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VLADIMIR MSHVENIERADZE

**Anti - Communism  
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VLADIMIR MSHVENIERADZE

# Anti - Communism Today

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**В. В. МШВЕНИЕРАДЗЕ**

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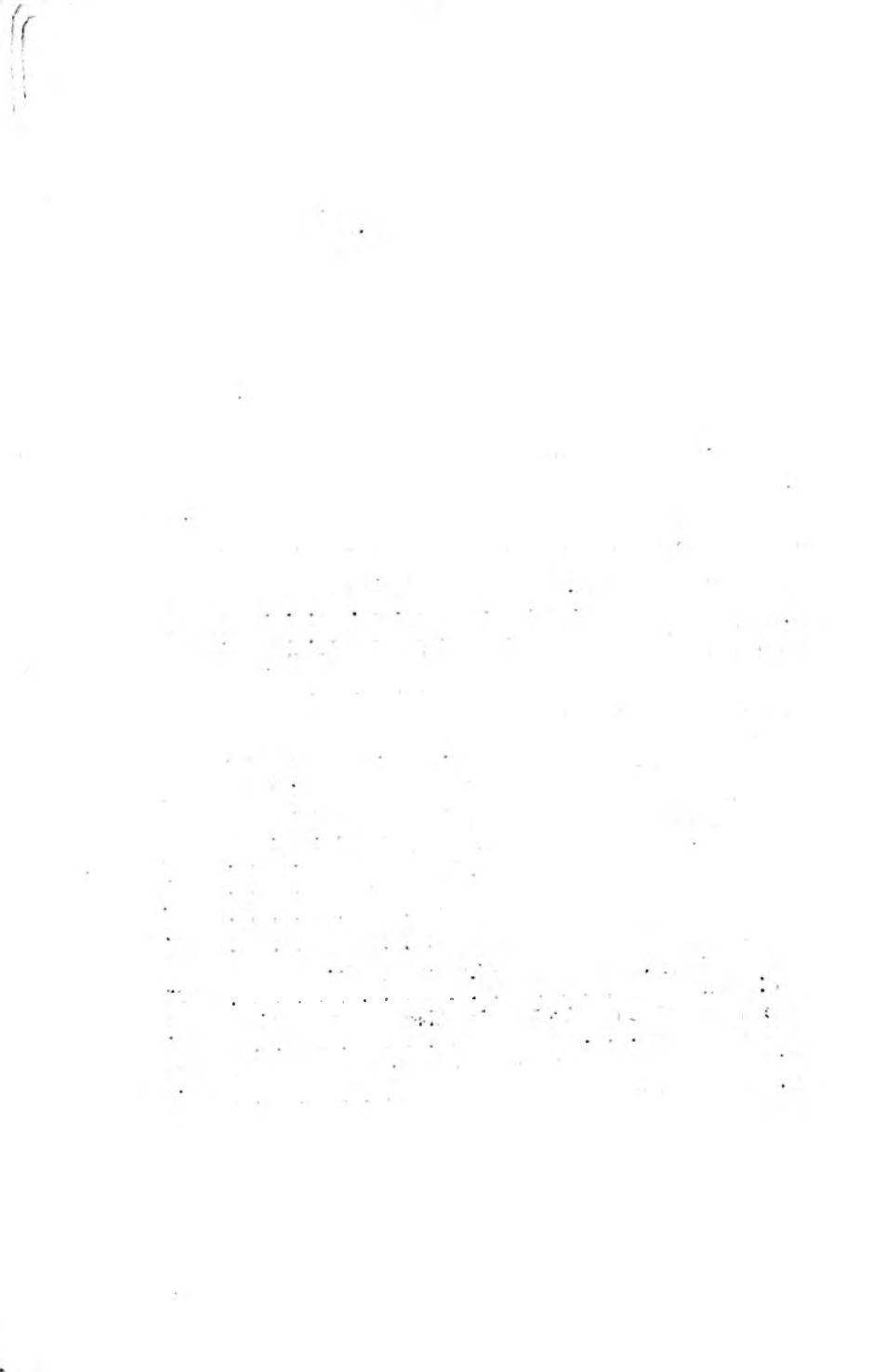
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The ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism is today taking most various forms, having grown in depth and scope to a point that its impact is felt in every corner of the world. The ineluctable historical process in which the basic contradiction of our time—the contradiction between capitalism and socialism—is being resolved in favour of socialism furthers the anti-imperialist struggle, the growth of the political consciousness and political activity of the masses and the internationalisation of revolutionary action.

The consolidation of the world socialist system and the development of the international communist and working-class movement have created exceedingly favourable conditions for all peoples fighting for their national liberation. With every passing day the anti-imperialist front gains in strength and scope.

Capitalism has lost the historical initiative forever. But being forced to surrender one position after another to socialism, its resistance to progressive forces has become all the more furious.

Imperialism's chief ideological and political weapon is anti-communism, which consists of falsifying Marxism-Leninism, slandering the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction and distorting the policy of Communist Parties.



The enemies of communism are making frantic efforts to change the correlation of forces in the world arena in favour of capitalism, using for this purpose increasingly subtle and insidious methods. They endeavour to carry the ideological and political struggle over into the socialist countries and the international communist movement, hoping to undermine them from within. Anti-Sovietism, encouragement of revisionism, and the fanning of and playing on nationalism are moved into the forefront of the struggle.

The strategy and tactics of anti-communism change depending on how bourgeois politicians and ideologists interpret one or another stage in the communist movement. For instance, during the preparations for and after the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (Moscow, 1969) special emphasis in anti-communist policies and ideology was made on the need to split world communism, to shatter it as a single international force. The line adopted was to isolate the communist movement from other anti-imperialist forces.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, which made a great creative contribution to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, caused great alarm among bourgeois politicians and ideologists. The historic decisions of the Congress outlined a concrete programme for the further improvement of the developed socialist society in the USSR and its transition to communism.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU, which was followed with keen attention by Communists throughout the world, by many Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties and by all progressive forces, was of immense world political significance.

The Soviet Union's Peace Programme, which has been acclaimed by progressive world opinion, gives full expression to the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. The normalisation of relations between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries limits the freedom with which anti-communism, or at least its most frantic forms, can manoeuvre. On the other hand, it compels the ideologists of anti-communism to search for more refined forms of struggle. That is why the Documents of the 24th Congress of the

CPSU emphasise: "The Congress considers that the struggle against anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and also against Right- and 'Left'-wing revisionism, and nationalism continues to be an important and pressing task."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow, 1971. p. 216.*

## SOME DISTINCTIONS OF MODERN ANTI-COMMUNISM

The main thrust of anti-communism today is directed against the unity of the world socialist system, the international communist and working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle of peoples. Anti-communism is conducting a frontal offensive on a global scale, making every effort to see that no social stratum or mass movement escapes its influence.

But all strata of working people, all revolutionary forces are gravitating more and more towards the working class, which is waging a consistent and effective struggle against monopoly capitalism. Bourgeois ideologists and revisionists slander the working class and preach the reactionary idea that the working class has "degenerated", that it has "lost its revolutionary character", etc. The facts show, however, that it is precisely the working class that is the revolutionary force of the era capable of destroying capitalism.

The working class in the major capitalist countries is steadily growing in numbers. Wage workers now make up 90 per cent of the gainfully employed population in the United States, 93 per cent in Britain, 81 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany, etc. The strike movement is constantly on the rise, with a growing propor-

tion of working-class actions being political in character.

The crisis of world capitalism, on the one hand, and the advances being made in the theory and practice of the communist movement, on the other, intensify the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism, between Marxist-Leninist and bourgeois ideologies, the extreme form of the latter being anti-communism.

The "theoreticians" of anti-communism are fully cognizant of the fact that under present conditions socialism cannot be destroyed by force of arms. The focal point of the struggle has, therefore, shifted to the sphere of ideas. It is now a struggle for the hearts and minds of people, for influence over the masses. That is why there is wide acceptance among bourgeois ideologists of the thesis that one dollar invested in the ideological struggle will yield greater returns than ten dollars spent for military purposes.

