

ON COMMUNIST SOCIETY*

Defining the conditions in which the higher, communist, phase of the new society will be established, Marx wrote: “...*After the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life’s prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can... society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!*”[†]

These conditions, named by Marx, are gradually taking shape in the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, as a result of the development of tendencies discussed in the previous chapter. Ultimately these conditions with natural historical inevitability will bring about the complete victory of communism.

The birth of this new, higher system is a matter of the not very distant future. Hence, in our day the question as to what communism is has become of great practical interest for millions of working people. They want to know, and should know, what kind of a society will arise as a result of their efforts, their day-to-day endeavours—big and small, heroic and prosaic.

Can social science satisfy this interest? It doubtlessly can, if we are concerned not with details, but with the general outlines of the new society.

It should, of course, be borne in mind that the victory of communism does not mean a halt in historical development: communist society will change and improve continuously. It is impossible therefore to predict precisely what it will be like after a number of centuries, and still less after thousands of years. But to the question what communism will look like to many of our contemporaries, what the communist system will be like in the first stages of its development—to this question a quite definite answer can already be given. It is given by Marxist-Leninist theory.

In doing so, Marxism-Leninism does not try to fit communism into some kind of pre-conceived pattern, but proceeds wholly from an analysis of the tendencies of pre-sent-day life, from which the communist future of mankind arises directly.

The most complete expression of modern Marxist ideas of communism is to be

* Chapter 27 of the book: Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism

† K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, F.L.P.H., 1962, Vol. II, p. 24

found in the Program of the C.P.S.U. adopted by its Twenty-Second Congress. It contains a detailed description of the fundamental features of communist society, its material and technical basis, social relations, and the moral qualities of communist man.

A generalised definition of communism is formulated in the Program as follows:

*“Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society; under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of co-operative wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle ‘From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs’ will be implemented. Communism is a highly organised society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which 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.”**

1. A Society of Universal Sufficiency and Abundance

Communism is a society that puts an end to want and poverty once and for all, assuring the well-being of all its citizens. The working people’s age-old dream of abundance comes true.

Thinking of communist abundance, today we no longer have to dream of fabulous lands flowing with milk and honey. It is enough to think of the benefits which people will be given in the near future by the latest achievements of socialist science and technology, and by the successes of social production, freed by socialism from the fetters that had hindered its rapid and continuous advance.

These successes make it possible to construct a mighty material and technical basis, to raise labour productivity to an unprecedented level, and to achieve a very high degree of planned organisation of the entire social economy, which will ensure the most effective and rational utilisation of material wealth and manpower resources. As a result, man’s mastery of nature will attain vast heights. The elemental forces of nature will increasingly be more fully utilised in the interests of man, who will at last be able to solve problems which preceding generations attacked in vain.

Worry over his daily bread has always been man’s prime care. Communism will

* Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (The Road to Communism, F.L.P.H., 1962, p. 509)

solve this problem fully and for all time. In communist society, agricultural labour will become a variety of industrial labour; agriculture will be amply provided with the most diverse up-to-date machines and will be based on the most advanced scientific methods. This will bring about an unprecedented rise in its productivity and enable all members of society to have an abundance of healthy, tasty, and varied food.

This task is fully feasible. The present achievements of agronomy and biology and successes in the mechanisation of agricultural production are already laying a solid foundation for its accomplishment. If all these achievements could be applied in all countries, this alone, scientists estimate, would make it possible fully to meet the scientifically based food requirements not only of the present population of the world, but of one many time greater.

The higher the level of civilisation, the wider and more diverse the range of things and services that people need. The conception of well-being today already includes not only good food, but also convenient and spacious homes, high-quality beautiful clothes, diverse household articles which make daily life more comfortable and beautiful. It also includes convenient means of transport and articles needed for cultural recreation (books, wireless and TV sets, musical instruments, athletic gear), and many other things.

Communism aims at fully satisfying people's needs for all these things and services.

Present-day achievements of science, technology, and the organisation of production make this aim fully realisable.

What indeed can prevent the accomplishment of this task, despite its complexity?

A shortage of raw material? Depletion of the store-houses nature has prepared for mankind? It is already quite clear that this danger does not threaten man. The advance of agriculture opens up huge sources of raw material for the production of consumer goods.

Colossal wealth still lies concealed in the bowels of the earth and the ocean depths. But perhaps still greater promise is held out by the manufacture and utilisation of synthetic materials which, far from being inferior in quality, even exceed natural raw materials in many respects. Man has learned to make remarkable new materials from coal and natural gas, oil, and by-products of wood, sea-water, and even air. It is along these lines that mankind will be able radically to solve the raw material problem in the near future.

