

S. HARRISON

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COMMUNIST MORALITY

V. Kolbanoski

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by

V. KOLBANOSKI

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INTRODUCTION

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When that fine Australian film, *The Overlanders*, reached America the censor there carefully deleted the word "damn" uttered by the leading character, Chips Rafferty. American law prohibits entry into the country of anything—words, articles, animals or persons—that may cause moral turpitude (as it is legally termed) among the population. No normal American citizen would have dreamt of raising any objection to Chips Rafferty's expletive. It was official American capitalist society, in the person of its censor, that rose in virtuous indignation to protect itself from the maledictory menace from Australia.

What is the moral physiognomy of the society that thus banned a hoary harmless swear-word? This question is all-important. The dominant circles in America have announced themselves as the guardians and saviours of all mankind. How bona-fide is their claim? What credentials of social merit do they present? We say to the Trumans and Vandenberg: "You possess prodigious wealth; you control the means of health and happiness for all. What have you done with your people?" Here are some illuminating figures, supplied by their own officials, statisticians and actuaries: Five-and-a-half million persons in U.S.A. live by crime; one in 11 is tainted to some degree by syphilis; one book in "every four or five" now being printed is designedly pornographic; one person in every 16 will visit as a patient a mental institution in the course of his lifetime; millions of men were rejected by the army authorities because of illiteracy; one marriage in every three ends in divorce.

Add to the foregoing the pogroms against Negroes, the heresy-hunting and persecution of laborites and other democrats, and not least, the frequent joyful announcements of new weapons of war that will annihilate a city or depopulate a whole country at a single blow, and you have a picture of civilisation racing to catastrophe, and in particular, of a ruling class decadent, immoral, ignoble and dangerously crazy.

But Chips Rafferty mustn't say "damn"!

What, then, is morality? Whose moral sanctions shall prevail?

The great merit of Kolbanoski's essay is the scientific method he provides for the study of moral phenomena; it is the proven method of historical materialism which alone ensures understanding of the seemingly chaotic mass of events, standards, claims and criteria.

The author explains why tyranny and corruption cloak themselves in "sublime and virtuous language" (Marx); why the capitalists, who can maintain their power only by oppression of the toiling masses, profess the loftiest moral motives. Capitalism notoriously exhibits the most glaring contradiction between declared ideals and underlying aims. What are the moral standards of a society which tolerates slums? Or which, in a population of only seven million, allowed (in 1932) 418,000 adult workers to be unemployed? Take Dr. Evatt's fervid oratory in Paris on the rights of small nations, and contrast it with his silence on the Aborigines at home now threatened with extinction. Or consider those ecclesiastics preaching God's love for the poor, but in reality, and more and more openly, defending the money-changers in the temple of humanity. And there is the Rightwing A.L.P. politician or trade union official promising and professing everything. . . .

But Kolbanoski does more. In his profound analysis of the historic changes now occurring throughout the world, he succeeds wonderfully

in defining the true meaning of Communist morality, the morality of the social force that is ending the corruption and tyranny of the old order. He describes Communist morality as it operates in the relationships between the toilers fighting to create a new world; how it enriches and exalts in every sphere of social experience and activity—the devoted struggle for democracy and freedom, for the building of Socialism, in the family life and in the construction of the family of nations in Socialism, in education and art. Of special interest is his account of the moral standards and practices of the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party.

The exploiters are resorting to every possible trick to hold off the day of doom. Many a new ideological garment is donned to conceal the true meaning of the world movement today. There is the myth about "western" culture and democracy. The presumption is that everything in the "west" is moral, virtuous and democratic—in contrast to the "east," in which, it is to be inferred, conditions are uncultured and undemocratic. Thus, to the "theory of race" of the fascists the imperialists and their publicists have added a "theory of geography." The one is worthy of the other. But it is neither race nor geography. The basic determinant in social evolution (which includes morality, philosophy, art and all man's spiritual productions) is the mode of production. Which class at the given period in history is declining, and which is ascending?—this is the only correct methodological approach.

The simple answer to this nonsense and deception about the "west" and the "western way of life" is found in the indisputable factors of history, of life, and not in spurious "theories" of race and the like. Because of various determining factors, imperialism developed earliest and strongest in the west. And it was the "west" (because of imperialism there) that produced two world wars and some 80 lesser military conflicts since 1914! It was the "west" that spawned Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Petain, Laval and their equally odious prototypes and imitators in all capitalist lands. That is the answer!

The highest culture and morality are found today in the "east," and again, not because of race or geography, but for the reason that the old social values which had their tap-root in money-grubbing are being completely replaced by a new advanced type of social organisation in which man's dignity and freedom are the supreme social virtues.

Morality and culture based on the existence of classes, and therefore of exploitation, once did possess a certain objective validity. Bourgeois ideology as a whole marked an advance over the feudal ideology which it replaced. It was the highest level possible at that time. But today mankind has reached a stage of development where a morality deriving from the exploitation of man by man must be categorically rejected.

One final point. Many a book published in capitalist countries reveals, however unwittingly, the decadence of the social order it purports to defend. I have in mind here such works as Liddel Hart's "Foch: The Man of Orleans," or "War Memoirs of David Lloyd George," both dealing with World War One; in more recent times, such productions as the Penguin Hansards (parliamentary debates) covering the early part of World War Two. These amply illustrate capitalist "morality"—the deceit, hypocrisy, double-dealing; the jealousies, bureaucracy and outright treason of the ruling class. Above all else, there is the mad scramble for riches and the corresponding hatred of the workers who produce the wealth that gives the parasites their alleged refinement, sportsmanship and democracy. This significant aspect of capitalist "morality" is also all the better understood when the student is armed with Kolbanoski's penetrating analysis.

