Socialism to Communism, and from the mass of the toilers forges workers of the new type who can bring about this transition, workers of communist society. Such pioneers of the Stakhanov movement in industry and transport we have in Alexei Stakhanov, Miron Dyukanov, Pyotr Krivonos, Nikolai Smetanin, Alexander Busygin, Yevdokia and Maria Vinogradova, Makar Mazai, Alexei Semivolos, Illarion Yankin, Yegor Agarkov, Dmitri Bosy and Alexander Fedotov. Then there are the field Stakhanovites: the tractor operator Pasha Angelina, the combine operator Konstantin Borin; and the high-yield experts Anna Yutkina, Mikhail Yefremov, Marina Gnatenko, Maria Demchenko and thousands of others.

Milling machine operator Dmitri Bosy, on applying his technical innovation, began to turn out 10-15 times the standard of production per shift, thus laying the foundation for the movement of the "thousand percenters." A young woman named Y. Baryshnikova organized the work of her brigade in such a way that it produced more with less workers. The amalgamation of small brigades engaged in technologically allied processes, as proposed by Yegor Agarkov, made

possible a new allocation of personnel which released part of the workers, technicians and engineers for other work. The creative initiative and the heroic labour of the Stakhanovites during the Great Patriotic War was an enormous contribution to the victory over the enemy.

Since the war the Stakhanov movement has been developing with renewed vigour, being inspired by the tasks of the Fourth Stalin Five-Year Plan, the Stalin plan of great works for the building of communist society. Our press daily reports instances of remarkable initiative displayed by the foremost workers. Thus, Gerasim Zaporozhets with his mechanical coal cutter produced a postwar record output of 14,000 tons a month. The Communist Savatar Ashumov, a war veteran, now a skilled underground oil-well repairman, has so improved the organization of his work that his speed has increased 50 per cent. Ivan Pronichkin, Chapai Sozayev and Nigmajan Minzaripov and their respective bauxite mine brigades devised new methods of tunnelling, which enabled them to exceed the production standard 4-5 times over. The press has reported on the emulation and achievements of the friends of the famous steel smelter Makar Mazai, done to death by the Germans, namely, on the work of Dmitri Mazalov and of Mazai's teacher, Maxim Makhortov, decorated, senior steel smelter of the Donets

Basin; of Mikhail Kucherin, also decorated, the high-speed smelting expert, and other steel smelters of Kramatorsk, Stalino, Makeyevka, Enakievo and Konstantinovka. The Konstantinovka steel smelters pledged themselves to produce not less than 70 per cent high-speed heats and fulfilled their promise.

Anna Kuznetsova, a young Moscow working woman employed at the midjet-car plant, submitted proposals for improving the technology of the treatment of certain parts, for a change in the design of a tool, for greater speed in metal cutting and the introduction of new appliances. They were accepted, and with the assistance of senior technologist Chilingarian, foreman Ivan Koloshian and the setters-up Spirin and Tarasov, Anna Kuznetsova and her brigade "moved three years ahead," that is, in 1948 achieved the estimated output standard for 1950. She thus showed in practice that the plan of the entire factory could be fulfilled ahead of schedule. Public opinion at the factory and the Ministry of the Automobile Industry recognized the great economic and political importance of her new methods, and the need for applying them extensively in all the factories, particularly where the production of new items was being mastered.

And who is this Anna Kuznetsova? A simple girl, an orphan raised in a home for children. A

member of the Young Communist League, she came to the factory in November 1946 on the recommendation of that organization. She is no more than twenty-four. But she is a Soviet patriot, an innovator, a foster-child of the Leninist Komsomol, who put herself the daring question: "Can't things be now as if it were 1950?" She is fighting for Bolshevik speed, is actually out-distancing time.

The initiative and experience displayed by the young Moscow leather cutter Vasili Matrosov deserves particular attention. He proposed and carried into execution a plan for the introduction of Stakhanov methods of work in the whole shop.

This plan provides that *the experience of all Stakhanovites in the shop be generalized, and imparted to the entire mass of workers, with the purpose of raising the mass to the level of the foremost Stakhanovites.*

While this plan was in process of elaboration, 170 rationalization proposals were received from the workers of the shop. They introduced many valuable improvements easy of adoption into the process of production, the organization of labour and the method of passing on the experience of Stakhanovites. The Party and the trade union organization, the chief engineer of the factory, Comrade Zakharov, the superintendent of the shop, engineer Rozhinsky, as well as the Central Research Institute of the leather industry,

were enlisted in the work of drawing up this plan and of carrying it out, in addition to the expert cutters Matrosov and Malakhova. Thus here it was already a question of the *real scientific organization of collective Stakhanovite work*.

And who is Matrosov? His biography is similar to that of many of our Stakhanovites. In 1924, still adolescent, he left his village to enter the vocational school of the *Proletari* harness and saddle works, where he learnt the trade. Since 1929 he has been working at the Paris Commune factory, where he is one of the pathfinders of socialist competition and one of the first Stakhanovites. Made a brigade leader in 1945 he proved himself a good organizer of Stakhanovites. His brigade doubled the planned output in 1946, while Matrosov's own output was more than $2\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$ and even 4 times the standard.

Matrosov is a worker who makes every second count. He discusses with the engineer and the shop superintendent such questions as improving production and is the engineer's right-hand man. Matrosov's initiative has already been followed in many establishments throughout the country; it has been followed by thousands of advanced workers eager to bring the whole mass of the workers to the level of the foremost Stakhanovites and thereby fulfil and overfulfil ahead of time the plan for the fourth Stalin five-year period.

The initiative displayed by Matrosov and his followers is particularly valuable because it prepares the way for an upswing of the entire mass of the working people, for only *such an upswing can achieve a gigantic increase in labour productivity* and bring about a general improvement of their material and cultural standards. This was the road taken by the senior foreman of the *Kalibr* works, Nikolai Rossiisky, *who organized collective Stakhanovite work* in his sector.