Nor can a shortage of labour-power become an obstacle to abundance, for there is no limit to the productivity of human labour. People have already learned to harness such mighty forces of nature and to create such machines that the productivity of man's labour can be multiplied thousands of times. They have discovered inexhaustible sources of energy in nature itself—in water, in the air, deep in the earth

and, lastly, in the atom.

They have learned to make very clever automatic machines which in the relatively near future will be able to give humanity an abundance of all the things it needs for its life.

The achievements of modern science and technology, and the discoveries that they are on the threshold of making, provide tangible and real prospects of satisfying all the needs of the members of society not only as regards prime necessities but also as regards goods and services that are considered luxuries today.

Scientific communism, therefore, regards the problems of universal sufficiency and abundance in inseparable connection with the problems of developing socialist production and raising the productivity of labour. This undoubtedly is the only practicable approach. It distinguishes Marxists from all supporters of so-called "consumer communism" who, discussing the path to abundance, have laid emphasis not on production, but on the distribution of material benefits. Their ideal was simple division, the distribution between members of society of all the accumulated riches, both possessed individually and those concentrated in the hands of society, which should be utilised for the development of production. But such a division could only create a brief illusion of general well-being. Then it would inexorably lead not to abundance, but to impoverishment, not to equality in wealth, but to equality in poverty. A just system of distribution, according to the deep conviction of Marxists, which is confirmed by experience, can be of benefit only if it rests on powerful, continuously expanding production, if society thinks not only of how to divide the available benefits, but also of how to augment them constantly.

Hence, the way to create communist abundance is further to develop the large-scale machine industry of socialist society at a rapid pace. That this is the natural path of development is self-evident today. But in the period when Marx and Engels drew this conclusion and made it part of the basis of scientific communism it was a cardinal discovery of socialist thought. At that time, the most widely held views were those of the representatives of utopian socialism who thought that the well-being of the people could be achieved only by going back from large-scale machine industry that arose in the epoch of capitalism to small-scale production. Can anyone today doubt that such a path would ultimately lead to the restoration of the capitalist order of things, to the regress, and not to the progress, of mankind.

By regarding large-scale modern production, and technical and scientific progress as the only possible basis for the creation of abundance, Marxism-Leninism by no means makes the solution of this problem dependent only on production, on technology. No, this problem has a no less important social aspect. Its solution is quite impossible without the social conditions formed after the victory of socialism. No technical or scientific progress under capitalism can ensure abundance for all members of society. A vivid example is furnished by the United States, the richest and most developed country in the capitalist world, where the high level of produc-

tion, it would seem, could ensure a comfortable life for the entire population, but where despite this, there are millions of people who are undernourished, live in bad conditions and lack the bare necessities of life.

This means that it is only in combination with the principles of socialism that a high technology of production can provide genuine abundance for all the people. It is only after the social system, and the production and distribution of material and spiritual values, have been remade along socialist, and then along communist lines, that this abundance begins to yield its fruit for every member of society.

2. From Each According to His Ability

Under communism, as under any other social system, human labour remains the necessary source of all values. *“Communism will bring man not a lordly life in which laziness and idleness prevail, but a life of labour, an industrious, cultured and interesting life!”* (N. S. Khrushchov).*

Hence, whatever the development of technology, whatever the victories of science, people will have to work and the slogan “from each according to his ability” will remain the immutable principle of the communist system.

It is well known that this principle already prevails under socialism, proclaiming the duty of all members of society to work to the full measure of their abilities. Communism, however, introduces deep changes into the content of the formula “from each according to his ability”.

Firstly, by ensuring the all-round development of the individual, the conditions of the communist system lead to the flowering of all the abilities of man and thereby make labour performed to the full measure of his ability much more productive. Secondly, owing to the abolition of the old division of labour, all the necessary conditions will gradually be created for each person to do the work for which he is best fitted by ability and inclination, and which will be for him his favourite occupation. Thirdly, the fulfilment by each person of his duty to work according to his ability is ensured under communism by different methods than under socialism. As we know, in socialist society material stimuli (payment according to work), operating in combination with moral stimuli, are of decisive significance. Under communism, all members of society will work, prompted solely by moral stimuli, a high degree of social consciousness. In other words, this will be labour without payment, and the satisfaction without payment of all the needs of the workers.

“Communist labour in the narrower and stricter sense of the term,” Lenin wrote, *“is labour performed gratis for the benefit of society, labour performed, not*

* N. S. Khrushchov, *Educate Active and Politically Conscious Builders of Communist Society*, Moscow, 1958, pp. 11-13

*as a definite duty, not for the purpose of obtaining a right to certain products, not according to previously established and legally fixed rates, but voluntary labour, irrespective of rates, labour performed without expectation of reward, without the condition of reward, labour performed out of a habit of working for the common good, and out of a conscious realisation (become a habit) of the necessity of working for the common good—labour as the requirement of a healthy organism.”**

It is clear that labour can become a habit, life’s prime want of each person, not only when the consciousness of people reaches great heights, but also when the very nature of labour itself changes.

