The psychological assumptions of communist leader Nikita Khrushchev on the nature and control of human behavior

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THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS OF COMMUNIST LEADER
NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV ON THE NATURE AND CONTROL OF
HUMAN BEHAVIOR

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Psychology
The University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Joseph Edward Zuro
June 1959
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J. E. Z.
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The psychology of communism has received considerable attention during the years following World War II. Scarcely a facet of it remains that has not been analyzed or investigated from the standpoint of its effect on human behavior or its implication on the state of world affairs. These investigations and studies have revealed much about the structure and philosophy of communism and the personality and behavioral patterns of its leaders. However, little appears to have been done to determine what the communist leaders themselves think about the communist ideology and the people they serve. One can find no better key to the logic of a political system or a national philosophy than the basic assumptions of its leaders and principal exponents. This study was undertaken to determine the communist leader's psychological assumptions concerning the nature and control of human behavior.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem. It was the purpose of this study to determine the psychological assumptions which underlie Nikita S. Khrushchev's basic concepts about
the nature and control of human behavior.

Importance of the study. Knowledge of what the Communist leaders assume to be true of the Communist ideology and the people they serve will lead to a better understanding of the leaders and thereby shed light on still another facet of communism.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Method of research. The principal material of this study was obtained from the public statements of Nikita S. Khrushchev, present leader of the Soviet Union and the Communist party. Occasionally, when Khrushchev quotes Lenin, Stalin, Marx, or Engels to clarify a point, these statements are accepted and used as expressions of his own beliefs. Although much has been written about collective leadership in the Soviet Union, particularly after the denunciation of Stalin, Khrushchev is generally regarded as the undisputed leader of both the government and the party. Towster, among others, points out that the Presidium and the Central Committee, key ruling bodies of the Soviet Union, are packed with Khrushchev men who back all his moves. His actions in ousting Malenkov, Molotov, and Bulganin support the contention that he is not only "the first among equals" but is actually "more equal" than the
others in the collective leadership group.¹

Since this writer neither speaks nor reads Russian he was forced to seek objective, unedited translations of Khrushchev's original statements and speeches. Two sources of such translations were located and were used exclusively in the study. They are (1) The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, (American Committee on Slavic Studies) a weekly publication which translates key articles in leading Russian newspapers, journals, and magazines; and (2) The Foreign Broadcast Information Service Bulletin, a daily publication prepared by the United States Department of State for the information and use of government agencies. It translates all key Soviet Union and Far East radio broadcasts.

Supplementary material used in this study was obtained from books and articles by American, Russian, and other writers; and from pamphlets and periodicals prepared and disseminated by the United States Department of State, and the United States Congress House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The majority of the material used in this study has been published (including all translations of Khrush-

Khrushchev's statements) within the last five years, that is, from January 1954 to February 1959. For the purpose of this study, this was considered to be the period during which Khrushchev emerged and became active as a key communist leader.

The statements used in this study were not chosen at random, but were selected with respect to their relevancy to the specific topic under consideration and to the general subject of the study.

**Limits of the study.** It was not the intent of this study to delve into the moral, ethical or political implications of the statements presented. Although communism is regarded essentially as a political system of government, it is reasonable to assume that the utterances of the key communist leader reveal more than the obvious "political message." The concern of this study was to extract, present and objectively discuss these underlying revelations.

**Arrangement of the remainder of the study.** The discussion is divided into the following major topics: the Ideology, the Party, the People, and the Individual. Khrushchev's statements are presented in context in order to preclude misinterpretation of their basic intent. The psychological assumptions of each statement are
discussed, and then summarized at the end of each chapter. In Chapter VI, Khrushchev's assumptions in six areas of human behavior are compared with the views generally held in modern psychology. The final chapter is a summary of the general findings and the conclusions.

A chapter on the history of the problem has been purposely omitted. Although no studies could be located which deal with the specific problem of this study, the material on the related subjects of communism and communist leaders is so extensive and voluminous that it defies concentration within the confines of one chapter. Therefore, it seems practical to concentrate all efforts in the present study on the problem itself.
CHAPTER II

THE IDEOLOGY

"Ideology is the application of coherent theory to popular activity, the transformation of doctrine into viable terms of conduct."\(^1\)

An ideology may be considered a systematic orientation to action. As such it can give form to the science, politics, philosophy, theology, and education of the country or age in which it is dominant, and thus play a major role in the control of human behavior.

The official ideology is of paramount importance in the Soviet Union since the Soviet Union is an "idocracy" that is, a nation governed not by men but by a "system of fixed ideas."\(^2\)

Triska defined Soviet Communist ideology as "a body of beliefs and patterns of thought officially promulgated, a curious blend of philosophy, cosmology, history, eschatology, sociology and psychology; a total


explanation of everything that was, is and shall be."\(^3\)

The all inclusive scope and dominance of the Ideology of the Soviet Union rendered it the logical starting point for this study. This chapter will consider the Ideology as it is regarded by Khrushchev. The discussion is divided into the following sections: (1) Marxism-Leninism (2) Khrushchev and the Ideology.

**I. MARXISM-LEININISM**

The official ideology of the Soviet Union is Marxism-Leninism. The basic theories were propounded by Marx and Engels and developed by Lenin. A few of its basic tenets are outlined here-in to provide a basis for better understanding the material that follows.

*Marxism.* Marxism is essentially an offshoot of Hegelian philosophy known as dialectical materialism. Marx attempted to unite Hegel's dynamic idealism with Feurbach's passive materialism. This union of voluntarism and determinism was accomplished by striking an equilibrium between man's will (social consciousness) and nature's implacability (social existence). The latter permitted scientific prediction of the future while the

\(^3\) *Ibid*
former guaranteed that the future would be an optimistic one. Uniting these two forces was the single absolute and independent abstraction: the dialectical method.4

The dialectical method gives purpose to history. History is not static but ever-changing; through the dialectical process it works always toward higher and more advanced experience. Applied to society, it is a process of the old giving way to the new, of Being, Becoming, and Ceasing To Be. This process continues until an absolute is reached which contains no contradictions at all. Marx called this social state "communism." When it is reached the dialectical process in society would come to a halt.5

The key principle in Marx's theory is "economic determinism," sometimes called the materialist explanation of history. History is the product of material forces. The material basis of human life is the decisive factor which determines the general character of social organization and the basic pattern of history. The most important material force is the prevailing mode

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4Brian Simon (trans. and comp.) Psychology in the Soviet Union, p. 4-5.

of economic life—the system of production, distribution and exchange. Politics, science, art, religion, literature, the family and other aspects of human behavior are the reflections of the prevailing system of economic production and the ways in which men earn their living. Marx stated it thusly:

The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.6

From his emphasis on material (matter) in establishing his ground plan of the universe, it might be said that Marx ascribed to a form of monistic materialism. Matter is the only reality. The universe forms a single system which is composed of a single stuff, and the stuff is matter. Whatever exists is matter; matter is endowed with the primary quality of self locomotion. Other qualities of matter arise because the self movement of matter brings about combinations in such a way that at certain points changes of quantity become changes in quality.7

6Quoted in Isaiah Berlin, Karl Marx, His Life and Environment, p. 36.

7Hector Hawton, Philosophy For Pleasure, p. 113.
The combination of matter, economics, and dialectics results in a history of continual struggles between exploiting and exploited, the ruling and oppressed classes. These struggles evolve ever upward until finally two great classes remain: the capitalist and the proletariat (workers). In the inevitable struggle that will follow, the proletariat will win because he is the key mode of production and thus part of the material force of history. Since history moves ever upward the proletariat must move from exploitation to full realization of the products of his labor. Marx was confident that this would come to pass. He said:

Capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter upon the method of production which has flourished with it and under it. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labour reach a point where they prove incompatible with their capitalist husk. This bursts asunder. The expropriators are expropriated.8

Marx provided the theory, the explanation of how history operates and the role that man plays in that operation. It remained only to test and develop his theory and this was Lenin's function.

**Leninism.** Marx emphasized the deterministic factor in his philosophy, possibly in an effort to stress

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8Quoted in Berlin, op cit., p. 41.
its scientific character. Lenin shifted emphasis to the voluntaristic aspect of Marxism because the facts of revolutionary life in Russia put a premium on human action. He maintained that the dialectical laws governing social development could be guided. He called this a policy of "consciousness," that is, deliberate control over the course of human events to make them yield a predetermined result. Lenin was strongly opposed to what he called "subservience to spontaneity" that is, letting nature take its course since events supposedly show an inevitable trend that is in itself desirable.9

Key to Lenin's formulation of a working doctrine was his concept of productivity. He regarded productivity of labor as the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system, "Capitalism," said Lenin, "can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished by the fact that socialism creates a new and much higher productivity of labor."10

Lenin revised Marxism in order to make an instrument of control over human behavior. On the basis of


the revised doctrine he organized the Communist party as the most enlightened element of the people, their vanguard, which will lead them along the road to communism. He organized the Russian State as the dictatorship of the proletariat, where a few rule in the name of all. He believed that his revisions improved Marxism for as he stressed:

...the whole spirit of Marxism, its entire system requires that each tenet be considered only historically, only in relation to others, and only in relation to the concrete experience of history.11

In summary, Marx prepared the theories, Lenin developed them into a working ideology by which man's behavior could be predicted and controlled.

II. KRUSHCHEV AND THE IDEOLOGY

Khrushchev's numerous public pronouncements repeatedly emphasize his total acceptance of the Marx-Lenin doctrine:

In one thing we are absolutely uncompromising and that is the matter of ideology. Marxist-Leninist ideology is the foundation on which we base the development of our socialist society. By following Marxist-Leninist teaching we will move forward, we will move faster than before.12

11Quoted in Komarov and Mikhailov, op cit., p. 6.
Since the ideology is a system of ideas it may be assumed that Khrushchev's assumptions about the nature of the ideology may be considered to be his assumptions about the nature of ideas in general. Ideas, to him, appear capable of possessing the following qualities: (1) self-existence (2) magnetism (3) indestructibility (4) determinism (5) absolute truthfulness.

**Self-existence.** The concept of self-existent ideas originated with Plato who believed that ideas existed and were the only reality, and that learning consisted of discovering pre-existent ideas. Matter was inert and meaningless without ideas.\(^\text{13}\)

Khrushchev regarded ideas and matter as being alive and existing separately. He said:

> The ideas of communism are the most progressive ideas of our epoch; ideas that are alive wherever man is alive. These ideas cannot be destroyed anymore than man can be destroyed. They have existed and exist.\(^\text{\textit{\textsuperscript{14}}}\)

Man and ideas exist in a kind of parallel relationship, each independent of the other. The ideas possess a life, that is, an existence of their own the purpose of which appears to be to reflect the true purpose of man's

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\(^{13}\)Edna Heidbreder, *Seven Psychologies*, p. 29.

existence. A Soviet philosopher explained the relationship thusly:

The source of socialism's ideas is material reality. These ideas arose in the mind of Marx and were developed under the influence of contradictions in capitalist society, under the contradictions of the life and struggle of the working class.\(^\text{15}\)

Soviet philosophy hews to the materialist viewpoint that matter is the only reality and that ideas are only the reflection of material reality. Khrushchev by ascribing a separate existence to ideas appears to follow a form of dualism. "The air itself," he said, "is infused with the ideas of communism."\(^\text{16}\)

**Magnetism.** The unity of man and ideas appears to be accomplished by a form of magnetic attraction. Khrushchev said:

Socialism has become a great magnetizing force for the workers, peasants and intelligentsia in all lands. The ideas of socialism are really conquering the minds of all toiling mankind.\(^\text{17}\)

Apparently Khrushchev believes that mankind is irresistibly drawn to the ideas of communism which upon


entering the mind, immediately dominate it. The emphasis on workers, peasants, intelligentsia, that is, groups of people indicates that the ideas are group-forming, that is, one individual "magnetized" by the ideas of communism becomes "attracted" to others who are similarly magnetized. "The ideas of communism," said Khrushchev, "are indissolubly linked with living practical activity of the masses for the revolutionary transformation of society." 18

Since Khrushchev believes that the ideas of communism can control the minds of men, then, apparently they transform society by uniting the people into one group with a uniform set of ideas. People and ideas become inseparable. "Wherever there are people," said Khrushchev, "there are the ideas of communism, and to fight these ideas means to fight the people." 19

The magnetic force of the ideas is apparently discriminate since Khrushchev relates the ideas only to toiling mankind. This indicates that the ideas are acquired, and are not innate in the mind of all mankind. It would


appear that upon becoming a worker, the individual acquires certain characteristics which render him susceptible to the magnetic quality of the ideas of communism. Said a Soviet philosopher:

If these socialist ideas are to be carried out as a socialist system, they must take hold in the minds of millions of working class people who are drawn instinctively toward socialism under the influence of the difficult material conditions of life. Such ideas are not carried out by single individuals, but by social classes, by millions of people.\(^20\)

**Indestructibility.** The ideas of communism according to Khrushchev "cannot be destroyed anymore than man can be destroyed."\(^21\) He amplified this in several other speeches. In an interview with a newspaper publisher he said:

> There are no arms that will stem the development of these ideas. The air itself is infused with the ideas of communism. They cannot be killed.\(^22\)

The indestructibility of man reveals Khrushchev's belief in the primacy of matter. Man cannot be destroyed because his development is determined by history. If man were capable of being destroyed then history could not

\(^{20}\)Komarovo and Mikhailov, *loc cit.*

\(^{21}\)Speech to the Supreme Soviet, *loc cit.*

\(^{22}\)Interview with W. R. Hearst, Jr., *loc cit.*
evolve to better things. This is contradictory to the dialectical process, so apparently man will always exist and always move forward toward communism. The ideas of communism are also indestructible because they reveal the truth about man's existence and about the forces that guide it. This is highlighted in the following statement by Khrushchev:

A war would bring terrible calamities and result in tremendous losses in lives and material values, but still mankind would not be destroyed and since mankind would continue to live, that means that the ideas would continue to live, and the immortal idea of mankind is communism.\(^{23}\)

**Determinism.** His belief in the deterministic aspect of the ideas of communism is readily apparent in the majority of Khrushchev's comments. It is revealed in the foregoing quotes, and is specifically illustrated by the following Khrushchev statement:

We are certain of the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideas, as certain as we are that tomorrow will follow today. We are convinced that mankind will build its life on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideas.\(^{24}\)

**Absolute truthfulness.** The absolute truth of the ideology is linked to its deterministic aspect. Said Khrushchev:

\(^{23}\)Television Interview, *loc cit.*

\(^{24}\)Speech in Finland, *loc cit.*
Only Marxism-Leninism will lead us to the promised aim, to the building of a communist society where the satisfaction of all human needs in life and work will be met.25

If the ideology constitutes the only true road to the building of communism, the ultimate in mankind's social development, then the ideology for Khrushchev represents the ultimate truth of all human behavior. This means that any quest for truth, that is, any scientific, educational, or literary endeavor must be based on the ideology if it is to yield true results. Truth, then, no longer possesses a relativity of view. For example, to the non-Marxist, a man is many things depending upon the individual's point of view. To a philosopher he is a moral being, to a biologist he is the result of his heredity, to a psychologist he may appear in a different light. To the non-Marxist, all of these represent different aspects of truth, to the Marxist, however, there can be only one truth. A leading American authority on Marxism explains it thusly:

The dialectical materialist find the unity of truth not in God, Spirit, or in Reason, but only in matter. He finds that the dialectical process manifesting itself in history can have only one real meaning, viz, the struggle of the working class to emerge from poverty. For him there is no such thing as truth that does not support and further the goal of a classless society.26


That this observation is pertinent and fairly accurate can be discerned from the following remark by Khrushchev:

The meaning of the same social measures adopted in the Soviet Union and in the capitalist countries respectively is different. While in the Soviet Union the introduction of a 30 hour week would have meant an enormous advance towards communism, the same measure in the United States would merely be an attempt by the capitalists to corrupt the working class so as to stave off the advent of socialism.27

Another leading Communist, Mao Tse Tung clarifies the official viewpoint thus:

Marxism-Leninism is an instrument for actively changing the world by applying the knowledge of its objective laws. To the daily work of revolutionizing society there must be brought the particular stand, viewpoint, and method derived from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism.28

It appears that the end justifies the means.