There both work and technical studies are well organized. All workers attend technical-minimum circles or Stakhanovite schools. This sector is rearranging its work on the principle of the continuous production line, on the conveyor system, which provides additional vast opportunities for collective Stakhanovite work. At a conference in the Ministry of the Machine-Tool Industry it was acknowledged that since Rossiisky's experience was of vast, state-wide importance it should be passed on to other machine-building plants.

The Great Patriotic War was still in progress when M.I. Kalinin pointed out that one should not underrate workers who are merely fulfilling or but slightly overfulfilling their standards and are not yet Stakhanovites today, as they constitute the majority of workers and may become Stakhanovites tomorrow.

Increasing the labour productivity of the whole mass of workers is precisely the decisive factor in the fulfilment and overfulfilment of plans. It accelerates the forward movement, the movement toward Communism, and raises the material and cultural level of the entire mass of the working people.

The records scored by those in the front ranks and their initiative must quickly become characteristic of the work of the entire mass. Here a great role can be played not only by the foremen but also by the engineering and technical personnel, who organize the technological process and the work of the staff. This is already the trend of development of the initiative and emulation of the engineers and technicians who are following in the track of the Ural technologist Alexander Ivanov.

The Stakhanov movement continually throbs with the living, the creative thought of Soviet innovators; there continually spring up new shoots and forms of creative, communist labour, shoots of the new, shoots derived from the steady, powerful cultural and technical progress of the working class of the U.S.S.R. The rates and dimensions of this progress are plainly set forth in the following tasks assigned by the Fourth Stalin Five-Year Plan. During the period of 1946-50 the qualifications of almost 14 million workers are

being improved directly at the job; 4.5 million new young skilled workers are being trained at the labour reserve schools; 7.7 million workers in trades practised on a mass scale are being schooled individually or in brigades; 2.3 million tractor and combine operators and other skilled workers are getting an agricultural schooling; 1,326,000 people are finishing technicums; 602,000 specialists are graduating from higher educational institutions and replenishing the ranks of the Soviet intelligentsia, the flesh and bone of the workers and farmers, a truly popular intelligentsia, devotedly serving country and people. This means that *Socialism makes it possible for the whole mass of the workers to grow uninterruptedly, to pass from simple work to more and more complicated and skilled work*. Under capitalism nothing of the kind is possible.

The Soviet, kolkhoz system of farming is remarkable for its conversion of millions of small private proprietors, individual peasants, into people engaged in collective, social, socialist economy, into *social-minded, collectivist people*. It is further remarkable for having brought forward from among the farmers hundreds of thousands of outstanding, talented organizers, kolkhoz chairmen, brigade leaders, team leaders, advanced Stakhanovites, heroes of socialist labour, big crop experts, builders of the new, socialist village, who

are absorbing more and more of the culture of the socialist city. In the U.S.S.R. not only state officials but every worker and collective farmer is a sort of *public figure*, because he is a *worker of socialist society and state* and not a wage slave of some capitalist employer.

Workers employed at state enterprises, farmers working on kolkhozes, office and professional workers employed in government offices and institutions must equally well understand and look after the interests not only of their particular enterprise, kolkhoz, office or institution but also of the Soviet state as a whole, of the people as a whole. They must realize that their labour and activity are of *social, of state importance*.

In his speech at the First Congress of Collective-Farm Shock Workers Comrade Stalin laid particular stress on the great historical importance of the labour of simple, modest rank and filers. "The times have passed when leaders were regarded as the only creators of history, while the workers and peasants were not taken into account. The destinies of nations and of states are now determined, not only by leaders, but primarily and mainly by the working millions. The workers and peasants, who without fuss and noise build factories and mills, sink mines, lay railroads, build collective farms and state farms, those who create all the good things of life, who

feed and clothe the whole world—they are the real heroes and the creators of the new life."¹

The "modest," "inconspicuous" work of these simple rank and filers, Stalin emphasized, "is really great and creative work, which decides the fate of history."² At a conference of railway workers held on July 30, 1935, J. V. Stalin said that there were no big or small posts and people in our Soviet transport system, that they were *all great, without distinction, from switchman to People's Commissar*.

There is every reason for saying the same thing about the entire system of our Soviet state. This could be observed and manifested itself with particular clarity during the Great Patriotic War, when all our enterprises, offices, institutions and organizations had to work with clockwork regularity, smoothness and precision.

Summarizing the experience of the war, Comrade Stalin, at the reception given in the Kremlin in June, 1945, to the participants in the Victory Parade, once more stressed the role of the simple, modest Soviet people, who have no rank or title, about whom no one writes anything, but who nevertheless keep our great mechanism of government going in all departments of science,

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, 11th Russ. ed., p. 422.

² *Ibid.*

economy and military affairs. These tens of millions of simple, modest folk make up the people; they are the foundation of the might of our whole Soviet state.

The Soviet system has reared remarkable cadres of Soviet, socialist intellectuals from simple workers and farmers, cadres that are devoted to their socialist homeland and to their people. This is an intelligentsia of a new type. These are people with broad social and political horizons, inspired in their activity by the great ideas of Communism, Soviet patriotism, amity among peoples, socialist humanism, by the great ideas of the Party of Lenin and Stalin; people who are mastering the most advanced world outlook, the consistently scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook. "Our intellectuals, the workers in the field of culture, our scientists and artists, are imbued with Soviet patriotism as never before,"¹ said Comrade Molotov. Soviet intellectuals, scientists and writers are not *isolated* dreamers, not pedants who spend their lives in their study, divorced from life and the people, not a caste that has retreated into its shell, but the foremost, the best representatives of the people, inseparably connected with the people, working amidst the throb of life. The role of the Soviet intelligentsia is also

¹ V. M. Molotov, *XXX Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Moscow 1947, p. 32.

great in the successful achievement of the lofty, noble aim of securing to each Soviet person an all-sided, harmonious development, in the spirit of Socialism. Soviet scientists learn from the people and teach the people.