One of the prime conditions for this exists already under socialism: the exploitation of man by man disappears. Other conditions are created in the period of transition to communism. Human labour is replaced by machines wherever excessive physical exertion is required, wherever work is monotonous and exhausting. The time spent working in material production is steadily reduced. Lastly, there is abolished the old division of labour which crippled man, chained him for life to one trade, barring the road to the development of his capabilities and inclinations.

Thus, the labour activities of people are transformed on the basis of the technical re-equipment of industry and the wide application to it of the achievements of science, on the basis of the social and cultural progress of the new society. Under communism human labour will be entirely freed from everything that made it an onerous burden for thousands of years. It will become not only free, but also genuinely creative. In the automated production of communist society an ever greater place in man’s work will be assumed by the functions which no machine is capable of performing, i. e., primarily the creative functions associated with the design and improvement of machines, their adjustment, and the compilation and control of programmes and regimes of technological processes.

An approximate picture of what labour will be like under communism can be drawn by bearing in mind its main features, which are as follows:

each worker, both as regards skill and the nature of his labour, performs functions for which trained engineers and technicians are required in present-day production;

people work 20-25 hours a week (i. e., approximately 4-5 hours a day) and, in time, even less;

each person can choose an occupation in conformity with his or her inclinations and abilities and change it at will;

all talents and abilities inherent in people are fully developed and applied either in their production activities or in their free time;

while working, a man does not have to think about his livelihood, or how much

* V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, F.L.P.H., 1952, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 339

he will get for his labour, because society has assumed all responsibility for satisfying his requirements;

labour enjoys the highest respect in society and becomes in the eyes of all the chief measure of man's worth.

Under such conditions, labour naturally turns into a free, voluntary matter, into an inner urge and habit of all members of society, because creative labour is liked by every normal human being and is, as Engels put it, "*the highest enjoyment known to us*".*

For labour to give people happiness, it need not be converted into a sort of entertaining game that requires no exertion of physical or mental effort, as some utopian socialists imagined. Polemising against such naive views, Marx wrote that "*free labour, for example the labour of the composer, is at the same time a devilishly serious matter, a most intensive strain*". No less serious a matter is the labour of a designer, inventor or writer, in a word, every genuinely creative labour. But does the exertion which it involves make such labour less attractive?

Free creative labour under communism will give the members of society such deep satisfaction that the conception of leisure will not be associated in their mind with the conception of complete idleness. Besides their main production activities, which will take up only a small part of the day, many people will undoubtedly engage in science, invention, art, literature, etc. The general cultural level and the special knowledge of millions of people will be so high that all these forms of "amateur" activities will represent a constantly growing contribution to the development and prosperity of society.

Communism will gradually make the supreme joy of free and creative labour available not only to a few but to all; the time spent working, which throughout the centuries was considered lost by the millions, will become time that makes life fuller.

That will be a great achievement of communist humanism. Its results will be felt in all spheres of society's life, giving rise to new relations between people, creating prerequisites for the unprecedented development of the personality and ensuring conditions for the firm establishment of the new, communist mode of distribution.

3. To Each According to His Needs

Communism makes possible and necessary a mode of distribution of material and spiritual benefits which is based on the principle "to each according to his needs". In other words, everyone, irrespective of his position, of the quantity and

* K, Marx, F, Engels, On Britain, F.L.P.H., 1962, p. 152

quality of labour he can give society, receives from society gratis everything he needs.

It is easy to understand that this means not only a very great revolution in views on labour which, as shown above, ceases to be a mere means of earning a livelihood. Together with the disappearance of the need to control the amount of labour and consumption, together with the abolition of money and the disappearance of commodity-money relations, the very nature of the connections between man and society are radically changed. These connections are completely freed from selfish considerations, from everything introduced in them by the quest for an income, for material gain.

The opportunity to obtain gratis at any time from the public stocks everything needed for a cultured and carefree life will have a wholesome effect on man's mind, which will no longer be weighed down by concern for the morrow. In the new psychology and the new ethics there will be no room for thought of income and private property, the quest for which constitutes the entire meaning and purpose of life for many people under capitalism. Man, at long last, will receive the opportunity to dedicate him-self to lofty interests, among which social interests will take a foremost place.

Distribution according to needs is introduced under communism, however, not only out of humane considerations and not only out of a desire to free all members of society from concern for the morrow. It takes place also owing to a direct economic necessity which arises at this high stage in the development of social production. Distributing material and spiritual benefits in conformity with the requirements of people, the communist system thereby creates the best conditions for the further development of its main productive force, the working man, for the flowering of all his abilities. This will benefit both the individual and society in equal measure. Pointing to this circumstance, Engels wrote *that "distribution, in so far as it is governed by purely economic considerations, will be regulated by the interests of production, and that production is most encouraged by a mode of distribution which allows all members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality"*.*

Some non-too-clever critics of Marxism try to prove the unfeasibility of the ideals of communist society by raising various "tricky" questions. If all benefits are distributed gratis, will not everyone want to get every day not only a new suit of clothes but also a new automobile? and what if each member of society demands for himself a palace with scores of rooms, or wants to get a collection of jewellery and unique works of art?

