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3 ROSARY GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.7

Published by Soviet Booklets, 3 Rosary Gardens, London, S.W.7.
Printed by Farleigh Press Ltd. (T.U.), Aldenham, Herts.

157



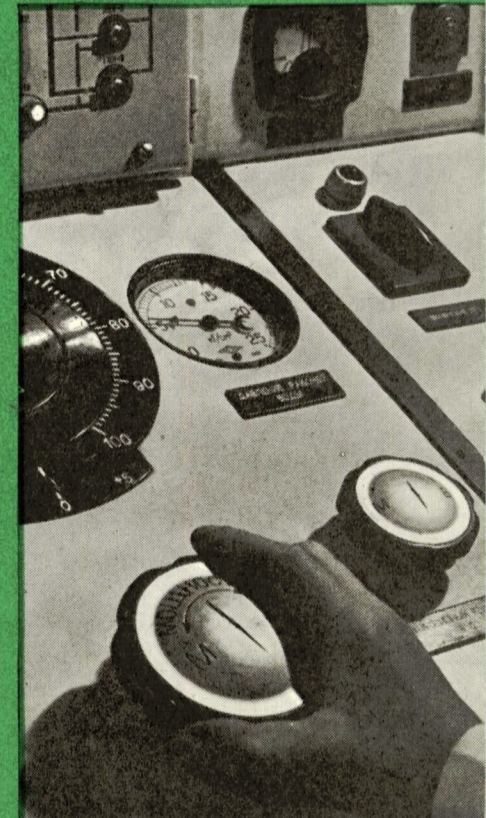
1962

COMMUNISM

— A TRIUMPH OF LABOUR

1962

by
Mark Postolovsky



Ideals of
Communism—No. 4

A Series of
Six Booklets

Soviet
Booklet
No. 94

6d

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The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/intro.htm>

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COMMUNISM —A TRIUMPH OF LABOUR

Mark Postolovsky

Soviet Booklet No. 94

Ideals of Communism No. 4—
a series of six booklets

London
July, 1962

*“Information for a world in need of mutual understanding” –
such is the motto of the Novosti Press Agency (A.P.N.)
who have prepared the material for this booklet in order to
provide such information.*

PREFACE

THE Soviet Union is now engaged in constructing the technical and material base of communist society. In many countries of the world people are naturally discussing and debating communism and the new programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this programme it is stated:

“Communism accomplishes the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from the horrors of war, and proclaims *Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity* and *Happiness* for all the peoples of the world.”

To make known the Soviet people's aims, which are embodied in the six themes of this declaration, Novosti Press Agency (A.P.N.) has prepared material for a series of six booklets, each of which is based on one of the six themes.

COMMUNISM—A TRIUMPH OF LABOUR

I

“Communism, which was once no more than a dream, has become the greatest force of modern times, a society that is being built up over vast areas of the globe.”

PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.

IN CRITICISING capitalism, Utopian Socialists called it a “topsy-turvy” society. They dreamed that a “golden age” would succeed the “ages of adversity”, and elaborated fantastic plans of ideal communes where there would be no private ownership, oppression and poverty, where each would work without being compelled to do so, joyfully, and receive fairly, what he required.

But these communes existed only in the minds of the great humanists. The predecessors of scientific communism could not foresee how society would really develop; especially since they could not know that mankind would have to go through long centuries of adversity and trial before their lofty dream came true and a commonwealth of free workers arose on the basis of public ownership, before it arose not on a small patch of land, not on an island lost in the ocean, but on a vast expanse of our planet.

If they could only have got a glimpse of the 1960's!

In the course of just one generation the Soviet people have built the first phase of communism—socialism—and embarked on a gradual transition to full communism, armed with a concrete plan—the new Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This programme generalises the wealth of historic experience accumulated in the course of socialist construction and outlines the Soviet people's basic tasks for

the next two decades. The supreme aim of the Communist Party is to build a new society with the following words on its banner:

“From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.”

II

“Communism is a highly organised society of free, socially conscious working people. . . .”

PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.

WHEN WRITING their philosophical treatises about the best possible form of state, the great humanists of the past agreed that labour would be the only master in the new harmonious society. They knew very well the vital importance of work. For everything people need is created by labour. “To live it is necessary to produce.” Labour will always be the main basis of human existence and development.

For many centuries people regarded labour as an onerous duty that brought them neither joy nor enough food. Charles Fourier, the great French Utopian Socialist, once said that a factory was “mild hard labour”. But even then it was not easy to get a job—thousands went unemployed. Man was deprived of the most vital need—the right to work. Many dreamed of “making good”, of growing rich, of not having to work.

The result was a vicious circle: without labour there could be no life, no progress, but labour meant hardship and suffering. Why? The explanation was given by Robert Owen. The greatest evil of capitalism, he asserted, was the private ownership of the means of production, which resulted in the exploitation of labour.

If a man, working to the best of his abilities, creates material values and receives a mere pittance for that, while the lion’s share of the fruit of his labour goes to his master, the owner

of the enterprise; if a man sees that others who do not work but own property live in clover at his expense, he loses interest in conscious creation. He works only for the sake of a slice of bread, he goes to the factory merely to work the hours he must. In short, economic relations in society predetermine the nature of labour. In the capitalist world, so-called “free labour” is a form of “slave” labour, performed by a vast majority to enrich the minority which owns capital.

The nature of labour, its content and aims altered radically after socialism’s triumph in Russia. The means of production became public. This made it possible to organise social production according to plan and to develop it without crises or depressions. Having become not only the producer of the good things of life but also their disposer, the Soviet citizen realised that he was the real master of production because he was working for himself and because there was a new task given production: to improve the material well-being of the entire people and of each individual toiler.

“The aim of socialism is to meet the growing material and cultural requirements of the people ever more fully by continuously developing and improving social production” (PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.).

Having put an end to private ownership, the socialist system eliminated for ever the source of the exploitation of man by man.

The Soviet Union is the first country in human history in which the principle of *universal* labour has been implemented. This means it is the duty of every able-bodied citizen to work. “He who does not work, neither shall he eat” is one of the most important principles of Soviet society. This principle envisages the right to work which is laid down in Soviet law, and for which material guarantees are provided. The state ensures every citizen the right to work where he wants and at his own trade.

Many people from abroad who visit the Soviet Union are eager to grasp the essence of the labour heroism of the Soviet people, to see what is in their hearts, find out why they try to work so well for society.

Take, for instance, the spinner Valentina Gaganova. Though it meant a cut in pay, she volunteered to be transferred to a backward team in order to help it become an advanced one. She succeeded in her aim and today she again earns high wages and has thousands of followers. Or take A. Semyonov, a cutter at the Russian Diesel Works in Leningrad. He works so well and so efficiently that he has completed his seven-year-plan target in two and a half years. Or where do workers like the Moscow turner Nikolai Kolesnichenko, who daily overfulfills his quota by 100-200 per cent, and others like him, come from?

There is only one answer: all this has been made possible by socialism.