Everybody knows the fate of many brilliant scientists and inventors under capitalism, particularly in old, tsarist Russia, the fate of the discoveries and inventions of Kulibin, Polzunov, Michurin, Tsiolkovsky and many other men of talent who hailed from the people; it is also known how the fate of the self-same Michurin and Tsiolkovsky took a radical turn for the better under Soviet rule. Just before he died Tsiolkovsky wrote to Comrade Stalin:

"Wise leader and friend of all working people, Comrade Stalin,

"All my life I have dreamed that my labours might serve to bring about at least some small progress of the human race. Before the revolution my dream could not possibly come true.

"Only the October Revolution brought recognition for the work of a self-educated man. Only Soviet power and the Party of Lenin and Stalin gave me effective assistance. I felt that the masses of the people loved me, and this gave me strength to continue my work even after my illness began. This illness, however, will not now permit me to finish that which I have begun.

"All the books and papers I have written in the field of aviation, rocket navigation and inter-planetary communication, I bequeath to the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet government, the real leaders of progress in human culture. I am confident that they will bring my work to a successful conclusion.

"My heart and all my thoughts are with you: to you I address these last, sincere greetings.

"K. Tsiolkovsky"¹

This stirring human document speaks of the conditions existing in the U.S.S.R. for the development of the individual; it says more and speaks more clearly than dozens of books could do. The Party of Lenin and Stalin assimilated the heritage of the pre-eminent scientist, of the self-taught inventor, just as it has assimilated all that is positive, valuable and truly great in the culture created by man under the yoke of slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

Just as instructive is the lot that befell the works of another pre-eminent Russian scientist, I. V. Michurin. The ruling classes of bourgeois-landlord Russia merely scoffed at his admirable writings on the transformation of nature. Obscurantists screamed that his works "blasphemed"

¹ Soviet Calendar, 1947.

nature, "God's own creation," and should be destroyed. The Great October Socialist Revolution, the Party of the Bolsheviks and its leaders of genius, Lenin and Stalin, saved Michurin's works, and made them the possession of the entire Soviet people.

Michurin laid the foundation of the science of managing the nature of plants. He revealed the nature of heredity and the variability of organisms, and gave practical proof that man can control this variability and create new and better varieties of plants, varieties more useful to himself, and can do so not accidentally but according to plan, better and faster than this occurs in nature by the spontaneous process of development. Thereby Michurin raised Darwinism to a new, a higher plane. In the hands of Michurin and the Michurinists headed by Academician T. D. Lyсенko, Darwinism has become a truly creative and effective doctrine propagating the *planned transformation of nature in the interest of mankind, a doctrine that answers the requirements of socialist society*. Carrying out, in theory and in practice, the principles of dialectical materialism, Michurin taught: "We cannot wait for favours from Nature; we must wrest them from her." In his report on the thirty-first anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution Comrade Molotov pointed out that this Michurin command-

ment is imbued with the Bolshevik spirit and calls upon not only scientific workers but also the millions of practical agriculturists to engage in vital creative work for the benefit and glory of our people.

Owing to the labours of Michurin and his followers the Soviet people have already received many valuable varieties of plants and breeds of animals which enrich socialist agriculture.

Academician T. D. Lysenko's great service consists in being an ardent champion and conspicuous continuator of Michurin, *whose teaching he creatively develops in close connection with practical socialist farming and in reliance on the millions of kolkhoz farmers—experimenters and practical transformers of nature.*

The Party of Lenin and Stalin teaches us by its whole heroic history to dare, to bring forward bold, daring plans and to carry them into execution boldly, resolutely, with the true Russian revolutionary sweep, with Bolshevik energy and efficiency. Creative Marxism teaches not only to interpret the world but also to change it. Only a party equipped with the revolutionary theory of Marxism is capable of leading the struggle to remake the old world, to inspire and enthuse the people who are building the new, communist society. The Party of Lenin and Stalin is a party of innovating revolutionists, and in this spirit it

trains the whole people. The Soviet people are creating a new world, are building a new society under the leadership of the Party. Hence *the sense of the new*, the ability to see, understand and support the shoots of the new life, is a necessary and valuable quality of each Bolshevik, of each Soviet leader and worker, writer and scientist.

"Head the movement of the innovators in the sphere of science and production"—such was the directive given by J. V. Stalin to Soviet scientists. Soviet scientists are not only intrepid, inquisitive researchers but also *bold transformers* of nature and human society. Being innovators, revolutionists in science, they are not afraid to attack old, obsolete views, theories, traditions and authorities. They are irreconcilably opposed to inertness and fixed routine.

In their endeavour to set new paths in theory and practice they continually verify and enrich their science by life's experience while at the same time introducing into life, into practice, the torch of knowledge, of science, rendering more profound and perfect both theory and practice. *The unity of theory and practice* is the guiding star of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and of every Soviet worker. *The ability to combine theory and practice is an indispensable quality of every member of socialist society, for this society does not develop spontaneously but on the basis of a*

planned development of economics, on the basis of a planned application of science to the development of social production and to the organization of social life.

Therefore the personnel of socialist society, particularly those in leading positions, should study the theory of Marxism-Leninism, should be Marxists-Leninists, should know the laws of development of society. At the Eighteenth Party Congress Comrade Stalin said: "It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the workers in any branch of state or Party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, the greater will be the likelihood of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether."¹

Comrade Stalin teaches that the solution of all our problems of leading the country depends ninety per cent on the ideological training, on the political maturity and steeling, of our cadres,

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, 11th Russ. ed., p. 598.

The Party of the Bolsheviks and the Soviet state are training and advancing *political leaders of a new type, political leaders of the type of Lenin and Stalin.*

Soviet political leaders, Stalin points out, must not sink to the level of political philistines, of bourgeois leaders and deputies, who fawn on the electors, swear fealty to them, make heaps of promises while the elections are in progress, but forget all their vows and pledges as soon as the elections are over. They then feel entirely independent of their constituents, as they wholly depend on capital with its selfish interests. Soviet deputies, on the contrary, are imbued with the greatest sense of responsibility to the people for the obligations they have undertaken, and therefore cannot aspire to become "independent" of the people.