Also, since truth is determined only by using methods derived from one set of ideas, Marxism-Leninism, then all other quests for truth are based on false premises, and their results may be discounted. Non-Communists, therefore, require a separate vocabulary when dealing with communists, for the same term has different meanings for

27Quoted in Victor Alexandrov, Khrushchev of the Ukraine, p. 185.

each. Khrushchev provided an excellent example of this during a Kremlin Press Conference when he said:

Mr. Nixon (Vice President Richard Nixon) expresses readiness to compete in assuring better conditions in order to liquidate tyranny. We differ with Mr. Nixon with regard to our concepts of tyranny. What he regards as freedom for the rich to exploit the poor, we regard as tyranny. We forbid exploitation and he regards our measures against exploiters as tyranny.27

As the criteria for judging all endeavor, the doctrine becomes an effective means for controlling human behavior. Thus, only that behavior which utilizes methods derived from the doctrine is proper behavior. This would apply equally to a letter to the editor of Pravda and a scientific experiment. Its use in the latter is revealed by the following examples:

Only the Marxist-Leninist scientific methodology makes it possible to draw objectively correct conclusions from new data obtained by scientific experimentation.30

The philosophical standpoint of Soviet psychology is dialectical materialism as initiated by Marx and developed by Lenin. It proceeds from the materialist point of view that matter is primary and consciousness secondary and derivative.31


Since Khrushchev regards the ideology as the key to all knowledge it appears that he regards all problems as being inter-connected and soluble on the basis of one doctrine. It is essential, therefore, that the doctrine be disseminated as widely as possible so that it may become an even greater force for social development. Accomplishing this appears to be the responsibility of the Party which will be discussed in the next chapter.
SUMMARY OF KHRUSHCHEV'S ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE IDEOLOGY

1. Matter and ideas exist separately and independently.

2. The ideas of communism reflect the true purpose of man's life. Discovery of these ideas reveals the truth about man's existence.

3. The ideas of communism exert a magnetic influence only over the minds of the working class. Members of the working class are inevitably drawn toward these ideas which enter their minds and dominate them.

4. The ideas of communism unite individuals into one group possessing a uniform set of ideas.

5. The ideas of communism are indestructible because matter is indestructible and they reveal the truth about one form of matter: man.

6. The ideas of communism are the basis of all truth involving man and his behavior. All problems are interconnected and soluble on the basis of the ideology.

7. Truth is not relative. Only that can be true which is based on the ideas of communism. All else is false.

8. The end justifies the means.
9. The ideology is a criterion for judging and controlling behavior. All behavior in accord with the ideology is proper behavior.

10. The ideology provides man with the motives and the methods for achieving his purpose in life, that is, developing a communist society.
CHAPTER III

THE PARTY

Article 126 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union states:

...and the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class, working peasants and working intelligentsia voluntarily unite in the Communist party of the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to build a communist society and is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.1

Lenin created the Communist party, Stalin developed it into an instrument of state control. He described its membership as being the "pick of the working class, armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism."2

Stalin regarded the Party as marching at the head of the working class. Its purpose was to inspire the people with a class consciousness; it should see further than all of the working class, for it must lead and not lag in the rear. A Party that merely registers the thoughts and sufferings of the people and is content to

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be dragged along in the wake of the spontaneous movement of the masses is no true party, according to Stalin. It must be bound to the people with "invisible moral threads so that the masses look upon the Party as their party, a party which is near and dear to them," a party to whom they "cheerfully confide their destiny."\

The Party arose because of Lenin's modification of Marx's theory of spontaneous revolution of the working class. Lenin substituted conscious action for spontaneity and thereby gave the movement a deliberate and purposive character. The Party's role was to lead this movement, for according to Lenin, "only a Party guided by an advanced theory can act as a vanguard in the fight."\

This is the Party that Khrushchev acquired and which he now leads. This discussion will consider his basic psychological assumptions about the Party from the following standpoints: (1) Nature of the Party; (2) Form of the Party; and (3) Function of the Party.

I. NATURE OF THE PARTY

The nature of the Party is assumed to be the underlying forces or principles which create, control or guide

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\text{\textsuperscript{bid.}}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{\textsuperscript{bid, quoting Lenin, p. 87.}}\]
the behavior of the Party.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that Khrushchev regards the ideas of Marxism-Leninism as a means for transforming society, as guides for human behavior. It is not unusual to assume that he would consider the Party the logical agency for this action. He said:

Our Party uniting in its ranks all that is most advanced, bold, heroic, and selfless in the working class and in the people, expresses the basic interests of the people. Its might lies in its Marxist-Leninist theory, the iron unity of its ranks and its unbreakable tie with the broad masses of the people.

The Party, therefore, is comprised of the select members of the working class. Apparently these representatives are select because they have a thorough understanding of, and dedication to, the ideology. This provides them with a common unity of purpose, without which the Party could not function. Unity within the Party and the Party's tie with the people is also accomplished by the ideology which is the common bond that links all members of the working class, and reveals their collective best interests—the development of communism. Since the people and the Party can have no other interests but communism, then whatever the Party does is done for the best.

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interests of the people.

This is tantamount to saying that Khrushchev believes the Party can do no wrong. Right and wrong like truth and falsity, however, stem from the "ends" for which the Party strives. The ideas of communism represent the best interests of the people. This has been revealed by Marx and Lenin. The Party is a select group because it has a thorough understanding of, and dedication to the ideas of communism. Khrushchev may therefore state with certainty that the Party always expresses the best interests of the people, for the Party always operates according to the ideology. This was further elaborated by Khrushchev:

The Party has no other interests than the people's interests. The Soviet people have always trusted and continue to trust the Party limitlessly. They have supported and continue to support its policy as their own. It is a policy that is in harmony with their secret thoughts and aspirations. 6

If Khrushchev believes that the Party always has the complete support of the people then it follows that he believes the Party is always doing what is best for the people. This does not imply that individuals always recognize it as such. The Party is in harmony with the aspirations of the people, not of individuals. The ideas of communism exist for the collective people, they are

6Ibid, p. 27.
effective only when they can draw people together. If the Party must continually work for the people's interests, then the question arises whether the people are unable to provide for their own interests. Such a question, however, posits the presence of divergent interests among the people. There are none. The people can have no interests that are not in conformance with the ideology, and since the Party is steeped in the ideology, the Party will tell the people what their interests are. In this fashion the Party controls the people's behavior, and strengthens its unity with them. On the subject of unity Khrushchev said:

The unity of the Party and the people is a reliable guarantee of the might of socialist society and the successful construction of communism. As long as the bond between the Party and the people is unbreakable, the forces of socialism have no reason to fear...the enemies of communism. Therefore, the unity of the Party and the people must be held sacred. 7

Apparently the unity of Party and people is vital in order to protect the best interests of the people. This suggests that only the Party can protect the peoples interests. If this is true, then only the Party is superior to the people, that is, it is in a position of superiority over the people. Khrushchev called it:

the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch. By its more than fifty years struggle for communism the Communist party has demonstrated its great wisdom, perceptiveness and foresight.8

The foregoing statement appears to corroborate the assumption that the Party is superior to the people and also that it can do no wrong. Its collective wisdom and foresight apparently stems from a greater consciousness of the ideology. The combination of unity in a common purpose, (the building of communism) and conformance with a standard pattern of behavior, (the ideology) apparently endows the Party with certain collective attributes which surpass the individual attributes of its members. As a collective entity the Party is characterized by great wisdom and perceptiveness, and by a superior mind and conscience. Said Khrushchev:

The Party demands...undeviating fulfillment of its decisions and unreserved submission to the will of the majority...It will not tolerate the spreading of views that are contrary to its ideology and policy and which do harm to its unity, to the cause of building communism.9

Because its views and decisions are right, that is, always based on the ideology, the Party cannot permit any

8Ibid.
contrary views to be spread. The people apparently must accept the world as pictured for them by the Party. Their social consciousness is the consciousness of the Party; they are permitted no other. Thus, the party exercises complete control over the people's behavior; as their collective "majority" will, it alone can determine what is best for the people. Khrushchev made this point clear to a conference of writers:

The Communist party's policy expressing the peoples fundamental interests is the vital basis of the Soviet social and state system. Therefore, it would be a great mistake to think that in our Soviet conditions it is possible to serve the people without actively carrying out the Communist party's policy.¹⁰

Thus, those who serve the Party, serve the people; those who do not serve the Party do not serve the people. This "either-or" dichotomy is reminiscent of the early Christian Church which recognized only two kinds of people, Christians and heathens. If the people cannot be served except through the Party, then the Party controls all means of contact with the people. The Party, then, in the best interests of the people, imposes a form of censorship upon them. Since this is in the people's interests, it must be assumed that either the Party fears

that contradictory ideas will either turn the people from communism, or will distract them and thereby delay their progress toward communism. On the basis of Khrushchev's averred faith in the ideology it may be assumed that he is more concerned with the distracting influence of any activity that is not in accord with the Party's policies.

The totalitarian aspect of the Party's control over the people appears to be vested in the concept of the collective will. If the Party expresses the collective will of the people and it focuses that collective will on the development of communism then the Party is in reality focusing the will or attention of all the people on communism. It unites them in contemplating and working toward one single goal--communism.

The concept of a conscious, unified and distinct collective will superior to the will of any individual is reminiscent of Rousseau's "general will" concept of the state, in which the state comes into existence through an agreement among men on the conditions of living together.\textsuperscript{11}

The difference between Rousseau's "general will" and Khrushchev's "collective will" is readily apparent from the following editorial in Pravda, the official

newspaper of the Soviet Union:

In the Soviet Socialist State the single will of the people is the single will of all the peoples of the USSR. Soviet authority in the USSR expresses and realizes the will of the entire multinational single people.12

Obviously the only way that Soviet authority, that is, the Party can realize the will of the people is to be in possession of information that will predict exactly what the people will do in any given circumstance. In essence this is the type of information that the ideology provides to the Party, information about history's process of social development.

Implicit in the Party's expression of the people's collective will is the notion that the people always support the Party. "All Soviet people," said Khrushchev, "unanimously support the Communist party and justly see in it their militant vanguard."13

Manifestations of support are apparently desirable in order to strengthen the unity between the Party and the people. An editorial in Pravda asserted that "the entire Soviet people fervently receive and unanimously

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approve the resolution of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, regarding it as a fully correct and timely measure of immense significance for Party and State."14

In summary, the nature of the Party is its unity of purpose in fulfilling the ideas of communism, its collective will, its superior wisdom, its infallibility, and its power.

Marxism-Leninism is the bond that holds the Party together, that is, its members are those select workers who are thoroughly indoctrinated in the doctrine. They have a unity of purpose: to guide the people toward communism. Since the ideas of communism are the best interests of the people and since the Party is dedicated toward the fulfillment of these ideas, then the Party's actions are always in the best interests of the people. The Party then is always right, for the ideology is always right. Because it is always right and because it works solely for their interests, the people support the Party implicitly, and depend upon it to guide them. The Party in turn strives to protect its unity with the people in order that it may keep them on the correct road toward communism. The Party thus insures that the people never lose sight of their ultimate objective.

The Party is superior to the people because its

14 Editorial in Pravda, loc cit.
collective wisdom stems from a greater consciousness of the ideology.

The Party demands complete subordination to its dictates, for its will is the will of the majority. It alone can determine what is best for the people, and all who would serve the people can do so only by carrying out the Party's policy. The Party, then, is the sole judge of the people's behavior.

II. FORM OF THE PARTY

By the form of the Party is meant its psychological structure or manifestation, that is, the Party as Khrushchev views it. The physical form or organization of the Party is not pertinent to this discussion.

The form of the Party may be inferred from the following statement by Khrushchev:

The Communist party which is always the vanguard, the leading part of the people, is flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of the people.15

Khrushchev considers the Party as being linked with the people by ties of flesh and blood. This implies that the Party and the people are one, sharing the same collective identification, that is, all are members of

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the working class. The Party's position in the vanguard of the collective entity denotes its leading role of guiding the people toward communism. To Khrushchev the Party is not separated from the people nor does it occupy a position above them. It leads the people only because it is their enlightened element. The unity of Party and people is analogous to a single human being whose movements and behavior are directed by his brain, the supreme form of matter. The Party apparently is the brain of the people, their "leading part." Viewed in this light, the Party is not an impersonal administrative group but as Khrushchev said in another speech, "...a living organism, bound by ties of flesh and blood with the broad masses." 16

The concept of the Party as a living organism suggests a form of animism. The Party appears to possess life as a collective entity, a form of life that is different from the individual lives that comprise it. Linking the Party with the people into one collective living organism lends credence to the assumption that what the Party does is done for the good of the people. Emphasizing the linkage in material terms assists in creating the illusion

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of a collective material entity. Such a linkage is consistent with Khrushchev's material outlook. Since matter is primary in his philosophy, it is only natural that he think in terms of matter. Where a non-Marxist might say "we are united under God," denoting spiritual ties, the Marxist says "we are united by flesh and blood," that is, material ties.

Such a linkage implies that the Party will always work for the benefit of the people, for their increased welfare. "The entire life of the Party," said Khrushchev, "is the life of the people. It is a struggle for the interests of the people, for their welfare and happiness." 17

It may be assumed that by sharing the same life with the people, the Party interacts with the people and controls their behavior. By controlling the people's behavior it controls their life since from the materialist standpoint, behavior and life are one.

In summary, the Form of the Party is the form of the people, that is, the Party is linked to the people with ties of flesh and blood, for both are of the working class. If Party and People were viewed as a single human being, the Party would be the brain, the supreme form of matter. As a collective entity the Party and People

17Speech at Conference of Farm Personnel, op cit., p. 18.
interact, but because the Party occupies the superior role, it controls the behavior of the people. The Party thus, controls the life of the people, who are bound to it and are dependent upon it for their existence.

III. FUNCTION OF THE PARTY

From the standpoint of psychology the function of the Party may be regarded as the purpose, goal, or action that the Party undertakes in regard to the people.

In a speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist party, Khrushchev spoke repeatedly about the Party as the "leading and guiding force of the Soviet people in all fields of political, social, economic and cultural life in the USSR."18

According to this statement the Party guides the peoples thoughts, and consequently influences their behavior. Since the people have no freedom of thought or action except within the guidelines established by the Party, the basic function of the Party then appears to be total control over the people. In this regard Khrushchev stated:

The Party must intensify its efforts in Communist education of the masses and in eliminating the survival of capitalism in the minds of men; it must make

18Speech on the 40th Anniversary of the Revolution, op cit, p. 16.
fuller and more active use of all the ideological media—propaganda, agitation, the press, radio, cultural and educational organizations and institutions, science, literature and art. 19

Apparently Khrushchev believes that by controlling all factors of stimulation, that is, communications media, the Party will control the ideas that are in the minds of the people and thus literally control their minds. The necessity for this action he attributes to capitalist ideas, which are a threat to the development of communist ideas. Apparently the two ideas cannot exist in the same milieu, in this instance the minds of men. That these two ideas are in conflict is a basic tenet of dialectical materialism. However, Khrushchev had frequently asserted that the communist ideas are supreme and had even warned the capitalist countries that the ideas of communism are "bacilli, which will invade the minds of your children and convert them to communism." 20

Either Khrushchev is uncertain of the supremacy of the Marx-Lenin doctrine, or he uses the idea of capitalism as a fear symbol in order to increase receptiveness to the Party's function as educator and protector. This is similar to a parent insuring control over his children by warning them that goblins and other fearsome

19 Ibid.
20 News Item in the Omaha World Herald (Nebraska), May 20, 1959.
creatures lurk in the world outside the family circle, waiting to do them harm.