The authors of such absurd suppositions slander the citizens of the future com-

* F. Engels, *Anti-Diihring*, F.L.P.H., 1962, p. 276

munist society, to whom they ascribe their own failings. The communist system naturally cannot undertake to satisfy all whims and caprices. Its aim, as Engels stressed, is the satisfaction of the reasonable needs of people in an ever-increasing measure.* Does this mean that instead of money relations some other forms of a forcible regulation of consumption will be needed? No, under communism, it should be expected, there will in general be no need to determine which needs are reasonable and which are not. People themselves will be sufficiently cultured and conscious not to make obviously unreasonable demands on society. As Lenin wrote in 1917, communism “*presupposes not the present productivity of labour and not the present ordinary run of people, who, like the seminary students in Pomyalovsky’s† stories, are capable of damaging the stocks of public wealth ‘just for fun’, and of demanding the impossible*”‡

Naturally, a certain amount of time will be needed to develop in all citizens a reasonable attitude to consumption, but the society of the future with its abundance of material and spiritual benefits and high level of consciousness of the citizens can fully cope with this task. And if nevertheless there are some people with unjustifiably high claims, they will not be able to disorganise the communist system of distribution. Society will be able to give people with an inordinate appetite ... a double portion.§

Engels wrote. But in communist society this will only place such people in a ridiculous light before public opinion. After that, hardly anyone would want to repeat such an experiment.

It will be all the easier for people to get used to communist forms of consumption since it does not require of them any artificial self-restriction or asceticism, or an austere way of life. In general, the preaching of asceticism is alien to scientific communism, which sees the aim of social production precisely in the full satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of all members of society. Moreover, communist society itself from the very beginning will be sufficiently rich to satisfy generously all the needs of the citizens for food, clothing, shelter, and other prime necessities, and also to place at their disposal everything an intelligent and cultured person needs for a full and happy life. Under such conditions of general sufficiency and abundance there is hardly likely to be anyone who will think of accumulating wealth and multiplying articles of personal consumption in excess of his needs and the amount freely provided him by society.

* K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, F.L.P.H., 1958, Vol. II, p. 165

† N. Pomyalovsky, a Russian writer of the nineteenth century, described the strict regime which prevailed in seminaries and the coarse customs of their students.—Ed.

‡ V. I. Lenin, The State and Revolution, F.L.P.H., 1961, p. 166

§ F. Engels, Anti-Diihring, F.L.P.H., 1962, pp. 471-472

Under communism, moreover, there will be radical changes in forms of consumption. It has already been mentioned that during the transition to communism an ever-increasing part of people's needs will be met from public funds. These needs will be, in the first place, those whose satisfaction in an individual way (if it is a matter of all members of society) presents the greatest economic difficulty. Convenient public transport instead of private cars; rest homes, boarding-houses, country hotels, etc., instead of personal country cottages; model public dining rooms and kitchens providing ready-made meals; clubs, crèches and kindergartens; places for rest and recreation, libraries, and so on, which will do away with the need for continually increasing the size of flats and dwellings—all this is not only a great economy for society, but has many advantages for the consumer, saving him from irrational expenditure of time and labour, and at the same time providing a reliable guarantee against private-property hoarding tendencies.

Undoubtedly, under communism, consumption itself will rise to a higher level, the tastes of people will develop and become more refined. Communist social relations will educate a man who will abhor depraved tastes and requirements, characteristic of past epochs when possession of things and the level of consumption were primary criteria of man's position in society. Instead of luxury, the main criteria of the value of things will become convenience and real beauty: people will cease to see in things an object of vainglory and a measure of success in life, will cease to live for the sake of amassing things, and thereby will restore to things their real purpose: to ease and beautify man's life.

It may be assumed that the laws governing mass production—and production of all the main articles will be such under communism—will operate in the same direction. Of course, in time communist society will become so rich that it will be able to satisfy the highest requirements of people. But it will also be so rational that it will not waste human labour and public wealth. More rational and worthier application will always be found for both. It will involve, of course, not the lowering of aesthetic demands, but the rise of new higher aesthetic criteria, corresponding to the entire pattern and way of the new life.