In tsarist Russia, a working man always shivered for his family and its future, for he was always afraid of being thrown out of a job, of losing his daily bread, to say nothing of having his wages reduced whenever his master felt like doing it. How could he think then of the interests of his factory, of raising the productivity of labour, of setting an example of outstanding work? How could there be any talk about freedom in such material conditions when man fully depended on the will of his employer?

Things are different under socialism. When working people in the U.S.S.R. abolished exploitation and unemployment for ever and became collective owners of the means of production, they acquired confidence in the future, in the stability of their material position, and that not only made them feel they were free, but objectively, really ensured their individual freedom. Hence the appearance of an entirely new attitude to one's duties, to one's work as the most important of social obligations. Labour assumed a new, humane aspect, for now it was no longer a struggle for a loaf of bread, but a conscious struggle for higher labour productivity, for a better life not only for oneself and one's family, but for all, for society.

There also appeared new relationships among fellow workers that were utterly different from those prevailing at a privately-owned factory—relations of comradely co-operation and

mutual assistance. When Soviet people say "my factory" or "my collective farm", they mean "our collective, people's factory or farm", for they know it is their factory, their collective farm. Therein lie the sources of the spirit of collectivism, labour enthusiasm and conscious creation for the good of all which is typical of the people engaged in socialist production. Therein lie the sources of the mighty torrent whose name is socialist emulation.

What is socialist emulation?

It is a patriotic labour movement in which tens of millions of workers, peasants, employees and intellectuals voluntarily take part. Its main aim is to make socialist labour as productive as possible, to enable people to work to the best of their abilities, give society as much produce as possible, raise the country's economic, cultural and popular welfare levels to the highest point, bring about a better life for all the people of the Soviet Union.

This movement was initiated by workers and teams that voluntarily pledged to overfulfil their production quotas and thus help overfulfil the state plan—and in doing that to economise raw materials, funds and other public means, to improve the technology of production and the quality of produce.

The participants in this movement work in harmony, constantly helping each other, sharing their experience. This emulation is fundamentally different from rivalry, and its slogan is "Catch up with the best, help those who lag behind, strive for a general advance!"

In the Soviet Union, socialism has elevated labour to unprecedented heights. In the old Russia, a worker was regarded as a "second-class" human being. Man's role in society was then determined by his birth, eminence and financial status. "How much is this man worth?" is a question still asked in the West.

In socialist society, wealth and title do not make a man famous. His status depends on his work. Work for the good of the people is the prime duty of man and the main yardstick

of his value. That is why people who display outstanding achievements at their job are respected, honoured, rewarded, and emulated. . . .

III

“Soviet experience has shown that socialism alone can put an end to the exploitation of man by man, production anarchy, economic crises, unemployment and the poverty of the people, and ensure planned, continuous and rapid development of the people’s standard of living.”

PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.

THE FREE, lofty labour of the Soviet people has transformed a formerly weak, poor and illiterate country, and made it the world’s No. 2 economic power.

Tsarist Russia, it may be recalled, economically lagged behind the leading capitalist countries by 50 to 100 years. She was a country of hammers and carts, wooden ploughs and spinning-wheels, timber and straw. She had only a tenth of the machinery of the United States and a fifth of that of Germany.

It was not easy to build socialism in such a backward country, especially since its economy had been completely dislocated by World War I and foreign intervention. In 1919 Soviet Russia produced only a fifth of pre-revolutionary Russia.

“Our difficulties,” N. S. Khrushchov told the Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U., “were increased by the fact that we lacked experience in organising life along socialist lines, and had to blaze new paths of history. The Soviet people couldn’t obtain any help, material or technical, from without. The country faced a hostile capitalist encirclement and had to carry on in a state of siege.”

It required much effort and heroism on the part of the

Communist Party and the Soviet people to overcome these incredible difficulties and bring the country on to the highway to a new life.

Socialism has ensured the rapid progress of our economy and culture. In the course of just one generation—and not centuries—it has turned a backward country into the world’s second biggest industrial and economic power. The Soviet economy develops according to plan and at a fast rate, knowing neither crises nor depressions. In the rate of growth of output and the absolute volume of its increase, the U.S.S.R. has considerably outpaced the leading capitalist country, the United States.

The Soviet Union is a country of advanced technology, super-powerful lathes and super-precision instruments, automatic lines, electronic computing machines and spaceships. The Soviet Union smelts almost as much steel as Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and France put together. In 1961 the engineering and metalworking industries produced 350 times as much as tsarist Russia did in 1913 and almost 1,000 times as much as the young Soviet Republic did in 1919. Soviet people are naturally proud of these fruits of their labour.

Under tsarism the Russian peasant suffered from lack of land, lack of horses, agrarian overpopulation and poor harvests. He was oppressed by the landlord and the kulak,* he was ignorant and uncultured. Socialism gave peasants land, helped them build up their farms and join together voluntarily in co-operatives; it put up-to-date agricultural tools and agronomy at their disposal. Emancipated, the peasant’s labour became much more productive, the land began to yield more, ensuring the peasant a comfortable living.

In tsarist Russia the workers and the peasants suffered from political, economic and national oppression. The working day lasted 12–14 hours. People went hungry, for the wages were miserable. The population was illiterate.

Socialism has put an end to all that. The exploitation of

* Kulaks were capitalist farmers who exploited peasant labour and opposed the socialist system.

man by man has been abolished in all its forms. Unemployment no longer exists. Woman has been given the same rights as man. All the nationalities, formerly oppressed by tsarism, have become equal.

The results of the great cultural revolution which has taken place in the country since the triumph of socialism may be seen in the fact that the Soviet Union has long been first in the world for the number of engineers trained.

The high material standard of living—and, what is more, its constant growth—gives Soviet men and women the feeling that their well-being is stable. The real wages of Soviet workers are nearly six times those before the revolution, while the real incomes of the peasants have increased even more!

For centuries exponents of private enterprise, who looked down upon the workers, sought to prove that the workers and the peasants were a sluggish mob incapable of governing, of managing the economy, of creating and building, that without free enterprise and without capitalist leadership society would perish. These “theories” still prevail today.

When the Communists in Russia declared in 1917 that they were prepared to take over the government of the country, this evoked an outburst of wrath among the opponents of socialism. The reactionary press unleashed a rabid campaign against the Communists. The monarchist *Novoye Vremia* (*New Times*) wrote then:

“Let us suppose for a moment that the Communists will win. Who will rule us then? Perhaps cooks? Firemen? Grooms, stokers? Or maybe nannies will run to State Council sessions in between washing napkins? Who? Who are these statesmen? Grooms, nannies, kitchen-maids—these, in the Communists’ opinion, are apparently the ones fated to rule the country. Will it be so? No! Is it possible? To this crazy question the Communists will get an authoritative answer from history.”

History has indeed given an exhaustive answer to that: a billion people, one-third of mankind, are today advancing along the path of socialism.

An answer to this question has also been given by the author

of the lines cited above. He is one of the pillars of Russian monarchism, V. V. Shulgin. He is still alive, and here is what he says addressing Russian émigrés:

“The Communists will achieve what they are fated to achieve. A disciplined collective, using the achievements of science and technology and enjoying the support of its people, is capable of ensuring people a high living standard. I think this has been proved. . . .