In the present era, exacerbation of the class struggle is natural and inevitable. Lenin, who made a scientific analysis of the experience of the international working-class movement and its struggle against bourgeois reaction, stressed that capitalism "does not die at once but puts up increasingly furious resistance the closer death approaches..."<sup>1</sup>

Today, anti-communist reaction displays exceptional social and ideological adaptability. In some places it uses its favourite "carrot and stick" tactics as it pursues a crafty policy of "selective coexistence" with individual socialist countries, which includes encouraging and flirting with revisionism. At the same time it plays on the nationalistic sentiments of backward segments of the population and tries to couple anti-communism with revisionism, chauvinism, nationalism and religious fanaticism. Imperialist reaction uses every means possible to go over to an all-out offensive; it strives to create an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria and to use it for the purpose of carrying out reprisals against progressive forces, above all against Communists.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 412.

The bourgeoisie today makes increasingly frequent use of its refined mechanism of social demagoguery to discredit revolutionary thought and action. It uses revolutionary slogans for purposes of suppressing the revolutionary movement and organising counter-revolution. It emasculates the truly humanistic and revolutionary content of such concepts as socialism, democracy, humanism, patriotism, and national interests. It tries to lull the political vigilance of the working people and to use stolen and falsely interpreted slogans for its own class aims.

In the middle of the last century, at the very dawn of the working-class movement, reaction sought to invent ways of "impeding the initiative of communism". However, the communist and working-class movement grew, gathered strength, developed and became tempered in class battles against the bourgeoisie, winning victory after victory. At the present time communism is not just a theory. It is an objective reality that has triumphed in many countries and exists in the form of a world system of socialist states. Lenin's words that "communism has become central to the working-class movement as a whole"<sup>1</sup> are especially relevant to the situation as it exists today. Those who seek to "eradicate" Marxism or communism are like the madman who vainly tried to put out the sun. This is just what Spanish anti-communist Francesco Leoni looks like when he comes to the ridiculous conclusion that "a movement like Marxism, which acts outside of any law and any ethical principle, can and must be eliminated"<sup>2</sup>.

The bellicose appeals of the anti-communists to "gain a decisive victory over communism", to "eliminate Marxism", and so forth, are in essence an expression of the defensive positions that imperialism is forced to take today under the onslaught of the growing international revolutionary movement. Changes in the tactics of anti-communism are in effect imperialism's adapting to the successes of world communism.

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Francesco Leoni, *La legislación anticomunista en el mundo libre*, Madrid, 1969, p. 16.

## Anti-Sovietism—the Essence of Anti-Leninism and Revisionism

One of the most typical features of present-day anti-communism in the struggle against the socialist countries and their unity is the widespread use of systematic ideological subversion. Considerable attention is devoted to cultivating feelings of “national egoism” in socialist countries. In the view of bourgeois ideologists, this can successfully fulfil the function of the basic socio-psychological and political weapon, capable of undermining and disrupting first the ideological and then the political unity of the world socialist system and, consequently, rupturing the solidarity of the world communist movement. Every kind of means is employed, ranging from the fanning of the national traditions to the old attempts to portray Leninism as a “purely Russian phenomenon” that is “inapplicable” to other countries.

Bourgeois ideologists belittle the great historical significance of Marxist-Leninist teaching by trying to portray the situation as they would like it to be, rather than it is in reality, which reflects their irrepressible fear of the growing popularity of the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism throughout the world. A whole army of hired bourgeois “professors” are trying to find new “arguments” to discredit the name of Lenin. Anti-Leninism today serves as the “theoretical” basis of anti-Sovietism. Attacks on Leninism are always attacks on the working class, on the collective-farm peasantry, on the national intelligentsia and on the entire Soviet people.

Typical in this respect is what inveterate anti-communist and anti-Sovietist Lewis Feuer has to say. Unable to stand the tense atmosphere of active student demonstrations against the reactionary professoriate, Feuer quit the University of California and moved to Canada. However, the change of place in no way affected his “manner of thinking”. The British magazine *Encounter* was soon to publish his article “Lenin’s Fantasy”. Feuer’s method of “analysis” is curious in that it actually exposes the ideologists of anti-communism who, catching at a straw, do not hesitate to use fraudulent devices. He tries by hook or by

crook to convince the Western reader that Lenin himself said that "we must have dreams" and that, therefore, "Leninism is a fantasy" (!?). Feuer cannot reconcile himself to the fact that Lenin's teaching is the firm scientific and theoretical foundation for the activity of the truly revolutionary forces of our day. Don't read Lenin, don't live according to Lenin, his whole article tells the reader, for the society he founded shows that the thinking in it, in that society, is still infantile and is sooner enslaved by ideology than directed by science.<sup>1</sup>

Hatred of communism and of everything Soviet has so blinded Feuer that he can no longer distinguish black from white, and he goes out of his way to ignore the great successes scored by the Soviet people in the spheres of social transformations, economic development, scientific and technological progress, culture and education. In his time, Lenin wrote of the bourgeois press: "Lie, scream, raise a hullabaloo, and keep on reiterating lies on the off-chance that 'something may stick'."<sup>2</sup> This applies in full measure to present-day anti-communism.

The anti-communists can see that as a result of the revolutionary socio-economic, political and cultural changes that have taken place in the socialist countries, the proponents of anti-socialist views have lost their mass base. It is now a matter of dealing with the working class, intelligentsia, peasantry and youth who take an active part in building socialism. That is why the bourgeois ideologists try to find a "breach in the consciousness", so that under the guise of denying any ideology whatever they can catch people in the bourgeois "ideological trap". They seek out exceptions and generalise on them. And they are constantly inventing new and more sophisticated methods and devices. One of these new approaches is to refrain from bluntly rejecting socialism as such. Today, the anti-Sovietists from the camp of bourgeois ideologists, together with the revisionists, do not often propose new alternatives to socialism. They concentrate mainly on

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<sup>1</sup> See Lewis S. Feuer, "Lenin's Fantasy", *Encounter*, London, December 1970, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 118.

finding and propagandising various "models" within socialism.

Dividing socialism into "acceptable" and "unacceptable" varieties is aimed mainly at isolating the Soviet Union from the other socialist countries. Various anti-socialist programmes are advanced under the slogans of "true socialism", "national communism", "socialism with a human face", etc. In the view of the ideologists and politicians of anti-communism, the political regimes in the socialist countries can be shaken only by discrediting the Soviet Union's experience in socialist construction and giving all-round encouragement to some anti-Soviet model of socialism. Such a model of socialism, having nothing in common with genuine socialism, is what would suit the anti-communists best. It makes no difference what name this model takes—it could be called "socialist" or even "communist". The important thing is that the very fact of searching for a "model of socialism" will result in a deepening of internal discord among the socialist countries. The orientation is towards "intra-system opposition" that could "dilute the essence of communism".

Having failed to achieve victory over communism in open struggle, the imperialists have shifted the focus of their anti-communist efforts to undermining socialism and the entire revolutionary movement from within. In this struggle against the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement they use revisionism and anti-Sovietism as their basic allies.

Experience has shown that any deviation from Marxism-Leninism, any revision of its principles, leads to anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Revisionism is the bourgeoisie's Trojan horse within the communist movement, used for the purpose of destroying communism and Communists by Communists themselves.

The tactics used by imperialism consists in splitting revolutionary and other progressive (general democratic, national-liberation, youth) movements and anti-imperialist political forces, disuniting entire peoples, and then setting one against the other, Asians against Asians, Africans against Africans, etc.



Revisionism and anti-communism have much in common: rejection of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution; rejection of the teaching on classes, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat; disparagement of the role of the Party; rejection of partisanship in science; the preaching of "deideologisation"; opposing the views of "young Marx" to those of mature Marx, opposing Marx to Lenin, Engels to Marx and Lenin; the subjective, idealist and voluntaristic interpretation of practice; and much else. But the most important common feature uniting anti-communism and revisionism today is anti-Sovietism.

In April 1971, immediately after the 24th Congress of the CPSU, a "round table" meeting of representatives of anti-communist trends was called in Italy at the initiative of the newspaper *La Stampa* and the Agnelli Society. The main subject under discussion was: "Where is the USSR of the 1970s going?" Forced to admit "the stability of the system of Soviet power in the light of the 24th Congress", the meeting's participants underscored the idea—which became the leitmotif of all the speeches—that the main stake in the struggle against the Soviet Union must be made on revisionism. "Revisionism is the only formula capable of contending with the Soviet formula." It is from this position that revisionism is assessed by the ideologists of anti-communism. Opting for an ideological deal with the bourgeoisie on anti-Soviet grounds is a most typical feature of present-day revisionism.