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Communist Morality

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By V. KOLBANOSKI.

The problems of morality and indeed all the problems of social life were placed for the first time on solid scientific ground when historical materialism, the true science of the laws of social development, was born.

In the light of historical materialism, the inconsistency of the idealist conceptions of morality stands out clearly. The short-comings of these theories of morality, theories that were current before the birth of Marx's materialist philosophy, are just as obvious.

Idealist text books either couple morality and religion, alleging that man's moral conceptions were given to him by "divine reason," or derive morality from a peculiar moral feeling or from the consciousness of moral duty, a supposed instinct of the human soul.

Idealist conceptions of morality as a rule present the subject as if at all times, and with all men, there existed identical and generally recognised conceptions of what is good and what is evil.

The assertion that morality is eternal and unchangeable does not belong exclusively to idealist theories. The materialists who preceded Marx and Engels had the same point of view, although they rejected the divine origin of morality and attempted to unite ethical conceptions with materialist views of nature.

In direct opposition to unscientific theories of morality of all kinds, Marxism presents the thesis that man, in the

whole of his psychic, intellectual and moral life is the product of a social environment, and further in every case the product of a concretely given social environment which is itself finally determined by the means of production.

That is why there cannot be a definite system of morality given once for all and accepted as good for all times and all men. Not only do the conception and judgment of good and evil differ from epoch to epoch, but even within the limits of one and the same epoch moral theories differ, and the conceptions of the opposing social classes are contrary.

Thus Engels points out that in bourgeois society there exist three forms of morality which are clearly distinct, namely, the morality inherited from feudalism, the morality of the bourgeoisie, and that of the proletariat.

If, however, under the conditions of class-divided society, morality does inevitably appear as class morality and cannot be recognised by all, the conditions necessary for the triumph of a morality common to all men are created in a society which knows no class antagonisms. Engels wrote:

“A truly human morality which will rise above the contradictions and reminiscences of classes will only be possible at a stage of social development in which class antagonisms will not merely be eliminated but in which its traces will have disappeared from practical life.” (Karl Marx & F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 14, p. 94, Russian Edition.)

The founders of Marxism discovered the class nature of morality; they showed its sources and evolution in the history of human society. Still, in their time, the great leaders of the proletariat could only give a general outline of the shape of future Communist morality.

The further discovery of the essence and manifestations of Communist morality we owe to Lenin and Stalin. Lenin, in his remarkable speech to the Third Congress of Young Communists in Russia, gave the essence of Communist morality and its main features. Comrade Stalin, on the basis of the immense experience of the struggle of the Party and the Soviet

people in the building of Socialism in our country, has further developed Lenin's ideas on Communist morality.

In his contribution, Comrade Stalin has indicated what a member of the Bolshevik Party should be if he is to be worthy of that great title; he has shown what a Leninist politician must be and what is required of every Soviet citizen if he is to reach the level of Communist morality and behaviour. In these contributions, Comrade Stalin has given the substance of the part played by Soviet construction and the guiding activity of the Bolshevik Party in the teaching of Communist morality. Thus Stalin mobilises the masses in the struggle for the victory of Communism, trains the people in the spirit of a patriotism that will stand any test, in the spirit of Communist morality.

Communist morality is the higher phase of development of the proletarian morality which begins to form in the framework of capitalism, in the struggle against bourgeois morality which occupies the dominant position in the capitalist regime. The morality that dominates in bourgeois society is determined in the final analysis by the capitalist relations of production, which are characterised by the exploitation of man by man.

Bourgeois society is based, as Lenin pointed out, "on the principle that, either you rob others, or they will rob you; either you work for others, or others work for you; either you are slave-owner, or slave. And it is understandable that men brought up in such a society have, so to say, sucked with their mother's milk the psychology, habits and ideas either of a slave owner, or of a slave, or of a small proprietor, of a little clerk, a petty official or an intellectual—in short, of a man who is only concerned with one thing, to get something for himself, and who has no interest in others. If I am lord over this piece of ground, I care not for my neighbour: if that neighbour is hungry so much the better, I will sell my corn more dearly. If I have my petty position as doctor, engineer, school teacher, clerk, what care I for my neighbour? Perhaps if I am forbearing and sympathetic to the power of the 'haves,' I will keep my little job and I may even become a bourgeois." (*Works*, Vol. 25, p. 393, Russian Edition.)

The capitalist order engenders men who, from the moral viewpoint, constitute a nursery for hardened selfishness and insensibility to the destiny of mankind. Capitalist reality engenders evil and crime by the very nature of the relations between men. The English author, Priestley, shows this in one of his plays. In this play Priestley portrayed an honourable English bourgeois family all of whose members, father, mother, son, daughter and her fiance, are guilty of the death

of a defenceless working girl. None of them desired the death of this girl, but objectively, through the logic of the existing relations in bourgeois society, each of the members of this bourgeois family had a part in the crime.

Capitalism breeds some sorts of men who, although they are aware of the inhuman character of the capitalist order, take good care not to fight against evil and injustice and are entirely submerged in their own wretched little world and its narrow, prosaic interests. Such for example is the "game of croquet" in the novel of this title by Wells.

"I can easily see," he said, "that we shall find ourselves under the power of the cave man and that he is preparing an immense step backwards . . . if the stone age is to return and civilisation declines as you say, it is a great pity, but this morning I can do nothing about it. I have obligations; whatever happens, at half past twelve I play croquet with my aunt."