“Let anyone ask me straight:

“‘Is what the Communists are doing useful for people?’

“I’ll give a direct answer:

“‘What the Communists are doing now, that is, in the second half of the twentieth century, is not only useful but absolutely essential for the 220 million people they are leading. What is more, it is salvation for the whole of mankind, for they are upholding world peace.’”

Comment here is superfluous. . . .

IV

“Labour for the good of society will become the prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognised by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.”

PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.

AND WHAT will labour be like in the communist future? Perhaps there will be no need at all to work if the blessings flow like a torrent and people are given what they need. That is the idea some people have of communism. That, too, is the caricature of communism its opponents draw. They claim that laziness is inherent in man and that as soon as he gets the good things of life he needs, and gets them free of charge, he will stop working.

We are compelled to disappoint both misguided people and

the open enemies of communism. For the society of abundance now being created in the Soviet Union will by no means be a realm of anarchy, idleness and inactivity. N. S. Khrushchov put it very aptly in his report on the C.P.S.U. Programme to the Party's Twenty-Second Congress:

"Some people have a mistaken and narrow-minded picture of living conditions under communism. They consider just the second part of the formula, 'according to needs', and reason something like this: 'Under communism you work if you want to—or drift from the Far East to the West and from the West to the South if you desire; you'll be provided for according to your needs all the same.' All they are equipping themselves with for communism is a big spoon.

"We have to disappoint them from the very outset! Their notion has nothing in common with communism. Communist society will have the most advanced technology, the most advanced and best organised production, the most advanced machinery. But people will run those machines. Machines are dead things unless there is a man to operate them. Thoroughness, good organisation and discipline are therefore the golden rule, an obligatory standard of behaviour for every working man. He will not be made to carry out his duties by the goad of hunger, as under capitalism; he will carry them out consciously and of his own free will. Everyone will be conscious of a duty to contribute one's work to the creation of both material and spiritual benefits."

Communist labour is highly conscious and is dictated by the inherent necessity to work voluntarily, according to one's inclinations, to work for the maximum benefit of society. We see shoots of such labour in the Soviet Union at every step. The main thing is that more and more sections of the working people are developing the habit of working consciously, as much as they can and to the best of their abilities. For many of them labour is already no longer a mere means of earning wages, but a social vocation, a moral duty.

To convince one of this it will suffice to refer to the Soviet movement for communist labour which came into existence

only four years ago but which already embraces upwards of 20 million working people. Its motto is: "Learn to work and live in a communist way!" From the first shock workers of communist labour to teams, shops and whole enterprises of communist labour—such are the first landmarks on the path of this unusual, unprecedented movement.

Who are they, these shock workers of communist labour, and what inspires them to work in a communist way? They are primarily people with a lofty sense of duty. They think less of their own well-being than of that of their socialist country, than of the happiness of all. They are not indifferent to material incentives, of course, for wages are important to man. To do more for one's country; to do it better and, naturally, to receive more for one's work—all that is a legitimate desire of a working man and woman. But money-grubbing, the ambition to enrich himself, and the desire to grab more from society to the detriment of others and to think only of himself are alien to a shock worker of communist labour. He is moved by moral incentives. For a shock worker of communist labour is the master of production, he works and lives in a society where the men in power are toilers like himself.

The participants in this movement are called *shock workers* of communist labour because they do shock work, that is, they work better than the others, with vim and zeal, because labour for them is not only a public duty, but a prime requirement, a joy. They work intelligently, they understand very well that communist society—a society of abundance, complete social equality and happiness for all—can be built only on the basis of perfect technology and the highest productivity of labour, and, what is more, built not by individuals but by the effort of the entire people. That is why they perseveringly seek for new methods in labour and achieve the best economic results, that is why they not only see to it that their lathes and their teams work well, but also help other teams so that the entire shop, the entire plant may work in a communist way.

But that is not all. They hold that the real builder of communism is one who is politically conscious, educated, cultured,

who is an expert in his profession, who constantly seeks to preserve and multiply public wealth, who takes an active part in the management of the factory and the government of the country. A shock worker of communist labour sets an example to others by his work, his studies and the way he lives.

Take, for instance, hammersmith Timofei Oleinikov, a veteran worker of the Ural Heavy Engineering Works. He was a youngster when he came there three decades ago from his village. Today he is known far and wide as a specialist in his sphere, as a leader of a communist labour team. As he himself says, labour means everything to him, labour for the good of all. The thought of the new, the splendid that the entire Soviet people is building, that is being born today, is what drives him on, inspires him, advances him to the forefront of the great construction effort.

How to do better and more for society, how to enhance the team's productivity? That requires knowledge, greater mastery of machines. And so Oleinikov and his comrades first went to school, then to qualification courses. They studied books and attended lectures. Oleinikov initiated a team movement for the popularisation of complex technology at work. Then his team sponsored a competition among the hammersmiths for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan in five years.

A worker and team leader, a technician by the level of his knowledge, an active social worker, an innovator and inventor who generously shares his experience with his comrades, a participant in many congresses and conferences, a delegate to the recent World Trade Union Congress in Moscow—that is shock worker of communist labour Timofei Oleinikov. And the other 20 million shock workers like him say:

“It is not for our own glory, but for the happiness of the entire nation that we work and create. . . .”

The movement for communist labour is the highest form of socialist emulation. By their labour, its participants are speeding up the country's advance to communism which *“accomplishes the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from the*

horrors of war, and proclaims Peace, Labour, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness for all the peoples of the world” (PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.).

It is this lofty aim that the millions of shock workers of communist labour—whom the people have named “pioneers of the future” and “beacons” who set an example to the masses—strive for in the Soviet Union.

For years the champions of the so-called “free world” have been alleging that labour in the U.S.S.R. is “compulsory”, that it is not free, and that creative initiative can be displayed only in conditions of private enterprise. But these allegations burst like a soap-bubble on their first contact with Soviet reality.

If labour in the Soviet Union is not free, but compulsory, then how is one to explain that millions of Soviet people daily, hourly, accomplish magnificent deeds and feats, that they create and invent? Where, then, does the Soviet Union get its two and a half million inventors and innovators—workers, engineers, technicians, scientists and collective farmers who, voluntarily and on their own initiative, improve technology and thus annually save the country hundreds and thousands of millions of roubles? Why isn't there any such mass movement of inventors in any country of free enterprise?

How could a 200-million-strong nation be “compelled” to follow the Communist Party and transform backward Russia into a mighty socialist state, into the world's second industrial power? How could a society where, as the anti-Communists allege, there is no free labour and no personal initiative, be the one to discover thermonuclear energy, the first to build an atomic power station, the first to launch artificial Earth and Sun satellites, the first to send people into space, and the first to do many other things? How could this society, within such a brief period, outpace the United States in science, technology and economics, to say nothing of culture and mass education?

The anti-Communists have no answer to these questions. And the answer is quite simple: Soviet people find satisfaction

in their work, they regard work not as a boring duty but as a social obligation, a free manifestation of their personal initiative, an inspiration to advance to the bright future.