In the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev noted: "They have been trying to induce the opportunist elements in the Communist Parties to make something of an ideological deal. They appear to be telling them: just give us proof that you are anti-Soviet, and we shall be prepared to proclaim that you are the true 'Marxists', and that you are taking completely 'independent attitudes'."<sup>1</sup>

An example of renegade revisionism are the views of Roger Garaudy, the former French Communist who now

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<sup>1</sup> 24th Congress of the CPSU, p. 27.

repudiates progressive political and philosophical ideas and is calling for a Copernican revolution under new conditions, directed against the Soviet Union. "At the present moment," writes Garaudy, "an agonising re-examination is needed in order to cast doubt not on the socialist 'system' but its Soviet variety and its export to the socialist countries. Should we not, following Copernicus' example, think about the need for a sharp turn: to try to imagine the kind of socialism that would not be built exclusively 'from above', but would be built 'from below'?"<sup>1</sup>

The Italian "Left"-wing adventurist factional group, Manifesto, claims to have made a "serious analysis of reality". Characteristic of this group are anti-Sovietism, nationalism, lack of faith in the strength of the working class and the attempt to discredit "European socialism". Its proclaimed "unity" is a fictitious slogan used to mask splitting activity conducted on the political platform of anti-Sovietism, and also of "criticism" of the fundamental propositions of the Italian Communist Party. This group has set itself the goal of gathering together all "Left" factions that might exist in the Communist Parties in some countries and of strengthening the splitting tendencies in the international working-class and communist movement. Anti-Soviet slander has brought the Manifesto group to the point of renouncing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and denying that the world socialist system is the main bulwark in the struggle against imperialism.

"Maoism is internationalism of a new type," they declare. This "internationalism...does not contemplate the support and defence of socialism in any particular country or the re-creation of a disciplined front around some model of a state. It is internationalism under which each 'stands on his own two feet' ".<sup>2</sup>

To Marx's and Engels' slogan, "Workers of All Countries, Unite!", the Manifesto group has opposed this Maoist

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<sup>1</sup> R. Garaudy, *Reconquête de l'Espoir*, edited by Bernard Gras-set, Paris, 1971, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Il Manifesto. Per il comunismo*, Edizione Dedalo anno 11, Settembre, 1970, p. 9.

version of "internationalism": "Everyone stands on his own two feet!"

The degenerate Manifesto group has been expelled from the ranks of the Italian Communist Party. The entire ethos of its "creativity" was expressed in blind and fanatically dogmatic adherence to the anti-Soviet line of Peking.

The example of the renegades in the Manifesto group shows once again that under the present conditions of exceptionally sharp ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism, the evolution of revisionism takes the road of apostasy, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. The activity of the Manifesto group has many features in common with pro-Chinese factions in the Communist Parties of a number of other countries.

A special place in the anti-communist ideology and politics of present-day imperialism is given to the use of the dogmatic ideological positions and essentially opportunistic policies of Maoism. The thing that suits the imperialists most of all in the policy of the present Chinese leadership is anti-Sovietism. Closely following the events in China bourgeois theorists noted that, having begun an ideological polemic, the Maoists soon cast aside ideological principles and began to pursue a hegemonistic, great-power policy. M. Kamil Dziewanowski, an American expert on China, writes: "The principal aim of Peking's policy is to weaken the Soviet Union's position by any means, for which purpose are used the fanning of racial hatred against the Russians and other measures having no relation to ideological questions."<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to find any more or less important thesis of the Maoist leadership that would not meet with the approval of anti-communists. Slanderous attacks on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, attempts to split the international communist movement, provoking discord in the national-liberation movement, the adventurist slogan "Political power grows out of the barrel of

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<sup>1</sup> M. Kamil Dziewanowski, "Communist China and Eastern Europe", Survey, *A Journal of Soviet and East European Studies*, Autumn 1970, p. 71.

a gun", support of splitting groups throughout the world—these are the key principles of a policy common to bourgeois, imperialist anti-communism and to opportunist anti-communism that flies the flag of "socialism".

Revisionism and anti-communism cannot be equated, however. This would be an oversimplification of the matter. At the same time, the organic connection between them is obvious. Exposure of anti-communism and the opportunist essence of revisionism is an important condition for an ideological victory over imperialism. There can be no compromise in this struggle. Lenin warned: "The most dangerous of all in this respect are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism."<sup>1</sup>

Anti-communism takes an anti-Soviet direction because the Soviet Union stands as an indestructible bulwark of the socialist gains of the peoples, the international communist movement and the national liberation struggle. For this reason, the anti-communists regard efforts to discredit the USSR, to falsify the policy and goals of the CPSU and to slander the foreign and home policy of the Soviet Government as the major means for undermining the world socialist system and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples.

### In International Politics

To understand present-day bourgeois, and particularly American, political theories, one should keep in mind the evolution of the political consciousness of the bourgeoisie over the last three decades. Using the United States as an example, this process of change can be traced in the theory of "American exclusiveness". Brought up on the idea of the exclusiveness of its own history, the prevailing bourgeois political consciousness in the USA did not relate it only to history but extended exclusiveness to all forms of foreign policy relations with other states, implanted

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 302.

it in its own country and imposed it on the peoples of other countries. The doctrine of exclusiveness was reinforced by a whole series of factual circumstances—economic strength, high level of development in industry and technology, standard of living, etc. An important role was played by the notion of American invincibility, of the superior military might of the USA, which was assured for the time being by its monopoly of atomic weapons.

The progress of the socialist countries, and above all the Soviet Union, in economics, technology, science, culture and military production has introduced substantive modifications into the doctrine of exclusiveness. The main and basic factor underlying the political thinking of the bourgeoisie now is the awareness that the Soviet Union is capable of successfully countering any aggression.

The debunking of the myth of American exclusiveness evokes different reactions in different circles. Liberal-minded members of the school of "political realism", for example, feel compelled to reckon with the new state of affairs. And although they are unhappy about the United States' having lost its "exclusive" role in the international arena, they are nonetheless beginning to display a definite soberness in their approach to the solution of certain issues.

The extremists, the ideologists of American conservatism, however, take an altogether different attitude. They invariably continue to insist on policy from a "position of strength", regarding it as the only means for successful struggle against the "aggressive Communists". "Those who would say otherwise should also learn something from Vietnam and our refusal to seek victory there."<sup>1</sup> These words, as sinister as they are utopian, belong to Barry Goldwater, the leader of American conservatism. In *The Conscience of a Majority*, he plainly advised the US Government to use in its foreign policy anti-communist propaganda and even war itself, as a "peace-keeping in-

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Majority*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New York, 1970, p. 2.

strument". "The sooner we accept the fact that the only language Communist negotiators understand is that dictated and backed up by superior strength the better off we will be,"<sup>1</sup> declared Goldwater.

It would be wrong to present Goldwater's views as the opinion of the bulk of the American public. But it would equally be wrong to ignore them and to write off his books simply as the "notes of a madman". Bellicose anti-communism, which in the United States operates from the positions of conservatism, makes a definite impact both within the United States and in a number of European capitalist countries.

Reactionary ideologists and politicians grossly distort and falsify the principal problem of present-day international relations—ensuring relaxation of tension in Europe—when they portray the Soviet Union's position on this question as a "Soviet threat to Europe".

In an article entitled "Wait and Prepare", A. Weinstein, a West German revanchist and former regular officer in the Nazi army who is now active in the field of journalism (being the foreign affairs editor of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*), expounds the concept of a "unified military doctrine" to counter the "threat of socialism". According to his plan, a European anti-communist bloc of states should be set up to counter-balance the peaceful unification of Europe.

Weinstein calls for strengthening NATO, changing the existing situation in Europe by infringing upon the interests of the socialist states and for arming the FRG.

The idea expounded by Weinstein is based on a political programme of establishing a "balance of fear" and "containing communism". He cannot conceive of European security without a military build-up. He sweeps away the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and is willing to "risk the fate of Europe" for the sake of "European security". "And the risk that the old continent faces will not diminish," writes Weinstein, "until Europe displays a determination to

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

make sacrifices for the sake of implementing its own security policy." "That is why," he concludes, "the policy of containment and military strength are elements of the European security policy."