The people's acceptance of the Party in its role as educator and molder of public opinion is illustrated by the following extracts:

The Communist party is the political and ideological leader of our people. Hence it is also the chief educator of Soviet young people.21

The public opinion of the Soviet people is formed and developed under the guidance of its leading part, its vanguard, the Communist party...22

Although these statements may not be indicative of the majority of the people's acceptance, they do indicate that the people are aware of the Party's efforts in their behalf. The people in reading these affirmations and assertions, are led to believe that they represent actual reality, that they proclaim the legitimate and undisputed prerogative of the Party. Whether the people actually believe that, or whether they accept the Party's role is of little consequence to Khrushchev. The important consideration appears to be to educate the people in social consciousness, that is, in their responsibilities and duties

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in developing a communist society. "It is impossible," said Khrushchev, "to build communism without a high degree of communist awareness in the people."\(^\text{23}\)

This implies that unless the people are aware of what they are doing they cannot do it effectively. The attainment of such awareness seems to be essential for complete control over the people. Communist awareness then, is like a mental set which will direct the people's behavior toward a common goal, with no conflicting distractions to impede their advance. Said Khrushchev:

One cannot foretell exactly when communism will come about, but one thing is clear—mankind is moving toward it. I rejoice at this and for my part am doing everything in my power to promote the advance.\(^\text{24}\)

The foregoing reveals Khrushchev's total acceptance of the ideology's deterministic prophecy. Mankind is inevitably moving toward communism and anything that can be done to promote this advance is cause for rejoicing. That mankind may not want communism apparently has no bearing on his movement toward it. He will accept it in due time when the ideas of communism con-


vert him. That the Party may be creating human robots to
further the development of communism is likewise irrele-
vant. In view of the ends toward which they are striving,
the people are working for themselves, preparing for the
world that is to come. The Party is doing them a great
service; its aim is to help them achieve the goal of
communism more rapidly. "Like all communists," said Khrush-
chev, "I dream only of ensuring a happy life for all peo-
ple, of ensuring that all people fully enjoy the benefits
of their labor."25

In its role of leading the people to the promised
land the Party seems almost Messianic. It alone possesses
the vision of what lies ahead and its efforts are directed
at ensuring that all of the people are led to the fulfill-
ment of this vision. There is little doubt that Khrush-
chev accepts this as the Party's primary service to the
people. He said:

Life has shown that the people...are invincible if
they are well organized and inspired by the ideas of
communism. Only then does a rapid, truly mass move-
ment forward occur.26

25Ibid.

26Speech on the 40th Anniversary of the Revolu-
tion, op cit., p. 18.
Properly inspired by the ideas of communism the people can be organized into a concerted forward movement. The ideas of communism were previously presented as "mental sets" which lead the people to action. A corollary of that assumption is that the Party uses the ideas of communism to stimulate the people to a desired pattern of behavior. Particularly might this be true in view of the heavy emphasis placed on eliciting the proper response from the people to the dictates of the Party. In this regard the people are taught to reject improper or incorrect "stimuli" and accept only those which the Party considers to be right. The people thus are shown the way to proper behavior. Khrushchev makes this point thusly:

The Party corrects anyone who makes mistakes. The Party sees shortcomings and knows that it must talk to the people about them and overcome them together with the people. The people will do a better job of eliminating these shortcomings if you tell them the truth and show them the way. 27

Apparently, the people must be shown the truth because the truth is inherent in communist awareness, and the people have imperfect communist awareness. Thus, they are incapable of arriving at the truth without help. This is in accord with the notion that only that is true which is based on methods derived from the ideology. In showing

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the people the true course to follow, the Party, in essence, dictates the course of their behavior.

Another function of the Party as viewed by Khrushchev is that of defender of the people's interests. This is illustrated by the following Khrushchev statement concerning Stalin:

For Marxist-Leninists the chief and most important matter is the defense of the interests of the working class, of the class of socialism and the struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism. In this main and most important respect as the saying goes, may God grant that every Communist will be able to fight as Stalin fought.28

Presumably Khrushchev regards capitalism as a threat to the safety of the people. Since the ideology is predicated on the idea of a class struggle, it appears that such a struggle must always be foremost in the minds of every communist. Therefore, we may assume that Khrushchev, believing in the inevitable advance of the world toward communism, also believes that this advance is always being threatened by the losing class. The concept of continual struggle tends to unite the people in defense, if not of the ideology, at least of their interests. The Party's function as defender of the ideology is to keep the people aware of the threat to their interests.

This implies that only the Party can protect them. Perpetuating the notion of constant danger will instill fear in the people, thereby causing them to withdraw from the source of danger and come to the point of protection, the Party, thus facilitating the task of bringing them to communist awareness. Said Khrushchev:

A new world is arising, the world of communism, and this world, comrades, is invincible. However many secret or overt attacks they may launch against our socialist camp, they cannot stay our advance to the bright future of mankind to communism.29

The assurances of invincibility and of victory are powerful inducements for uniting the people in the cause of communism. Unity is further aided by the threat of danger which causes the people to seek the protection of the Party and thus makes them more receptive to the Party's influence.

In summary, the Party's main function is to educate the people, to mold their consciousness, and control their behavior in order that they may achieve a high state of communist awareness and thereby hasten the development of communism. Without a high degree of communist awareness the people are susceptible to distractions which deter their advance toward communism.

Another function of the Party is to defend the

peoples interests from the enemies of communism. By pub-
licizing its role as defender, and by perpetuating the
threat of impending danger the Party causes the people to
withdraw from the source of danger and draw closer to the
source of protection. The prospect of accepting communism
is made more appealing by continually emphasizing its in-
vincibility and the inevitability of its victory over
capitalism. The people, in desiring to be on the winning
side will be more receptive to communist ideas, and thus
to communist awareness.
SUMMARY OF KHRUSHCHEV'S ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE PARTY

Nature of the Party.

1. The Party is comprised of select members of the working class who have a common unity of purpose, namely, a thorough understanding of and dedication to the Ideology.

2. The Ideology is a common bond that unites the Party with the people.

3. The Party and the people have the same interests, that is, the development of communism. The Party always expresses the best interests of the people.

4. The Party always knows the people's interests because the people have no divergent interests. Their interests are in conformance with the ideology, and the Party is more qualified than they in expressing the ideology. The Party controls the behavior of the people and insures their continual dependence upon, and unity with, the Party.

5. The Party is concerned with people, not with individuals; the ideas of communism are effective only when they unite many people for a common purpose.

6. The Party as a collective entity has great wisdom, foresight and perceptiveness. Its views and decisions
are always right because they are based on the ideology.

7. The Party manifests the collective will of the people. It is the sole judge and director of their behavior.

**Form of the Party.**

1. The Party and the people are one. They are linked by flesh and blood, with the Party as the leading part of the people, that is, the brain.

**Function of the Party.**

1. The Party controls the peoples thoughts and consequently regulates their behavior.

2. The Party educates and trains the people in a high state of communist awareness and it controls all means of communication in order to facilitate this education of the people.

3. The people accept the Party as educator and developer of their thoughts.

4. The Party corrects the peoples mistakes and shows them the correct course to follow. It conditions them to accept only its dictates as truth.

5. The Party defends the people's interests against all threats. It perpetuates the idea of continual struggle in order to instill fear in the people, thereby causing them
to seek the Party’s protection.

6. The Party always represents the ideology as invincible and the ultimate victor in the struggle with capitalism. This attracts those who want to be with the winning side.
CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE

In this chapter the people of the Soviet Union are discussed from the standpoint of Khrushchev's assumptions about their nature. The discussion is divided into two parts: (1) the Social Nature of the People and (2) the Physical and Mental Nature of the People.

I. SOCIAL NATURE OF THE PEOPLE

The social nature of a people may be assumed to consist of those characteristics which identify a people as a group. Among these are: culture (both material and immaterial), labor, morality, religion, classes, and family.

Culture. To Khrushchev the term culture appears to be synonymous with higher living standards embodied in an economy that will turn out creature comforts in undreamed of abundance. He said:

The more perfect the technology of production becomes the more rapid the growth in productivity of social labor and the higher the working peoples living standards. This will create even more favorable conditions for the comprehensive development of spiritual culture, for the comprehensive development of the people in socialist society. The growth of the material culture is the basis for the growth of the spiritual culture, With a low level of material culture, the
spiritual culture of the entire society cannot flourish. These two factors are interdependent.\(^1\)

The people's material culture is that which they have made or are making. It consists of all those material objects that arise from a people working and living together; objects such as food, clothing, shelter, and so on. Material culture, then, concerns the physiological needs of the people. To increase their material culture the people must work harder. By working harder and thereby increasing the means for satisfying their physiological needs the people will be establishing the basis for developing their spiritual culture. Since its development is dependent upon the development of the material culture, it appears that the spiritual culture comprises immaterial aspects of the peoples lives. The spiritual culture, then, concerns the psychological needs of the people. That these are relegated to a place of secondary importance indicates that they are not essential to the existence of the people.

From his emphasis on the primary development of the material culture, it may be assumed that Khrushchev regards it as an important part of the development of

communism. In fact communism is the material culture of the people developed to its maximum. It is for this that the people strive; toward this end that history is evolving. Said Khrushchev:

The people took power into their own hands precisely in order to develop the forces of production, to multiply society's wealth, to improve their well-being and to create better living conditions as rapidly as possible.\(^2\)

Since the material culture of the people is concerned with fulfilling their physiological needs, it seems that these needs created the drives that compelled the people to seize power. Apparently, these needs will not be satisfied until conditions of living are created which will insure their complete and constant satiety. Since this will be achieved only when the state of communism is reached, the people must continually strive to improve their standard of living, that is, their material culture.

Because it represents the development of communism, raising the material culture of the people is of primary importance to Khrushchev. It would appear that he regards this as the principal reason for existence. This is consistent with the materialistic viewpoint, for as matter, the people exist only to improve their material well-being.

It may be assumed that their material well-being and comfort is the principal preoccupation of the people.

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\(^2\)Ibid.
Geiger, in a study of 985 former Soviet urbanites, concluded:

...the Soviet population has become strongly oriented toward educational and occupational achievement, and the young people in particular have developed high occupational aspirations. Consumer goods shortages...can without question be regarded as a feature of the Soviet system which acted in a deprivational fashion on the population...³

Towster, during a tour of Soviet schools noted that "on the whole the demeanor of the young people was very practical and prosaic. The dominant motive among youth is good jobs and safe careers, just as the dominant interest of the populace at large is meat, milk and gadgets."⁴

Since the Party controls the development of the material culture, then it also controls the development of the spiritual culture since the two are interdependent. The spiritual culture appears to be a means by which the people are induced to greater productive effort. Said Khrushchev:

From the very first days of Soviet power, the Communist party has been devoting major attention to raising the cultural level of the working people. To ensure a life worthy of man to all people means to create an abundance not only of material things but also of spiritual values. A genuinely cultured


person must be able to appreciate and understand any phenomenon of culture whether it be Tschaikowsky, Shostakovitch, Rembrandt or Picasso.⁵

Since the Party's activities are based on the ideology, it would seem that whatever spiritual values it creates would be designed to further the development of communism. These values, then, become another means for controlling the behavior of the people. Since spiritual values are created by the Party, they must be conducive of communication to the people. One such "value" is music. Said Khrushchev:

In the truthful and highly artistic imagery of music, in melodies and songs, the people recognize themselves, their lives, their aspirations, their dreams. It is said that the soul of the people is revealed in music. Music just as any genuine art has lived and is living the life of the people and sees its supreme goal in serving the people. We want Soviet music to serve the great cause of communism.⁶

Music, then, serves as an incentive to spur the people on to greater effort. Apparently, if it does not reflect a true picture of the people's lives, it is a distracting influence and as such detrimental to the cause of Communism. The composers, then, must write music that

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⁵Speech on the Close Ties between Literature, Art, and the Life of the People, op cit., p. 6.

conforms to the Party's standards. They are denied any freedom of creativity, as the term is generally understood by a non-Marxist. To Khrushchev, however, creativity appears to be the ability to create music which will meet the Party's standards, music that will inspire the people to greater productivity for the benefit of all mankind. This is also true of all the other media of culture. As Khrushchev said in an interview with an American correspondent:

What is culture? What is literature, newspapers, magazines, and the press generally? They are the reflection of the people's life. If a writer serves the people, lives with the people and is their servant, he blends in his work the interests of the people, those of the Communist party and his own personal interests. Literature plays a prominent part in our country, helping the party to educate the people correctly, to implant in their minds the advanced, progressive ideas which guide our party. It is not without reason therefore that writers in our country are called engineers of the human soul.

Soul is generally defined as a vital principal and may be regarded as the immaterial substance of a human being. Since materialism does not recognize the existence of immaterial substance, the term "soul" must refer to the ideas of communism which the Party seeks to implant in the minds of men. The writers then are helping

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the Party to implant the vital principal of communism, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in the people's consciousness, and are thus contributing to the Party's efforts to develop a communist society.

Apparently the writers are regarded as "engineers" because of the "tools" they use to shape the "human soul." These tools are words, or written language. Language, both written and oral has long been considered an important factor in controlling human behavior. Marx regarded it as "practical consciousness"; Stalin regarded it as a "means of developing society." 8

Soviet psychology explains the unity of language and consciousness on the basis of Pavlov's theory of the two-signal system. Language is the ultimate signal for reflecting objective reality, for man has no thoughts free from the natural material of language. On the basis of language alone man may be stimulated into desired behavior. 9

8Quoted in Isaiah Berlin, Karl Marx, His Life and Environment, p. 102.


As a basis for learning, education, and written and oral communication language is a means of controlling human behavior. By shaping "human souls" the writers are simply helping the Party create a particular mental set within the minds of the people, and thereby insuring uniform collective behavior. In this fashion the Party controls the collective social behavior of the people.

Since the writer's words reflect objective reality in the minds of the people, it may be assumed that eventually the people will believe what is presented to them. Since the writers are required to serve the cause of communism, that is a future state, it may be assumed that what they present will be an "ideal reality" rather than the actual one. By reflecting the people's life in their work the writers reflect a collective life that is not representative of the life of any individual in the group. They describe a life that the Party wishes the people to lead; thus they hold an image of the ideal Soviet man before the people. Reshaping and manipulating this collective man results in corresponding behavior on the part of the people. "The process of Communist education," said Khrushchev, "is not accomplished at the wave of a magic wand. It is a process of struggle in cultural development, in the formation of the Soviet man's outlook."\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Interview with Shapiro, loc cit.
To insure proper formation of the Soviet man's outlook, that is, a collective outlook which can be attributed to all the people, implies that when such an outlook is attained, the behavior of the people can be predicted as well as controlled. The formation of a collective outlook implies the complete control of all media of communication, and of all means of social contact. The use of the writers in this regard was shown. It is interesting to note their response. "Our literature," wrote one author, "is proud of its mission as the herald of the noble ideas of communism."12 Another wrote:

We Soviet writers live and work with the firm conviction that the leading role of the Communist party is the primary condition for a fruitful development of Soviet literature.13

Such assertions of complete support lend credence to the assumption that through the medium of the written word the people can be molded into a collective entity whose behavior can be controlled by the Party. Literature, a cultural media, becomes a key means for accomplishing this task.

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13 Ibid, p. 45.
Its proper accomplishment depends upon complete conformity of the writers as a group. This problem is resolved by an ingenious technique known as criticism, self-criticism. (Discussed at greater length in Chapter VII, The Individual.) Its use in literature was outlined by Khrushchev:

We want consolidation and unity of all the forces of literature and art on a principled basis, not by concessions and deviations from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Principled criticism and self-criticism is being developed in the interests of consolidation. This criticism helps those who have made mistakes to realize and correct those mistakes and to stand more firmly on their feet. 14

Apparently the artist and writer has only one correct expression of his talents, and that is in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These principles can be expressed properly only if all the writers and artists are consolidated into a single group. Consolidation within the group increases the chances of conformity, for the other members of the group will criticize a deviant and help him back to the group path. The technique of criticism requires that the individual also criticize himself in order that he may consciously change his behavior. An example of this is the public confession that one authoress made to her fellow-writers:

14 Speech on Close Tie between Literature, Art, and the Life of the People, op cit., p. 9.
I, as a Communist accepting every Party document as something wholly and boundlessly my own...am now able to say to my comrades, plainly and firmly, that everything is correct, that I actually did make the mistakes about which Comrade Krushchev spoke. I made them, I persisted in them, but I have realized and admitted them deliberately and consciously. I think I have succeeded in understanding the causes of these mistakes and even the fact that some of them are bound up in my human nature which perhaps somehow hinders me in my work. I must now more strictly verify my views on life's phenomena...by following what Comrade Krushchev taught and urged in his speeches. I shall work more worthily in the future and shall always remember that any work of a Soviet writer can be performed with honor only by unswervingly following the Party line and Party discipline.\(^\text{15}\)

By verbalizing his mistakes the individual brings them into conscious awareness where they may be properly corrected. Fear of group censure or expulsion from the group is the basis upon which the self-criticism method operates. It illustrates that the individual is valuable only as a unit of the group, performing in accordance with the standards established for the group. By maintaining group cohesion criticism and self-criticism become techniques of controlling the group's behavior.

In summary, the culture of the people consists of material objects by which the people meet their physiological needs, and spiritual values which are created for them to satisfy their psychological needs. The material

\(^{15}\) Speech by Margaret Aliger at meeting of Moscow Writers, October 7, 1957, trans. The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, IX, 40, p. 12, October 2-8, 1957.
values are of primary importance for they are connected with the people's existence, and thus, with their progress toward communism. The spiritual values are of secondary importance; they are dependent upon a high level of material values and thus act as inducements to the people to work harder.

