

tarian state authority to make use of the bourgeois specialists for the purpose of replotting the soil so that no bourgeoisie could grow on it. . . . Without the direction of specialists of different branches of knowledge, technique and experience, the transformation toward socialism is impossible, for socialism demands a conscious mass movement toward a higher productivity of labor in comparison with capitalism and on the basis which has been attained by capitalism . . . the best organizers and the biggest specialists can be used by the state either in the old bourgeois way (that is for a higher salary), or in the new proletarian way (that is by creating such an environment of universal accounting and control as would inevitably and naturally gain the submission of and attract specialists)."

"Let us assume that these greatest 'stars' must be paid twenty-five thousand rubles each. Let us assume that this sum (25,000,000) rubles must be doubled (supposing premiums granted for particularly successful and rapid accomplishment of the most important tasks of organization and technique) or even made four times as large (supposing that we must get several hundred better paid foreign specialists). Well, then, can this expenditure of 50,000,000 rubles a year for the reorganization of the work of the people according to the last word of science and technique be considered excessive or unbearable for the Soviet Republic? Of course not. The vast majority of the conscious workers and peasants will approve such an expenditure, knowing from practical life that our backwardness compels us to lose billions, and that we have *not yet* attained such a high degree of organization, accounting and control which would cause the universal and voluntary participation of these 'stars' of the bourgeois *Intelligentzia* in *our work*."

"Of course, there is another side to this question. The corrupting influence of high salaries is beyond dispute—both on the Soviets (the more so, since the swiftness of the revolution made it possible for a certain number of adventurers and crooks to join the Soviets, who together with the incapable and dishonest among certain commissaries, would not mind becoming 'star grafters') and on the mass of workers. But all thinking and honest workers and peasants will agree with us and will admit that we are unable to get rid at once of the evil heritage of capitalism; that the Soviet Republic can be freed from 'tribute' of fifty or a hundred millions of rubles (a

tribute for our own backwardness in the organization of *universal* accounting and control *from the bottom up*) only by organization, by increasing the discipline among ourselves, by getting rid of all those who 'keep the traditions of capitalism,' i.e., of loafers, parasites and grafters. If the conscious advanced workers and peasants will succeed, with the help of the Soviet institutions, to organize and discipline themselves, and to create powerful labor discipline in one year, then we will in one year do away with this 'tribute' (which may be reduced even earlier) depending on the measure of success attained in creating labor discipline and organization among the workers and peasants. The sooner we ourselves, workers and peasants, will learn better labor discipline and a higher technique of toil, making use of the bourgeois specialists for this purpose, the sooner we will get rid of any tribute to these specialists.

"The center of gravity of the struggle with the bourgeoisie is shifted to the organization of accounting and control. This must be taken into account in order to determine correctly the urgent economic and financial problems with regard to the nationalization of the banks, monopolization of foreign trade, state control of currency, the introduction of a satisfactory—*from the proletarian standpoint*—wealth and income tax, and the introduction of obligatory labor service."

"A socialist state can come into existence only as a net of production and consumption communes, which keep conscientious accounts of their production and consumption and economize labor, steadily increasing its productivity and thus making it possible to lower the working day to seven, six or seven less hours.

#### Higher Productivity of Labor

"In every socialist revolution, after the proletariat has solved the problem of winning the power, the problem is in the main and fundamentally a problem of the creation of a higher-than-capitalism social system—to raise the productivity of labor, and in that connection, and for that, to effect its higher organization. . . ."

"To increase the productivity of labor we must first of all secure the material basis of a large industry; the development of the production of fuel, iron, machinery and of the chemical industry. The Russian Soviet Republic possesses "colossal stores of ore (in the Urals); fuel in Western Siberia (coal), Caucasia and the southeast (petroleum) and Central Russia (peat); vast resources of lumber, water power and raw materials for the chemical industries, and so

on. The exploitation of these natural resources by the latest technical methods will furnish a basis for an unprecedented development of production."

"Higher productivity of labor depends, in the first place, on the improvement of the emotional and cultural state of the masses of the population. This improvement is now taking place with unusual swiftness, thanks to the Soviet organizations; but it is not perceived by those who are blinded by the bourgeois routine and are unable to comprehend what a longing for light and initiative is now pervading the masses of the people."

"Higher productivity of labor depends, in the second place, on higher discipline of the toilers, on higher skill, efficiency and intensity of labor, and on its better organization. . . . The most conscious vanguard of the Russian proletariat has already turned to the problem of increasing the labor discipline. For instance the Central Committee of the Metallurgical Union and the Central Council of the Trade Unions have begun work on appropriate measures and drafts of decrees. This should be supported and advanced by all means. We should immediately introduce piece work and try it out in practice. We should try out every scientific and progressive suggestion of the Taylor System. . . . To learn how to work—this problem the Soviet authority should present to the people in all its comprehensiveness. The last word of capitalism in this respect—the Taylor System—as well as all progressive measures of capitalism, combined the refined cruelty of bourgeois exploitation and a number of most valuable scientific attainments in the analysis of mechanical motions during work, in eliminating superfluous and useless motions in determining the most correct methods of work, the best systems of accounting and control, etc. The Soviet Republic must adopt valuable and scientific technical advance in this field. The possibility of socialism will be determined by our success in combining the Soviet rule and the Soviet organization of management with the latest progressive measures of capitalism. We must introduce in Russia the study and the teaching of the new Taylor System and its systematic trial and adaptation."

"While working to increase the productivity of labor, we must at the same time take into account the peculiarities of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, which requires, on the one hand, that we lay the foundation for the Socialist organization of emulation, and on the other hand, requires the use of 'compulsion' through a dictatorship of the proletariat.

#### Organization of Emulation

"Among the absurdities which the bourgeois is fain to spread about socialism, is that Socialists deny the significance of emulation. In reality only socialism, destroying classes, . . . for the first time opens the road for emulation on a really mass scale. And only the Soviet organization, passing from the formal democracy of a bourgeois republic to the actual *participation* of the toiling masses in *management*, for the first time puts emulation on a broad basis."

"Let us take publicity as a means for the organization of emulation. . . . We must systematically endeavor that . . . work should be carried on to create a press which will not amuse and fool the masses with spicy political trifles, but will bring to the attention of the masses and will help them to study seriously, the questions of everyday economics. . . . The press should serve as a weapon of socialistic instruction, giving publicity in all details to the successes of the model communes; studying the principle of their success and their methods of economy, . . . so that a comparison between the results of the enterprise of different communes would become a subject of general interest and study. . . ."

#### Efficient Organization and a Dictature

"It would be the greatest stupidity and the most absurd opportunism to suppose that the transition from capitalism to socialism is possible without compulsion and dictatorship. . . . In the first place, it is impossible to conquer and destroy capitalism without the merciless suppression of the resistance of exploiters; . . . in the second place, every great revolution, and especially a Socialist revolution, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without an internal war . . . and a state of greatest uncertainty, instability and chaos . . . all elements of decay of the old order . . . cannot fail to 'show up' during such a profound transformation. . . . These elements of decay cannot 'show up' otherwise than through increase of crimes. . . . It takes time and an *iron hand* to get rid of this."

"This historical experience of all revolutions . . . was summed up by Marx in his brief, sharp, exact and vivid formula: 'The Dictature of the Proletariat.' . . . But 'Dictature' is a great word. And great words must not be used in vain. . . . There is lack of appreciation of the simple and obvious fact that, if the chief misfortunes of Russia are famine and unemployment, these misfortunes cannot be overcome by any outburst of enthusiasm, but only by