Of course, the creation of a reliable system of European security is not to the liking of reactionary imperialist and military forces. Still operating in the NATO member countries are advocates of cold war and political blocs and promoters of bankrupt revanchist plans to recarve the postwar boundaries in Europe.

The countries of Europe do have problems requiring solution. Europe was the flashpoint in which the flames of two world wars erupted. The establishment of good-neighbourly relations among European states, the repudiation of the use of force in resolving international issues would in many ways promote relaxation of tension and the strengthening of peace throughout the world.

The important foreign policy steps taken by the socialist countries, and above all by the Soviet Union, towards creating in Europe a situation that would preclude the danger of a new war on this continent have received the recognition of broad sections of the world public.

The struggle for a radical change in favour of the detente, for the success of an All-European Conference on Security and Co-operation is defined in the Peace Programme put forward by the 24th CPSU Congress as a stage in its practical implementation.

The treaties signed by the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany, the process of normalising relations between the FRG and Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries, the fruitful results of L. I. Brezhnev's visit to the FRG, the growing co-operation between the Soviet Union and France, the positive turn in the relations between the Soviet Union and the United States—all these are important steps in the struggle by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community for continued relaxation of tension, the strengthening of security and a durable peace.

The successful outcome of the third Soviet-American summit is a major factor of continued easing of world tension and constructive solution of the problem of strengthening world peace. The talks culminated in new Soviet-American agreements on the limitation of anti-missile defence systems, underground nuclear tests, further efforts to limit strategic offensive arms, measures directed to withdrawing chemical weapons from the arsenals of states. Agreements were also signed on the continued development of industrial, scientific, technological, trade and economic co-operation. The major outcome of this meeting was the acknowledgement and further promotion of the principles of peaceful co-existence in international relations. This was expressed, in particular, in the high assessment of the All-European Conference on Security and Co-operation. The joint Soviet-American Communiqué stated: "Both sides also proceeded from the assumption that the results of the negotiations will permit the conference: to be concluded at the highest level which would correspond to the historic significance of the Conference for the future of Europe and lend greater authority to the importance of the Conference's decisions."

From the first days of the existence of the USSR, Soviet foreign policy has been built on a Marxist-Leninist class analysis of the correlation of forces in the world arena. The foreign policy programme of the Soviet Union is realistic; it takes into account the growing power and consolidation of the socialist community of nations. The Soviet people value highly the contribution to relaxation of international tension made by those political circles and statesmen in the capitalist world who now also stand on the soil of reality and are trying to resolve international issues in the interests of the common good.

### Anti-Communism — "Reaction All Along the Line"

In the broad sense, anti-communism can be defined as the totality of socio-economic, political, military, ideological and theoretical means which imperialism uses against the three main revolutionary forces—the world socialist



system, the international communist and working-class movement and the national-liberation struggle of peoples—for the purpose of resolving the basic contradiction of the present epoch (the contradiction between capitalism and socialism) in favour of capitalism. These means of struggle are closely interlinked.

In the socio-economic sphere, the spectrum of anti-communist activity is exceedingly wide, ranging from the creation of a variety of anti-Marxist economic doctrines to practical steps in the sphere of social and economic policy. Along with theories preaching political and ideological "pluralism", theories are advanced which "prove" that the social structure most consonant with the scientific and technological revolution is a society built on "economic pluralism", the dominance of private property and "free enterprise", and regulated by the "laws of the market".

Bourgeois politicians, economists and sociologists expend no little effort to distort the principles upon which the mutual relations among the countries in the socialist community are based. In particular, they draw the conclusion that economic integration is inefficient if it is based on centralised planning.

The practical economic policy of the socialist countries is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which makes it possible successfully to carry out socialist economic integration. The Comprehensive Programme, unanimously adopted at the 25th Session of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Bucharest, July 1971), states: "The community of the socialist states rests on an identical economic system set up in every country—public ownership of the means of production, and on an identical political system—rule by the people, headed by the working class, and on a single common ideology—Marxism-Leninism."

Socialist economic integration is based on the objective laws of social progress and makes it possible to utilise more fully and efficiently the advantages of the socialist system. One of the basic goals of the Comprehensive Programme is to further strengthen "the positions of the CMEA member countries in the world economy" and to

secure "ultimate victory in the economic competition with capitalism".

In present-day conditions, questions of economic and scientific and technological competition between socialism and capitalism assume exceptional significance. The Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Party Congress noted "the considerably greater role these days of such an area of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism as the economic and technico-scientific competition of the two world systems".<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the adoption and successful implementation of the Comprehensive Programme by the CMEA member countries, bourgeois economists and sociologists have begun to argue that the only way the Programme can be implemented is through economic "rapprochement with the West", which can take place at the cost of political concessions on the part of the socialist countries. At the same time, comparing the EEC and CMEA they cannot but admit that the capitalist method of economic integration, despite its vast store of experience, is very far from being an attractive model. West German anti-communist Stefan C. Stolte of the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich, summarising the integration activity of the Western countries, writes: "Continuing difficulties on the road to West European integration, the lurking danger of a customs war between the USA and the EEC, and inflation, growing unemployment and a shrinking gross national product in the USA—these were only a few of the economic problems experienced by the loosely-knit Atlantic community in 1970."<sup>2</sup>

In the military sphere, imperialism's anti-communist activity is expressed in the waging of "local wars"; in the arms race; in open acts of aggression, when under the mask of the fight against communism a blow is struck at the national-liberation movement, democracy and civil rights;

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Stefan C. Stolte, *Comecon in the New Decade*, Bulletin, Institute for the Study of the USSR, Vol. XVIII, Munich, March 1971, No. 3, p. 24.

in the working out of aggressive strategic plans to "destroy communism"; and in the creation of military bases.

In the sphere of theory, bourgeois sociologists, historians, philosophers, legal experts, etc., devise pseudo-scientific anti-communist and anti-Marxist theories designed to fulfil a dual task: the apologetics of capitalism and the "refutation" of Marxist-Leninist teaching. The apologetic function is also delegated to the ideological form of class struggle embracing a broad area of mass consciousness, the elaboration of means of infiltrating anti-communist ideas into the socialist countries, encouragement of revisionism and religious fanaticism, the propagation of "mass culture", etc.

In the sphere of political relations, in which the diplomatic sphere should also be included, it may be said outright that anti-communism serves as the main part of the class strategy of the state-monopoly bourgeoisie. The political sphere is by no means limited to political doctrines. As always, the imperialist bourgeoisie uses any and all reactionary ideological forces and political movements—fascism, Zionism, nationalism, racism, etc.—to fight communism. If in one instance the bugaboo of communism is used to strangle national-liberation movements, in another support is given to reactionary nationalistic movements that act under the guise of "national liberation", but are in fact anti-communist. In the 1930s, for example, fascism was this kind of political and ideological movement cultivated on the soil of anti-communism. Today, Zionism is a movement of this kind.

Exposing the demagogic slogans of the Zionists and their reactionary political direction, the Communist Party of Israel notes: "The Zionist movement is...not a national-liberation movement, as it does not set itself the aim of liberating any people or country from foreign rule. It is not a national movement at all, but a reactionary political movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie."<sup>1</sup>

The World Zionist Organisation, which was officially set up at its First Congress in 1897 and had set as its aim

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<sup>1</sup> *Information Bulletin. Communist Party of Israel*, No. 3-4, 1969, Special Issue—*Material of the 16th Congress*, p. 202.

“to create for the Jewish people a home in Eretz Israel secured by public law”,<sup>1</sup> is at the present time advancing unlimited nationalistic claims.

Hyman Lumer, an eminent figure in the Communist Party of the USA, notes in an article entitled “The Reactionary Role of Zionism” that “in the pursuit of their reactionary, pro-imperialist policies the Israeli rulers rely on the support of the organised Zionist movement throughout the capitalist world, and especially in the United States”.<sup>2</sup> The danger of Zionism lies in the fact that it receives all-out support from imperialism and is used by imperialism in its struggle against world communism, the national-liberation movement and the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union. “Political Zionism,” notes Hyman Lumer, “is not only an ideology; it is also an organised world movement.”<sup>3</sup>

Thus, integrating into its ranks the most diverse reactionary organisations, political movements and forces, anti-communism is carrying out a global offensive against communist theory and practice, an offensive directed not only against communism, but also against democracy and progressive culture, against all progressive forces.