The further capitalism goes, the wider becomes the gap between moral precepts on the one hand and actual behaviour, the kind of activity carried on by men, on the other. Capitalism's ideologists themselves are forced to recognise this. One of Roosevelt's advisers, James Warburg, who at one time was a director of propaganda in the Office of War Information, writes in his book "Foreign Policy Begins At Home"—

"The present mode of life in European civilisation means an insoluble conflict because, from the ethical and religious aspects, civilisation is based on faith in justice and equality, and in practical life it is the doctrine of natural selection and the elimination of the weakest that rules."

It goes without saying that we have no need for discussion of this so-called "natural selection" which supposedly rules in society. However, it is true that the present bourgeois civilisation is becoming less and less compatible with the

elementary requirements of human morality, although the words "good" and "fair dealing" resound often enough in the speeches made by the men who serve capitalism.

How can the words "freedom, progress and humanity," with which the official representatives of bourgeois society juggle, be reconciled for example in America with the racial hierarchy which in practice reigns over there and which is contrary to the elementary demands of human morality? How can these elementary demands be reconciled with the scorn shown to the Negro people and the inhuman deeds perpetrated upon them, which have become customary in America?

From the first stages of the development of bourgeois society there appeared clearly the sharp division between the official propaganda of the lofty principles of human equality, fraternity, freedom, and the actual relations existing in bourgeois society where exploitation, oppression, and cut-throat competition hold sway. This has branded bourgeois morality with hypocrisy and religious pretence. The propagation of this morality has assumed a slavish role, that of concealing repulsive reality, of justifying the capitalist order, of defending it against the increasing unrest of the working classes.

With the development of bourgeois society, the bourgeois order becomes an obstacle to the development of the forces of production and the class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie sharpens. Then these forms of bourgeois ideology, including bourgeois morality, under which the class interests of the bourgeoisie are represented as being the general interests of humanity, lose their real content. They become hollow phrases, knowingly-laid snares and calculated hypocrisy. And the more life brings to light the lying and the inner falsity of this morality, the more hypocritical become the utterances of official bourgeois society.

Bernard Shaw, the great English dramatist, has satirised in biting style the tactics of the English bourgeois who perpetrates the worst infamies under the cloak of charity.

"He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude. As the great champion of freedom and national independence, he conquers and annexes half the world and calls it Colonisation. When he wants new markets for his adulterated Manchester goods, he sends a missionary—then flies to arms in defence of Christianity; fights for it; conquers for it; and takes the market as a reward from heaven." (*The Man of Destiny.*)

On the other hand modern capitalism has engendered and still engenders veritable apologists for cannibalism who attempt to unchain more and more the beast in man.

The reactionary German imperialists cultivated Fascism, which brought to the utmost limits the ideology of hate between men, the practice of barbaric mass extermination of men and the destruction of mankind's material and spiritual culture.

"I liberate man from the degrading chimera which is called conscience," declared the diabolic Fuhrer of the German fascists. "Conscience, like education, deforms man. I possess this advantage that no theoretical or moral consideration holds me back."

This leader of modern cannibals, who declared himself the symbol of the principle of amorality, succeeded in dragging millions of Germans into the path of monstrous crimes against mankind.

The military victory over German and Japanese imperialism was a moral and political defeat for Fascism. The reactionary circles of the present imperialist world, however, are attempting, with ever more urgency and obstinacy, to save Fascism from its complete moral and political defeat, by cultivating racism, the ideology of human hate, by calling to their aid the survivals of cannibalism in order to have the ground quite ready for the realisation of their plan of

aggression, their policy of territorial conquest and the enslavement of the peoples.

Only an energetic fight conducted by the progressive forces of humanity against the forces of reaction can assure the final moral and political defeat of Fascism. In this struggle by the forces of progress for the complete liquidation of the bestial ideology of Fascism and the extirpation of Fascist cannibalism, the leading role falls to the USSR as the sure bulwark of democracy and progress. In foreign countries it is the foremost representatives of the working class, fighting under the banner of the most advanced social and political ideas and under the banner of an advanced morality, who are consistently combating fascism.

History has entrusted to the proletariat the great mission of abolishing the class structure of society, of destroying exploitation and the causes that breed it and building a new social order—Communism.

From the proletarian point of view, man's conduct, based on the great struggle for the liberation of man from all forms of exploitation and bondage, whatever they may be, is alone moral.

Such traits of character as honesty, sincerity, devotion, courage, energy and solidarity amongst comrades, devotion to the cause of liberation of the workers, and many other moral qualities, have developed and strengthened among the working masses, although the bourgeoisie have trampled under foot these moral principles and poisoned the social atmosphere with selfishness, extortion, hypocrisy and other amoral sentiments.

Observing the workers who were joining the Socialist Movement, Marx said at the commencement of his revolutionary activity:

“The brotherhood of man on their lips is not a phrase but a truth, and from their faces hardened by affliction the whole

beauty of mankind looks upon us.” (Vol. 3, p. 661, Russian Edition.)

The development of proletarian morality is manifest with particular clarity in our country which, by virtue of historical conditions, first began the reconstruction of society on a Socialist basis.

The workers' movement in Russia, arising later than in other European countries, met ferocious resistance from the Tsarist police and gendarmerie. The Bolsheviks, whom the autocracy felt to be the most consistent and indomitable revolutionaries, particularly suffered from its cruelty.