As the key to the fulfillment of all their material wants, the ideology is a great motivating force for uniting the people and increasing their productive efforts in a common endeavor. The Party as the qualified executor of the ideology controls the behavior of the people and directs the development of their material and spiritual cultures. Writers, artists, and musicians create spiritual incentives which spur the people to greater productive effort. The writers are particularly important in this respect, for with the tool of written language, they shape the consciousness of the people in accordance with the Party's desires. In effect they create a mental set or pattern by which man's behavior may be predicted and controlled. As a criteria of desired behavior the writers hold before the people the collective image of the ideal Soviet man.

Labor. It is generally recognized that a society depends upon the labors of its people for its growth and development. However, the principal purpose of such labor is to benefit the individual; society benefits indirectly. This is reversed in the Soviet Union, where the productive
labor of the people is primarily for the benefit of society, and only indirectly for the benefit of the individual. The importance of labor is a Soviet credo and is the basic tenet for the development of communism. Lenin stated:

Productivity of labor is the most important, the principle thing for the victory of the new social system. Capitalism can be utterly vanquished and will be utterly vanquished by the fact that socialism creates a new and much higher productivity of labor.16

If the victory of the new social system depends upon the productivity of labor, then labor becomes the principal preoccupation of the people. However, this labor is not directly for the benefit of the people as individuals but for the development of a new society. Khrushchev pointed out that "the historic destinies of our Soviet society were determined and are still being determined by the creative labors of our historic working class."17

As a group, the people are building a new world and this goal determines not only the kind of work that each must perform but also provides the criteria for judging the value of such work. Only that labor is worthwhile which furthers the cause of communism.

The people then exist to work; this is the primary purpose of human life, its means of advancement and develop-

16Lenin, op cit., p. 156.
Mankind ascends step by step as productive forces develop, and he creates the conditions that on the basis of growth in labor productivity make for an abundance of material and spiritual wealth.\textsuperscript{18}

If man's progressive development toward communism depends upon a corresponding development of his environment then man and environment are not discrete objects that interact mechanically, as a result of external collision. Man and his environment are one; both are matter. They interact continuously through the force of productive labor.

Labor, then, is the means by which man improves his environment and correspondingly advances himself, for the modifications that he makes in his environment are the measures of man's development. The more modifications that he makes the more rapid is his progress toward communism, which represents the ultimate in his development.

Labor then is the key to man's existence, the means by which he advances toward his ultimate Utopia—a state of complete material satisfaction. Khrushchev said:

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the mode of production in material life determines the social, political, and intellectual life processes in general. Production is the relation of man to nature.\textsuperscript{19}


\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.
Man is merely a mode of production. Combined with other men he creates society on the basis of the collective labor of the group. If man is a mode of production then all of man's attributes are also modes of production, that is, knowledge, science, skills, and so forth. These can be elaborated to increase man's productive value. Khrushchev regarded education as a primary factor for this purpose. He said:

When our workers will have secondary education, labor will become even more productive, and the uninterrupted increase of the productivity of labor is in the last analysis, the main condition for the successful building of communism.  

The goal of education should be to train more productive workers. Since this goal is pre-determined, curricula based on it will result in a fairly standardized educational product. Also, educational curricula should be such that transfer of learning from the classroom to a real life situation will be facilitated.

Proclaiming an objective for man's labor and his education implies a complete disregard of the individual's prerogative to work at a vocation of his choice and to seek an education for reasons other than the betterment of his productivity. Apparently individual expression of free

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will is allowed only when it does not interfere with the
ultimate objective of developing a communist society.
Said Khrushchev:

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the forces operating
in society work exactly like the forces operating in
nature, blindly, violently, destructively so long as
we do not understand them and fail to take them into
account. For what each individual wills is obstructed
by everyone else and what emerges is something that no
one has willed. 21

The ultimate goal renders all labor equally honor-
able and productive if it is in the purpose of communism.
This purpose, then, is the principal motivating factor
for all labor in the Soviet Union. The goal in itself is
presumed to be so appealing and desirable of attainment
that no further incentives are necessary. Keeping a
picture of the goal before the eyes of the workers is
sufficient incentive. Its overpowering appeal is based
on its satisfaction of all material wants. Khrushchev said:

...communism is no longer a matter of the distant
future, the outlines of its majestic, bright edifice
appear more and more clearly to the peoples eyes, it
is rising and will assume increasingly perfect forms
with every success in the labor of the workers. 22

Khrushchev believes that as a collective entity,
the people will unquestioningly accept his affirmation

21 Theses on Reorganization of Industry, March 30,
1957, trans. The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, IX,
13, p. 18, March 27 - April 2, 1957.

22 Ibid.
that the goal is near. Such acceptance is typical of the group mind. Le Bon wrote that "the crowd is at the mercy of all external exciting causes. It accepts as real the images evoked in its mind." The perception of the people is thus what Khrushchev chooses to make it.

The satisfaction of the group is assumed because of the overwhelming desirability of its goal. The enhancement of production is assumed to be the collective concern of the group. In this regard, Zawodny, in an article on Soviet grievance procedures, points out that:

...matters related to the enhancement of production claim priority over workers' problems. This is based on the theory that the interest of the workers does not differ from the interests of the state. Thus the enhancement of production regardless of the immediate impact upon the workers is for their own good.

In summary, the dialectical materialist viewpoint regards matter, the only reality, as subject to change on the basis of society's increasing development of the modes of production. Production or labor is the key to society's development and advancement. To be effective labor must be combined and directed toward a common objective. Labor, then, becomes the people's principal preoccupation. The

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23Le Bon, op cit, p. 36.
people exist to work for the benefit of society, not for the benefit of individuals. The development of a more effective labor force is the responsibility of education. As a collective entity the people need no other incentive than the affirmation that the goal of communism is near.

Morality. Marxism has often been called a kind of moral futurism. What is coming is right. Under this concept morality is relative to a given period of time, while absolute morality, that is, the highest realization of equity and justice, is held forth in a vision of a future utopia.25

Khrushchev considered morality as follows:

Marxism-Leninism in understanding morality and its demands does not take its departure from general abstract definitions, but instead from concrete historical situations. With changes in the form of social structure morality also changes. From the point of view of communist morality, "moral" is only that which facilitates the destruction of the old world and which strengthens the new Communist regime. Lenin said, "At the foundation of Communist morality lies the struggle for the strengthening and perfecting of communism."26

Morality is relative to a given time and place. What is moral today may not be moral tomorrow. There is no fixed moral code; anything is moral that advances the


26 Speech on Close Tie between Literature, Art, and the Life of the People, op cit., p. 7.
cause of communism. Morality, then, becomes a form of pragmatism, wherein the end justifies the means. Murder, treachery, torture may all be considered moral acts if committed in the service of communism. This relativity of morality is analogous to a state of war wherein moral codes and judgments are based on the ultimate goal of vanquishing the enemy.

Apparently Khrushchev considers a "state of war" to exist; a "war" in which the communist forces are engaged in a struggle with the forces of capitalism. His formal speeches, and his informal comments are replete with military terminology and references to "victory," "struggle" and the like. It would appear that a fixed moral code would be a hindrance to the progress of this struggle; therefore, morality can be judged only from the basis of the final outcome, that is, the state of communism.

A leading American psychiatrist had this to say on the subject of Communist morality:

When they deny God, they deny every virtue and every value that originates with God. They deny moral law and absolute standards of truth and righteousness. An entire civilized code of moral and ethical values is destroyed so that they are free to erect in their place new moral and ethical standards as the occasion demands.27

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27 United States Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, International Communism - Staff Consultation with Dr. Frederick Charles Schwarz, 85th Congress, first Session, May 29, 1957, p. 3.
As their leader, the Party outlines moral behavior for the people and thereby encourages them to conform to a desired pattern. Although this is analogous to the form of control that a church may exercise over the faithful, it differs in that the church upholds a standard moral code, whereas the Party manufactures one to meet the needs of a specific situation.

The necessity for the Party to determine communist morality is in accordance with the teachings of Lenin who defined communist morality as follows:

Is there such a thing as Communist morality? Of course there is. We repudiate all morality that is taken outside of human class concepts. We say that this is deception, a fraud which clogs the brains of workers and peasants, in the interests of landlords and capitalists. We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is deduced from the class struggle of the proletariat.28

Morality, like all else in the materialist concept of man, is deduced from man's progress through history. If he behaves in accordance with the precepts of history, as revealed by the ideology, then his behavior is right and therefore moral. Thus, morality, a spiritual criterion of man's behavior, is itself deduced from man's behavior. This type of morality is apparently more humane, since it is

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predicated on man's behavior and not the dictates of some obscure divinity.

In summary, Communist morality is based on the people's struggle for communism. It is relative to a specific situation and period of time and is subject to change. The people depend upon the Party to interpret the morality of their behavior, which further strengthens the Party's control of the people. Since morality is based on the struggle toward communism, anything is moral which furthers the cause of victory. The end justifies the means.

Religion. As a characteristic of the social nature of a people, religion is closely allied with morality in that it provides the absolute moral standards by which human behavior may be judged. Also, religion provides man with a belief in an invisible superhuman power, which guides his destiny and to whom he is responsible. Religion is in direct conflict with the ideology of communism for it is predominantly idealistic, whereas communism is fundamentally materialistic. The basic communist attitude toward religion was established by Marx and further developed by Lenin. This attitude is one of complete atheism based on the tenet that dialectical materialism has no room for the supernatural. "Religion," said Marx, "is the opium of the people. It is not religion that creates man, but man who
creates religion."\textsuperscript{29}

Lenin also taught that religion was an instrument by which the working class was drugged into accepting its exploitation. He urged a constant propaganda warfare against religion stressing that the program of developing communism must include "an explanation of the true historical and economic roots of religious obscurantism. Our propaganda must necessarily include the propaganda of atheism. This is the A, B, C of all materialism and consequently of Marxism."\textsuperscript{30}

There is a distinct polarity, then, between communism and religion which cannot be reconciled. If dialectical materialism and the class struggle are accepted as the explanation of life in this world, there can be no loyalty to religion, which teaches a different version of life. In positing the existence of a hereafter, religion teaches the people to bear misfortune uncomplainingly, to be patient in this world, and to receive reward in the hereafter. Religion holds that the future is indeterminate, because it can be what man chooses to make it and because God may intervene at any point to change it. Religion, thus, believes that man has a free will and that God exists.

\textsuperscript{29}Quoted in "The Soviet Union versus the Great Religions," Notes of Soviet Affairs, United States Department of State, No. 222, June 2, 1958, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., p. 2.
The ideology of communism denies both the existence of God and man's free will. It posits a utopia on earth toward which history is moving through the dialectical process. Man cannot change this movement.

The present communist stand on religion is revealed in the following comment by Khrushchev:

We think that belief in God conflicts with our communist outlook, but we do not persecute people who profess a religion...Those who believe in God are becoming fewer and fewer. Young people are growing up, and the overwhelming majority of them do not believe in God. Public education, the dissemination of scientific knowledge and the study of the laws of nature leave no place for belief in God.31

Apparently religious beliefs are learned. Appropriate educational measures can prevent such learning by implanting in the mind ideas that are in direct conflict with religious ideas. In effect, the people can be conditioned against religion. This is consistent with Khrushchev's faith in language as a medium for shaping man's consciousness.

Khrushchev's tolerance of religious believers appears to be a contradiction of his averred dedication to the task of instilling communist awareness in all of the people. However, in the Soviet Union the right to religious worship is

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paired with the right to criticize worshippers. The Soviet Constitution (Article 124) proclaims that "freedom in religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." 32

In effect non-worshippers are permitted to criticize worshippers. Such criticism particularly when it has the support of the Party and is in accord with the ideology, is a powerful measure for alienating the group against the individual. By granting them freedom of worship, Khrushchev brought the believers into the open where they may be subjected to scorn, ridicule, and social ostracism. The weight of group opinion, strongly endorsed by the Party, appears to be an additional method for eliminating religious beliefs from the minds of the people.

Although public disapproval may serve to contain and isolate religious believers, and discourage others from becoming believers, it may not dispel religious ideas from the minds of believers. This can be done only by intensive and prolonged educational effort. To be dispelled, religious ideas must be displaced by atheistic ideas. Khrushchev signed the following decree:

Scientific and atheistic propaganda is an integral part of the Communist education of the working people and has as its aim the dissemination of scientific, materialist knowledge among the masses and the liberation of believers from the influence of religious prejudices.33

The effort to displace religious ideas with atheistic ideas apparently stems from Khrushchev's firm belief in the ideology of communism. As long as religion exists, the ideology has not gained final victory, for religious ideas block the acceptance of the ideas of communism.

Referring to religious beliefs as prejudices implies that such beliefs are deeply rooted in the minds of believers. In addition they are emotionally-toned and thus are difficult to dislodge. To be effective the anti-religious literature must itself be emotionally-toned. One writer criticized the efforts of his contemporaries in this fashion:

The fact that anti-religious literature is addressed to no one in particular results not only in its inability to prove and convince but in another shortcoming: a lack of passion. How can one fight ignorance, darkness, and superstition without passion?34

Several assumptions may be made from Khrushchev's denial of religious doctrine and his concerted effort to eliminate religious beliefs from the minds of the people.

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By denying God, it may be assumed that Khrushchev denies the existence of any creature superior to man. Man, then, is the supreme creature in the universe. He is subject to no natural moral laws for such are ascribed to God and there is no God. Man's behavior is therefore right. Since man's behavior is wholly in the cause of communism, then communism must be right. It becomes the moral absolute by which man's behavior may be judged. Khrushchev's comments on the subject of Easter and peace illustrate how the new moral absolute may be applied:

Another harmful Easter idea is the call to class peace. No, the Easter sermon of love toward one's neighbor does not suit us! One must know precisely who one's neighbor is, whether he is not a wolf in sheep's clothing. True humanity also includes hatred for the enemies of...the working class.35

On the basis of the new moral absolute, only the working class is deserving of "humanity." Its exploiters do not deserve any humane consideration for they are not of the working group.

With the denial of religion, it may be assumed that Khrushchev also denies that man has a spiritual basis for existence. Man exists to achieve material prosperity; he has no other human hopes, ideals, and aspirations. Since he can achieve material prosperity only as a member of the

group, he must sacrifice his individuality and merge his identity with that of the group. The denial of religious beliefs will apparently facilitate his integration with the group.

Khrushchev's attempts to eliminate religious beliefs reveal some interesting assumptions. In essence he believes that one idea or set of ideas can be replaced by another, if the new ideas are repeated frequently and rendered attractive by the stamp of scientific approval. Since the new ideas are presented to the people as assertions and affirmations, it appears that there is no possibility of the people rejecting them. This assumes that the people do not reason, that they will accept ideas in their entirety, and that no discussion of the ideas is necessary to insure their acceptance. Only proper and repeated presentation is necessary. The existence of individual differences is ignored and the presence of a uniform group mentality is apparently assumed. This does not mean that each individual possesses the same mental powers as his neighbor. Rather, each is regarded as a member of the group, and is considered as possessing the mental outlook of the group. (The formulation of this collective outlook was discussed under "culture," Chapter IV). It is to this collective mentality that the Party addresses itself, and in which it seeks to instill communist awareness.
The assumption of a collective mentality that accepts ideas and does not evaluate them may explain the ritualistic pattern of the Party's dictates. They require no analysis, only compliance. Since religious beliefs, are also, ritualistic in their manifestation, they present an obstacle to the establishment of the ideas of communism.

In summary, religious beliefs are in direct conflict with the ideas of communism, the former recognize spirit as primary, while the latter regard matter as primary. Religious ideas present an obstacle to the inculcation of the ideas of communism in the minds of the people. Religious beliefs can be eliminated by extensive and repeated education in non-religious ideas. Public disapproval and Party support of anti-religious measures may isolate religious believers but may not eliminate their beliefs.

Religion justifies the existing social order which exploits the working people, therefore religion is evil.

Man is the supreme creature in the universe, his material well-being is the ultimate end for which he strives. His actions in striving for his material well-being are morally right.