Several basic forms of anti-communism are distinguishable.

First, there is anti-communism as practical political activity which takes the form of state policy, both foreign and domestic, and relies on numerous professional anti-communist organisations financed by the monopoly bourgeoisie, on opportunist groups in certain Communist Parties, and on reformists and Right-wing Social-Democrats.

Next, there is anti-communism as the predominant theoretical and political form of bourgeois ideology. This

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<sup>1</sup> *Political Affairs*, July 1971, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Dozens of Zionist organisations, with a total membership running into hundreds of thousands, are active in the United States today. Among them are the Women's Zionist Organisation of America, Zionist Organisation of America and the Jewish Defence League, which stands out for its malicious anti-Sovietism. (*Political Affairs*, August, 1971, p. 39.)

<sup>3</sup> *Political Affairs*, July 1971, p. 13.

is the form of anti-communism often found in the "revolutionism" of "Left"- and Right-wing extremists and radicals who have lost faith in the working class, and in various petty-bourgeois and revisionist concepts and views. It also appears in the form of a special branch of "theoretical" knowledge directed towards the pseudoscientific refutation of communism and designed to "prove" that human society is developing along a non-communist and even anti-communist road. The ideological and theoretical activity of anti-communism serves the policy of imperialism.

Finally, there is the anti-communism which is instilled into the "mass consciousness" and exists on the basis of the dominance of private property relations in the form of "social prejudices" cultivated and spread by imperialist propaganda among the broad masses.

There is a close interrelationship among these three basic forms which in concrete circumstances manifests itself in various combinations.

Many bourgeois governments, experiencing fear in the face of anti-imperialist mass movements, can and do use the anti-communist ideology and policy to create an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria, to intimidate people, to build up a fear of an imaginary "communist threat", all in order to use this hysteria and fear in their own interests.

From among these tightly intertwined manifestations of anti-communism—political, ideological and socio-economic—different methods and means of struggle may be moved into the forefront at different times. Shifting the accent to one of the forms of class struggle—to the political or the ideological form, for example—by no means implies a weakening of anti-communist activity in the other spheres. In these periods, the whole complex of the different and varied means of struggle is subordinated to the one which is considered most effective in the given situation.

Certain considerations may prompt the bourgeoisie to concentrate on the ideological form of class struggle for a prolonged period of time. But it would be wrong to suppose that the bourgeoisie ever, and particularly now, regards

ideological struggle as something self-sufficient and victory in it as an end in itself. The ideological struggle is always aimed at paving the way for definite political actions.

### Before the Court of History

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians have always used ideological demagoguery for substantiating "theory" and carrying out in practice policies inimical to the people. History provides abundant evidence of how, for instance, through demagogic juggling of "humanistic" appeals, the bourgeoisie has been able to delude large segments of the population, instigate counter-revolutionary conspiracies, suppress progressive movements and deal mercilessly with people who don't think as it does. Very instructive in this respect is the example of the Paris Commune, which has not lost its significance to this day. It is instructive because the proletarian socialist revolution continues to be the main question on the agenda of socio-political development in many countries.

Revealing the real meaning and class content of the political stand of the French bourgeois government at that time, Marx showed that the bourgeoisie's calls for the defence of national interests were but fig leaves for strengthening its own class positions. Whenever it was a matter of class interest, the bourgeoisie unhesitatingly betrayed the interests of the nation. "In this conflict between national duty and class interest," wrote Marx, "the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection."<sup>1</sup> Taking advantage of the magnanimity of the world's first communist government, the bourgeoisie deluded the masses of working people and the people's government and re-established its own rule. Then, against "impossible" communism it instigated anti-communist reprisals, which, in Marx's words, could be compared only with the events in the days of Sulla and the Roman triumvirates.

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<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1973, p. 202.

The bourgeoisie cloaked the bloody terror after the defeat of the Commune with demagogic sighs about the need to restore "order" and "justice", and about "saving civilisation" from the "forcible seizure of power by a handful of criminals". Marx lashed out angrily at the reactionary nature and hypocrisy of the "nefarious civilisation" of the "bloodhounds of 'order'". "The civilisation and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilisation and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriator and the producer brings out this fact more glaringly.... A glorious civilisation, indeed, the great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over!"<sup>1</sup>

The bourgeoisie's character has not changed since then. History abounds in examples of this, among the latest being the events in Chile.

In the light of the historical experience of the class struggle of the working people and the present anti-communist political and ideological actions of imperialism, it is necessary to keep a careful eye on its intrigues, expose its reactionary essence, social demagogy and new refined forms of anti-communism, and to constantly raise the effectiveness of ideological and political struggle. Anti-communism has been and still is the main ideological and political weapon of imperialism. Consequently, Communists and all progressive forces should direct their attention above all to the struggle against anti-communism.

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<sup>1</sup> K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1973, p. 235.

## ANTI-COMMUNISM AND "DEIDEOLOGISATION"

Recent decades have been marked by the considerable strengthening of the positions of world socialism, a new upsurge of the international communist and working-class movement and the peoples' successful national-liberation struggle. Additional millions of people now stand under the banner of Marxism and see in socialism real prospects for historical progress. Marxist ideology has been the cementing force that has strengthened the ideological unity of the world socialist system and the entire international revolutionary movement, instilled revolutionary optimism and inspired the progressive forces of our day to vigorous anti-imperialist struggle.

Increasingly, bourgeois politicians and ideologists are aware of the fact that socialism cannot be destroyed militarily, that it is monolithic and united ideologically and politically. They are more and more inclined to regard Marxist ideology, whose influence among the masses is constantly growing, as its enemy number one. The epicentre of the cold war has gradually shifted from the sphere of politics to the sphere of ideology.

In almost all of the large capitalist countries, and above all in the United States, the FRG and Britain, research centres "on communism" are stepping up their work. Bourgeois ideologists and politicians are no longer satisfied with the much talked of and once popular article written by George F. Kennan and published in the magazine *Foreign Affairs* in July 1947, in which he stated profoundly that Soviet Russia had no social structure. Kennan was



led to this absurd conclusion by the rather common and widespread bourgeois prejudice of that time, according to which anything that did not fit the bourgeois "frame of reference" was considered a deviation from the norm and "unnatural". Today, bourgeois thinking is generally forced to reconcile itself to the fact that the socialist system, which is fundamentally different from capitalism and has its own specific features, not only has a right to exist but in many ways is superior to capitalism and is a socio-political phenomenon that must be reckoned with at least as an "equal partner".

A carefully thought-out offensive of unprecedented scope has been launched against Marxist ideology. It pursues a far-reaching political aim—to push the peoples of the socialist countries off the socialist road of development, or at least to retard the development of world socialism and thereby also accomplish the corollary tasks of weakening and totally disorganising the international communist movement and leading astray the national-liberation struggle. Anti-Marxism and anti-Leninism have become the spearhead of anti-communism. The role of the main ideological counter-balance has been given to the concept of "deideologisation".

### Basic Postulates

Advocates of deideologisation pursue the following basic aims. First, they discredit Marxist-Leninist ideology by portraying it as a theory that has spent its viability, as a utopian theory, as a variety of religion, or as a social myth. They distort the class content of ideology, as well as such concepts as class struggle, revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They invoke "erosion" of the communist ideology, and make absurd attempts to oppose ideology and science, and class approach and objectivity.

Second, they have launched a frontal ideological attack on Communist Parties as the leading political and ideological force, and on the working class as the basic exponent of revolutionary ideology. The working class is falsely

accused of having turned "bourgeois" and having "lost its revolutionary spirit". Some additional absurd oppositions are made: the party and the people, the working class and the intelligentsia, etc.

Third, they defame socialist ideals and devise various anti-communist and anti-Marxist theoretical conceptions to substantiate the non-communist way of development for human society. This aim is served, in particular, by the theories of "convergence", "modernisation", the "technotronic society", the "industrial civilisation" and others that are presented as "deideologised" societies.