Being at the very heart of the workers' movement, the Bolsheviks raised the level of political consciousness among the workers, cultivated among them the sentiments indispensable for the victory of the working class—class solidarity, comradeship and devotion.

The struggle for moral decency, steadfastness and principle among the professional revolutionaries and all the workers who took part in the revolutionary movement constitutes one of the most glorious pages of the history of Bolshevism in Russia.

II.

Communist morality is a morality of a new type, based on something different from the other moralities which have preceded it. That is why it has another content and another mission.

In society based on private property, morality, which rules alongside the law, is called on to maintain the institution of private property. The bourgeoisie has not only put the State law at the service of this institution, it has declared private property sacred and inalienable, conferred upon it a moral and religious sanction. The morality which is dominant in bourgeois society consecrates the regime of exploitation and inequality, of oppression and slavery engendered by private property.

Contrary to bourgeois morality, Communist morality is called on to assist, by the side of socialist law, in the strengthening of collective socialist property. In a society in which the land, the factories and the mills have ceased to be the property of exploiters and have become the possession of the whole people, collective socialist property is sacred and inalienable; it finds its faithful defender not only in socialist law but also in Communist morality. Communist morality defends the new social regime created on the basis of collective socialist property, a regime from which exploitation and every form of oppression and slavery have been banished. Lenin said:

“Communist morality rests on the struggle for the strengthening and achievement of Communism.” (*Works*, Vol. 30, p. 413, Russian Edition.)

From this mission of Communist morality results its content, with quite different principles. While in society based on private ownership of the means of production the psychology of private property, with all its immoral manifestations, is maintained, in socialist society, in which collective socialist ownership of the means of production exists, relations

of solidarity between all its members are established and these relations combine common interests, common aims and common aspirations.

In the course of the socialist transformation of society, a renovation of the moral world is accomplished among men; the old psychology connected with private property is replaced by the psychology of mutual aid in the common cause. Gradually men shed the old customs and traditions, feelings of greed, and the selfish and cold calculation which bourgeois society cultivates.

Comrade Stalin wrote in his work “Anarchism or Socialism?”:

“As to the ‘barbarous’ feelings and opinions of men, they are not so ancient as certain people think. There was a time of primitive communism when man did not know private property. The time then came of individual production when private property took possession of the feelings and reason of men. A new time is coming, the time of socialist production. What is astonishing then in men’s feelings and reason becoming imbued with socialist aspirations? Does not the manner of life determine the ‘feeling’ and ‘opinions’ of men?” (*Works*, Vol. 1, P. 338, Russian Edition.)

An experience of world historical importance, that of the building of socialism in our country, has displayed in practice the process of socialist transformation of the consciousness of men, the process of formation of Communist morality. The men who harnessed themselves to the building of socialism were sprung from capitalist society. It is natural that, in the mass, they should be found under the influence of traditions, customs, prejudices, vestiges of the past which weighed heavily on the consciousness of the millions of men called upon to build a new life.

That was above all the case with the peasants. However, it was also the case with considerable strata of workers who

were not immediately conscious of the common interests. Yet on the basis of the socialist construction which began to develop, and thanks to the organising and educating work of the Bolshevik Party, the ranks of the vanguard workers, who gave the example of devotion and heroism, rapidly grew.

From the first years of the Soviet State's existence, the Communist attitude of the toilers to work, the proof of new relations between men, relations of mutual support and aid, was brilliantly manifested in the "Communist Sundays."

The particular value of the workers' initiative in the organisation of "Communist Sundays" lay, as Lenin showed, "in the unselfish anxiety of the workers to increase the productivity of labour, to take care of every pood (36 lbs.) of corn, coal, iron and other products destined not for the worker personally, nor for his relations or his near or distant friends, but for the whole of society, for the tens and hundreds of millions of men united at first in a single socialist state and then in the Union of Socialist Republics." (*Works*, Vol. 24, p. 342, Russian Edition.)

But so long as many social strata continued to exist in the country's economy, and so long as agriculture produced little for the market, the masses composed of millions of peasants were still under the influence of private property psychology, inherited from the past.

The development of Communist morality among the peasant masses only found favourable soil when, in accordance with Comrade Stalin's brilliant plan and under his leadership, the peasants of our country were united in the collective farms. It is only in the collective farms that the consciousness of the millions of peasants began to become socialist.

In the collective farm regime, the peasantry found the form of its coming together, the form of collaboration and of mutual aid between comrades which is the basis of

Communist consciousness and morality. The triumph of the collective farm has at the same time strengthened considerably the friendly relations between the peasants and the workers, strengthened the unity of the two classes.

In the course of socialist construction and thanks to its achievements, new intelligentsia, animated with friendly feelings towards the workers and peasants working in harmony with them, have developed. Thus, from the victory of Socialism, from the liquidations of the exploiting classes in Soviet society, its moral and political unity has been constituted and consolidated.

Brotherly mutual aid has likewise triumphed in the relations between all the nations and peoples in our country. The formation of moral and political unity of Soviet society meant the consolidation of the nations, a real national unity. For the first time in history, the ties which unite men on the basis of their national traditions have been freed from the antagonistic character inherent in the nation of bourgeois society, a society in which the nation is rent by internal class contradictions. In the USSR, real mutual fellow-feeling has carried the day among all men belonging to any given nation who are united by community of history and culture. At the same time sympathy between men of the same national origin harmonises with feelings of friendship to men of other nationalities. Friendship has grown and strengthened among the peoples alongside the achievements of socialist construction.

Thus both in the domain of relations between classes and social groups and in that of relations between nations a genuine feeling of humanity has won the day.