Comrade Stalin demands that Soviet political leaders should be political leaders of the type of Lenin, that they should be as clear and definite, as fearless in battle and as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was, "that they should be free from all panic, from any semblance of panic, when things begin to get complicated and some danger or other looms on the horizon, that they should be as free from all semblance of panic as Lenin was, that they should be as wise and deliberate in deciding complex

problems requiring a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive weighing of all pros and cons as Lenin was, . . . that they should love their people as Lenin did."¹ Soviet political leaders should have before them the image of the great Lenin and imitate him in all things.

Such is Lenin's best and most faithful comrade-in-arms, the continuator of his great cause—J. V. Stalin. Such political leaders, of the type of Lenin and Stalin, we have in those who direct the Party and the Soviet state, the loyal companions of Stalin.

Such are the leaders of the party of the new type, a militant, revolutionary party made of specially strong and sturdy stuff, for Communists are, above all, "the sons of the working class, the sons of want and struggle, the sons of incredible privation and heroic effort";² they are the backbone of the army of the great captains, Lenin and Stalin. In characterizing V. I. Lenin, Y. M. Sverdlov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky and M. V. Frunze, Comrade Stalin particularly noted such traits of these leaders of the Bolshevik Party as modesty, simplicity, complete absence of conceit, adherence to principle, utter devotion to the cause of the revolution and the people, fearlessness and heroism,

intransigence and ruthlessness in combat with enemies of the people, revolutionary optimism, faith in the masses, faith in the victory of the revolution, absence of panic or dejection on occasions of defeat or of dizziness with success, perseverance, persistence, iron will and burning passion in the fight for Communism, for our final goal. All these qualities are evolved in the course of protracted struggle, in the fire of revolutionary, class battles for Socialism and Communism, in the struggle with obstacles and difficulties on the way to this goal. The revolution placed these leaders at the most difficult and responsible posts and demanded of them enormous exertion of effort, organizing ability and talent, tremendous moral stamina and steadfastness of purpose. These are leaders and guides of new masses, leaders of a new and higher type. They are the most complete and striking embodiment of the traits and qualities of the Party and the Soviet people, the traits and qualities of Soviet folk. These qualities are being instilled in Soviet people by the Party, the Komsomol, the Soviet state, the trade unions, by our entire Soviet social and political system.

The Soviet system rears people of a new moral and political cast. Society based on private property cultivates the lowest instincts and the basest sentiments in people—insatiable greed,

¹ J. V. Stalin, *On Lenin*, Moscow 1946, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

egoism, a desire to live by exploiting and oppressing others, thievery, parasitism, careerism, hypocrisy, perfidy, nationalism, chauvinism, race hatred and the like.

"Civilization" based on the exploitation of one class by another has developed such productive forces as could not develop under the primitive communal system, but it achieved this "by playing on the most sordid instincts and passions of man, and by developing them at the expense of all his other faculties."¹

Base avarice and personal enrichment have been the only determining factor and aim in life of the shabby individual of this "civilization." The amount of his private property, his personal fortune, gold, money, capital, determined and still determine man's position in the exploiting society, and they arouse in people the lust for lucre, cupidity, miserliness, etc.

Literature teems with portraiture and character drawings of people of the old society, people who have lost their human face. One need only to recall here such characters as Shylock, taken from Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, others from Balzac's works, Pushkin's *The Covetous Knight*, and from Gogol's *Inspector General*

¹ F. Engels, *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, in Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow 1949, p. 294.

and *Dead Souls*; Judas Golovlyov, created by Saltykov-Shchedrin, Klim Samgin and a host of others from Gorky's works. In these "villains" of play and story their great authors unmercifully and with unflagging zeal revealed the moral wretchedness, the emptiness of bourgeois individualism, of philistinism, of filthy private property. This society gave birth to Herostrati and Neros, Pizarros and Cortéses, Talleyrands and Fouchés, Cavaignacs and Gallifets, Mussolinis and Hitlers, Görings and Himmlers, fascist assassins, spies and executioners; traitors to their country of the type of Petain, Laval, Quisling, Horthy, Scheidemann, Noske, Tanner, et al.

"Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," "charity begins at home," "might makes right"—such are the morals, politics and philosophy practised by bourgeois society and indoctrinated by its prophets. Bourgeois culture (philosophy, literature, art), which is in a state of degeneration and putrescence, seeks to divert the masses from the struggle for emancipation by preaching abstention from politics, the non-essentiality of ideology, philistinism, bourgeois egoism; it extols the deeds of adventurers, scoundrels, traitors, pimps, common criminals, gangsters, thieves and homosexuals of every description, disinters obscurantists of past history, and so forth.

Already a hundred years ago Marx and Engels wrote that the communist revolution was needed not only to overthrow the rule of the exploiting classes, to free the labouring masses from exploitation, but also *to cleanse people from the filth of the old society, from the filth of the old world*. The history of the great October Socialist Revolution shows how this complicated, vital process of cleansing goes on systematically, steadily, step by step; how in the fierce class battles between exploiters and exploited, between the forces of the old and the new world, in the battles for Socialism, a new man was born, a new, socialist individual, an individual possessed of an entirely new world outlook, of a new moral and political cast; how with the victory of Socialism there developed new motive forces of Soviet society: Soviet patriotism, amity among peoples, the indestructible moral and political unity of the Soviet people. *Under Socialism the individual forms, develops and acts in the atmosphere of this moral and political unity*, under the determining influence of the socialist mode of production and of the entire Soviet social and political system. He becomes permeated more and more with the great ideas of Communism, communist morals, the ideas of Soviet patriotism and of friendship among nations, the ideas of socialist humanism.

The socialist individual does not set himself up in hostile opposition to the collective, society, the people. On the contrary, he finds in the collectivity an inexhaustible source from which to draw creative energy, inspiration and enthusiasm. He finds his happiness in collective labour and in the struggle for a new, bright world, for Communism.