The reverse side of the concept of deideologisation is the theory of the "pluralism" of ideologies in general, and the theory of the "multiplicity" of Marxism-Leninism in particular, used to prove that different and sometimes fundamentally opposite "interpretations" of the teaching of Marx and Lenin are justified. The theory of "pluralism" is designed to accomplish two interconnected tasks simultaneously, one external and one internal. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie uses this theory to infiltrate anti-Marxist ideas into socialist countries and the international communist movement in order to stimulate revisionist and nationalistic views and weaken the ideological unity of the communist movement. On the other hand, the theory is used in the struggle against the working people within the capitalist countries, to prevent the concentration of revolutionary forces, without which successful revolutionary struggle is impossible. Thus, the concept of deideologisation is by no means merely a passive, contemplative, purely negative academic theory predicting "the end of ideology". It is a militant bourgeois anti-communist concept which actively rejects Marxist ideology and its basic scientific principles and obtrusively promotes the bourgeois perception of ideological phenomena.

An intensive discussion of the problems of ideology, its role, place, designation and definition began for the first time in the bourgeois philosophical, political, sociological and even psychological literature in the 1950s. It was a kind of unannounced contest in developing a concept of ideology which could serve as the most effective weapon in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism. But attempts

to refute one or another Marxist principle cannot always be made directly and crudely. The growing attractive force of Marxist ideology throughout the world often prevents the bourgeois ideologists from attacking it with an open visor.

Analysis of ideology naturally required advancing some kind of arguments and creating the corresponding concepts and definite systems of theoretical reasoning and proofs. All this, in turn, required recruiting prominent and most capable bourgeois theoreticians—specialists in various fields of knowledge who could systematically advance “working” anti-communist ideas, and do so in a sophisticated and refined way with an understanding of the essence of the question.

One such prominent bourgeois sociologist is Talcott Parsons. He cannot be classified as a frantic anti-communist openly calling for, say, war with the Soviet Union. In fact, his works often contain bourgeois liberal motifs. But he is a serious ideological opponent. His views are of interest in the sense that, although they lay claim to being original, individually unique and objective, they actually follow a rather typical pattern of the bourgeois theorist's perception of ideological processes, which is completely subordinated to the political demands of the capitalist social system.

But the liberal-academic intellectual tenor of “respectable” anti-communism, which spends too much time on “superfluous arguments”, does not fully satisfy the standards of bellicose anti-communism. In the major capitalist countries, and above all in the United States, Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia* is experiencing a second birth.

### Ideology or “Sociology of Knowledge”?

The principles of Mannheim's ideology are still considered classical in the bourgeois philosophical, sociological and political literature, and the number of his opponents, as compared with his supporters and active followers, is exceedingly small.

The basic reason for the broad popularity of Mannheim's theory is that it best reflects the ideological needs of present-day bourgeois society. As the standards of this society demand, it is both apologetic and militantly offensive.

Let us trace the line of Mannheim's reasoning. First of all he distinguishes two basic, fundamental methods, or as he puts it, styles of thinking—ideological and utopian. All ideas serve some kind of interests. Those that defend the existing order Mannheim calls ideological, while those that seek to change the social order are utopian. He has to introduce the element of utopianism into the understanding of ideological phenomena in order to "prove" that any ideology that sets itself the task of revolutionary reorganisation is in its essence utopian.

Mannheim makes the unfounded conclusion that the only genuine ideology is that which justifies the prevailing socio-political structure of society. In other words, he defines the basic function of ideology to be apologetics. In this way, Mannheim assumed, a serious blow was struck to Marxism as an ideology striving towards revolutionary change. Simultaneously, he dealt with all radicalist theories, which do not, perhaps, present any real danger but are nonetheless not very pleasant as far as the apologists of capitalism are concerned.

Mannheim is faced with a new problem. If theories that defend the existing social order have the right to be called ideologies, then this definition would also justify the existence of communist ideology, for Marxism is not only a theory of the revolutionary transformation of the world, but also a theory that vigorously defends the objectively existing gains of socialism. How to get over this hurdle? In a special series of arguments Mannheim draws a distinction between two kinds of ideology—specific and general. Mannheim needs this intricate structure of ideologies in order to place Marxism into the category of specific ideologies, a category in which he places ideologies based on an allegedly distorted explanation of the world. A general ideology, according to Mannheim, carries out the function of reflection, and in this role it is fully absorbed by the "sociology of knowledge".

Thus, bourgeois ideology is replaced by the "sociology

of knowledge", which alone can claim to reflect reality. Mannheim resorts to an analysis of the social structure of society to reinforce his concept of deideologisation, which is expressed, on the one hand, in the absorption of ideology by the "sociology of knowledge", and, on the other, in declaring ideology to be "utopia". The purpose of this analysis is to belittle the role of the working class and move the so-called intellectual elite to the forefront. Since the intelligentsia is a "floating stratum" in society, says Mannheim, it is less bound than other class groups for whom socio-parochial limitations are characteristic.

Mannheim's theory, which most definitely serves the class interests of the bourgeois society, nonetheless lays claim to absolute objectivity. But objectivity is exactly what is missing.

In essence, scientific arguments and a logically perfect process of proof are replaced in Mannheim's theory by arbitrary assessments. But no proposition can become true or false simply because Mannheim wills it so.

### The Ideologist and Ideology

Mannheim's theory as a whole, just as the separate definitions included in it, is untenable. But it is not definitions or specific individuals that we are concerned with here. We might recall Marx's words to the effect that we should speak of individuals only to the extent that they are the personification of existing social, economic and political categories. In such cases, an analogy with religion might be drawn: it is not priests who create religion, but religion that creates priests. It is not a question of Mannheim or some other bourgeois ideologist personally, although the individual merits and demerits of one or another theorist often play a very important role.

Different concepts and definitions are by no means simply personal creations. In terms of their content they are dictated by objectively existing social and political circumstances. In principle, the function of the bourgeois ideologist amounts to formulating propositions that are determined by social needs, are oriented towards definite

political goals, completely fit into the framework of the security of the system, and actively promote its stabilisation by creating ideological illusions. The ideologist is an inseparable element of this system, and all changes in it have an impact on his way of thinking, regardless of whether he is aware of this process or not. If he were able to operate outside the bounds of this system he would not be a bourgeois ideologist. The bourgeois ideologist is not the cause of capitalism, but its effect. The works of bourgeois ideologists are a kind of ideological showcase of capitalism; they are apologetic and, therefore, cannot give a true picture of the real deep-going processes taking place in the society itself. It is more the other way round: only an analysis of the real social processes in their dialectical contradiction makes it possible to reveal the true role of one or another ideologist. Unless this is done, critical analysis of capitalism will be superficial, with the main thing left out: capitalism should be exposed as a vicious system, which stands in need of ideological defence and of necessity gives rise to theoretically untenable and politically reactionary ideology.

The bourgeois theorist, be he Mannheim or any other, translates the interests of the given social system into political demands, ideas and concepts. He reflects the specific features of that system. For example, in Mannheim's theory capitalism's fear of the working class found its expression in the distortion of the working class' real historical role, in the slanderous description of the working class as a "non-objective social group", and in the working class being opposed to the intelligentsia. By far not the last factor accounting for the highly arbitrary structure of Mannheim's theory is the whole way of life under capitalism, with its prevailing anarchy and absence of a strict objective pattern in politics and economics. This way of life inescapably affects one's way of thinking and can lead to objective laws being ignored, to subjectivism, and an individualistically irresponsible approach to the construction of theoretical concepts. All these features are easily observable in Mannheim's theory. He seeks to exert a definite influence on the masses and to draw them over to the side of the bourgeoisie.

An analysis of the multitude of bourgeois concepts suggests that their creators very shrewdly take into account the features of the ordinary consciousness, which is based on "common sense" and does not always notice the absence of logic in proving one or another proposition. In fact it often doesn't even look for logic, being content, as a rule, to accept on faith a clearly and simply formulated end result and imperturbably swallow it. It naively assumes that behind the conclusions that are taken on faith lie irreproachable proofs. And this is just what the bourgeois ideologists count on.