There are many people even among the foes of communism who see this. In his book *The Communist Challenge to American Business*, the prominent American politician C. Randall writes that he is convinced that the Americans have made a serious mistake about the motives behind the Soviet people's deeds. It does not look like a nation oppressed by brute force; it marches confidently towards what it regards as a sure victory. The Soviet worker carries out his duties with the zeal of religious fanaticism, not because he is compelled to do so, but because he is devoted to his cause. In present-day Russia labour is a matter of honour, and the failure to fulfil one's task is regarded as an act deserving censure.

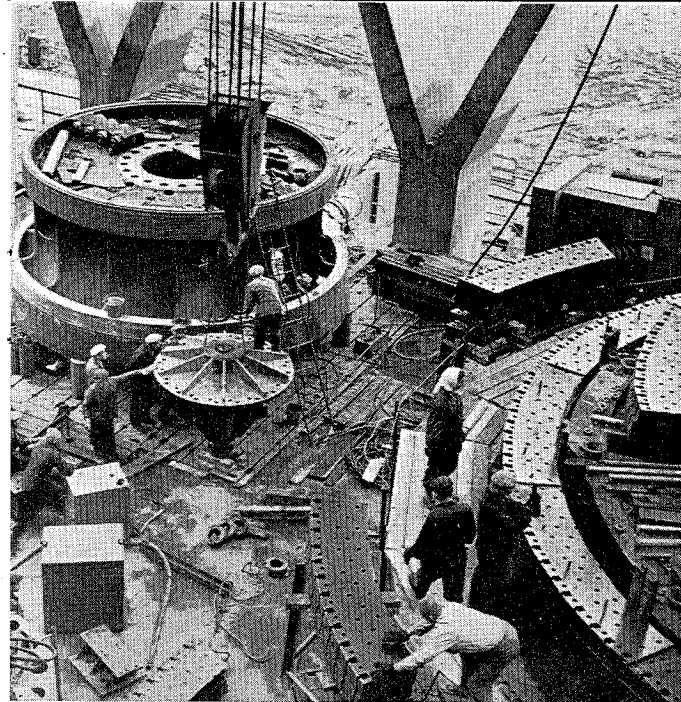
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"Labour will no longer be a mere source of livelihood—it will be a genuinely creative process and a source of joy."

PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.

WHAT MORAL STANDARDS will the people of communist society be guided by in their work? What will be the character of labour? How many hours a week will people work, and what will be their educational level? The C.P.S.U. Programme gives clear-cut answers to these questions.

As under socialism, the principle of universal labour in conditions of complete communism remains inviolable, for communist society, which is based on highly-organised production and advanced technology, alters the character of work, but it does not release the members of society from their duty to work. *Labour for the benefit of society*, says the C.P.S.U. Programme, *is the sacred duty of all. Any labour for*



These turbines at Bratsk on the Angara—now producing power—each have a 225,000 kW. capacity

These youngsters are learning how to handle a file. But before they leave school they will be qualified to operate factory machinery. It's part of the general policy in Soviet education of bringing the schools closer to life.



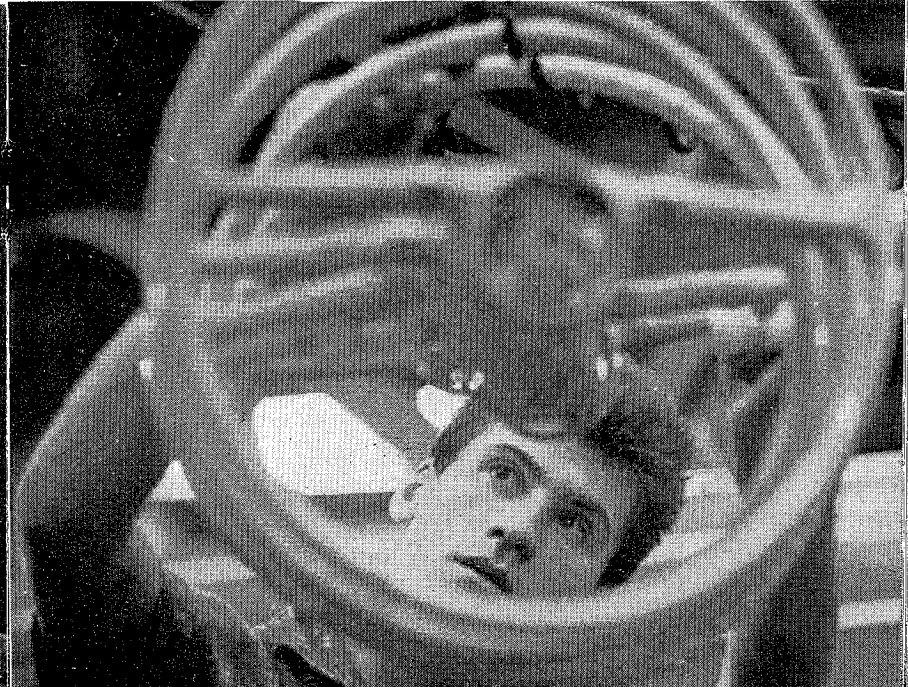
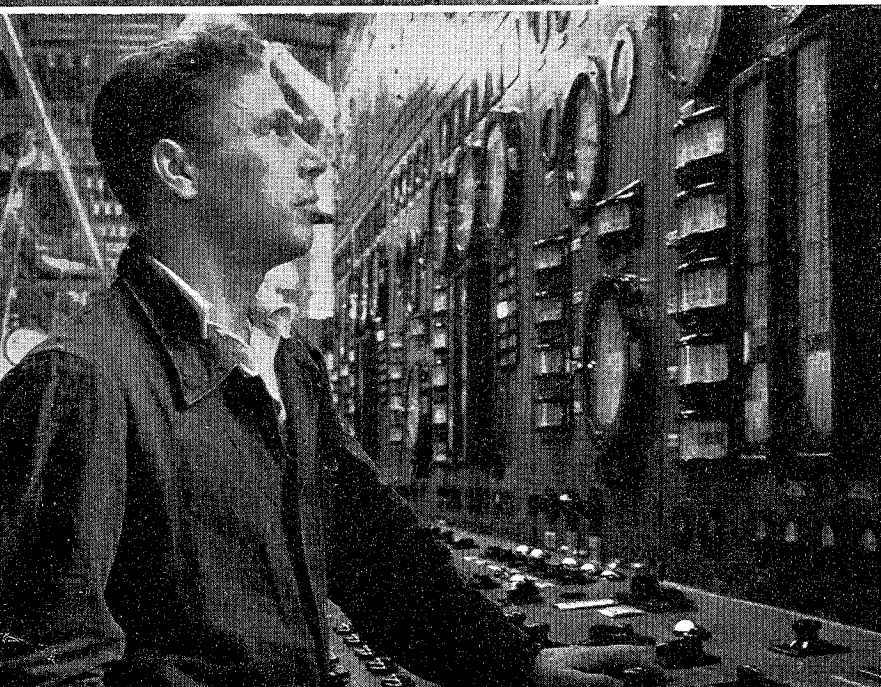
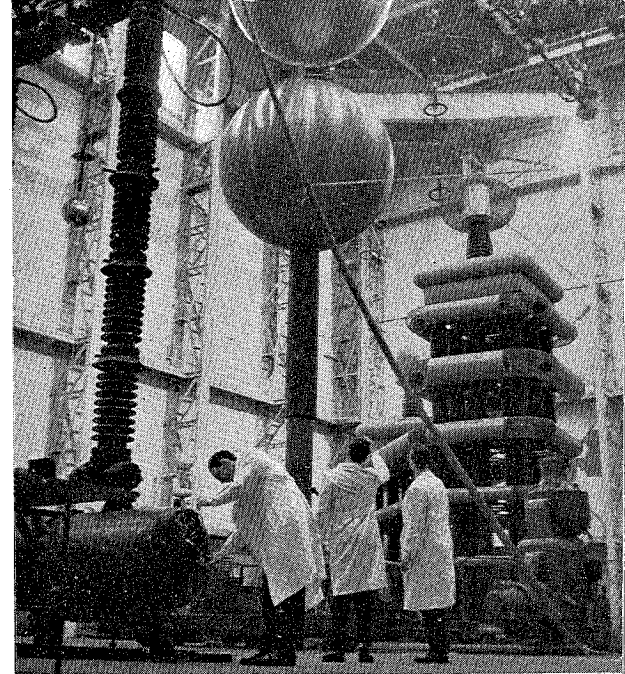