All this means that in socialist society the feeling of humanity in men's relations with each other really acquires that universality which has been constantly and enthusiastically raised in the moral laws of all times, but which remains meaningless in societies with internal antagonisms.

That is why in the USSR Communist morality is recognised by all the peoples, and so receives a sanction that could not be obtained in any other society.

Quite contrary to the state of affairs in bourgeois society, in which opposite systems of morality exist side by side, and in which the morality of the dominant exploiting classes is imposed on the workers with the aid of all kinds of falsehoods, in Socialist society, the Communist morality, which exists there, enjoys general support. This explains why, whereas the ruling morality of a society with internal antagonisms always goes hand in hand with its guardian, religion, Communist morality is liberated from such a union.

In order that the morality of the dominant exploiting class may be introduced among the people, it needs the sanction and support of religion. Communist morality has no need of the consecration of religion because it is sincere, it answers completely the interests of the people, whose consciousness and will it expresses, and whose unanimity supports it; it enjoys the recognition of the whole people.

The principles of Communist morality are sincere and based on science. Communist morality, which is engendered by the needs of the most advanced class and is the correct and entirely scientific reflection of its needs, is an elevating morality, contrary to bourgeois morality which degenerates and degrades. Engels has shown that "the only morality that contains in itself the most numerous elements, which promises it long life, and which expresses the future is the proletarian morality." (Marx-Engels *Works*, Vol. 14, p. 93, Russian Edition.)

In the measure in which proletarian Communist morality expresses the point of view of the future, it appears as a moral idea with a scientific basis. Kautsky falsely asserted that in general moral ideals have no basis in scientific knowledge.

In reality, Communism's moral ideal is based on scientific knowledge. The Communist Party, supported by its knowledge of the laws of Communist construction, clearly defines the tasks which must be accomplished to teach Communist morality and form the new man. These tasks of Communist moral education, which are proposed by our Party, are not some seductive moral ideal; they are rooted in reality itself.

How is Communist morality manifested, what does it require from man?

In socialist society, the personal good of each of society's members is inseparable from the general good of all, from the general good of the working classes, and the whole Soviet people. This inseparable character of the personal and the social interest penetrates all spheres of Soviet man's life and activity and is distinguished by its continuity.

In a society with internal antagonisms there are times when individual interests are in agreement with general interests; for example when the nation, the State, is menaced by a foreign enemy and it is in the interest of all citizens to unite in the struggle against the common enemy. But such agreement of private and general interests is only transient and ceases as soon as the danger of foreign invasion disappears.

In socialist society, agreement of the interests of all its members is always present because in his daily work the Soviet man finds in other workers not competitors or enemies, but comrades and friends.

For the first time in mankind's history, the domain of labour has become the arena in which can be and are displayed the moral power of the individual, his devotion to the common cause, his personal efforts for the general progress, his help to those who lag and his own aspirations to overtake the foremost. This last finds its application in socialist emulation, in which is manifested the high moral

worth of men. This is diametrically opposite to the cruelties of competition with its inhuman principle — Ruin to him who gets behind, cast aside him who falls!

Lenin taught that:

“Communism means the productivity of free, conscious, united workers in possession of advanced technique; a high productivity compared with that of capitalist labour.” (*Works*, Vol. 24, p. 342, Russian Edition.)

The moral qualities of socialist workers based on professional consciousness, good will and solidarity, are the decisive factors of a high labour output. Communist morality thus assumes the role of an extremely powerful factor of our progress.

Today our country has again entered a new period of peaceful development and is carrying out the tremendous programme of economic and cultural construction set in the new Five Year Plan. The carrying out of this plan is an important step towards the completion of the construction of socialist society and also towards progressive transition to Communism.

In this work, an immense role belongs to the Party, which has the duty of educating the workers in Communist fashion, of developing the principle of Communist morality and carrying it into life.

Teaching Communist morality means, above all, educating Soviet people, and Soviet youth in particular, in the spirit of unbounded devotion to the cause of Communism and of self-sacrifice in the service of the Socialist Fatherland. Educating the workers in Communist fashion means inculcating into the people devotion to the policy of the Soviet State, a policy which constitutes the living basis of the Soviet regime. Communist education is incompatible with an absence of political consciousness.

In the resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P. (B) relating to the journals “Zvezda” and “Leningrad” it is

laid down that: “The Soviet regime cannot allow youth to be educated in a spirit of indifference to Soviet policy, in a devil-may-care spirit devoid of sincere convictions.”

The development and fortifying of Communist morality can only be served by giving noble convictions and consciousness of the common duty to all citizens.

Communist morality, Communist moral ideas, which are advanced ideas, possess, like all other advanced ideas, the virtue of pushing human society forward.

Comrade Stalin teaches that: “New social ideas and theories arise only after the development of the material life of society has set new tasks before society. But once they have arisen, they become a most potent force which facilitates the carrying out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, a force which facilitates the progress of society.” (*Dialectical and Historical Materialism*.)

The teaching of the new morality must above all strengthen the socialist attitude to work, aid the development of socialist emulation and increase the care given by Soviet man to the growth and consolidation of the Soviet Union's economic and military power. The new and powerful growth of socialist emulation which has arisen in the Soviet Union on the initiative of workers in vanguard enterprises is a shining illustration of the growth of Communist consciousness in our country. If Communist morality is not taught, it will be useless to talk of creating the conditions necessary for transition to Communism. The question of the teaching of morality, of the socialist attitude to work and to social property is all the more important as the vestiges of capitalism have not yet left the consciousness of men. In certain strata of the population, the danger of the psychological influence of private property, which is opposed to Communism, is not yet liquidated. Likewise, it must be kept in mind that in the war years, in regions

occupied by the Germans, the population has undergone fascist propaganda which attempted to implant a spirit suited to the regime of private property, a spirit opposed to the collective farm and the State. Despoilers of social property, who damage the Socialist State with the aim of personal gain, have not yet disappeared.