Such a situation cannot last indefinitely, as is shown, in particular, by the continuing massive student and youth movement in many capitalist countries against "duping" the public, against "brainwashing". But the bourgeois ideologists, in turn, adapt to the altered situation and continue the old line, but using new and subtler means.

### The Escalation of "Deideologisation"

A special role in the escalation of the concept of "deideologisation" belongs to avowed ideologist of anti-communism Daniel Bell. In contrast to the relatively moderate and academic thinking of some sociologists and the more pronounced anti-communist tenor of Mannheim's theory, Bell's theory is distinctly anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary.

Bell is the author of the so-called "end of ideology" doctrine, which is highly inconsistent and logically contradictory. Repeatedly using the term "ideology", he puts various meanings into it that are sometimes not covered by his own definitions. To be sure, all of his definitions have a common feature, and that is blind hatred of Marxism. To Bell and his school the "end of ideology" means the end of Marxist ideology. Naturally, ridiculous attempts to prove the improvable will inevitably be accompanied by logical nonsense.

Bell's "critical" arguments directed against Marxism are typical. He denies the class character of ideology, its dependence on the objective laws of historical develop-

ment, the revolutionary nature of Marxism, and the principle of the unity of theory and practice. In his book, *The End of Ideology*, he describes Marx's views on ideology as antiquated and inapplicable today. Yet those views in fact (the irony of history is really inexhaustible!) better than anything expose the position of Bell himself. To Marx, writes Bell, ideology has a class character and represents an attempt to portray class interests as universal. And it is not important what people say, but how they act. One must find the structure of the interests that are hidden behind ideas. If ideas serve as a screen for material interests, then the "test of their truth" consists in establishing whose class interests they serve. According to Marx, a doctrine is true, Bell continues, if it is consistent with the development of history; and in practice this means that a doctrine may be called true or otherwise depending on whether or not it serves the cause of furthering the revolution.

In expounding Marx's ideas, Bell says nothing about the fact that Marx applied this description to bourgeois ideology. Bell interprets too simply the relationship between truth and class interests, between the truth of a doctrine, on the one hand, and the development of history and service to the cause of the revolution, on the other. According to Bell, revolution was an end in itself for Marx. This is not true. Revolution is the necessary and objectively determined form in which a new qualitative state emerges in the process of development, an inalienable law of progress. When this law is scientifically comprehended and is consciously made the basis of the socio-political activity of the masses, then revolutions cease to be spontaneous and become a conscious means of achieving a goal: the building of a classless, communist society. According to Marxism, a scientific ideology is not true because it serves "the cause of furthering the revolution"; it is true because it correctly reflects objective historical necessity, and for precisely that reason it serves the cause of furthering the revolution.

In reading Marx Bell did not bother to pay close attention to "details". He was only interested in the final result. And it must be said that he was close to the truth when



he wrote that, according to Marxism, people should be judged not by what they think of themselves but by what place they occupy in the system of social relations, by their real class-political position and activity. Bell tried to set forth these ideas of Marx with a certain tint of irony, thinking that they would expose themselves and, apparently, not surmising that they provide the key to unraveling the class essence of Bell's own theory. It is precisely Bell who vainly tries to portray the class interests of the bourgeoisie as universal interests, and ideological "truths" as being unconnected with class interests.

Marx and Lenin taught us not to take bourgeois ideologists at their word and to know how to discern class interests behind their theories so as not to become "victims of deception". The emergence and subsequent development of Marxism-Leninism did not lead to the "end of ideology", as Bell would have liked, but to the end of the non-class approach to ideological problems and the exposure of the real secrets of the speculative arguments of bourgeois ideologists.

The Marxist teaching on ideology leads directly to an awareness of the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist socio-political system. Bell cannot deny this and tries to do everything possible to hamper the cause of furthering the revolution.

One of his definitions of ideology says: "Ideology is the conversion of ideas into social levers."<sup>1</sup> As seen from the whole context of his arguments, Bell feels that the active role of ideology in society necessarily presupposes the presence of non-intellectual masses ready to follow world-transforming ideologies blindly and fanatically and thus to display fanatic social activity. He tries to reveal the mechanism of ideology as a controlling "social lever". He writes: "Thus, not only does ideology transform ideas, it transforms people as well. The nineteenth-century ideologies, by emphasising inevitability and by infusing passion into their followers, could compete with religion. By identifying inevitability with progress, they linked

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Bell, "The End of Ideology in the West", *The End of Ideology Debate*, ed. by Chaim I. Waxman, New York, 1968, p. 96.

up with the positive values of science. But more important, these ideologies were linked, too, with the rising class of intellectuals, which was seeking to assert a place in society."<sup>1</sup>

Bell's "logic" runs as follows: the nineteenth-century ideologies "transformed people" against their will, in such a way as to give rise to a "new" class, a class of intellectuals, who were not susceptible to the influence of outbursts of passion and were, therefore, capable of playing the role of the "grave-diggers of ideology".

Bell expresses the anti-Marxist essence of the "end of ideology" concept in one of his basic theses. "In the last decade," he writes, "we have witnessed an exhaustion of the nineteenth-century ideologies, particularly Marxism, as intellectual systems that could claim truth for their views of the world."<sup>2</sup>

To the ideologist who always strives towards action and transformation, Bell opposes the "abstract" philosopher, free from social bias.

Extolling the "abstract" philosopher in every way possible, he deliberately violates the truth. One of the most characteristic features of present-day bourgeois philosophy is its growing involvement with social, ideological and political aspects of human development. It is impossible to name a single philosophical trend, a single area of philosophical knowledge, or a single more or less prominent Western philosopher who stands outside the active influence of politics, ignores the problems of current social development, and is not involved in the ideological struggle. Everyone knows this. And Bell knows it too. But, portraying the "genuine" philosopher as being contemplative, bourgeois ideologists seek to foist this type of contemplative activity on their Marxist opponents. The same thing happens when it comes to preaching "pluralism". In word, Western ideologists, philosophers, sociologists and "political scientists" hail "pluralism", calling it a manifestation of democracy, freedom of thought and

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.. p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology*, The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1960, p. 16.

the preservation of the individuality of the thinker. And all this is designed, above all, to elicit a definite reaction from their ideological opponents, to implant in their country a model of an apolitical social stereotype worthy of imitation and to give it broad publicity. For in deed, they practise the strictest integration of all ideological workers, not remaining satisfied with merely a "gentlemen's agreement", but invoking the strictest "rules of the game", right up to bringing charges of anti-government activity. This kind of social demagoguery is unquestionably a form of ideological struggle and is designed to "deideologise" the enemy, undermine his ideological and political unity, disorient and weaken him.

Therefore, it cannot be said that Bell is original in his demagogic appeals and deliberate distortions. He is simply following the "rules of the social system" in which he lives and which he serves. Needless to say, he employs a number of specific methods of struggle.

### Utopian Ideology or Ideological Utopia?

Bell has to oppose the philosopher to the ideologist in order to relegate ideology to the realm of the irrational. His main target of "criticism" is the Marxist principle of the unity of theory and practice, in which he sees the basic "evil" of communism. If ideology were divorced from political practice and were merely a body of purely theoretical, abstract scholastic arguments, then the problem of deideologisation as it exists today might never have arisen. But ideology, according to Bell, is practical politics itself. For this reason, deideologisation becomes the basic weapon in the struggle against the practical effectiveness of revolutionary theory and for turning it into utopia. To deprive theory of effectiveness means to cast doubt, as Bell writes, on the inevitability of the victory of communism. This then is the basic aim which Bell and other bourgeois ideologists are vainly hoping to attain.

Various arguments are sought on the way to this goal. They have to prove that new ideologies—the ideology of industrialisation, of modernisation, of nationalism—

have allegedly come to replace the "old" ideologies, Marxism first of all. These arguments are addressed above all to the countries of Asia and Africa. The question arises: if new ideologies have emerged to replace the old, then how can one speak of the "end of ideology"? In this case, the whole concept collapses. But, as noted earlier, Bell is not in the least concerned about preserving any kind of consistency in his arguments. He recognises and accepts any ideology, but on one condition—that it is not Marxist. However, since there is no guarantee that Marxism will not triumph in the developing countries of Asia and Africa, Bell immediately forgets his own previous allowances and again harps on the "end of ideology". But he feels that his own theory must actively fulfil its apologetic function, disorienting the social energy of the masses which increasingly threatens capitalism with revolutionary upheavals.