In society based on private property, the interests of the individual are antagonistic to those of the collective, of society, of the mass of the working people. Private property divides the interests of people, splits society into antagonistic classes, exploiters and exploited, whose interests are irreconcilably hostile to each other. Here there is no single "public interest"; each class has its own class interests, those of the exploiters dominating. The theory of "Socialism" based on individualism, advanced by the Labourites and Fabians, is a reactionary utopia, or an attempt to smuggle in the principles of bourgeois individualism and bourgeois competition while flying the flag of Socialism. "Socialism" based on individualism with the retention of the rule of the capitalists, of their right to property and income, means in fact the domination of the private interests of the bourgeois over the common interests of the people. The "Socialism" of the Fabians, of the Labourites, does not want to subordinate the

private interests of the capitalists to the common interests of the people. This fully suits the capitalists, who have no desire to be subordinated to the collective body, the people, the mass, but, on the contrary, strive to subordinate any collective to their will and their private interests.

In genuine socialist society, built in the Soviet Union, *the leading, determining motive force is the public interest*, i.e., the interests of the collective body, of society, the people, the common interests of all the people, to which private interests must be subordinated. Why? Because the basis of the development and well-being of the individual is the well-being and progress of society. Here there no longer exists any antagonism between classes and nations, between the people and the social system, between the people and the state, for the Soviet social and political system is a genuinely popular system, for the people themselves are in power in the person of their chosen representatives. Socialism does not divide but unites people. Socialism gives first consideration to the interests of the collective, society, the people. But it does not at all follow from this that Socialism flouts or rejects personal interests. "Socialism cannot dissociate itself from individual interests. Only socialist society can satisfy these personal interests most completely. Moreover, socialist society alone

offers a firm guarantee that the interests of the individual will be safeguarded."¹

Socialism does not deny individual interests, but combines, coordinates them with the interests of the collective. This combination is expressed in the fundamental principle of Socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It also found expression in the Agricultural Artel Rules (Kolkhoz Statute), which "properly combines the individual, everyday interests of the collective farmers with their public interests, ... successfully adapts the individual, everyday interests to public interests, and thereby helps to educate the individual peasants of yesterday in the spirit of collectivism."²

Here there is not nor can there be any antagonism between the individual and society, between personal and public interests. The basis of the development and well-being of the individual is the well-being and progress of society. Hence *it is the public interest that leads and determines*. This is the guiding and determining principle in the practice of socialist competition, in the system of the public approbation of those who work well, in the system of public awards of Orders and

¹ J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, 10th Russ. ed., p. 602.

² J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 500.

Medals, in the whole policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, in the system of communist training, the training of the people in the spirit of communist morality, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism, heroism, friendship among peoples, etc. Socialism, *for the first time* in history, has laid a firm and reliable basis for a correct, harmonious combination of personal and public interests.

It does not follow from the above that in socialist society there can no longer be any contradictions between the individual and society, the individual and the collectivity, between individual and public interests. There are such contradictions. Under Socialism contradictions between the expanded and rapidly growing wants of cultured people and the inadequate level of development of production still remain, in consequence of which it is impossible to satisfy the needs of all people in full. It is therefore necessary to introduce the principle of paying for work according to its quantity and quality. There also remains the differentiation in payment for skilled and unskilled labour. There still exists a certain inequality in satisfying the material needs and interests of the various categories of working people (low- and high-paid categories). Living conditions are also still unequal, inasmuch as the distinction between town and country and between physical and men-

tal labour has not yet been erased. (One must besides, take into account the vast devastation wrought by the war, which deprived millions of families in the formerly occupied districts of their homes and other possessions and inflicted tremendous loss upon the whole country.) There still are some survivals of economic and political contradictions between the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia, but these contradictions are constantly relaxing and being obliterated. They are all of a transient character and are counter-balanced by the community of interests of all working people. However, they cannot but give rise to certain transient contradictions, fully surmountable and resolvable, between the individual and society, between personal interests and public interests.

Then there are survivals of capitalism in the everyday life and in the minds of people, such as traditions and habits, survivals born of private property, survivals of the old attitude to work and to property, survivals of bourgeois individualism in the minds of former small proprietors, individual farmers and intellectuals. There are also the kowtowing to the bourgeois culture of the West and to the bourgeois-landlord culture of the past, survivals of private-property, bourgeois, philistine ideology, philosophy and morality, survivals of nationalism, bureaucracy, religious sentiments, su-

perstition, etc., all of which are in irreconcilable contradiction to the socialist system and are to be completely overcome. It is these survivals which most frequently call forth contradictions between private and public matters, and between society and the individual. Hence the not infrequent instances of backward workers, collective farmers and intellectuals setting up their narrow individual, private interests against the public interest, the interests of the state; the instances of workers, kolkhoz members and office workers who do not work to the best of their ability or produce waste; of kolkhoz members unduly enlarging their individual subsidiary husbandry and making it their main business, of their shirking work on the kolkhoz and spending their time speculating with their produce on the market. Or take such cases as employees of government offices using their positions to fix up a "cozy nest" for themselves at the expense of the state and, to boot, badly fulfilling their obligations to the state, with no concern for the interests of the population they serve; or cases of university graduates for purely personal reasons refusing to go to the locality assigned to them for their initial work, thus placing their personal interests above the public interest, above the interests of society, of the state, of the nation, which made it possible for them to receive a higher education; or the cases of scientific work-

ers declining to deal with urgent problems that press for solution, or to deal with difficult problems, preferring to dodge them and deal with "easier," more remote problems; or the cases of such as decline to train young cadres, of whom the state stands in need, etc.

Particularly harmful is the cringing, the fawning and the kowtowing to things foreign, particularly to the bourgeois culture of the West. This is a vestige of old bourgeois-landlord Russia that still has its hold on part of our intelligentsia.