The fight against these violators of State law must be hard and pitiless. In this fight considerable importance is attached to the unslumbering vigilance of Soviet men for these violators of all kinds of regulations of the Socialist community, who resort for personal gain to theft and robberies, and whose criminal conduct prejudices the interests of our country's conscientious workers.

Struggle against petty bourgeois laxity in production and administration, an honest attitude to work, attention to collective socialist property, care for the strengthening of the country's military and economic power, these are the first demands of Communist morality. There is nothing more progressive, more worthy of human effort than serving Communism, which is the most advanced and just social order. Unselfish service to the Socialist Fatherland is the highest manifestation of moral duty. That is why the Soviet man's patriotism is the most complete and consistent expression of his high morality.

That was shown in dazzling ways, unknown till then, by the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against the conquering German fascists, when relations of high morality were displayed in all their magnificence among Soviet people. Soviet patriotism is a great moral force, and that is why it is incompatible with national chauvinism, and also why the national traditions of the peoples of the USSR mingle harmoniously with their vital common interests. Soviet morality judges any manifestations of hostility or hatred to men of another nation as one of the grossest violations of this morality.

That is why further strengthening of friendship between the peoples, and the final elimination of all nationalist survivals, occupy an important place in the teachings of Communist morality.

Comrade Stalin more than once has put us on guard against the deep-rooted survivals of nationalist psychology. He wrote:

"It should be observed that the survivals of capitalism in the people's minds are much more tenacious in the sphere of the national problem than in any other sphere. They are more tenacious because they are able to disguise themselves well in national costume." (*Problems of Leninism*, p. 474, Russian Edition.)

Nationalist survivals are continually making themselves manifest. That can be noticed particularly in the regions which have lately joined the Soviet Union; in the Baltic Republics, Moldavia, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, where a great deal of education has to be done to eliminate the vestiges of bourgeois nationalism and of the old national hates. Anti-Semitism is likewise part of the vestiges of racial chauvinism. Comrade Stalin teaches that:

"National and racial chauvinism is a vestige of the misanthropic characteristics peculiar to the age of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism, as the extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous vestige of cannibalism."

One of the tasks in the teaching of Communist morality is to completely extirpate the remnants of nationalist and racial prejudices, to strengthen by every means friendship and mutual respect between men of different nationalities by remembering that:

"Friendship between the people of the USSR is a great and important conquest. For, as long as this friendship

exists, the people of our country will remain free and unconquered."

The teaching of Communist morality is directed towards the creation of relations between men which are based on the principles of socialist humanism. These relations must be infused with real human feeling, exclusive of personal interest and selfish calculation. Mutual aid, sincere friendliness, comradeship and profound respect for the dignity of human personality must be an attribute of every worker. Communist morality requires care and tactfulness towards people. It demands that every trace of lack of feeling and bureaucracy shall be energetically driven out.

In his family life, behaviour worthy of a member of Communist society is one of the integral parts of Communist ethics. Communist morality which educates man as citizen, as active builder of the new society, is not at all indifferent to his family life. The Soviet Government takes care to strengthen the family. It has elevated the title of Woman-mother to an unusually high level, while creating the necessary material conditions to help the mothers of large families. Education in Soviet morality means also aiding the strengthening of the true Soviet family.

The abolition of private ownership of the means of production and the emancipation of labour from all exploitation form a sure basis for further progressive developments of Communist morality, for freeing men of all bestial vestiges which have been maintained and cultivated for centuries amongst men by an exploiting society.

In the framework of capitalism, it is impossible to subdue the vestiges of the beast in man. For those men who are disquieted by the wickedness with which the capitalist world is strewn, but who do not understand, or who do not want to understand, that only the annihilation of the exploitation of man by man can create conditions for a really human life,

for these men there remains nothing but to give themselves up to fruitless despair and pessimism.

One of Wells' personages, Dr. Norbert, speaks in the name of such men. In his despair he exclaims:

"Man will always remain what he was; eternally bestial, envious, cunning, greedy! Man, stripped and unvarnished, is always the same timid, bellowing ferocious animal that he has been for hundreds of thousands of years. I tell you, this is the monstrous reality."

Only in a society in which the exploiting classes have been liquidated and the conditions for truly human relations created among men, does the possibility open up of destroying the vestiges of the beast in man. And, to a certain extent, that is facilitated by the fact that culture becomes accessible to the whole people.

Soviet society, which is healthy, full of labour heroism, which incessantly brings forth something new, is the most favourable setting for the blossoming of all man's moral qualities.

The development of new moral qualities is achieved in the struggle against the influences of the past and relapses thereto. The weeds of bourgeois morality will be rooted out, for:

"In the Soviet Union, the will of the individual finds itself limited every time that it is hostile to the will of the mass, which is conscious of its right to build new forms of life; every time that it is hostile to the will of the mass, which has adopted a goal inaccessible to the isolated individual, even if endowed with the most exceptional genius." (Maxim Gorki.)