Classes. Allport regarded the formation of classes in a society as inevitable, because "innate or circumstantial inequalities among individuals will always enforce recognition." He believed that classes constitute no
menace to social unity as long as the "submissive attitude of the lower order does not become a hostile one."36

The Marx-Lenin doctrine is based on the submissive attitude of the lower order becoming a hostile one. Classes are defined as "that which permits one section of society to appropriate the labor of another section." Labor, the productive quantity by which society perpetuates itself, becomes the basis for division of society into a capitalist (owner) class and proletariat (worker) class.37

Marxism insists that since only the proletariat produces anything, only he deserves to get anything. All others are burdens on society and deserve no humane consideration. By combining this materialist interpretation of society with Hegel's concept of historical determinism, Marx concluded that the world was progressing to the rule of the working class. This would be the outcome of the increasing hostility of the working class:

In proportion to the growth and development of all these contradictions inherent in bourgeois society, the discontent of the toiling and exploited masses with the existing order of things grows also. The numerical strength and solidarity of the proletarians increases and their struggle against their exploiters becomes more intense.38

37 Lenin, op cit., p. 52.
38 Ibid.
Implicit in the Marx-Lenin doctrine is the identity of the proletariat as a single class, a collective entity.

Concerning the class concept of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev said:

There are no antagonistic classes or class strata in the Soviet Union. Our country has a monolithic socialist society; all our people are working people. If there are no class strata in socialist society, then apparently each individual in Soviet society belongs to the same class and enjoys the same privileges and distinctions as his neighbor. It is doubtful that Khrushchev considers this to be true for all Soviet citizens, therefore the collective privileges of the group are apparently the important considerations. As a collective group the Soviet people enjoy equal prestige and status as workers; they are a monolithic whole, that is, a pillar of the new communist state. Only as a member of the group can the individual share in the group's prestige. Only through the group can he achieve distinction. Khrushchev made this clear:

United in a single fraternal family, the people of the Soviet Union are an invincible force. They share a single aim—the building of communism. They have common interests and aspirations, common joys and cares. Our people back each other with the strength of a

39 Interview with Shapiro, op cit., p. 3.
mountain and lend each other support in work and struggle. 40

The emphasis on the invincibility of the group and its communality of purpose suggests that only group activity is important. This is consistent with Khrushchev's frequent statements that only a unified group is capable of building communism.

Since the Russian Revolution eliminated the capitalist class, it is only natural to regard all Soviet citizens as belonging to the working class. Since the working class has definite objectives to fulfill, it follows that class identity must be maintained so that individual characteristics which are contrary to the class objectives, may have no opportunity to arise. The identity of the group with a family is made to amplify its unity, its communality of purpose. The term family also has emotional connotations which further facilitate group solidarity and control.

Even in a family, however, individual differences manifest themselves. In a country these differences are revealed in economic inequality, racial prejudice, and so on. Apparently Khrushchev regards these differences as

inconsequential. The important considerations are the achievements of the collective class, and its unity of purpose in developing communism. If these are present in the group then the group is fulfilling its purpose for existence. This suggests that Khrushchev is either indifferent to social problems within the group or he believes that they do not exist. His comments at Uzbekistan shed some light on one of these problems: racial prejudice:

It is a pleasure to note comrades, that in the Uzbek republic, just as in the rest of our Soviet republics, many nationalities of the Soviet Union live and work as a close knit family. Today we lack a national problem in the sense that bourgeois politicians interpret it. Unity and friendship exist between all the peoples of our country because each one of them is a welcome member of our great community.41

Apparently as long as people live and work together, they are enjoying the best of relationships. Their work and their unity of purpose will dissipate any racial antagonisms that might have existed among them. This suggests that the roots of national and/or racial prejudices are economic, that the antagonisms and persecutions springing from these prejudices are due to unemployment, or lack of work. By eliminating unemployment, the prejudices cease to exist.

According to one observer, this is consistent with the ideology's concept of one class working in harmony toward one goal, but it provides an over-simplified answer since it is based on the consideration of only one factor. The factor of unemployment and the resultant economic deprivation, "may contribute to some prejudices but it is unlikely that it is the sole cause of them or that in some instances, it is even a cause at all."\(^{42}\)

The importance of a common cause as a unifying agent of the group is revealed in the following comment by Khrushchev:

Soviet citizens live to accumulate more funds for the common cause, for the state; to raise the level of production, economy and science so that even more machines will be made and more grain produced.\(^{43}\)

Since the goal is the important consideration, it appears that anything that does not hinder progress toward that goal is inconsequential. Thus, as long as the group is progressing satisfactorily, it has no acknowledgeable problems.

In summary, only one class exists in the Soviet Union and that is the working class. Its existence is established


by the ideology and its purpose is to build communism. All members of the working class share in its common goal, interests, and attributes. These are significant only in their contribution to the ultimate goal. The individual has no importance, therefore social distinctions are not acknowledged.

**Family.** The family may be regarded as an organization of individuals, the members of which are in constant interaction with each other, whether they are infants, children, adolescents, or adults; any family is influenced in its attitudes not only by its own "in-group" characteristics but by the impact of various "out-groups."  

A family is the smallest unit in society. Khrushchev's previous reference to the people as a family implies that a family unit has some characteristics which facilitate group solidarity. It may be assumed that Khrushchev has a high regard for the family as a social unit. He said:

> We Communists advocate a stable socialist family based on mutual respect, attachment, and love between husband and wife. The Soviet state...supports the family and takes concern over its consideration.  

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If the State is concerned about the family, then the family must be important to the cause of communism. Apparently a happy stable family unit is a more productive unit for society because its working members will work harder in order to meet the family's obligations. Concern for the family's welfare will ally them with the State, since the State shares their concern.

The family has a more basic social responsibility, however, by which it contributes to the growth of society. Said Khrushchev:

Our country will be stronger the more people we have. The bourgeois ideologists have invented many cannibal theories including a theory of over-population. They think about how to reduce the birth-rate and to reduce increases in population. Things are different with us, Comrades. If a hundred million were added to our 200 million population, even that would not be enough.46

Apparently the family is also important for its procreative function. Through the exercise of this function the family strengthens the state, by furnishing more workers for the cause of communism. Having children, then, is desirable because it is for the good of communism. Field reported that the state glorifies motherhood by a series of special orders and medals. The "Motherhood medal," second and first-class is given to mothers who have borne

46 Ibid.
and reared five and six children respectively. The "Order of Motherhood Glory" goes to those who have reared seven, eight, and nine children. Those mothers who have ten children are entitled to the honor title "Mother Heroine" with a special certificate from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. 47

Since the glorification of motherhood citations included rearing the children, it appears that the State is concerned with the proper upbringing of future workers. Khrushchev outlined the official position for families to follow:

It is the main task of teachers and parents to train children in a spirit of communist morality which means to train them in a spirit of sincere respect for Socialist labor. It is essential that children acquire from their early childhood a consciousness of discipline, an ability to subordinate their activities to the interests of society, and the Party. It is essential that our children fully understand the superiority of the socialist system and the inevitability of the victory of the Socialist system over the capitalist system. It is necessary to train them to take pride that they are living in the Soviet nation. 48

The family's primary function, then, is to insure that at an early age children are properly indoctrinated with communist consciousness. Since the tasks outlined


for the family are specific it may be assumed that these tasks transcend all other responsibilities which the family may have toward its children. Apparently, intensive training at an early age will facilitate fitting them later into the collective pattern of the group. This implies that the behavior and personality of the child can be shaped into whatever mold the Party desires. This is illustrated by the following comment by a leading Soviet jurist:

Family education favorably influences the formation of the individual's personality. What is born in the consciousness of the child in the family circle, remains later for his whole life and gives him strength to occupy a worthy place in the great struggle of our people for communism.49

Thus early conditioning determines a child's later attitudes and behavior, which implies that the adult personality resists change.

The family, then, is important because it is a source of labor for the cause of communism. By properly rearing its children the family fulfills its obligation to the state. When it fails to do this, the State presumably may remove the children. The following article illustrates this:

49A. M. Sperdlov, Marriage and the Family in the Soviet State, p. 143.
Because they neglected their children's upbringing and devoted their time to drunken brawls, fights and other forms of debauchery, the Third Precinct Peoples Court of Moscow deprived the parents of their parents' rights over their sons, decreeing that the parents do not deserve the high title of parents, of raisers of children of Soviet society.

Apparently, parenthood is not a natural right but a state defined responsibility. Where parents are found lacking in their exercise of parental responsibility, the state may remove their children and brand them as improper parents. The judgment is made on the basis of whether or not the children are receiving a proper upbringing.

In summary, the family exists as a small subgroup of the people. Its basic responsibility is to bear and rear children for the future development of the State. Specific guidelines for training the children are provided in order to insure their later conformity with the group. Early conditioning determines later attitudes and behavior for man's basic personality is considered to be resistant to change. Parental rights are in reality parental responsibilities to the State and where such are found wanting, the State may remove the child from its parents.

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II. THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL NATURE OF THE PEOPLE

The physical and mental nature of the people may be regarded as those characteristics by which we understand or know a people. They are the essence of the people's behavior. Discussed in this section are strength, consciousness, intelligence, and will.

Strength. It has been mentioned consistently throughout this study that Khrushchev regards the Soviet people as a collective entity. This entity appears to possess certain attributes which are not possessed by the individual members of the group. Among these is strength or invincibility. Khrushchev said:

Like a mighty titan, the Soviet people confidently marches forward to the great goal, scoring one victory after another. There are no forces in the world which could halt our victorious advance to communism.51

The people, as a collective entity, are invincible. Their invincibility stems from the combined strength of the people. "The main wealth of our Soviet state," said Khrushchev, "lies in the people who with their hands strengthen the might of their Soviet homeland."52


The strength of the people lies in their hands, therefore it is the use of the collective hands of the people in productive labor that strengthens the state. This presumes a unity of effort, the people acting as a collective whole throughout the entire country.

In summary, the people as a collective entity are invincible. They possess a strength that is greater than the aggregate strength of the individuals in the group. The strength of the people is in their hands for with their hands they engage in the productive labor that strengthens the state. By referring always to the people as possessing certain desirable attributes and working toward a specified end, Khrushchev personifies for each individual the behavior expected of him. In this manner he insures conformity and group solidarity.

Consciousness. Related to the solidarity of the group is another factor which Khrushchev identifies as follows:

The orderly progression to Communism is possible because in a society devoid of class conflict, the consciousness of the people is a monolithic whole in its comprehension of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.53

Apparently the people as a group have one consciousness, that is, a single complete awareness of their goal.

53 Ibid.
Intelligence. In addition to strength, Khrushchev attributes a superior intelligence to the collective people. This consciousness is not a combination of the consciousness of the group members because individually they are still striving for communist awareness. Complete consciousness is developed only from complete awareness of the ideology. Since the Party is recognized as the only enlightened part of the people that has full awareness of the ideology it follows that the Party is the "monolithic consciousness" of the people. Ascribing this characteristic to the people is consistent with Khrushchev's identification of the Party with the people.

The concept of the people as a collective organism was also used by Plato and Spencer to describe the body-politic. However, neither proceeded beyond the descriptive purpose of the analogy, whereas Khrushchev appears to use the collective concept as a means of personalizing the group.

In summary, the group, as a collective entity, has a single consciousness, or awareness of its goal. It exists in the Party which is part of the group and directs its behavior.

Intelligence. In addition to strength, Khrushchev attributes a superior intelligence to the collective people. He refers frequently to the Party's practice of consulting the people "whose collective intelligence
helps us to find the right solution."

If the people possess a collective superior intelligence then apparently such an intelligence, like the collective strength of the people, developed from the merging of its individual members. Thus, a superior mind is formed. This is not in accord with the usual concept of the group mind as postulated by Le Bon. He wrote that the group mind was of inferior intelligence because "in the collective mind the intellectual aptitudes of the individuals is weakened, the heterogeneous is swamped by the homogeneous, and the unconscious qualities obtain the upper hand. For this reason crowds can never accomplish acts demanding a high degree of intelligence."48

Since Khrushchev believes they can, he must subscribe to a different concept of a group mind. He apparently believes that the group intelligence is an aggregate of all the individual intelligences in the group. A leading Soviet psychologist explains the principle by which the group is linked together as one of "interconnection" and "interconditioning." On the basis of this principle each member of the group is conditioned

48 Ibid.
45 Gustave Le Bon, The Crowd, p. 29.
by each other member of the group. This strengthens their connection with each other and thus strengthens the solidarity of the group.56

In summary, the people as a collective entity possess a superior intelligence which is an aggregate of all the individual intelligences in the group.

**Will.** Since the people in their aggregate constitute a superior organism in all respects, it appears that controlling such a superior entity would be impossible. The answer lies in the collective will. According to Khrushchev the people possess a "distinct collective will which is manifested by the Party."57 He added:

The socialist consciousness of the Soviet people is not spontaneous but is molded under the guidance of the Communist party on the basis of its scientific world outlook. Socialism requires the wills of millions to be united into a great single aim--communism. And this singleness of will for the building of socialism can be achieved only on the basis of the great socialist consciousness of the masses, inspired and led by the Communist party.58

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Apparently, the Party manifests the collective will of the people because it possesses the group's consciousness or awareness of its goal. If both group consciousness and group will are centered in the Party, then the Party has complete control over the group's behavior. The people then are deprived of individual volition and must rely on the Party to guide them.

It was mentioned earlier that through the process of inter-conditioning and inter-connection the individual members of the group are fused into a collective entity. It may be assumed that eventually this process will result in each member of the group manifesting as an individual the characteristics which the group manifests collectively. Inkeles, in a study involving a modal Soviet personality, found a seeming lack of volition and initiative in the group of Soviet emigrants. They expected the Party and their leaders to be:

...the main source of initiative in the inauguration of general plans and programs, and in the provision of guidance and organization for their attainment. They expect that the authority will give detailed orders, demand obedience, keep checking on performance and use persuasion and coercion intensively to insure steady performance...in short provide the external moral corset which Dick says the Russian seeks.\(^5^9\)

In summary the people as a collective entity have no will; they are deprived of individual volition by the Party.
SUMMARY OF KHRUSHCHEV'S ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE PEOPLE

The Social Nature of the People

1. The material well being of the people (physiological needs) takes precedence over their spiritual requirements (psychological needs).

2. The collective needs of the people can be fulfilled only under communism; therefore, the people must create more and better material values in order to hasten the development of communism.

3. The spiritual requirements of the people offer a means for controlling their behavior. The Party creates spiritual values as incentives to spur the people to greater productive effort, and as a means for developing the collective Soviet man's outlook.

4. The writers, artists, and other creators of spiritual culture can develop this outlook in the people only if they themselves conform to the Party's standards. Group cohesion may be maintained by instilling in group members the fear of expulsion or censure. Writers can shape the consciousness of the people through the medium of written language which is a key stimulus for conditioning human behavior.
5. The collective labor of the people is essential for building a communist society. It is a concentration of productive energies on a single common goal.

6. The labor of the people is for the direct benefit of society and only indirectly for the benefit of the individual members of the group.

7. As a material creature man depends upon his environment for existence. He can modify his environment and advance his development only through collective labor.

8. Man is a mode of production and all his attributes such as knowledge, skills and science are also modes of production.

9. Man can increase his productive value to the group through education. Such education is standardized to facilitate conformity to the group pattern.

10. All labor that is in the service of communism is honorable and productive. The knowledge that communism is almost a reality is adequate incentive to keep the group highly motivated.

11. Morality is relative to a given time and situation. Anything is moral that advances the cause of communism. The end justifies the means.
12. The people must look to the Party for a determination of moral behavior, since morality is determined on the basis of the ideology and the Party is the interpreter of the ideology.

13. Religious ideas are idealistic and thus cannot be reconciled with the ideas of communism which are materialistic. Religion is a superstition into which the people are duped by their exploiters.

14. Religious ideas are learned and can be unlearned and dispelled through the process of education. Religious believers can also be intimidated by public criticism and ostracism by the group. Social disapproval, supported by the prestige of the Party is a better method of controlling the spread of religion than terror and oppression.

15. Man is a material being. He has no spirituality and thus no individuality. He exists to achieve material prosperity and this can be accomplished only by merging himself with the group. Religious ideas hinder this integration with the group.

16. Only one class exists in the Soviet Union and that is the working class. All members of this class enjoy equal status as workers. All share the glory of the working classes' achievements and other collective attributes.
17. Individual differences are not acknowledged because they do not affect the group's objectives. Racial prejudices are economic in origin. They cease to exist when the economic difficulty is overcome.

18. A happy, stable family is a more productive working unit for society. Motherhood may be encouraged by honoring mothers who have reared many children. The primary function of the family is to rear children in proper communist awareness. The Party establishes the proper guidelines for families to follow in this task.

19. Parenthood is not a natural right. Parents who neglect the communist upbringing of their children do not deserve to be called parents, nor to keep their children. The children will become wards of the State which will rear them properly.