Left: *The Soviet wheat harvest is today far larger than it has ever been before—partly as a result of improved farming methods, partly due to the vast new areas opened to agriculture.*

Left, below: *Unskilled jobs are gradually disappearing, with the rapid advance of mechanisation and automation.*

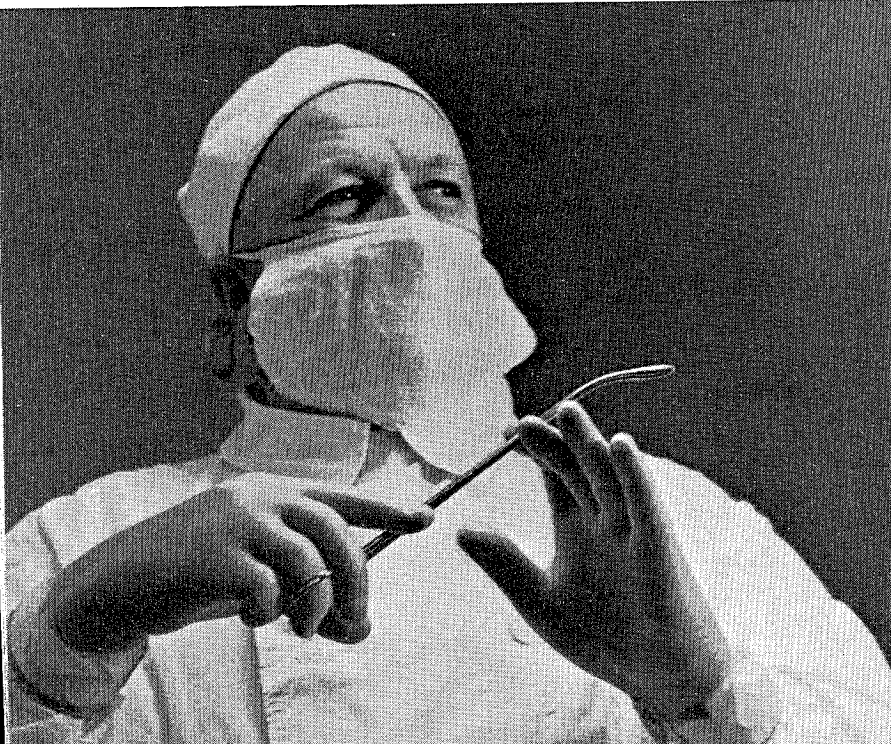
Right: *Every year millions more kW. are added to Soviet electrical power resources, as new power stations open and the grids are extended.*

Right, below: *He is working on a motor vehicle assembly line. The engineering industry, in all its forms, is also advancing at a rapid rate.*



Despite automation—skilful hands have many uses. The girl on the right is assembling watches. Today the U.S.S.R. is one of the world's largest manufacturers of precision instruments and equipment. Of watches alone, it exports 4½ million a year.

... And the hands of the surgeon are invaluable. Soviet medicine has made enormous strides in recent years, with the comprehensive free national health service and vast sums allocated from the budget for research.



society, whether physical or mental, is honourable and commands respect.

Labour discipline will not be a burden to a member of communist society: labour will no longer be a mere source of livelihood—it will be a genuinely creative process and a source of joy. That, naturally, will not come of itself. The man of the new world is being born today in the process of transition from socialist society to communism. And he bears all the traits of this transition period; he does not “fall from the sky” ready-made, but is remoulded gradually and chiefly through labour. He will gradually rid himself of selfish habits. It is labour education, the affirmation of communist morality, that the C.P.S.U. Programme sets forth as one of the main tasks in the course of transition from socialism to communism. The moral code of the builder of communism, given in detail in the C.P.S.U. Programme, comprises the moral principles characterising the communist attitude to labour:

Conscientious labour for the good of society—he who does not work, neither shall he eat;

concern on the part of everyone for the preservation and growth of public wealth;

a high sense of public duty; intolerance of actions harmful to the public interest;

collectivism and comradesly mutual assistance: one for all and all for one;

humane relations and mutual respect between individuals—man is to man a friend, comrade and brother;

an uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism and money-grubbing.

The C.P.S.U. Programme provides for a further reduction of the working day and improvement in working conditions.

It may be recalled that under socialism the working people's standard of living rises alongside the planned reduction of the working day. To achieve that, factory and office workers in the U.S.S.R. do not have to wage any struggle, declare strikes, petition the government or parliament. The Soviet state is a state of working people and, consequently, the government,

together with the trade unions, is reducing the working day on its own initiative. By the end of 1960 all factory and office workers had been switched over to a seven-hour working day, and a six-hour working day on underground jobs and in enterprises with harmful working conditions. What is more, the wages not only did not decrease but as a rule increased. During the five years of this transition of workers and employees to a shorter working day the state spent about 4,000 million roubles on increasing wages.

The twenty-year plan of communist construction in the U.S.S.R. envisages another considerable cut in the working day. In the first ten years (1961-70) the country will go over to a six-hour working day with one day off a week or to a thirty-five-hour week with two days off. For those on underground jobs and in enterprises with harmful conditions there will be a five-hour working day or a thirty-hour week. The Soviet Union will thus have the world's shortest working day and, taking into account the repeated increase in real wages, the highest-paid working day. In the second decade (1971-80) the country will go on to a still shorter working day by virtue of a corresponding rise in labour productivity.

Annual paid holidays will increase to three weeks and subsequently to one month. The system of paid holidays will be gradually extended also to collective farmers.

The reduction of working hours presents new opportunities for rapidly raising the Soviet people's cultural and technical level, for giving them much more leisure time. The prophecy of the founders of scientific communism, who had said that there would come a time when society's wealth would be measured by leisure and not working time, is coming true. In other words, society would achieve such high labour productivity and become so powerful economically that people would work less and have more time for rest and recreation.