The teaching of Communist morality, the education of men in the spirit of the socialist order, in spite of the important results already achieved, cannot be relaxed for a minute as long as:

“People are not gradually becoming accustomed to observing the elementary rules of social life that have been known for centuries and repeated for thousands of years in all copybook maxims; as long as they are not accustomed to observing them without compulsion, without subordination, without the special apparatus for coercion which is called the State.” (Lenin, *State and Revolution*.)

The teaching of Communist morality concerns the whole of Soviet public opinion, all Soviet organisations and institutions (the Party, the Communist Youth, the Pioneers and the Trade Unions), and the Soviet organs of the State and the Soviet Court which rests on the opinion of the whole people in the defence of Soviet law, and which collaborates in fortifying Communist morality.

The bearer of the highest moral virtues and qualities, the educator of the people in the spirit of Communist morality, is the great Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The moral physiognomy of the Bolshevik Party has been formed in the course of long years of heroic history, in harsh battle against the enemies, contests which have demanded extraordinary strength of character in the Bolsheviks.

In this fight and in Socialist construction, the Party of Lenin and Stalin has taught Communists great firmness, coolness, audacity and courage, unbounded devotion to the workers' cause, and it has taught them to be always ready to sacrifice themselves for victory. The Party of Lenin and Stalin educates Communists in love for the Fatherland, in hatred of enemies and fearlessness in battle, in solidarity between comrades and in determination to overcome all obstacles, in modesty and in contempt for profit and selfishness, in contempt of whatever counterposes the individual to the general. The Party cultivates in Communists a lofty ideology, devotion to principle, intolerance of shortcomings, the Bolshevik attitude to criticism and self-criticism.

These features of the Bolshevik Party's moral physiognomy serve as a model of Communist morality; they are the expression of the Communist moral code.

Only such a Party, endowed with the finest qualities of heroes fighting for truth and justice, can teach the millions of workers devotion to the cause of Socialism and the interests of their Fatherland. The role of the Bolshevik Party as inspirer of the masses of the people in their work and achievements is invaluable. The Party organisations have the mission of ceaselessly educating their own ranks in the spirit of Communist morality and of leading the whole mass of workers by example.

The part played by the propaganda of the Party, especially printed propaganda, in educating the people in the spirit of Leninism and consequently in continually heightening the Communist consciousness and in widening and deepening the foundations of Communist morality, is particularly great in the education of Communist youth.

In the teaching of Communist morality, the family and the school have a great role to play. The family lays the foundation in the formation of man's moral character. The family has always played an immense part in education; it puts its stamp on the infant's psychology, on his conduct, in the formation of his habits and aspirations. The Soviet family must be an active auxiliary of the Party and Soviet Government in Communist education of the consciousness of man.

There is no need of special explanation to understand the role that the Soviet schools and teachers must play in forging the pattern of the Communist thought and conduct of the people. The personal influence of the teacher is sometimes so great that it leaves a deep and permanent mark in the soul of man. The Soviet teacher has the good fortune to have to cultivate something truly human in man, something that exactly meets the expectations of the teacher

whose task it is to develop man's moral and intellectual powers. That is why the Soviet teacher's responsibility is so great, why his role in the building of Communist society is so important.

Soviet art and Soviet literature have also a great role to play in Communist moral education.

Russian literature of the 19th and early 20th century won world-wide renown from the fact that it was a brilliant expression of social consciousness. Russian literature earned this high appreciation by the ideological profundity with which it took its stand against the vile deeds of the old society, pitilessly denouncing the falsity and hypocrisy of feudal and bourgeois morality, unmasking all those who were strangling liberty in our country, revealing all the evil which then ruled in society.

Soviet literature, which is the ideological heir of the best traditions of classic Russian literature, has a creative task to accomplish, that of educating the new man. Soviet literature mirrors artistically the imposing process of building Communist society, the transforming of the people's consciousness, and co-operates in cultivating new and high moral qualities in man.

In the course of the Great Patriotic War, which demanded mobilisation of all the moral force of the Soviet people, our writers produced many valuable works which faithfully reflected the moral superiority and greatness of the Soviet people and which have made an important contribution to the education of millions of Soviet readers. Soviet literature and Soviet art today in the new situation are called upon to carry high indeed the flag of Communist education of the people.

Soviet literature and art are called upon to mirror in artistic forms everything creative and heroic in the life of

the Soviet people, to mould them on the examples of heroism in combat and labour and on the manifestations of true humanism.

Soviet art and literature are called upon to play a great role in the fight against capitalist survivals in men's consciousness, to expose manifestations of moral instability, of that psychology which is linked to private property, of petty bourgeois moral dissolution and of the anarchist indiscipline of "the guardians of capitalist traditions."

Soviet literature must have an elevated ideology and must be guided by the policy of the Soviet State.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P. (B), August 14, 1946, says: "The strength of Soviet literature, the most advanced literature in the world, rests on the fact that it has, and can have no other interests than those of the people and the State. The task of Soviet literature consists in aiding the State in educating the youth well, in answering its needs, in moulding a new generation of people who are eager, confident in their work, fearless of difficulties and ready to overcome them all, whatever they may be. That is why absence of ideology, an apolitical character, "art for art's sake" are foreign to Soviet literature, harmful to the interests of the people and the Soviet State and must find no place in our journals."

Soviet dramatic art, the theatre, are called upon to play a great educational role. Everyone knows what powerful impressions theatrical pieces can make. It is obvious that the question of the repertoire has prime importance. If plays by bourgeois authors, of the kind written by Maugham, begin to predominate in the theatre, if careful attention is not given to plays with their themes in a distant past and therefore related to the high life of the old society and representing the manners, customs and opinions of parasites, the propaganda of socialist culture and Communist morality will clearly be transformed into an institution which will

chain the Soviet theatre to the enemy's morality and ideology.