We shall not mention such exponents of capitalist "traditions" as wage-hogs, idlers and parasites, accustomed to live at the expense of others and to shift the burden of their responsibilities to others; nor shall we speak of grafters, speculators and their ilk.

There are cases when the legitimate personal interests and rights of honest and self-sacrificing workers are disregarded, when certain managers of institutions and enterprises neglect or badly attend to the personal welfare of factory and office workers, to the proper selection and allocation of workers, to their spiritual growth and the improvement of their qualifications. Here remnants of bureaucracy, careerism, nepotism and the like frequently manifest themselves. The Party, the Soviet state and the whole people combat this sort of capitalist survival and its exponents by training

and retraining people in the process of building Communism.

A most important instrument employed in communist construction and training is Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. This method of training Party leaders and cadres, a method of strengthening the Party proposed by Lenin and Stalin, has become basic for the improvement and development of our Soviet state, has become a law of development of our society.

"In our Soviet society, where antagonistic classes have been abolished, the struggle between the old and the new, and, consequently, the development from the lower to the higher proceeds, not in the form of a struggle of antagonistic classes and cataclysms, as is the case under capitalism, but in the form of criticism and self-criticism, which is a real motive force of our development, a mighty tool in the hands of the Party. This is an absolutely new form of motion, a new type of development, a new law of dialectics."¹

Without criticism and self-criticism one cannot be purged of the filth of the old society, cannot overcome the survivals of capitalism in the everyday life and the mind of man, cannot vanquish bourgeois ideology and morality and be-

¹ A. A. Zhdanov, Speech During the Discussion of G. F. Alexandrov's Book, Russ. ed., p. 40.

come worthy of our great era, the era of Lenin and Stalin.

Without criticism and self-criticism man stops growing intellectually, settles down to what he has already achieved, begins to "rest on his laurels," lags behind the general rapid rate of advancement, degenerates and turns into a petty-bourgeois minded philistine. There can be no progress without criticism and self-criticism. Honest, principled, sharp Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism of mistakes and shortcomings at work is a permanent and necessary quality and a distinctive trait of the new, Soviet man.

Soviet people are of an immeasurably higher stature, morally and politically, than the people of the old world. Comrade Stalin has pointed out that the humblest Soviet citizen, being free from the fetters of capital, "stands head and shoulders above any high-placed foreign bigwig whose neck wears the yoke of capitalist slavery."¹

No matter how beautiful externally the form in which bourgeois culture (literature, art) is clothed, its moral foundations are rotten. It corrupts people, arouses the brutish, animal instincts in men, for it serves the selfish, egoistic interests of the exploiters. It does not befit Soviet people to worship decaying foreign bourgeois culture, for

¹ J. V. Sfalín, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1947, p. 622.

our socialist culture is of an infinitely higher type than bourgeois culture. Our system raises people in the spirit of the great ideas of scientific Communism, in the spirit of genuine humanity, in the spirit of genuine humanism, in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and amity among peoples. It bridles all the low, animal, bestial instincts in man. As Comrade Zhdanov stated in his report on the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, our country has the right to teach others its new morality, a morality fit for all mankind.

"Where will you find another nation, another country, like ours? Where will you find people endowed with the magnificent qualities our Soviet people displayed in the Great Patriotic War, and which they display day by day when engaged in their work after the transition to the peaceful development and rehabilitation of economy and culture! Each day raises our people to a higher plane."¹

In no other country are the people as free, as politically conscious, as organized and heroic as the multinational Soviet people, as the great Russian people, the people that first entered upon the road to Socialism. Our Soviet people saved the world from the fascist assassins and pogrom makers. Only the free Soviet people could in his-

¹ A. A. Zhdanov, Report on the Journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, Russ. ed., p. 36.

torically so short a period advance from the ranks of simple workers and farmers such a multitude of talented men and women: outstanding organizers, scientists, inventors, writers, artists, musicians, actors, composers, architects, engineers, officers, generals and marshals, statesmen and cabinet ministers. This rich vintage of talent stemming from the people is evidenced by the rapid growth of the galaxy of Stalin Prize winners, by the art festivals of the non-Russian Soviet republics, by the folkcraft and amateur art exhibits, chess tournaments, physical culture parades and athletic contests, by the laurels won by Soviet art and sports internationally, by the extraordinary success that has attended our cultural delegations to foreign countries, etc.

The Soviet people may take legitimate pride in the achievements of Soviet science and literature and in the leading figures of Soviet Socialist culture. The scholarly works of Academician I. P. Pavlov, who propounded the doctrine of conditioned reflexes; of N. Y. Zhukovsky, S. A. Chaplygin and K. E. Tsiolkovsky on aerodynamics and the mechanics of modern aviation; those of Academician A. N. Krylov on the theory of shipbuilding; those of Academician Kurnakov, who founded a new branch of chemistry, physico-chemical analysis; those of Academicians A. E. Favorsky and N. D. Zelinsky and their disciples on

the theory of synthesis and new organic combinations; those of Academician I. M. Gubkin on geology, of Academician V. I. Vernadsky on geochemistry, and of Academician A. N. Bach on modern biochemistry; the conspicuous achievements in agrobiolgy and soil science recorded in the works of K. A. Timiryazev, I. V. Michurin, V. R. Williams, D. N. Pryanishnikov and T. D. Lysenko; the works of Academician S. I. Vavilov on optics, of Academician I. M. Vinogradov on mathematics, of N. Y. Marr and his disciples and followers on linguistics; those of Academician B. D. Grekov and of other Soviet scientists—all these have enriched the treasure store of Soviet and world science.