Thus, *“for all their diversity, the requirements of people will express the sound, reasonable requirements of the fully developed person”*. (From the Programme of the C.P.S.U.)*

All this shows that the realisation of the communist principle, “to each according to his needs”, will be a tremendous achievement of mankind. There is no point in trying to guess what concrete form these needs will take. One thing is clear—they will be much higher and more diverse than at present. Human wants are not something petrified and immutable, they are developing all the time. Under com-

* Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (The Road to Communism, F.L.P.H., 1962, p. 510)

munism, this process will be particularly rapid. That is why the communist system sets itself the task of satisfying the constantly rising needs of all members of society.

4. The Free Man in the Free Society

“Communism,” states the Programme of the C. P. S. U., *“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 peoples of the earth.”**

What mankind has dreamed of during hundreds and thousands of years will become a reality under communism.

Equality and Freedom

Equality and freedom have always been the ideal of the progressive part of mankind.

Many social movements of the past developed under this banner, including the bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But in a society founded on private ownership of the means of production and divided into classes of exploited and exploiters, oppressed and oppressors, this ideal remained unrealisable.

It is only when the means of production become public property and exploitation of man by man is made impossible that a way is opened to actual, not simply formal, equality of people, to their real emancipation.

This historic task is fully accomplished by communism. Universal actual equality of people is one of its main social principles.

Equality is achieved in the first place by the fact that communism is a classless society in which the last remnants are abolished of the social distinction and attendant inequality still preserved under socialism, including the distinctions between town and country, between manual workers and brain workers.

The disappearance of these distinctions in no way signifies a levelling of individualities, a uniformity of human capabilities and characters. Communism is not a barracks inhabited by persons who lack individuality, Such a caricature of the future society can be painted only by incorrigible vulgarisers or deliberate slanderers. In reality this society opens up boundless scope, which has never existed in the past, for the all-round development of the human personality in all its limitless di-

* Ibid., p. 439

versity.

Communist equality presupposes the eradication not of all distinctions between people, but only of such distinctions and such conditions as would give rise to a difference in the social position of people. Irrespective of a person's origin and position, irrespective of his contribution to social production, under communism he will receive equal opportunities with all others to decide common affairs, will receive opportunities for self-improvement and the enjoyment of all the good things of life. It is one of the salient features of communism that it ensures that highest degree of equality under which, as Marx said, even "distinction in activity, in labour does not involve any inequality, any privilege in the sense of possession and consumption".* Herein lies the great social significance of the mode of distribution of material and spiritual values which the communist system introduces.

At the same time communism also brings with it the final triumph of human freedom. Already in the first, socialist phase of development of the new society people receive the most important of all the freedoms, freedom from the need to work for exploiters. The fact that the working people are at the helm in socialist society gives true meaning to democracy, i. e., the principle of rule by the people. Communism goes farther, creating for the first time the conditions under which all need for coercion disappears.

Why does this become possible under communism, although in past history no society could even dream of renouncing coercion? The point is that for thousands of years social conditions prevailed that made irreconcilable contradictions, the clash of interests of individuals and entire classes, inevitable. It is this division of society that gave rise to coercion, bringing into being a special machine of class violence and also a system of legal standards imposed on people by a force concentrated in the hands of the ruling classes.

Such division of society is abolished already with the victory of socialism. Communism, transforming production, distribution and labour, at the same time ensures the full fusion of the social and economic interests of all members of society. As a result, the grounds for any measures of coercion disappear. The relations of domination and subordination are finally replaced by free co-operation. There is no need for the state. The need for legal regimentation withers away. For cultured people imbued with lofty ideas and high moral standards, as people will be under communism, the observance of the norms of human behaviour in the community becomes a habit, second nature. In these conditions, Engels wrote, "the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production".†

The disappearance from public life of all compulsion will transform not only

* F. Engels, *Deutsche Ideologie*, MEGA, 1. Abt., Bd. 5, Moscow-Leningrad, 1933, S. 526

† K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Works*, F.L.P.H., 1962, Vol. II, p. 151

the social conditions of future society, but also man himself, who in everything will act freely in accordance with his convictions and his moral duty.

All-Round Development of the Personality

The supreme goal of communism is to ensure full freedom of development of the human personality, to create conditions for the boundless development of the individual, for the physical and spiritual perfection of man. It is in this that Marxism sees genuine freedom in the highest meaning of this word.

Universal sufficiency, an improved system of social hygiene and health services and a rational mode of life in communist society will ensure man's health, longevity and physical perfection. The mode of distribution inherent in communism will free people for ever from care for their daily bread. Free, creative labour, the opportunity to engage in a congenial occupation, far from suppressing, will, on the contrary, develop man's versatile capabilities.

The cultural life of society will attain an unprecedented level of development. The Programme of the C. P. S. U. states in this connection:

“Absorbing and developing all the best that has been created by world culture, communist culture will be a new, higher stage in the cultural progress of mankind. It will embody the versatility and richness of the spiritual life of society, and the lofty ideals and humanism of the new world. It will be the culture of a classless society, a culture of the entire people, of all mankind.”*

Leisure time will increase greatly. Let us recall the great significance that Marx attached to this. He said that under communism the wealth of society will be measured not by the amount of working time but by the free time of its members. Leisure means not only time for rest, the restoration of man's strength, but also, to use the words of Marx, space for the development of his personality.