Soviet people require plays with a high ideology content that reflects the magnificent verity of our life. We want plays that cultivate in the Soviet people the thoughts, feelings and traits of new characters, which show them the new norms of men's conduct.

The cinema has exceptional importance as an instrument of ideological struggle for our Party and the Soviet State in the cultural and political training of the people. What distinguishes the Soviet cinema and places it far above foreign cinematography is its ideological work. It is particularly insupportable to find among the products of the Soviet cinema, which is pre-eminently a mass art, the absence of political character, detachment from reality, flight to the distant past, as well as disproportionate attraction towards ancient drama and literary works.

The cinema must be linked in the closest way to life, to Soviet reality, and be its faithful reflection. This requires great honesty from producers in the working out of a subject.

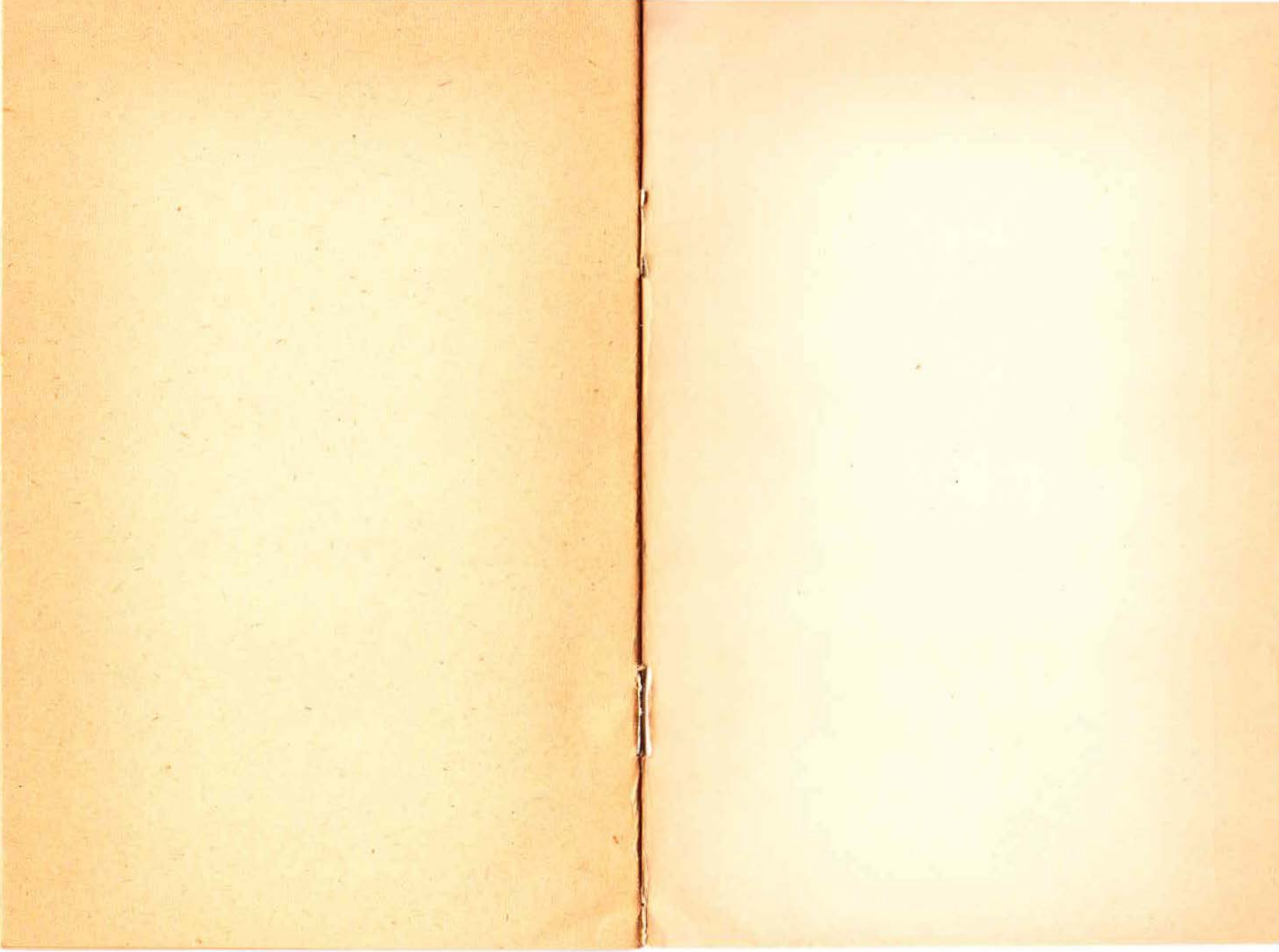
A hastily made film, without a sufficiently deep knowledge of Soviet life, without attentive study of the characters, of the milieu that is to be represented, makes reality appear in a distorted shape and hinders correct political education of the masses.

Only films which are closely linked to Soviet reality, which are the fruit of conscientious study of this reality and reflect it truthfully in an artistic form can serve most successfully the cause of Communist education.

At the present time when our people have passed with honour the cruel test of war and have won a victory unequalled in history, we must be particularly watchful for mani-

festations of complacency, that would prejudice the further development of Soviet society.

New tasks, that demand further exertion of our powers, the surmounting of new obstacles, face our country. To accomplish these tasks successfully, it is necessary to raise the Communist education of the masses, to educate them in Communist morality, to teach them to unselfishly serve their country and the cause of Communism.



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