This is precisely the process through which the Soviet Union is now going. In the past five years leisure time has increased by six and a half hours a week. Factory and office workers spend it on rest, social activity, scientific, technical

and art work, cultural entertainment and sports. Those who study at secondary and higher schools and work at the same time—and there are millions of them in the country—now have more time to increase their knowledge and improve their qualifications. The result is immense both for man and for society: greater ability, higher qualifications, and rising labour productivity. And this means a bigger national income and higher wages.

We are witnessing remarkable changes in the nature of Soviet people's labour, changes caused by rapid technological progress, notably comprehensive automation.

Automation! What a magnificent achievement of human genius, what breath-taking prospects it offers, how much it speeds up the production of the good things of life! And yet the idea of automation evokes such contradictory feelings. . . .

Not so long ago American and other Western newspapers heralded it as opening an "era of prosperity" and compared it to a "magic key to the creation of values". But now the same papers play a different tune. There are some who go so far as to argue that automation is an evil, a calamity.

Under capitalism, because of competition, some manufacturers and whole monopolies are compelled to equip their enterprises with the latest machinery. At the same time automation reduces the demand for manpower and throws people out of jobs. In short, it promotes unemployment. "Buyers are laid off", complain the Western newspapers. And that means a decline in people's purchasing power, which leads to the stockpiling of goods. . . .

What we have here is a vicious circle: if a factory owner doesn't automate his enterprise he will be handicapped in his competition with other owners, and so make less profits. If he does automate, he will increase unemployment and lose clients. In their book *Towards Automation*, the French economists C. Vincent and V. Grossain describe this contradiction like this: "Automation is fraught with social dangers for capitalism and rejection of automation is dangerous economically."

Unemployment exists already in the capitalist countries but now, with growing automation, it is increasing, becomes protracted, and a considerable part of those who lose their jobs are "victims" of technological progress. This sounds paradoxical, crazy: technology, which is called upon to facilitate and improve people's life, becomes a curse, and produces mass unemployment.

In contrast, the number of workers and employees engaged in the Soviet economy will, under the C.P.S.U. Programme, increase by about 40 per cent—that is, by at least 25 million—within twenty years. And that despite intense automation. . . .

Hence, the results of technological progress are different in different social and economic conditions. In the U.S.S.R. automation, like technological progress on the whole, has never been an end in itself. Its main aim is to facilitate man's work and render it still more productive for society.

These tasks gain special significance in the present phase of comprehensive communist construction. Technological progress is directed by the state, consciously and in a planned way, at the development of the individual. If labour is to be the prime vital requirement, if it is to bring satisfaction and joy, if it is to help develop man's physical and spiritual abilities and raise his cultural and technical level, it should be facilitated, freed of strenuous, exhausting operations; working conditions should be made as healthy as possible, and the working day should be reduced along with a simultaneous and considerable rise in nominal and real wages.

Such is the social trend of technological progress in the U.S.S.R.

Automation and comprehensive mechanisation will serve as a material basis for the gradual transition from socialist to communist labour. In the first decade (1961-70) comprehensive mechanisation will already extend to industry, agriculture, transport and the municipal economy. It will exclude manual loading and unloading jobs and strenuous labour in both basic and auxiliary operations.

The subsequent decade will be years of complex automation

with increasing emphasis on automated shops and factories. Automatic control will be highly improved. Cybernetics, electronic computer and control systems will play the "leading" role in industry, building, transport, science, planning, accounting and management. This will already be the technology of communism. Such are the main prospects.

But Soviet workers enjoy the benefits of technological progress even today.

The latest achievements of technology are widely utilised in Soviet industry. Everyone knows how strenuous and exhausting is the work of a miner, steel founder or builder. But not everyone knows how much has been done in the Soviet Union to alter radically man's work in these and many other labour-consuming branches of industry, and to make his work easier. In the coal industry, for instance, mechanisation of all the processes of extraction is already nearing completion. The time is not far when Soviet miners will not have to go underground because all the work will be done for them by machines.

Mechanisms, devices, diverse machines and whole lines have lightened the work of Soviet metallurgists, oilmen, builders, chemists, textile workers, food-processing workers and farmers.

Automation has carved itself a solid niche in the Soviet engineering industry. There are hundreds of automatic lines in operation, mostly at the automotive, farm-tool, machine-tool, electrical engineering and other enterprises. Comprehensively automated factories and shops make automobile pistons, ball and roller bearings, combine chains and other mass-production details. Every ninth or tenth machine-tool made in the U.S.S.R. is now automatic. We may add that no other country in the world produces so many machine tools, these "steel muscles of industry", as the Soviet Union. In 1961, for instance, it manufactured 164,000 metal-cutting lathes!

And people? What happens to them? Where do they go as the result of automation? Are they thrown into the street in the socialist countries, too?

No, things are absolutely different in socialist society. Here

automation does not push man out, for it is introduced in conditions where there is no unemployment but, on the contrary, there is a shortage of labour in all fields.

The advocates of the American way of life like to boast about the mass of vacuum cleaners and refrigerators made in the United States. But even the best possible household items cannot make you sure of the morrow when there are millions of unemployed in the country.

There is no denying that Soviet output of washing machines and refrigerators is so far below that in the United States. But it is growing rapidly, at a much faster rate than in the U.S. Output of cultural and household goods will on the whole treble in the current decade, while that of refrigerators, washing machines, TV sets and other goods of this sort will increase still more. And it should not be forgotten that there is full employment in the country.

The Soviet economy, developing according to plan without crises or slumps, demands an increasing number of workers. Production is constantly expanding, with up to 1,000 new large enterprises being commissioned every year. They all need workers, engineers and technicians. Many existing factories and mills are being rebuilt and enlarged. They, too, need manpower.

In the U.S.S.R. it is work that looks for people. In these conditions automation presents no danger to the worker.

It is only natural that automation releases workers in the Soviet Union, too. But they do not lose their jobs. They get work at the same enterprise where new sections or shops are opened or at nearby enterprises which are expanding their production. The law upholds the Soviet worker's interests in the conditions of automation. The factory management and the trade union are duty-bound to get him another job if no work can be found for him at the factory. And the law forbids cutting his wages in this case. If automation requires higher qualifications, the worker is sent to special courses at the expense of the enterprise and is paid his average wages for the duration.

Automation is regarded in the U.S.S.R. as one of the most important social and economic tasks, for its fulfilment is linked with the further rise of the people's standard of living. Automation greatly increases output and makes it much cheaper; it greatly facilitates work and raises workers' wages. Experience shows that at automated and comprehensively mechanised enterprises wages have gone up. The real incomes of Soviet factory and office workers (in conditions of intense automation) have risen 27 per cent in the past five years. In the light of all this it is not difficult to see why automation in the Soviet Union is regarded as a friend and why millions of workers take an active part in helping to improve production.

Automation naturally requires a higher level of education and culture. Today 40 per cent of Soviet workers and 23 per cent of collective farmers already have secondary and higher education. Compared with pre-war, the number of specialists with higher and specialised secondary education has increased almost four-fold—it was 8,784,000 at the beginning of 1961. With the advance of technology and the introduction of automatic systems based on cybernetics and electronics, the character of work at Soviet enterprises will change still more.