Similarly, the literary productions of the great proletarian writer Maxim Gorky, the father of Soviet literature, the writings of Vladimir Mayakovsky, the most prominent poet of our era, the works of A. Serafimovich, D. Furmanov, N. A. Ostrovsky, A. Fadeyev, M. Sholokhov, L. Leonov, K. Simonov, L. Sobolev, A. Korneichuk, P. Ty-china, Y. Kolas, B. Gorbатов, V. Katayev, A. Surkov, M. Isakovsky, A. Tvardovsky, K. Fedin, S. Sergeyev-Tsensky, F. Panfyorov, F. Gladkov, V. Inber, A. Karavayeva, M. Shaginyan and many others constitute a tremendous contribution not only to Soviet but to world literature. They depict the character of new, Soviet people, courageous,

noble-minded people, with remarkable qualities and traits, people reared by the Party of Lenin and Stalin. This list could have been enlarged by the addition of people prominent in Soviet art, painting, architecture, music and the theatre. All this is proof of the really gigantic growth of talent in the Land of Socialism.

During the years of Soviet rule, *the social nature, the moral, political and spiritual cast of the millions of people in our country*, has undergone a fundamental change.

Lenin and Stalin pointed out that we had to begin building Socialism from the material left us by capitalism; that we had to make Socialism out of people and with the hands of people who had grown up under capitalism, who had been trained, spoiled, corrupted by capitalism, but who, at the same time, had been steeled in the struggle against oppression and exploitation under capitalism, and not with the unsoiled hands of people trained somewhere beforehand, unspoiled by capitalism, raised in special hothouses, as the utopian Socialists imagined would be the case. We had to begin building Socialism with proletarians as our forces, whom no Chinese wall guarded against the influence of the big bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, and who lived under the jungle law of capitalism. But the proletarians had become so steeled in the revolutionary struggle under the

leadership of the Party that they could endure a thousand times more privations than any army of the old society, even the most seasoned. The working class had to draw into the work of building Socialism tens of millions of ignorant, illiterate, oppressed and scattered peasants, small proprietors who lived under the heel of the landlords, the kulaks, the priests and the village constables, amidst the idiocy of rural life. Lenin and Stalin teach that to enlist these millions of working people in the work of socialist construction, to wrest them away from their private property, is one of the most difficult tasks of the socialist revolution, but that the proletariat is capable of doing so, because if it uses the correct tactics the peasantry is capable of building Socialism in alliance with it and under its leadership. Lenin and Stalin likewise teach that the working class had to begin to build Socialism with the aid of bourgeois specialists, whose minds are steeped in the bourgeois outlook upon the world, who are addicted to bourgeois habits and traditions, and to bourgeois individualism. It had to build its army with the aid of military specialists who had been trained under the bourgeois-landlord system, when the rule of the rod of the days of serfdom still prevailed and was directed against the working people. At that time the working class did not and could not have its own intelligentsia.

A new generation, rid of the vices of capitalism, could—and really did—arise and became steeled only in the process of a prolonged, difficult and arduous struggle against the forces and traditions of the old, decaying bourgeois society. With the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the Soviet system, there grew up an absolutely *new generation*, which is beginning fully “to spread its eagle wings,” as V. M. Molotov said in evaluating the achievements and successes of our revolution. The new mental cast and the ideological growth of Soviet people as Soviet patriots were assessed by V. M. Molotov as being among the greatest gains of our revolution, as gains of world-historic importance.

The new mental make-up of Soviet people has found clear expression in all their deeds and exploits.

The self-sacrificing, creative, inspired work performed by the Soviet people in the rear and the heroism they displayed at the front during the Great Patriotic War have no parallel in history. This heroism was a manifestation of Soviet patriotism and made certain the victory over the worst enemy of humanity. The present upsurge of Soviet patriotism is an expression of the still higher ideological level and spiritual growth achieved by the Soviet people. The cultural stand-

ard of the working people of our country has risen in every respect during the last thirty years, particularly after the victory of Socialism. The high socialist culture and political consciousness of Soviet man manifest themselves in his attitude to his work, regarding it as a public affair, as a sacred duty to the Soviet state, to his socialist motherland, to the Soviet people.

Millions of workers and collective farmers concern themselves with multiplying the wealth of their socialist country, with increasing labour productivity, the rationalization and mechanization of production processes, the perfecting of implements, machinery, and methods of work, the introduction and mastery of new techniques, the change to the continuous production line, to the conveyer system, the use of automatic machinery, the application of the latest scientific discoveries to industry and agriculture.

The struggle for a high level of socialist culture at work and in everyday life is steadily gaining momentum. The Stakhanov movement has now penetrated the mass of the working people, has become a real mass movement; it gives rise to emulation among the engineering and technical personnel, suggesting ever newer and higher forms and methods of organizing work and applying to it the achievements of modern science and technology. Early in 1940, Sta-

khanovites already composed $\frac{1}{3}$ of all industrial workers, $\frac{1}{4}$ of all building workers and $\frac{2}{5}$ of all transport workers. Now entire shops and factories are becoming Stakhanovite. Thus, for instance, at the Kaganovich State Ball-Bearing Plant in Moscow, 92 per cent of the workers are Stakhanovites.

Stakhanovite workers—production innovators, fighters for technical progress—are grouping around each engineer and technician who works with a creative mind. This means that science constitutes in an ever greater measure an organic part of the process of labour, acting as a great transforming force that serves the interests of the working people themselves. In this process the distinction between people doing physical work and mental work disappears. What a far cry from the situation existing in capitalist society, where it is sought to monopolize all knowledge, science and culture for an insignificant handful of exploiters and their servitors, to establish a ruling caste of “priests of science” and “supermen,” and to form “brain trusts,” on the one hand, and, on the other, a multitude of slaves—toilers trained to be “robots”—bereft of the right to education or knowledge, of the right to think and express their own thoughts, their own will! In the U.S.S.R., the Land of Socialism, mental work has ceased to be the privilege and monopoly of a definite

section of society. In our country people doing physical work have vast opportunities for all-round education and development, for the application in their work of all the achievements of science and technology, for the manifestation of creative thought, i.e., for the combination of physical and mental work in the very process of material production. This explains the fact that genuinely creative thinking is spreading to ever wider masses of toilers, inspires them, stimulates their initiative, admirably develops all their abilities and intellectual powers, their gifts and talents.