The Physical and Mental Nature of the People

1. The collective people are invincible. In their hands they possess a strength that is superior to the aggregate strength of the individual group members.

2. The people possess a collective consciousness which enables them to progress purposefully toward their goal. This consciousness is manifested by the Party which possesses the supreme awareness of the ideology.
3. The aggregate intelligences of the group members endows the group with a superior collective intelligence.

4. The people as a collective entity have no individual volition. The will of the people is manifested by the Party which possesses the supreme awareness of the ideology.
CHAPTER V

THE INDIVIDUAL

This chapter will deal with Khrushchev's assumptions concerning the individual. The discussion will center around the following characteristics of human nature: (1) Needs (2) Rights and Duties and (3) Individual Differences.

I. NEEDS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Human needs are generally classified as physiological needs, and psychological needs. It is generally conceded that the individual's needs tend to direct his actions and that a minimum satisfaction of both his physiological and psychological needs is essential to his personal integrity.1

Maslow gives a more detailed classification of human needs as follows: "(1) physiological needs; (2) safety needs; (3) love needs; (4) esteem needs; (5) self actualization needs."2

Khrushchev's assumptions concerning the individual will be considered within Maslow's framework.

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2Ibid.
Physiological Needs. Khrushchev appears to recognize the existence of physiological needs and like Maslow he ranks them first in importance to man:

Let us consider first the satisfaction of man's food needs. The Soviet people's requirements of bread and vegetables have been fully met now. Everything is being done to insure complete satisfaction of the Soviet people's needs of butter, meat and milk within the next few years. I speak of food first because we Russians have a saying: It isn't the appearance of a home that makes it attractive but the pie on the table.  

Apparently Khrushchev also concurs with Lenin that "socialism is the struggle for bread."  

Physiological needs, then, are the most important of human needs. Their fulfillment should apparently take precedence over all other human considerations.

It is generally recognized that if a man's physiological needs are not met he will die. However, only minimum satisfaction of these needs is necessary to sustain life. Khrushchev's preoccupation with food may be due to the assumption that a well-fed people are a happy people. And a happy people are perhaps more susceptible to control. He lends some credence to this assumption with the following comments:

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4 V. I. Lenin "The State and Revolution" Selected Works, p. 32.
People must first of all eat, drink, have homes and clothe themselves before they are in a position to engage in politics, science, and art.  

It is not bad if in proving the theory of Marx one throws in also a piece of bacon and a piece of butter. When you have a hungry stomach it is sometimes very difficult to understand the theory of Marxism-Leninism. But if you can have a nice apartment and good food, then surely everyone must say: Certainly, I'm for communism.

Khrushchev accepts the hedonistic principle of "eat, drink and be merry." Since this principle may also be regarded as a simplification of the ultimate goal of communist society itself, it is not too far fetched to assume that Khrushchev believes that upon any occasion when a person's material needs have been satisfied he is a tractable person.

By himself, an individual can never attain full satisfaction of all his material needs, for according to the doctrine this will come to pass only when a state of communism has been reached. Therefore, the individual must work to develop this state. The physiological needs of the individual thus become the collective needs of the group with the drives produced by these collective needs directed toward the development of communism.

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Mayo points out that Marxism-Leninism is a one-factor doctrine in its concept of economic determinism. He believes that Marx took one of man's basic needs, the need for food and made it the basis of his theory. However, Marx was not the first to base an entire system upon one element in man's make-up. To mention a few others, Aristotle built upon the fact that man is a social animal, St. Paul and Calvin built upon man's sinfulness, and Hobbes upon man's overwhelming desire for security.7

In summary, Khrushchev believes that the individual's principal concern is the satisfaction of his physiological needs. His emphasis on the primacy of these needs coincides with Maslow's ideas. In seeking to satisfy his physiological needs, man interacts with his environment in the process of labor and production. This results in his development and advance. In the collective, physiological needs are a means for controlling the behavior of the group, since they can be fully sated only when the state of communism has been reached. The drives engendered by the physiological needs are thus directed toward the development and advancement of communism.

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7H. B. Mayo, Democracy and Marxism, p. 41–43.
Safety Needs. The need for safety or security can be said to underlie all activities which maintain life processes and which protect the organism against threats. Thus physiological needs and drives, any activity intended to protect the organism, and conformity to social norms of the group (thereby being favorably received by others and thus reducing anxiety) may be treated as manifestations of the safety or security need.\(^8\)

The first characteristic of security, the fulfillment of physiological needs and drives, has been shown to be a major concern of the Soviet leaders. Khrushchev's views on this subject have already been discussed.

The second characteristic of security, activities which protect the organism, is also of major concern to Khrushchev. The basis for this concern is revealed in his blunt statement to the Soviet writers that "there is sharp conflict in the world today between two ideologies, the socialist and the bourgeois and in this conflict there can be no neutrals."\(^9\)

To Khrushchev the external threat from the "bourgeois ideology" constitutes a grave threat to the security of

\(^8\)Philip L. Harriman, *Modern Psychology*, p. 103.

\(^9\)Speech on Literature, Arts and the Life of the People, *loc cit.*
the people. This threat is viewed as being both ideological and actual. Both are considered equally dangerous and both require a high degree of awareness on the part of each person. Khrushchev said:

You may ask: Against whom are you fighting on the ideological front. The process of communist education of an individual is not accomplished at the wave of a magic wand. It is a process of struggle in cultural development, in the formation of Soviet man's outlook. The healthy trend fights against negative manifestations, bourgeois survivals, bourgeois influence. This influence is not only possible but inevitable because capitalist states still occupy a considerable part of the globe.¹⁰

The necessity for protecting the individual against negative ideas implies that such ideas comprise a threat to his development as a Soviet man. Protection, then, consists of complete dependence upon the Party which, as the developer of the Soviet Man, is also his protector. Although development implies overt action on the part of the Party, one may also infer submissiveness of the part of those to be developed. In submitting to development as communists, the people likewise submit to the Party's protection.

The Inkeles study concerning modal personality patterns in Russia sheds some interesting light on this observation:

¹⁰Interview with Shapiro, op cit., p. 3.
Probably the strongest and most pervasive quality of the Russian personality that emerged from our data was a need for affiliation. By this we mean a need for intensive interaction with other people in immediate direct face-to-face relationships coupled with a great capacity for having this need fulfilled through the establishment of warm and personal contact with others.

Closely linked with the need for affiliation is a need for dependence very much like what Dickens spoke of as the Russians "strong positive drive for enjoying, loving, protection and security, care and affection." This need shows not only in orientation towards parents and peers but also in the relations with formal authority figures.11

If "affiliation" and "dependence" may be considered as falling within the category of the individual's need for safety, then we may assume that the results corroborate what Khrushchev himself referred to as "our collective body constitutes a prop for the individual."12

The safety of the individual then appears to depend upon his degree of dependence upon the Party and upon his affiliation with the collective group. The collective group is protected by the Party, and the individual gains this protection by being one of the group. In this way the Party is certain that he will not be influenced by any negative ideas.


The defense of the people against bourgeois ideology is always couched in military terms. This terminology may be used purposely in order to arouse fear in the individual and thus stimulate his need for safety. If he has been conditioned to expect protection from the group, he will turn to it in the time of danger. The process of conditioning the individual to become one of the group appears to be part of the "struggle in cultural development" that Khrushchev mentioned earlier. About those who waver he has this to say:

We shall do all we can to help the wavering misguided to find the right road and join the ranks of active fighters for the cause of the working class. 13

The individual's safety needs facilitate his acceptance of the ideology. If in the collective he accepts the suggestion that his safety is threatened by capitalism then he can be conditioned to accept the ideology as his means of protection.

A concrete threat to the group's safety is also suggested. Khrushchev said:

I can tell you...that some people watch us with greedy eyes and think how they can disarm us. But what would happen to us should we be disarmed. We would certainly be torn to pieces, and then our grandchildren would say that...we were unable to defend the

freedom and independence of our great state. 14

The forces of capitalism threaten not only the freedom of the people but also the freedom of their descendants. A threat of this nature is apparently considered to have greater impact than a direct threat to the individual himself, for it involves not only his safety needs but those of his descendants.

The safety need also underlies conformity to the social norms in order to insure acceptance by the group and thereby allay anxiety.

It has been shown that the concept of group is primary to communist thinking and that other facts of the safety need have been used to bring the individual into the group and keep him there. Group censure or censure by the Party has also been employed to maintain group integrity. This method proved effective in quelling the rebellion among Soviet writers and in bringing them to the fold as was illustrated by the confession of one repentant in the discussion on the Social nature of the people. 15

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15 Speech by Aliger at Meeting of Moscow writers, loc cit.
The technique is also employed by Soviet psychologists, according to Smirnov, to help "in evaluating the direction of our work, its theme, methodology and results... in the great cause of building communism in our country."\(^{16}\)

Khrushchev has repeatedly turned the spotlight of collective criticism on some non-conforming members of the group. For example, he lashed out at those students and their parents who held incorrect views about physical labor as follows:

Young boys and girls who have finished secondary school... do not go willingly to work in factories and kolkhozes and a number of them even consider this as personally insulting... Such a haughty, contemptuous and incorrect attitude toward physical labor is turned into a scarecrow to frighten children into studying harder. I don't have to mention the insult implied in such talk to the workers of our socialist society.\(^{17}\)

Since the majority of the group is engaged in physical labor, it is apparent that the unity of the group is threatened when certain segments begin to develop attitudes contrary to those held by the Party. Khrushchev apparently believes he can re-integrate the group by directing a threat that is explicitly labelled as Party censure of the offenders by the other members of the group.


This technique of instilling anxiety in a member of the group is a fundamental part of the ideology. It stems from the process of the dialectic and essentially is designed to insure maximum conformity of all its members. The technique is known as criticism and self criticism.

Lifton explains the technique as used in Communist China. It consists in the usually temporary alienation of a single member from the group through the application of collective criticism. He is selected because of poor performance, faulty understanding of the ideology, and so on. He is not only subjected to a barrage of criticism from the group but joins in and begins to criticize himself. The purpose is to correct the individual and normally he is re-integrated with the group.18

Apparently criticism techniques are effective because of the fear of permanent alienation from the group. This fear is used to strengthen the bonds within the group by alternately evoking feelings of anxiety and security in the individual. Under these circumstances the individual seeks to avoid the anxiety feelings and thus responds to his security need by conforming to the desired pattern of behavior.

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Soviet psychology explains the technique of self-criticism as:

...the realization of one's actions and experiences expressed in a verbal account to others and oneself. The man who is incapable of self-observation cannot answer for his actions and behavior. Neither self-control nor self-education are possible without it, for man, to use Pavlov's phrase, is "a self-observational organism." 19

In summary, the individual's safety, or security needs are used to integrate him in the group. The threat of harm to him and his descendants from external forces instills fear in the individual and causes him to seek the protection of the group. In this fashion he is not only protected, but shielded from outside ideas. Through the techniques of criticism and self-criticism the individual is made to feel anxiety about his status in the group. The threat of expulsion is a threat to his need for security. To allay this threat he conforms to the desired pattern of behavior.

Love Needs. Maslow ranks love and affection as third in the individual's hierarchy of needs. Since the family was discussed in Chapter IV, the role of love in matrimony will not be considered in this discussion.

Khrushchev's views on love may be inferred from the following:

The chief content of human life is labor and struggle. Love itself is a noble feeling only when it establishes a spiritual community between the people.\(^{20}\)

Apparently Khrushchev does not consider love a need that can be effectively utilized in the collective group. It has been shown that the physiological and safety needs are used to integrate the individual and the group. Love cannot be used for this purpose for it is individualistic in expression. The more it obeys its own laws the more it threatens the solidarity of the group.

Love is noble when it serves the state, that is, when individuals enjoy harmonious work or marital relationships. Otherwise it constitutes a distraction to the accomplishment of the group's objective. Le Bon noted that crowds tended to exaggerate their sentiments and this led them into the "worst excesses."\(^{21}\)

Love is especially likely to lead to adulation or worship of some object or person, and thus divert the group from its primary objective of building communism. Khrushchev's views may be determined from his denunciation of Stalin:


\(^{21}\)Gustave Le Bon, \textit{The Crowd}, p. 50.
The cult of the individual reached such monstrous size because Stalin himself supported the people's glorification of his own person. His biography book is an expression of the most dissolute flattery, an example of making a man into a godhead.22

In summary, Khrushchev considers love too unpredictable to risk harnessing it as a group force. The references to love in Khrushchev speeches were limited to its role in the family.

Esteem Needs. The need for self-esteem reflects an individual's concern about himself in relation to his physical and social environment. Interpreted psychologically, the self is the "aggregate of all conscious states and acts; the awareness of one's personal needs, wants or desires, and of the behavioral responses used to achieve them in a social setting."23

It has been shown that the individual's external environment is controlled by the Party and the State. It follows that his self awareness is to some extent conditioned by the Party and the State. Khrushchev said:

It is evident that in teaching children, one ought to prepare them psychologically from the first grade for the fact that they will have to participate in


23 Crow and Crow, op cit., p. 229.
the future in socially useful activity, in work, in the creation of material wealth necessary for the development of our socialist state.

If the individual is conditioned early in the behavioral responses necessary in his society, it appears that his self-esteem needs will be met by his conformity to the standard pattern of behavior established for society. Thus, the individual can fulfill his esteem needs by being a "good" member of the group.

His self-esteem needs then are important only to the extent that they facilitate his acceptance of his role as a member of the group. As such they are an important factor in strengthening the psychological communality of the group. Since only group achievements are extolled, individual satisfaction must be derived from one's contribution to the group effort. Thus, the people are further encouraged to regard themselves in the collective. The plural pronoun "we" is used consistently by Khrushchev and other leading communists.

According to one observer everyone is prompted to admire socialist achievements and to share the common pride of striving for communism. There is an appeal for each group of citizens. The fulfillment of goals set by the Party in even the most insignificant fields of endeavor

24Speech on School and Life, loc. cit.
are cited as additional steps toward the final triumph of communism. Thus, even the smallest individual achievements are bound to leave a gratifying illusion of fulfillment.25

The supposed difference in this approach was indicated by former Soviet Marshal Zhukov in a conversation with President Dwight D. Eisenhower:

You tell a person he can do as he pleases, he can act as he pleases, he can do anything. Everything that is selfish in man you appeal to, and we tell him he must sacrifice for the State.26

In summary, the individual's need for self-esteem, as a need to better himself as an individual and as an expression of self pride, is selfish and egocentric. It is contrary to the principle of collectivism, or total submergence of individuality. The proper expression of ones esteem needs is determined by how well one conforms to the group's pattern of behavior. It is encouraged only when it produces pride in doing ones bit to further the development of communism. As a purely individual need, the need for self-esteem may be considered a remnant of capitalist influence. It expresses man's selfish nature and is a threat to the psychological communality of the group.


26 Quoted in Gus Tyler, "The Illusions That Were and the Illusions That Are," The New Republic, 137, p. 11, November 4, 1957.
Attempting to base the individual's need for self-esteem on a group goal and group accomplishments can lead to disillusionment. One defector, a former agent of the Russian Secret Police said:

When it was impossible for me to reconcile the theory of Communist society in general with Soviet society in particular, my ideals for both began to vanish. My faith ceased to exist. With the death of my faith my life became useless.27

The Party must be able to guarantee the individual that he will always feel pride in group accomplishments if he is to remain a faithful member of the group. It appears that even early conditioning is not always sufficient in controlling the individual's esteem needs. Perfect control depends upon the ability to satisfy the individual's esteem needs consistently.

Self-Actualization Needs. The need for self-actualization may be regarded as the individual's need to perform a useful task in accordance with his abilities or desires. It is the need for personal achievement. Maslow ranked it last in his hierarchy of needs.

Since both self-esteem and self-actualization reflect the individual's concern about himself in relation to his environment, both are inherent in any adequate interpretation.

of personality. In discussing the individual's need for self actualization it will be necessary to consider this need against the framework of the individual's personality as viewed by Khrushchev. From such a consideration, specific conclusions can be drawn concerning this particular psychological need.