The members of the new society, cultured people of versatile development, will undoubtedly find rational and worthy ways of filling this “space”. Study will become just as much an integral element of each man's way of life as work, rest, and sleep. The enjoyment of all kinds of cultural benefits will rise immeasurably. Society, becoming richer, will be able to assign ever more resources and labour for the production of these benefits.

The development and improvement of the individual will also be facilitated to a great extent by the fact that communist society will ensure boundless opportunities for the display of all man's abilities and, as is known, talents need to be used in

* Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (The Road to Communism. F.L.P.H., 1962, pp. 576-577)

order to flourish and become perfected.

With the creation of all these prerequisites the full power of the human intellect will be developed. The cultivation of people's characters and sentiments will also attain immense heights. The new conditions of life will fully develop new moral stimuli: solidarity, mutual good will, a deep sense of community with other people, members of the single human family. All this will open before mankind boundless opportunities to enjoy life, to partake of its pleasures in full.

At the same time the all-round development of the individual will be a powerful factor in the further rapid progress of communist society. For the intellect, talents, and abilities of people are the greatest of all the riches any society possesses. But in the past, owing to social conditions, this wealth was utilised only to a minimal extent. What

boundless prospects will open up when the abilities and talents of each man are fully developed and when they are utilised fruitfully and not wasted!

An Organised Community of People of Versatile Development

The freedom that communism gives man will not mean the disintegration of society into separate communities and still less into individuals who do not recognise any social ties.

Such a conception of freedom is entertained only by the followers of anarchism and petty-bourgeois individualism. For them freedom consists in the rupture of all social ties and the abolition of any social organisation. But such "freedom" cannot be of benefit to people.

Society needs a perfected form of organisation for social production to function normally and develop, for culture and civilisation to advance, ensuring all people well-being, and a free and happy life. "Communism," the Programme of the C.P.S.U. stresses, "represents the highest form of organisation of public life."* That is why the place of the state is taken not by the reign of universal anarchy, but by a system of public self-government.

It is pointless to guess at the definite forms this system will assume, but some of its general outlines can be discerned with a considerable degree of certainty.

Public self-government under communism is an organisational system embracing the entire population, which will directly administer its affairs with the help of this system. The Programme of the C.P.S.U. draws the conclusion that the Soviets, trade-union, cooperative and other mass organisations of the working people will be united in such self-government. In this way the active participation of all mem-

* Ibid., p. 556

bers of society in the management of public affairs will be ensured. The Programme points out:

“Public functions similar to those performed by the state today in the sphere of economic and cultural management will be preserved under communism and will be modified and perfected as society develops. But the character of the functions and the ways in which they are carried out will be different from those under socialism. The bodies in charge of planning, accounting, economic management, and cultural advancement, now government bodies, will lose their political character and will become organs of public self-government. Communist society will be a highly-organised community of working men.

*Universally recognised rules of the communist way of life will be established whose observance will become an organic need and habit with everyone.”**

The atmosphere in which the activities of public self-government will be carried on will also be different. Public self-government presupposes not only full publicity and knowledge of society’s affairs, but also a very high degree of civic activity of people, their deep interest in these affairs. To take part in administering the affairs of society will become the inner need and habit of everyone just as much as socially useful labour.

Most likely a public discussion of society’s affairs will involve disputes. This, however, will not be an obstacle, but on the contrary will help to find the most correct solution of problems. Insoluble contradictions, as experience shows, arise on the basis of irreconcilable interests and ignorance. These causes will be ruled out under communism; consequently, only differences in experience, in degree of knowledge, in approach to some particular questions will remain. But it will not be difficult to resolve such divergences in conditions of a deep-seated community of interests, aims, and world outlook.

All these features of communist public self-government will make communism the highest form of organisation of social life, in which all production units, all self-governing associations, will be harmoniously dovetailed in a general planned economy, in a single rhythm of social life.

Of course, public self-government presupposes a different type of man and, in turn, creates him. The communist man is not an egotist and not an individualist. He will be distinguished by high communist consciousness and organisation, love of labour, honesty and discipline. But those qualities will be ensured not by compulsion but because they have become his inner duty, the expression of his morality. The mainspring of this morality is devotion to the collective, readiness and ability sacredly to observe the public interests. It is these qualities of the free and equal citizens of the new society that will make communism a highly-organised and harmonious community of people, real masters of creative communist labour.

* Ibid., p. 511

5. Peace and Friendship, Co-operation and Rapprochement of the Peoples

Communism means new relations between the peoples.