It is already changing, before our very eyes. Many industrial and agricultural professions, which were linked with old technology and manual labour and which existed for centuries, have now disappeared. Hundreds of specialities linked with strenuous, unskilled physical labour have been cancelled in the Soviet scale of wage rates and job categories. They have been replaced by dozens of other professions connected with automation and comprehensive mechanisation. This shows that the character of work in Soviet industry is changing in our day. The most important trait of this process is the elimination of the substantial differences between mental and physical labour.

The labour of the worker and the collective farmer, armed with the latest technique and knowledge, already today often combine the elements of physical and mental labour. At times it is difficult to distinguish an advanced worker from an

engineer and an advanced collective farmer from an agronomist.

The process of elimination of the substantial disparities between mental and physical labour is inevitably bound with the large-scale development of education. There are more than 20 million brain workers—that is about one-fifth of the total—engaged in the national economy of the Soviet Union.

The farther we advance, the more there will be Soviet people with an engineer's or technician's education. The time is not far when all workers will be cultured and educated. And then the intelligentsia will cease to exist as a special social stratum. That will mean that physical and mental labour will have merged organically.

VI

“The material and technical basis of communism will be built up by the end of the second decade (1971–80), ensuring an abundance of material and cultural values for the whole population. . . .”

PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.

COMMUNISM IS being created by the labour of millions of people. To complete the construction of communist society, in which everyone will receive what he needs, will require a lot of work and, first and foremost, the establishment of the necessary material and technical basis. This is the main economic task confronting the Soviet people. It will be fulfilled in the next twenty years, and the C.P.S.U. Programme outlines the plan for building communism in the Soviet Union over this period.

The first decade (1961–70). The Soviet Union, creating the material and technical basis of communism, will surpass the strongest and richest capitalist country, the United States, in production per head of population. It will be a decade of substantial improvement in people's material welfare and

cultural standards. The people will all live in easy circumstances. Their requirements in well-appointed housing will, in the main, be satisfied. Hard physical work will disappear. The U.S.S.R. will be a country with the shortest working day.

The second decade (1971–80). The material and technical basis of communism will be further developed, ensuring an abundance of material and cultural values for the whole population. Soviet society will come close to a stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs, and there will be a gradual transition to one form of ownership—public ownership. Thus, a communist society will, in the main, be built in the U.S.S.R., and its complete construction will follow in the subsequent period.

The following estimates give an idea of the economic might the Soviet Union will achieve in this period: in these two decades gross national output will increase approximately five-fold! Industrial output will increase at least six times and gross agricultural output about three and a half times. *This is tantamount to the Soviet Union being enlarged by another five industrial and more than two agrarian countries as large as itself is today.*

For the next twenty years the average annual increment in industrial output has been set at 9–10 per cent. This means that the rate of growth of the Soviet economy will continue to be much faster than it is in the capitalist countries. Those who predicted that this rate would “peter out” as the U.S.S.R. matured industrially have probably convinced themselves by now that such “theories” are inapplicable to the socialist economy.

Within twenty years Soviet industry will be producing almost twice as much as the entire non-socialist world produces now.

Soviet society will come close to a stage where it can introduce the principle of distribution according to needs. *A communist society will in the main have been built.*

The C.P.S.U. sets the historically important task of *achieving in the Soviet Union a standard of living higher than that of any capitalist country.*

No one has ever attempted such a grand plan of improving

people's lives. What is more, no one has ever even thought of enforcing its implementation with the aid of such powerful economic resources and such a development of society's productive forces. The Communists are the first to do this.

Anti-communist newspapermen in the West always try to conceal the truth about the rise of the Soviet people's standard of living and to belittle their achievements. When the C.P.S.U. Programme, which gives a thrilling picture of economic growth and the achievement of the highest living standards in the world, was adopted, Western propaganda alleged that the Soviet people would get in twenty years what people in the capitalist countries already had now.

Is that so? In its standard of living the U.S.S.R. is already ahead of the capitalist countries in many respects. Soviet people have no fear of the future, they have rid themselves of unemployment for ever. They are paid state social insurance or maintenance benefits in case of illness, disability or old age. Socialist society takes care of more than 20 million pensioners. No deductions are made from wages to pay for social insurance; all the costs are borne by the state.

Free medical services and free education, right up to university, is provided to all Soviet citizens. Four out of every five students receive state scholarships.

The average working week (39.4 hours) is shorter in the Soviet Union than in the United States or any other capitalist country.

Rents in the Soviet Union are the lowest in the world, totalling less than 5 per cent of the family's budget.

The pension age (60 for men, and 55 for women) is lower than it is in the Western countries. Equal pay for equal work, irrespective of a person's sex, age, race or nationality, has been the law from the first days of the socialist revolution.

The gradual abolition of income tax was introduced in 1960 and by 1965 the U.S.S.R. will have become a country without taxes.

Socialism has given Soviet people all this and more.

But communism will give them immeasurably more. And

this will be made possible by the considerable increase of society's wealth and the sharp rise in the national income, which in the next ten years will increase by 150 per cent and in twenty years by almost 400 per cent, to a total of 720,000-750,000 million roubles!

This rapid growth of the national income will ensure a high level of income and consumption for the entire population of the U.S.S.R. In the first decade (1961-70) the real incomes of factory and office workers (including public funds) per employed person will, on the average, be almost doubled, and the incomes of the lower paid workers will increase approximately by 200 per cent. By the end of the first decade there will be no low-paid workers. In other words, there will be no one going short of anything. And in twenty years the real incomes of the population will increase by more than 250 per cent, while the real incomes of collective farmers even more—by over 300 per cent.

In view of this tremendous growth of incomes and, consequently, greater demands, vast quantities of diverse goods will be available. For that there will be a considerable increase in the output of light and food industries and agriculture, and trade will be further developed. According to estimates, *per capita* consumption will increase by 250 per cent in the case of clothing and footwear and 450 per cent in the case of cultural and household goods. The volume of retail trade will increase 400 per cent.

The C.P.S.U. Programme sets the country the task of solving the most acute problem for improving the well-being of the people—housing.

“In the course of the first decade an end will be put to the housing shortage in the country. Families that are still housed in overcrowded and substandard dwellings, will get new flats. At the end of the second decade, every family, including newlyweds, will have a comfortable flat conforming to the requirements of hygiene and cultural living. Peasant houses of the old type will, in the main, give place to new modern dwellings, or—wherever possible—they will be rebuilt and appropriately improved. In the

course of the second decade housing will gradually become rent-free for all citizens" (PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.).

It should not be forgotten that so far the world has never known anything to equal the Soviet Union in the rate and volume of housing construction. There are about 3 million new flats tenanted in the country every year. Nearly 50 million Soviet citizens have moved into new flats in the past five years.

Significantly it is the socialist state which undertakes to protect and continuously improve the health of the whole population. The C.P.S.U. Programme envisages a whole system of social, economic, and medical measures to make life healthier, improve people's health and increase longevity. Today already longevity in the Soviet Union comes to sixty-nine years, and the death rate is the lowest in the world.