Khrushchev's concept of the Soviet Man is the basis of his views on personality:

The capitalist does not understand the new man, the Soviet man who was born and brought up in our conditions. Our Soviet man lives to accumulate more funds for the common cause, for the state, to raise the level of production, economy and science so that even more machines will be made and more grain produced. He thinks about creating more machines with the help of science that will make man's work easier, shorten the working day and raise the standard of living; finally he thinks about reaching a stage in which all man's needs will be satisfied according to his demands, a stage we call the communist society. Such is our man. Not only does he have a correct understanding of his purpose in life, he does all he can to achieve that purpose as quickly as possible. And this understanding is supported by his attitude toward the measures of the Party and the government. No capitalist will ever understand this. As a pig cannot look up in the sky, so the capitalist cannot understand our psychology, the psychology of the Soviet man.28

Khrushchev's Soviet man appears to be the group personified as the individual, for the attributes ascribed to the Soviet man are similar to those of the collective people as a review of the preceding chapters will show.

Since the collective people have been building communism successfully, it may be assumed that the task of integrating the individual members of the group has been successful. It appears that Khrushchev regards the individual as completely collectivized, that is, possessing all of the attributes that characterize the group. His individuality has been totally submerged, he has, in essence, been re-created in the group image. He and his counterparts in the group are identical in every respect in those characteristics that are important to the development of communism. Individual differences do not exist for if they did there could be no conformity. Psychological needs apparently are derived from material reality. They exist only insofar as they facilitate the individual's understanding of his purpose in life and thus facilitate his integration with the group.

Soviet man, therefore, as the personification of the people is a creation of the Party since the Party created the people, that is, it molded the collective group to fit the pattern prescribed by the ideology. Through the method of interconnection and interconditioning, each member of the group becomes like his neighbor. In the process he submerges his individuality, and literally becomes one of the group. The Soviet man represents the ultimate in conformity and apparently Khrushchev
believes that he exists, for as has been shown, Khrushchev believes that the goal of communism is in sight.

Khrushchev's concept of the Soviet man is verified by a former Soviet university student who reported that "collectivism or the total submergence of individuality and the repudiation of private thought was the goal each student must strive for and to which he in collaboration with the authorities must drive his fellow students." 29

It may be assumed that to Khrushchev the Soviet man represents perfection since he is developed on the basis of the ideology which reflects the perfect state... communism. The behavior of the individual, then, like that of the group, can be both predicted and controlled.

In re-conditioning the individual it is apparent that his psychological needs play a minor role. As matter, man is primarily concerned with material reality. His psychological needs merely reflect his relationship with the material world. Where they hinder his development into a Soviet man, they must be changed.

The need for self achievement is satisfied by the individual's understanding of his part as a member of the group, and his participation with the group in the development of communism. In this respect Khrushchev's views on

on individualism are pertinent:

Individualism is the worst enemy of the people. Individualism with its egoistic narrowness, insulation in the sphere of petty interests, anti-humanism, detachment from major social movements fetters the advanced aspiration of the people.\textsuperscript{30}

Individualism is undesirable because it hinders conformity. Permitted to flourish, individualism would soon destroy the group. It thus constitutes a major threat to the development of communism. By individualism it may be assumed that Khrushchev means any characteristics, or any behavior which is contrary to the behavior pattern established for the group. Individualism then is non-conformity or lack of collectivism. It is not a characteristic to be admired (as it is in the capitalist countries which consider it indicative of self-reliance, originality, and so on) but reviled. It calls for strong corrective measures by the group. The former Soviet university student related that her display of individualism led to severe criticism from the entire student body and faculty. She was "pilloried for egocentrism and her past behavior and attitude were dissected and reviled by all present."\textsuperscript{31}


\textsuperscript{31} Department of State, Interview Report No. 21, \emph{op cit.}, p. 2.
If we assume that the need for self actualization is manifested through individualistic behavior then we must assume that this psychological need is frustrated in the Soviet Union. However, if we accept Khrushchev's frame of reference, then the need for self actualization is satisfied by the individual's participation in group effort. To Khrushchev, what had been a purely individualistic need has now been sublimated for a higher purpose, that of the collective achievement of the group. He said:

In Soviet society individual interests do not dominate over the social, but are found in a harmonious combination. This combination is possible only on the basis of the predominance of social interests, on the basis of the subordination of personal interest to social. To serve one's Party, one's people, and to give one's energy for the struggle of communism, such is the life's purpose and inspiration of our Soviet man.32

Man, then, is primarily a social creature and the interests of the group take precedence over individual interests. His welfare, his entire life resides in the society in which he lives. His happiness depends upon his conforming with the interests of the group. Since these are determined by the Party, the individual is wholly dependent upon the Party. He may be conditioned to produce whatever conformity is required.

In summary, the self actualization needs are fulfilled through participation in collective group effort. Fulfillment through individualistic behavior is selfish and egocentric. Individuality must be submerged; each must conform to the group pattern and aspire to the same goal, namely to become a Soviet man.

By non-communist standards the self actualization needs are frustrated in the Soviet Union, since non-communists recognize individuality in the expression of these needs. By his emphasis on conformity and his de-emphasis of individuality it may be assumed that Khrushchev does not regard self actualization needs to be important in the development of the Soviet man.

II. RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The democracies believe that each individual is created equal and free. They assume that man is not afraid of independence and responsibility and that he wants to share in shaping his life and his destiny. The American Declaration of Independence states:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men. 33

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Americans have been accustomed to rights for almost two hundred years. To them any other system of government seems repressive. The Russian people, however, have throughout history been accustomed to subjection. It is not unusual then that the great majority of them accept the strict regimentation of their lives by the Party. Such regimentation begins in childhood; for example, the educational program that a child shall follow is prepared for him in accordance with the wishes and aims of the Party and is accepted by the child and his parents.

Work. The Soviet Constitution (Chapter X) carries a statement of the "fundamental rights and duties of citizens." Among these are the right to work, equal rights irrespective of sex, nationality or race; freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Article 118 states:

Citizens of the USSR have the right to work, that is the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.34

Not only is the right to work guaranteed, but apparently so is the right to gainful employment. In effect the Soviet Constitution guarantees the individual employment for as long as he is able to work. The right to work is thus recognized as a right to survive.

It might be assumed that if work is necessary to survival then work is an essential characteristic of man's nature. Work then, is more than a right; it is a duty. Article 12 of the Soviet Constitution is explicit on this point:

Work in the USSR is a duty and a matter of honor for every able bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: He who does not work, neither shall he eat. The principle applied in the USSR is that of socialism: From each according to his ability to each according to his work.35

If work is a duty then the individual has no freedom in exercising what is proclaimed to be his right. The right to work simply identifies him as a member of the working class. The duty of the working class, or collective group, is to build communism. Work is essential for this purpose. Khrushchev said:

Work is the fundamental source of the Soviet States might and of the steady growth in the well being of the masses.36

In building communism the individual does not work for himself but for the group. His first duty then, is to the group whose existence may be considered vital to his

own existence and well-being. Instilling this attitude in the people is a major undertaking of the Party. A leading Russian educator wrote:

A most important element of communist upbringing is the development of a communist attitude toward work. This is the attitude that prevails when work is not only an obligation, a duty but a vital necessity, like breathing.37

Khrushchev speaks of "a socialist attitude toward work" as being one of the "most important manifestations of the new spiritual makeup of Soviet man." 38 This implies that man no longer regards work as essential to his development but as being essential for the common good; he works not to satisfy his own needs but the needs of society, as outlined for him by the Party.

It is interesting to note how the Soviet psychologists explain the development of the socialist attitude toward labor. One said: "Man's actions in labour are always subordinated to the aim of labour. Through labour the development of man has led to qualitative changes not only in the conditions governing the activity of his analysers (brain cells) but also in the form of activity of the analysers." 39


38 Theses on 40th Anniversary of the Revolution, loc cit.

39 Millerian (Simon) op cit., p. 89.
Apparently, man, while engaged in labor, can be conditioned to regard labor in the proper light. This is in keeping with the Soviet psychological principle that a man's consciousness is formed in practical activity and revealed in the course of such activity. Changes in the form and content of practical activity can therefore influence changes in the organization and development of mental processes.40

The socialist attitude toward work can be developed in any working man. The responsibility for such development lies with every media for training and indoctrinating the people. Since all must work, those who do not work must be severely handled. According to Khrushchev:

There should be no parasites and idlers in Soviet society in which the social basis for parasitic existence has been eliminated. Persons leading an antisocial, parasitic way of life deliberately avoiding socially useful work, meet the condemnation of all of Soviet society; firm measures of social and state influence should be taken against such persons.41

Those who exercise the right not to work are branded as social parasites. The term also includes those who work at tasks which are not socially useful. Work in itself then is not good; it is good only if it is socially


41 Speech at Conference of Belorussian Agricultural Personnel, op cit.
useful work, that is, work which promotes the advancement of communism.

Right denotes freedom of choice between doing or not doing. Duty offers no choice. It may be concluded that by non-Marxist standards the individual in the Soviet Union is denied his right to work. By Khrushchev's standards, however, a denial of the right to work means that the individual is not permitted to work with the group. To work for the state and the common good is his right.

If work is a social duty, then presumably each individual is placed in a specific job by the state. Such is not the case, however, some measure of individual choice is left to the worker. An example of this is the advice Khrushchev gave to secondary school graduates, on the problem of selecting a suitable occupation:

This is a question which every boy and girl is expected to solve independently and for his own happiness and in the interests of society. It is common knowledge that socialism is the type of society under which people work according to their abilities. Where you produce more is precisely where your place of work is; it is your state's solution of the problem of what career to follow. So think of how you can be of most benefit to society, as an excellent weaver or a mediocre doctor.42

Apparently it is not a question of choosing an occupation on the basis of one's interests or desires. The individual's choice is limited to one consideration, productivity. The social need predominates.

Incentives in the form of wages, prestige, and so on, are often associated with work, for each individual must receive some remuneration for his labor. Apparently this holds true even in a socialist society where the individual works for the good of the state. In an interview with Senator Humphrey, Khrushchev said: "You can't get production without incentive." When reminded by Humphrey that his reference to a need for an incentive is rather capitalist, Khrushchev replied: "Call it what you will, it works."43

It would appear that incentives whether monetary or otherwise are considered practical means to the desired end. If they are effective, they are acceptable regardless of the taint they may have from association with capitalism.

In summary, it appears that the Individual's right to work is in reality an obligation or a duty to work for the state. The element of choice inherent in the term "right" is lacking in the Soviet consideration of the term.

To Khrushchev, the right to work is a positive right. It implies that the individual wants to work, that work is akin to a physiological need such as eating and breathing. The state guarantees him the expression of that right and further demands that he exercise it for the good of all. The individual’s right is thus used to satisfy a social need and not his own individual needs. The social need is paramount even in determining the type of work the individual must do. He is compelled to seek work in which he can best serve the group. In essence, he is forced to stifle his ambition or aim for self betterment. The pragmatic consideration predominates in the exercise of the individual’s right and duty to work. Whatever insures maximum output is used regardless of its past association. Thus an incentive system is employed to stimulate the worker.

Equality. Concerning equality, Khrushchev commented:

We consider that every person has the right to work, to a good life, which human society can create for all people. We are for real equality among people and peoples.44

Equality means freedom from persecution or discrimination. Everyone is guaranteed equal opportunity

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to work and an equal right to all the benefits which society can create. Since Khrushchev regards the right to work as an obligation to work for society, society establishes the norm for equality. If each receives from society commensurate with his abilities then some are going to receive more than others. Equality then means only that all are required to participate in the building of communism. All are equal in being members of the working class, in pursuing the same goal, and in being directed by the same party.

The idea of equality received considerable attention from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The "democratic" notion of equality was scoffed at by Lenin as being an abstract notion intended to deceive the working class. The following statement by Lenin is typical of the communist stand on the question of equality and it may be regarded as Khrushchev's stand also:

Engels was a thousand times right when he wrote: any demand for equality which goes beyond the abolition of classes is a stupid and absurd prejudice. Bourgeois professors tried to use the argument about equality in order to expose us by saying that we wanted to make all men equal. We want to abolish classes and in that respect we are in favor of equality. But the claim that we want to make men equal to each other is an empty phrase and a stupid invention of the intellectuals.\(^45\)

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45 Lenin, op cit., p. 293.
Equality in the Soviet Union simply means the abolition of class distinctions. All are equal in that they belong to the same class. This is the prime consideration. Khrushchev lends credence to this view with his description of an incident in England wherein his 21 year old son had no inkling of what a princess is:

He asks, "What is a princess?" He reads about it in novels as something that does not exist anymore. These words remind people in our country of a remote past, of times when the people divided themselves into earls and counts and of the fact that even kings once existed. And now a new realm begins, and we Soviet people are proud of being the first to enter it, a realm of labor where he who works is treated with respect, but he who lives from other men's work, with contempt.46

In summary, equality in the Soviet Union means sameness, not of opportunity but of label, of identification. Equality in this sense minimizes the individual and stresses uniformity. All are equal in their right to be members of the collective group and to strive to become the ideal Soviet Man. Khrushchev said: "In our country man is not a competitor or an enemy of man but a close comrade and friend working for a common cause."47


47 Ibid.
Freedom. The idea of freedom is closely linked with equality. In a democracy the individual's freedoms are guaranteed. He is free to develop whatever abilities he possesses in whatever manner he wishes as long as he does not encroach upon the rights of others. The meaning of freedom is a socialist state is defined by Khrushchev as follows:

The position of men of labor in society is the first and decisive criterion of the humanism of social relations. There can be no freedom of the individual when the working people are forced to work for the exploiters. Free labor is the basis of freedom of the individual. Under socialism the working man works for himself and for his society; here he is recognized as the hero of history, the conscious builder of a free life.\(^4\)

Freedom is based on the utilization of labor. A man is not free if his labor is being exploited. Labor is the ultimate expression of man's free behavior. Because his labor is for his personal welfare as well as the welfare of others it is free labor and man is free because he can participate in such labor.

"We are for freedom of labor, for freedom of men," said Khrushchev, "so that freedom can be enjoyed only by those who work, those who create material benefits for society."\(^5\)

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\(^5\)Ibid.
Freedom apparently is not something that is inherent in the individual. A man is free only when he works in useful social labor. Freedom like equality is linked with conformity. In this regard Khrushchev said:

In the USSR freedom means every member taking care of all the others. For anyone who faithfully serves his people, the question of whether or not he is free simply does not exist.50

Before a man acts he must determine whether his actions will benefit, not himself, but all of society. To do this the individual must rely on criteria established by the Party. Freedom then is, in essence, freedom from personal responsibility and decision. Freedom is doing that which has been proclaimed as the right thing to do. Soviet man has little opportunity to exercise free will for he cannot reject the criteria of free behavior. There are no alternatives. He must conform. Khrushchev said:

The Party demands undeviating fulfillment of its decisions and unreserved submission to the will of the majority. It will not tolerate any action that is contrary to its ideology and policy and which do harm to its unity, to the cause of building communism.51

The concept of man as a materially created being is incapable of giving freedom any meaning. If man is the

50Speech on Literature and Art and the Life of the People, op cit., p. 10.

product of a combination of the laws of nature and of chance his freedom can only be an illusion. Communism spares him the futile struggle for this illusion by defining freedom in terms of "human conformance to the laws of matter as interpreted by the Party."52

In summary, the rights of the individual to work, equality and freedom are subjugated to the will of the Party and the collective group. They exist not as individual rights but as collective rights. Since the individual achieves maximum achievement by conforming to the socialist pattern of the ideal Soviet man, then all his rights are defined by the group. He is free only to exercise these rights and none other. It is only by merging with the group and succumbing body and mind to the principles of the ideology that he achieves his real status, a member of the working class and a productive builder of communism.

IV. INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

The problem of individual differences will be discussed from the standpoint of Khrushchev's views on equality. By equality, Khrushchev means the abolition of social

classes. Equality is conformity; a succession of Soviet Men produced by the same mold.

Although the existence of individual differences seems doubtful under these conditions, the Soviet Constitution states: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work."^53

This implies that individual differences in abilities are recognized by the State. However, it seems that Khrushchev's concept of individual differences is different than that held by non-Marxists. He said:

Under communism people will be given every opportunity to develop their physical and mental capacities in every way. The substantial difference between mental and physical labor will be eliminated. Everyone will work according to his abilities and receive according to his needs, and work will give man pleasure."^54

Differences refer to tasks themselves and to the training that the individual workers receive to prepare them for specific tasks. All are assumed to be equal in innate abilities. The training one receives determines the extent to which abilities are developed.

This assumption will be discussed from the standpoint of mental abilities, for nothing could be found on the subject of motor and physical abilities.