They will arise as a result of the further development of the principles of socialist internationalism, which today constitute the basis of relations between the countries of the socialist world system.

The victory of the socialist revolution abolishes the social and economic causes which give rise to wars between states and makes peace and friendship the basis of relations between the peoples who are building the new society. Communism still further reinforces these relations, a result which follows from the very essence of the communist system. “...*In contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium,*” Marx wrote prophetically about communism, “a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same—Labour!”*

We see that today, too, the principle of equality of nations, irrespective of their size and level of economic and cultural development, prevails in relations between the socialist countries. The victory of communism raises this principle to a new, higher level, ensuring the actual equality of countries where the new system has been established.

Already during the transition to communism all of them are brought up to the level of the advanced ones and they will more or less simultaneously enter the communist era.

The creation of a world socialist system has brought with it the close co-operation and mutual assistance of the liberated peoples. Communism means the further consolidation and advance of this co-operation, the increasing all-round association of the nations on the basis of common economic, political, and spiritual interests, fraternal friendship and co-operation. Such association will serve to promote the most rapid and successful development of each nation and, at the same time, of communist mankind as a whole.

All these changes are an inalienable part of the communist remaking of society, which will result in the disappearance of all traces of disunity and isolation in

* K. Marx, F. Engels, Selected Works, F.L.P.H., 1962, Vol. I, p. 490

the relations between peoples.

Nations and, therefore, also national cultures and languages will, of course, continue to exist for a very long time after the victory of communism. But life and the contacts of various peoples will be freed from everything that gives even the least pretext for enmity and discord, isolation and estrangement, national egoism and exclusiveness.

This will be a colossal gain for mankind. The abolition of only one such wasteful, savage, and bloody form of international "contact" as war, even at the present level of economic development, would make it possible to accomplish gigantic tasks. It has been calculated, for example, that the resources swallowed up by the Second World War were enough for building a five-room house for each family in the world and also a hospital in each town with a population of over 5,000 people and to maintain all these hospitals for ten years. Thus, the resources wasted on one world war would be enough for radically solving the housing and health problems that today are so acute for the majority of mankind.

What treasures could be created by employing for constructive purposes the funds now spent on the arms race, the energies of tens of millions of people now serving in the armed forces or working in war industry!

The economic drawing together of the communist countries, the development of their economy along the lines of a world communist system, will also bring tremendous benefits to the peoples. Broad co-operation and specialisation will open up new opportunities to save human labour and increase the output of all goods. On this basis, rates of economic growth will be accelerated to an unprecedented degree.

Boundless possibilities are opened up under communism for the cultural advancement of mankind as well. The cultures of different peoples, national in form, will be increasingly imbued with a single communist content. Their drawing together on this basis will provide a mighty stimulus to the mutual enrichment and development of national cultures and in the long run will lead to the formation of a single, deeply international culture which will be truly the culture of all mankind. The rates of scientific progress will be greatly accelerated because it will become possible to co-ordinate the efforts of scientists on an international, and then on a world-wide, scale. The contacts of people of different countries and nationalities will be on an unprecedented scale. They will know each other better, learn from each other and increasingly feel that they are members of one human family.

It may be said that communism will impart a new, lofty meaning to the very concept of "mankind", turning the human race which for thousands of years was torn asunder by discord, quarrels, conflicts and wars, into one world-wide commonwealth.

6. Future Prospects of Communism

So far we have discussed primarily the immediate prospects of communism, the prospects in store for the first generations of people who will have the good fortune of living in that society. Even its general contours show that the communist system from its very first steps realises the most cherished aspirations of mankind, its dream of general sufficiency and abundance, freedom and equality, peace, brotherhood, and co-operation of people.

This is quite natural because the ideal of communism goes back deep into history, into the very depths of the life of millions of the working people. Dreams of this ideal can already be found in folk tales about the “Golden Age” that were composed at the dawn of civilisation. The liberation movements of the working masses in antiquity and the Middle Ages put forward many demands which were communistic in their substance. At the boundary between the two epochs, feudal and capitalist, the outstanding thinkers of those days, the utopian socialists, Moore, Campanella, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, and the Russian revolutionary democrats Herzen, Chernyshevsky, Belinsky and Dobrolyubov, made the communist ideal the corner-stone of their doctrine of the perfect society. True, those thinkers could not divine the secret of the laws of social development, could not give a scientific justification of the real possibility and historic necessity of communism. Only Marxism turned communism from a utopia into a science, while the merging of scientific communism with the growing working-class movement created that irresistible force which is moving society to the next stage of social progress, from capitalism to communism.

By merging with the working-class movement, communism did not lose its great general human content. Engels was profoundly right in pointing out that “*communism is a question of humanity and not of the workers alone*”.* The victory of communism will mean the realisation of the dream of all working mankind. For the communist system signifies the triumph of humanity, the complete victory of real humanism, as Marx said.