Measures are being planned to improve, at public expense, family living conditions, the position of women, and the maintenance of children and incapacitated people.

The number of free services, benefits and direct allowances given citizens from public funds will increase considerably.

What are these funds? They are the allocations granted by the state, trade unions and co-operative organisations to satisfy the needs of the members of society. At the expense of these funds working people receive diverse free benefits and services, various privileges and direct allowances of which we have spoken above. Soviet people already receive many things free, at public expense, irrespective of the work done. In the next two decades the volume of public funds will increase more than ten-fold to 255,000-265,000 million roubles. *At the end of the twenty years the public funds will total about half of the aggregate real income of the population.*

What free benefits will Soviet people receive at the end of the planned twenty years?

Along with the benefits they already receive today at society's expense (as mentioned above), the present generation will enjoy the following:

Free maintenance of children at children's institutions and boarding schools (if parents wish);
maintenance of disabled people;
free education at all educational establishments;
free medical services for all citizens, including the supply of medicines and the treatment of sick persons at sanatoria;
rent-free housing and free communal services;
free municipal transport facilities;
free use of some types of public services;
steady reduction of charges for, and, partially, free use of holiday homes, boarding houses, tourist camps and sports facilities;
increasingly broad provision of the population with benefits, privileges and scholarships (grants to mothers without a breadwinner, mothers of many children, scholarships for students);
gradual introduction of free public catering (midday meals) at enterprises and institutions, and for collective farmers at work.

Thus, *the Soviet Union will make considerable headway towards the practical realisation of the communist principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"*.

VIII

"The transition to communist distribution will be completed after the principle of distribution according to one's work will have outlived itself. . . ."

PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.

WE HAVE already said that under communism all the members of society will work according to their abilities and receive according to their needs, free of charge. This is the communist principle of distribution that will replace the socialist one.

And when will distribution according to need come into effect? some people ask. Why wait two decades until communist society has been built up? Wouldn't it be better if all the storehouses were opened now and everyone was given what he needs?

It can't be done yet.

To introduce distribution according to need, it is necessary to have an abundance of material and spiritual values. And that will only be possible if there is the highest possible productivity of labour and the highest level of economic development. That is the first condition.

Abundance in itself is not enough. It is also necessary to educate people, to make them highly conscious, to bring them to a stage where man works without being compelled to do so, by force of habit, to a stage where labour becomes as much a prime necessity for man's organism as food, sleep, rest and entertainment. That is the second condition.

So far these two conditions have not been created in the Soviet Union. That is why the socialist principle of distribution of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" will remain in force in the next two decades. It means that every member of society gets benefits in proportion to the work he contributes to the common cause, in accordance with the quality and quantity of work he has put in.

This principle of remuneration harmoniously combines the worker's personal material interest with the interests of society as a whole. Those who work more and better, receive more. Those who want to live better, to receive more material benefits, try to produce more for the whole society, to raise their qualification, their technical and cultural level, to master their machine or lathe, and to raise the productivity of labour.

Thus, under socialism, when an abundance of material benefits has not yet been created, the principle of remuneration according to work done is a powerful lever which helps society to multiply its wealth and improve people's well-being.

The principle of remuneration according to work is also an

important means of controlling the amount of work and of consumption. Socialist society has not yet rid itself completely of the vestiges of the past.

True, the overwhelming majority of citizens work conscientiously, regarding their work as a very important duty. But there are still some people who want to live in clover at the expense of others; there are parasites and crooks who try to give as little as possible to society or give it nothing at all, and grab everything they can from it. Society is forced to use all sorts of methods against such people; persuasion and compulsion. One of the most effective is the principle of remuneration according to work.

Each for society and society for each is the unbreakable rule in the U.S.S.R. If it is important for socialism, it is all the more necessary for communist society whose motto is: "*Labour for the benefit of society is the sacred duty of all. . . . Anyone who received any benefits from society without doing his share of work, would be a parasite living at the expense of others*" (PROGRAMME OF THE C.P.S.U.).

Thus, in the next two decades, while the material and technical basis of communism and abundance of foodstuffs are being created, remuneration according to work will remain the main source for satisfying the Soviet people's material and cultural requirements.

In these two decades the majority of unskilled factory and office workers will become skilled and their wages will naturally increase considerably. Relatively low wages will be raised to the level of higher ones and, consequently, the gap in the remuneration of work will grow less year by year. The difference between the peasants' and workers' incomes will gradually lessen, as will that between incomes in various parts of the country.

But that is not all. . . . As we advance to communism, people's personal requirements will be satisfied more and more at the expense of public funds. In the next two decades these funds will increase much faster than people's wages, and that means that more and more free services and benefits will be

introduced. These funds are the form which leads directly to communist distribution. And when the overwhelming majority of the people's requirements are satisfied at the expense of public funds and everyone has learned to work conscientiously, with enthusiasm, to the best of his abilities, then the principle of remuneration according to work will have outlived itself and will be replaced by the principle of remuneration according to need.

* * *

We have shown that communism and labour are indivisible. But there is yet one other prerequisite without which communist labour is unthinkable, and that is peace. Peace is essential to all people on earth; it is also essential to the Soviet people who have set themselves the great task of building up a society of genuine equality, fraternity, freedom and happiness for all.

That is why the new C.P.S.U. Programme is impregnated with the spirit of struggle for man's happiness and especially for peace.

Man's labour! He has created all there is on earth, all that is good and splendid, all that keeps life going and adorns it, and he has created it often in bitter struggle, and despite difficulties and privations. . . . Just imagine what will happen on earth when labour—freed of oppression and accompanied by peace—joyful labour, eager to create, comes into its own everywhere! It will create the magnificent society and morality of which mankind today can only dream.

APPENDIX

I

Average number of factory and office workers engaged in the Soviet national economy (in millions)

1940	1950	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962 (Plan)
31.2	38.9	54.6	56.5	62.0	66.0	68.5

II

Average working day for adult workers in Soviet industry (in hours)

1913	1956	At the end of 1960
9.9	7.96	6.94

The average duration of the working week in industry is now forty hours, and the average duration of the working week of all the factory and office workers in the Soviet Union (taking into account the reduced working day in the case of teachers and medical workers) is 39.4 hours.

In the next two decades the working day in the U.S.S.R. will be reduced to six or five and less hours, and will be the shortest in the world.

III

Percentage of women workers in the whole economy

1929	1940	1960
27	38	47

Women constitute 45 per cent of the total labour force in industry and 41 per cent in agriculture.

Women make up an especially big proportion in public health—85 per cent; in education—69 per cent; in government, economic management and co-operative and public organisations—51 per cent.

*Number of specialists (minus servicemen) with a higher and specialised secondary education in the Soviet national economy—
(in thousands)*

	<i>Jan. 1</i>	<i>Dec. 1</i>	<i>Beginning</i>
<i>1913</i>	<i>1941</i>	<i>1956</i>	<i>of 1961</i>
190	2,401	6,257	8,784

Number of engineers who graduated (in thousands)

		<i>1950</i>	<i>1955</i>	<i>1960</i>
U.S.S.R.	37	75	120
United States	53	22	38