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^53 Soviet Constitution, loc. cit.
^54 Ibid.
Khrushchev urged young communists to study for "if you have a desire to study and are steadfast and persistent in your work and studies, you will achieve everything."\textsuperscript{55}

There apparently is no limit to what the individual can accomplish if he has the desire and persistence. This is consistent with the materialist view that man is matter and that his mental powers are manifestations of the development of his brain. To develop his brain, that is to learn, man must be capable of interacting with his environment. The Soviet psychologist Smirnov reported that "if education is correctly planned and promoted, all children (with the exception of a few pathological cases) can acquire a secondary education."\textsuperscript{56}

Innate mental differences do not exist. Each person possesses the potential for unlimited mental development if such development is properly planned and promoted. This is in accord with Khrushchev's concept of the Soviet Man with his stereotyped outlook. It is also in accord with Khrushchev's belief that all can achieve communist awareness. The Party sets the limit to each person's development, thereby establishing apparent differences in abilities.

\textsuperscript{55}Speech to Moscow Young Communist League, June 6, 1956, trans. Notes on Soviet Affairs, United States Department of State, 215, p. 20, October 14, 1957.

\textsuperscript{56}A. A. Smirnov, "Child Psychology," Simon, \textit{op cit.}, p. 185.
It appears that only a certain number of abilities are required to develop communism.

The selection of individuals for training in these abilities is left to chance. Mental testing, the accepted method for evaluating mental abilities, is taboo in the Soviet Union. It had been abolished in 1936 because it was "unscientific and held up educational advance, and it had been found to be in conflict with dialectical materialism and with the practical experience of Soviet society." 57

Achievement, not innate abilities, is the method of selecting trainees. Achievement is the criteria by which all are measured. Thus, a man who performs in a superior fashion as a ditch digger is achieving more for communism than a mediocre scientist. Khrushchev commented on mental development as follows:

We now have more engineers and technical intelligentsia than any capitalist country. And in the sixth five year plan there will be more of them. We are creating our own cadres. 58

All of this is akin to the behaviorist denial of heredity as a factor in individual mental development.


58 Speech to the Moscow Young Communist League, op cit., p. 21
Soviet psychology based on the Pavlovian doctrine holds the following extreme behavioristic viewpoint:

The conditions of life play the decisive part in man's psychic development. These always depend on society and are determined not by the individual's biological inclinations but by the historically determined material life of the society in which he lives.59

The denial of biological factors does not discount the possibility that social factors may be transmitted through heredity. The possibility that certain acquired aspects of communist society may be hereditarily transmitted began with Pavlov's view that "conditioned connections if repeated through a series of generations may be converted hereditarily into unconditioned connections."60

This notion is not a new one in the field of associationism. Spencer, for one, believed in the inheritance of acquired characteristics, maintaining that "complex traits are evolved in the race as complex ideas are developed from simple ones in the individual.61

Stalin also believed it was possible over a period of generations to develop a new Soviet man whose character-

60Simon, op cit., p. 11.
61Edna Heidbreder, Seven Psychologies, p. 57.
istics would be inherited by his sons and daughters.\(^6^2\)

Although Khrushchev supports the concept of the Soviet man, his speeches do not lend support to the contention that such a person may be evolved hereditarily. Rather he is concerned with creating such a perfect environment that each generation will be developed into the new Soviet man in short order. Thus, education and the total saturation of the people via all media of communication are emphasized.

In summary, individual differences are not acknowledged in the Soviet Union, since they contradict the ideology's dictum that the environment plays the key role in developing the individual. There is no limit to the individual's potentiality, if he is developed under properly planned educational methods. Achievement is the criteria of superiority, the superior ditchdigger achieves more for communism than the mediocre scientist.

SUMMARY OF KHRUSHCHEV'S ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE INDIVIDUAL

Needs of the Individual

1. The physiological needs are man's most important needs. Man lives to eat. A well fed man is happy and more receptive to the ideas of communism.

2. The collective physiological needs of the people can be sated only when the state of communism has been reached. These needs thus are a means for controlling group behavior.

3. The safety needs are vital to group integrity. Capitalist ideas and capitalist countries threaten the safety of the people and their descendants.

4. Criticism and self criticism threatens the individual's feeling of security as a member of the group. To allay anxiety he will conform to the established pattern of behavior.

5. The love need cannot be effectively utilized to control behavior. It tends to disrupt the group and to distract it from its purpose.

6. Self esteem is important only to the extent that it facilitates the individual's acceptance of his role as a
member of the group. Individual self esteem is determined by, and dependent upon, the social approval of the group. Conformity increases self esteem.

7. The proper expression of the self esteem need is that of pride in the achievements of the group and in one's role as a member of the group.

8. Soviet Man is the group personified. Through continual association with the group he has acquired all of the group's characteristics as his own. He is a model of conformity.

9. Psychological needs play a minor role in the development of Soviet Man. They reflect his relationship with his material world. As such they are derived from material reality and therefore can be controlled by the Party.

10. Individualism is non-conformity and thus dangerous to the integrity of the group. By non-Marxist standards, the need for self actualization is frustrated in the Soviet Union, since it may be satisfied only through participation in the group effort.
Rights of the Individual

1. Work is an essential characteristic of man; he must work to survive. Man therefore has a right to work.

2. Man's work is essential to the survival of society; man therefore has a duty to work. The individual does not work for himself but for society. The collective work of the people is society's means of development. Therefore, the individual must subordinate himself to the common good.

3. Man can be conditioned to accept the socialist attitude toward work.

4. Equality means that all are equal in being members of the same class pursuing the same goal.

5. The utilization of man's labor is the criterion of his freedom. A man is free only when he labors with the group for the social good. Freedom is conformity.

6. Incentives are permissible regardless of possible taint, if their use stimulates the worker to greater productivity.

Individual Differences

1. Innate individual differences do not exist. Man has unlimited potential.
2. Man can be developed into whatever is required for the advancement of society. The Party determines the extent of development required.

3. Achievement is the criteria of man's superiority.
CHAPTER VI

KHRUSHCHEV AND MODERN PSYCHOLOGY

In this chapter Khrushchev's basic concepts of human development and behavior will be compared with views generally held in modern psychology.

The discussion concerns the following major topics: (1) Nature-nurture and abilities (2) Motivation (3) Emotion (4) Learning (5) Thinking (6) Personality. The arrangement of topics reflects the increasing complexity of the human organism and is typical of the arrangement found in introductory psychology text books.

I. NATURE-NURTURE AND ABILITIES

The relationship between nature (heredity) and nurture (environment) in human development has long been a controversial issue among psychologists. One prevalent contemporary view of this problem is that of interaction. Man is a product of both his heredity and his environment. Anastasi explains interaction as the "interdependence of heredity and environment." She also said:

...any one environmental factor will exert a different influence depending upon the specific hereditary material upon which it operates. Similarly any hereditary factor will operate differently
under different environmental conditions.\(^1\)

Khrushchev's emphasis on nurture denies the interaction idea. He believes that man has unlimited potential and can become whatever he wants to be if he is given the proper environment in which to develop his physical and mental capacities. His concept of the Soviet man and his denial of individual differences also reveal his belief in man's unlimited improvability. Through a greatly improved environment it is possible to "create cadres" of highly intelligent people.\(^2\)

II. MOTIVATION

Motivation is goal-seeking behavior. Contemporary psychologists differ in their explanations of motivation. One view regards motives as being reducible to a limited number of basic interests shared by all men, and presumably innate. These are generally described in terms of needs, drives, and instincts. Maslow prepared a hierarchy of needs in terms of their prepotency. Each lower order need must be satisfied before the individual can

\(^1\)Anne Anastasi and John P. Foley, Jr., *Differential Psychology*, p. 113, 116.

\(^2\)Supra p. 116f, 134-6.
proceed to the next need in the hierarchy.3

Another view contends that secondary motives arise out of behavior that originally leads toward satisfaction of the primary motives. Allport's functional autonomy concept exemplifies this view. The essential feature of Allport's concept is that while new motives may grow out of old ones the new become functionally independent of the old. Motives are contemporary. "Whatever drives," said Allport, "drives now."4

Khrushchev's emphasis on the primacy of hunger and other physiological drives as determiners of behavior is in line with Maslow's concept of the pre-potency of the physiological needs, but is opposed to Allport's concept of the functional autonomy of motives.

Khrushchev's hierarchy of needs differs somewhat from Maslow's classification. Generally, Khrushchev denies the importance of most psychological drives. The three motives that he mentions most consistently in connection with human behavior are: hunger, work and security.5

3Harry Nelson (ed), Theoretical Foundations of Psychology, p. 221.
4Gordon W. Allport, Personality, p. 206.
5Supra p. 58f, 100f, 105, 124, 127, 137.
III. EMOTION

Emotions are part of man's motivational pattern. They are reactions to external stimulus situations and underlie all human behavior.6

Contemporary psychology is divided on the role of emotions in human behavior. One group regards emotions as organizing states that enable the organism to function with greater efficiency. The other view regards emotions as disorganizing states that disrupt the organism and decrease its efficiency.7

Cannon's Emergency Theory is based on the organizing role of emotions. He believed that "the reaction system in the major emotions is a homeostatic mechanism which adjusts the organism to cope with emergencies."8

Khrushchev's concepts of emotions are sketchily revealed in his public pronouncements. His references to them are limited to their applicability to the group. He regards the group as possessing a collective emotionality which can be uniformly stimulated by a single stimulus. For example, he urges all members of the working class to

6 Floyd L. Ruch, Psychology and Life (4th ed.) p. 110.
7 Gordon W. Allport, Becoming, p. 59.
8 Helson, op cit., p. 288.
hate their class enemies.9

Essentially, Khrushchev views emotions as organizing states although he does not appear to be concerned with bodily reactions to emotional states. Rather, his views correspond more with Tolman's concept that "feelings and emotions are immanent determinants of behavior."10 He believes that happiness stems from material well being and that to be happy the individual must work to fulfill his material needs. Khrushchev regards love as being essential to a stable family life, but of little value in other group relations except to establish spiritual community between the people. Fear is used to keep the group intact. The individual is controlled by his fear of alienation from the group.11

IV. LEARNING

Hilgard says that there are two main approaches to the explanation of learning: habit formation and understanding. He regards these as complementary. Neither is complete in itself as an explanation of learning. Their relationship is illustrated by a crude scale; at one end

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9Supra p. 74.
10Helson, op cit., p. 275.
11Supra p. 108-10.
are blind mechanical habit formations and on the other end is the highest degree of insightful and rational understanding. Most learning takes place somewhere between the two extremes, its position representing a kind of mixture between habit formation and understanding. The following diagram illustrates Hilgard's concept: \(^{12}\)

![Diagram]

Khrushchev apparently does not recognize a dichotomy between insight and conditioning. He utilizes both of Hilgard's approaches. For example, his emphasis on environment in developing the Soviet man and his belief that each Soviet man can be made to conform to a specified pattern of behavior, corresponds to Hilgard's notion of mechanical habit formation.\(^{13}\)

His belief in the efficacy of language in developing communist awareness and his views on "principled criticism and self-criticism" suggests the other extreme of Hilgard's scale. Both of these activities seem to require understanding or insight.\(^{14}\)

Apparently Khrushchev believes that awareness develops slowly through constant conditioning. Ideas are


\(^{13}\)Supra p. 116f.

\(^{14}\)Supra p. 54f, 58f.
implanted in the individual's mind and through constant repetition they are made part of his behavior.15

V. THINKING

Thinking takes place when ideas or objects not physically present to the senses are manipulated through the use of symbols which represent them. Hilgard called these "vehicles of thought," and lists them as images, subvocal speech, and abstract concepts.16 Also, Kulpe suggests the possibility of imageless thought, or thought without the vehicles mentioned by Hilgard.17

Khrushchev apparently regards thinking as a form of motor behavior. He speaks of implanting ideas in the minds of the people and of language shaping the minds of the people. Soviet psychology supports this view by contending that man has no thoughts free from the natural material of language.18

Khrushchev's peripheral approach to thinking is in line with Watson's proposal that "thinking is nothing but talking to yourself."19

16Hilgard, op cit., p. 319.
17Robert S. Woodworth, Experimental Psychology, p.44.
18Supra p. 54.
19Hilgard, op cit., p. 320.
Khrushchev’s notion denies the other vehicles mentioned by Hilgard and completely disregards the possibility of imageless thought.

VI. PERSONALITY

Hilgard defined personality as the "sum total of individual characteristics and ways of behaving which, in their organization or patterning describe an individual’s unique adjustments to his environment."

Khrushchev holds a somewhat different view of human personality. He regards the individual as the sum total of the effects of his environment. His concept of the Soviet man eliminates the unique aspect of personality in Hilgard’s definition. In its place he emphasizes total conformity to the group. He seems to feel that individuality weakens the personality by bringing out selfish and other undesirable characteristics.

19Hilgard, op. cit., p. 407.

20Supra p. 116f, 119f.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

I. SUMMARY OF GENERAL FINDINGS

The conclusions reached under the various topics of this study are summarized at the end of each chapter. The general findings of this thesis are as follows:

Nikita Khrushchev has a deeply rooted faith in the communist ideology. It is the basis of his beliefs. All of his assumptions about human behavior and human nature may be traced to his ideological convictions.

Khrushchev's philosophical assumptions are a form of materialist monism. Matter is primary. The molding of matter into the most efficient form for accomplishing society's goal reveals the extreme behaviorist view. Man can be conditioned into a desired pattern of behavior.

To Khrushchev the dominant idea of mankind is communism. It is the ultimate end of human existence. The purpose of human life is to develop a communist society as quickly as possible. Man's nature is collective, not individualistic. As an individual he is selfish, egocentric and unproductive. He reaches his peak of development only when he repudiates his individuality and conforms to the group.

The satisfaction of his physiological needs is
man's sole reason for existence. He seeks a state where he will never want; his psychological needs can be satisfied only when his physiological needs have been fulfilled.

Innate individual differences do not exist. As long as the individual can interact with his environment he can be developed and trained in any fashion desired.

The people are a means for building a communist society. Khrushchev has personalized the people as a single collective entity that he calls the Soviet Man. This serves as a standard for measuring productivity of the group and conformity of the individual.

His purpose and that of the Party is to produce this standard man in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev's assumptions in this regard are based upon his conviction that this is the best means for developing communism. The end justifies the means.

II. CONCLUSIONS

Khrushchev is basically a behaviorist whose psychological concepts stem from the theories of Pavlov. He believes that man can be controlled through conditioning and that language is the supreme instrument for shaping that model of conformity, Soviet Man.

However, Khrushchev is also a pragmatist whose outlook on human behavior is influenced by his pragmatic
consideration of means and ends. The end always justifies the means. This over-rides every other consideration and results in rather inconsistent and confused concepts of human nature and human behavior.

For example, although he professes to be a materialist, Khrushchev seems to have a hazy understanding of the meaning of the term. His idealistic and dualistic concept of communism as self existent ideas to which men are drawn by a form of magnetism conflicts with his materialistic position that mind is only matter (the brain) and that man can have no thoughts that are not derived from contact with the material world.

His notion that the collective group possesses separate human faculties such as will, consciousness, and intelligence likewise conflicts with this materialistic viewpoint.

Khrushchev's concept of the Soviet man is not consistent with the findings of contemporary psychology. In his stereotyped description of man he denies individual differences; each man is capable of becoming a Soviet man. Individual differences are identified in terms of class structure, that is, men differ only in their class affiliation.

In his emphasis on the supremacy of nurture in human development he denies the importance of heredity and the necessity for interaction between heredity and environment.
He believes in the primacy of the physiological drives as determiners of man's behavior, and generally denies the importance of the psychological drives.

Khrushchev takes the emotions for granted; their motivational value is only slightly acknowledged. Generally he regards them as organizing states which unify the organism and render it more efficient in its behavior.

Khrushchev's views on learning do not correspond to any school of psychological thought, including behaviorism. They stem from his pragmatic consideration of ends and means. Whichever system works is acceptable. Thus, he fluctuates from one extreme to the other, from mechanical habit formation to insightful understanding.

Thinking is a form of motor behavior, corresponding to Watson's notion of sub-vocal speech. The possibility of imageless thought or of other vehicles of thought is denied.

Khrushchev de-emphasizes and, in essence, denies personality as the term is generally understood in modern psychology. He denies the unique aspect of personality by his emphasis on the development of a stereotyped personality through total conformity to the group. He regards the individual as the sum total of the effects of his environment and believes that manifestations of individuality weaken the personality by bringing out selfish and undesirable traits.
III. FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research describing the fundamental assumptions of other government leaders, in both democratic and totalitarian countries may be of value.

In addition, the fundamental assumptions of the communist leader, Khrushchev, need to be explored more thoroughly in some specific area of psychology such as learning or personality.
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