What makes communist humanism practicable is not only the fact that the creation of an interesting, happy, and joyous life for all becomes a mighty, all-conquering motive of human activity. Of decisive significance is the fact that under communism society will at long last have the full opportunity of attaining such a goal. A powerful basis for production, greater power over the forces of nature, a just and rational social system, the social consciousness and lofty moral qualities of people—all this makes it possible to realise the most radiant dreams of a perfect society.

* K. Marx, F. Engels, *On Britain*, F.L.P.H., 1953, p. 332

It is with the victory of communism that the real history of humanity in the loftiest meaning of this term begins. Man differs fundamentally from all living creatures in that his intellect and labour save him from having to adjust himself passively to his environment, enable him to remake this environment in conformity with the interests and needs of mankind. And although mankind has existed for many thousands of years, it is only communism that ushers in the era of its full maturity and ends the prolonged prehistory when the life of each man individually and the life of society as a whole were shaped by alien forces, natural and social, which were beyond man's control. The victory of communism enables people not only to produce in abundance everything necessary for their life, but also to free society from all manifestations of inhumanity: wars, ruthless struggle within society and injustice, ignorance, crime and vice. Violence and self-interest, hypocrisy and egotism, perfidy and vainglory, will vanish for ever from the relations between people and between nations.

This is how Communists conceive the triumph of the genuine, real humanism which will prevail in the future communist society.

But even after attaining that summit, people will not stop, will not be idle, will not give themselves over to passive contemplation. On the contrary, their energies will multiply tenfold. Solved problems will be replaced by new ones; in place of the attained goals, new ones, still more entrancing, will arise. The wheels of history will continue to revolve.

Herein, if we think of it, is the greatest good fortune for mankind, a pledge that it will never be deprived of the supreme satisfaction and happiness resulting from creative labour, active endeavour, and the bold overcoming of obstacles.

Exceptionally rapid, practically boundless development is indeed a salient feature of communist society. Even after the victory of communism, life will confront people with ever new problems, whose solution will require the creative effort of each succeeding generation.

First of all, it is clear that the development of social production will never come to a stop. Its continued progress will stimulate the growth of people's needs in communist society, especially the needs for new cultural values, contacts between people and nations, and so on.

It is not difficult to foresee that the development of production itself will call for the solution of many very complex problems connected with the improvement of production organisation, the training of highly-skilled personnel, the invention and application of all kinds of technical innovations.

Science, which will take an outstanding place in communist society, will be faced with ever new problems. Today it is already clear that their dimensions will be truly grandiose. The conquest of outer space that has already begun shows convincingly that the one task alone of mastering the secrets of distant worlds and penetrating ever farther into the Universe affords boundless scope for human thought

and creation. Yet this is only one of numerous future tasks.

Academician V. A. Obruchev, the well-known Soviet scientist, reflecting on what people have a right to expect of science, wrote: *“It is necessary:*

- *“to prolong man’s life to 150-200 years on the average, to wipe out infectious dis-eases, to reduce non-infectious diseases to a minimum, to conquer old age and fatigue, to learn to restore life in case of untimely, accidental death;*
- *“to place at the service of man all the forces of nature, the energy of the sun, the*
- *wind and subterranean heat, to apply atomic energy in industry, transport and construction, to learn how to store energy and transmit it, without wires, to any point;*
- *“to predict and render completely harmless natural calamities: floods, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes;*
- *“to produce in factories all the substances known on earth, up to most complex protein —and also substances unknown in nature: harder than diamonds, more heat resistant than firebrick, more refractory than tungsten and osmium, more flexible than silk and more elastic than rubber;*
- *“to evolve new breeds of animals and varieties of plants that grow more swiftly and yield more meat, milk, wool, grain, fruit, fibres, and wood for the needs of the national economy;*
- *“to reduce, adapt for the needs of life and conquer unpromising areas, marshes, mountains, deserts, taiga, tundra, and perhaps even the sea bottom;*
- *“to learn to control the weather, regulate the wind and heat, just as rivers are regulated now, to shift clouds at will, to arrange for rain or clear weather, snow or hot weather.”**

It goes without saying that even after coping with these magnificent and sweeping tasks, science will not have reached the limits of its potentialities. There is no limit, nor can there be any, to the inquiring human mind, to the striving of man to put the forces of nature at his service, to divine all nature’s secrets.

Nor will man ever cease his efforts to improve the structure of the society in which he lives, the forms of public self-government, the way of life, the norms of human behaviour and contact in the community.

* Science and Youth, Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1958, p. 63

What a boundless field of activity will be open before communist society in the development of the abilities and personality of all its members, in achieving the physical and spiritual perfection of the people themselves!

The advance to the shining heights of communist civilisation will always engender in people unusual power of will and intellect, creative impulses, courage, and life-giving energy.