Today the building of Communism inspires the people of our country to engage in creative work, in heroic struggle for the prosperity of our socialist motherland.

On the initiative of the working people of the heroic city of Lenin all parts of the country are vying with each other in fulfilling the five-year plan in four years. In Moscow, Leningrad, the Donbas, the Urals, throughout the country, a new movement is spreading, under which workers assume *individual obligations* to fulfil their annual plans and their five-year plan as a whole ahead of time. This is something we did not have before the war. It is evidence of a new upsurge of Soviet patriotism, of socialist mentality, of personal initiative, of the personal responsibility of

millions of Soviet people for the destiny of their beloved socialist homeland.

Our foremost citizens: the Stakhanovites, the Heroes of Socialist Labour, the Heroes of the Soviet Union, the dauntless Soviet mariners, our Polar explorers, the Chelyuskinites and Papanin-ites, our brave flyers, the Stalin falcons of the air, the heroes and heroines of the Great Patriotic War, and the heroes of the defence of Moscow, Sevastopol, Odessa, Stalingrad and Leningrad are all the pride of our country, as are our Soviet women and our Soviet youth, the Lenin Komsomol, the youthful Leninists and Stalinists, from whose midst have sprung such heroes and heroines as Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chalkina, Maria Melnikajtes, the heroes and heroines of Krasnodon, and thousands of other heroes and heroines of the Soviet Union. Such people could be produced only by our socialist country, our Soviet system, our glorious heroic Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which has steered the Soviet ship of state through all the storms and stresses of the revolution. The thirty years of the Great October Socialist Revolution have been a great schooling for millions upon millions of people, a schooling in the building of a new world and the remaking of the people themselves. During these years the peoples of our country have undergone a fundamental change.

We are no longer what we were in 1917, nor is our character the same.

"We have changed and grown to maturity together with the great transformations which have radically changed the face of our country."¹ Some workers on the ideological front did not notice this remarkable intellectual growth of the Soviet people. They continued to represent and depict the Soviet people the same, or almost the same, as during the first years of the revolution or before the revolution, as politically, culturally and technically backward people (see Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks] on the second part of the film *A Great Life*).

This means that Soviet people were sometimes pictured statically, and not in their revolutionary development. This impoverished the inner spiritual life of Soviet man, as well as the ideological content of literature and art. In its decisions on questions of literature and art, the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(B.) points out that it is the task of Soviet literature and art to show not only the *present day* of Soviet man but also to take a glance at his *morrow*, his future, to show what people will become tomorrow and what they should not be; our writers should scourge the

¹ A. A. Zhdanov, Report on the Journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, Russ. ed., p. 36.

vestiges of yesterday, vestiges that impede the progress of Soviet man.

It is the mission of Soviet writers, these "engineers of human souls," to help the people, the Party and the state to train Soviet folk, and particularly Soviet youth, to become imbued with lofty ideas, to be of good cheer, to have faith in their own strength, to be devoted to their country and people, to fear no difficulties. They must raise them in the spirit of Communism, of Soviet patriotism, of friendship among peoples, of Soviet national pride.

Great as our achievements are, the transition from Socialism to Communism requires a still higher cultural level of *the whole body of the working people*. For this reason the spiritual wealth of the Soviet people is of no less account than their material wealth. Hence our material wealth should be paralleled by an *abundance of spiritual culture*.

The decisions of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.(B.) on questions of the ideological front pursue precisely the purpose of creating this abundance of spiritual culture, to raise it to a new, a higher level, so as to meet the growing demands of the Soviet people and the tasks involved in the building of communist society. The gradual passage from Socialism to Communism will mean a rapid and gigantic development of production, science

and technology, a steep rise in the cultural and technical level of the working people and, as a result of this, an immense increase in labour productivity and the creation of abundance of all material and cultural values. In the process of this transition the distinction between town and country, and between physical and mental work, will be wholly abolished. The activity of all workers of communist society will be a combination of physical and mental work; work will become for all the prime necessity of life of a healthy organism; it will become a habit to work to the best of one's ability, *not only as a duty but also as an inner urge*. Abundance of material and cultural values will make it possible to apply the principle of Communism—to work according to one's ability and be recompensed according to one's needs.

High-class technique, utilization of nuclear energy, high level of culture of workers and high productivity of their labour will afford the possibility of shortening the necessary working day and will provide each one with still more free time for science and art, for the universal development of man.

Science and art will then prosper as they never did before.

The individual, relieved of all worry about his crust of bread and rid of all birthmarks and

vestiges of capitalism in his daily life and in his mentality, will develop within himself to a still greater extent the finest, loftiest and noblest moral qualities, his most conspicuous faculties, talents and gifts and will become an all-sidedly, harmoniously developed being.

When Communism is triumphant all over the world, when the old capitalist world disappears and with it all threats of sanguinary wars, of violence, devastation and so forth, then everywhere will come the true realm of freedom that people have dreamed of for thousands of years.

We know that a stubborn and protracted fight is still ahead, that we must still face the stupendous and strenuous task of building Communism, of the communist training and retraining of people in a fierce and relentless competitive struggle between Socialism and capitalism; but we also know that our cause will be victorious and that now victory is not so far off. Not only our children, our youth, but even many grown-ups of today may yet see with their own eyes the full triumph of Communism, and may yet enter this true realm of universally developed freedom.

The great Party of Lenin and Stalin confidently leads the Soviet people onward to communist society, showing all peoples the way to universal peace and liberation from murderous

war, the way to the overthrow of capitalist slavery and to the untrammelled progress of all humanity.

"The great Stalin has led and is leading our people along the glorious path to Communism. The name of Stalin, so boundlessly respected and loved by the peoples, is a symbol of the greatness of the victorious Soviet Union and a call to the struggle for a happy future for mankind. . . .

"The Soviet people march in the vanguard of progressive humanity, full of faith in the lofty aims of the October Revolution!"

¹ V. M. Molotov, *XXX Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Moscow 1947, Russ. ed., pp. 31-32.