Bell is well aware of the mounting revolutionary sentiment of the masses, their determination to channel their social energy into the anti-imperialist struggle, and of their growing awareness of Marxism's truly scientific, realistic, viable and revolutionary character. And he declares that people have a need to be aware of their historical prospects. But then he offers a quack social recipe for filling the ideological vacuum—utopia: ideology disappears and utopia remains. He identifies utopia with revolution, artificially limiting the real possibilities of the masses to effect the revolutionary transformation of the world, weakening their determination and attempting to instil in them a feeling of frustration.

The "end of ideology" concept is essentially an attempt to emasculate the revolutionary resolve of the masses. The same end is served by the demagogic device of opposing the intellectuals to the workers, "whose grievances", writes Bell, "were once the driving energy for social change", but who are now "more satisfied with the society than the intellectuals".<sup>1</sup>

When in a polemic with Bell and other "anti-ideologists" American bourgeois ideologist Henry Aiken suggested that the "end of ideology" concept led to anarchy and

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<sup>1</sup> Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology*, p. 395.

nihilism and argued that it "would render us helpless in the world struggle against the ideology of communism",<sup>1</sup> Bell let it be known in his reply that the "end of ideology" was, in essence, a concept of the end of revolution, the end of Marxism and communism, although it did not directly deny the revolutionary movement. It recognises the necessity of revolution only to drain it of its genuinely revolutionary, Marxist content. Bell hinted that Marxism and communism cannot be fought openly without running the risk of total failure. The fight should be vigorous, but well thought-out and cautious. But when Bell attacks Marxism, he bluntly resorts to demagoguery and falsification, easily discernible to the naked eye.

### The Real Meaning of the "End of Ideology"

Bell's arguments, which make up his "private property" as a theorist, are not hard to refute. His ridiculous contrapositions and distortions, about which we spoke earlier, fall apart in the light of facts. In principle, they are based entirely on feelings. Thus, for example, if Bell does not want ideology to be considered as something rational, then he simply calls it irrational and assumes that this is adequate; if he does not want ideology to exist, he writes that its end has come; if he feels that revolution has no relation to the class struggle, then he simply says nothing about it, etc. That is, in those cases where he should substantiate his theses with objective facts, he not only ignores them but tries to dissuade others from believing that they exist.

As concerns the "end of ideology", the thesis is full of meaning when applied to bourgeois ideology, which has long and forever lost the ability to organise, unite, inspire and lead the masses.

At one time, when it was a rising progressive class, the bourgeoisie advanced a number of progressive ideas in the struggle against feudalism; it was able to raise the masses

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<sup>1</sup> Henry David Aiken, "The Revolt Against Ideology", *The End of Ideology Debate*, p. 258.

to action in the anti-feudal revolution and to lead an effective struggle against the old society. At that time, bourgeois ideology came out in favour of the development of science and against the deadening predominance of religious dogma, against the feudal estate-hierarchical social structure. It contained elements of a scientific ideology. Subsequently, however, once it came to power and replaced one form of exploitation with another, the bourgeoisie became a reactionary class which endeavours to hold back the further progressive development of society and to prevent the inevitable revolutionary replacement of capitalism by a higher socio-economic and political system, namely, communism.

The bourgeoisie as a class has lost the historical initiative, and its ideology, having lost its scientific elements, has become essentially apologetic and reactionary. All efforts to advance some kind of positive concepts or constructive ideals and win the following of the masses have failed and continue to fail. They are more like utopian constructions than viable theories.

Thus, the transformation of ideology into a reactionary utopia is the sum and substance of the ideological history of capitalism.

The opposite line of development characterises the ideological history of communism. The first communist theories were, for those days, utopian. The immaturity of social relations, the inadequate level of development of scientific knowledge, the absence of such a thoroughly consistent revolutionary class as is the working class today, made it impossible yet to foresee practicable ways of building communist society. Communism remained merely a cherished utopian dream. The emergence of Marxism represented the greatest revolution in the history of ideology—the transformation of communism from a utopia into a science. At the same time, Marxism absorbed, preserved and further developed all those positive elements that had been accumulated by all preceding progressive social thought.

Lenin further developed Marxism in the light of the new historical conditions in the era of imperialism, summarising the international experience of the class struggle

of the working class, the data of the natural and social sciences and of world revolutionary practice. Today Marxism-Leninism is being successfully developed by the Communist Parties. It is a genuinely international teaching, a mighty weapon for the revolutionary transformation of the world, the building of a communist society and effective struggle against imperialism.

Thus, today, bourgeois ideology, which is in the grips of crisis and has lost the ability to inspire the masses, is opposed by the creatively developing Marxist-Leninist ideology. The supporters of the concept of deideologisation unduly absolutise the features inherent in bourgeois ideology and ascribe them to ideology in general, and to Marxist-Leninist ideology in particular. A non-concrete, abstract metaphysical approach to ideology as such, with no definition of its class essence, has nothing in common either with science or with objective reality. The class orientation of current bourgeois social thought results in just such an approach.

The contradictions between deideologisation, as advertised, and the actual ideological apologetics arouse various forms of protest in the capitalist countries.

The dual impact of the growing prestige of the world communist movement and the crisis in the ideology and politics of imperialism has lent impetus to a process in which more and more social groups in the capitalist countries are dissociating themselves from the official political line, and the number of dissatisfied, vascillating and searching people is growing. Along with the feeling of social pessimism there is also a maturing awareness of the need for active political protest. This frequently engenders extremist tendencies, but at the same time promotes the formation of a social reserve from which ideological and political allies of Marxism can come.

Growing political activity and dissatisfaction with a "deideologised ideology" lead to a search for revolutionary theory. One American bourgeois theorist, Chaim Waxman, who carefully follows the ideological processes in the capitalist world, categorically declares: "What we lack and what we desperately need is a new ideology..."

which will enable us to transcend our current stagnation."<sup>1</sup> Various radicalist doctrines have appeared on the scene which originally had the aim of anti-imperialist struggle, but, being incapable of creatively mastering Marxism and understanding its principles, have fallen under petty-bourgeois influence and have degenerated into pseudo-revolutionary theories. American radicalist Larry Seigle concedes that the promises of the "New Left" to surpass Marxism in the sphere of theory turned out to be empty. "The sum total of all this intellectual activity at the end of the decade," he writes, "hardly amounts to a challenge, let alone a successful attempt to displace Marxism. Indeed, the landscape of New Left political writing of the sixties is surprisingly barren..."<sup>2</sup>

A critical analysis of the views of present-day bourgeois theorists reveals an escalation of the ideological struggle against communism; the political underpinnings of ideological doctrines; and the basic problems which the ideologists of anti-communism choose to focus on and their conclusions, bearing the imprint of revisionism and radicalism. The most typical reason for the emergence of anti-communist ideology is panicky fear of Marxism-Leninism, the working class and all working people. This is what gives rise to the vain attempts to destroy communism. It is here that the inherent connection between the concepts of deideologisation and convergence is revealed.

### Deideologisation and Convergence

If we do not oversimplify things by regarding the theory of convergence as something independent, but attempt to discover the socio-economic and political reasons for its emergence and development, then it becomes easy to see its political foundation. To be sure, in today's developed concepts of convergence, as set forth in the works of Rostow, Galbraith, Duverger, Sorokin

<sup>1</sup> Chaim I. Waxman, Introduction to *The End of Ideology Debate*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *International Socialist Review*, May 1970, p. 28.



and other bourgeois authors, there is a heavy dose of economic, social, historical and even scientific and technological argumentation. But it is no secret to anyone that the different varieties of the theory of convergence are adaptive reactions of the bourgeoisie to the tremendous successes of socialism. It would be wrong to assume that all supporters of the theory of convergence are inveterate anti-communists, particularly in view of the fact that among them are some misled scientists. We are concerned here with the objective meaning of the theory itself and not with the subjective wishes of individual Western theorists. What, then, does this theory look like today?

The theory of convergence is the result of speculations on the achievements of the modern scientific and technological revolution, on the enhanced role of science, which has become a direct productive force of society, and of technology, without which the development of modern civilisation would be impossible. Although scientific and technological progress is today the bedrock of social progress, the latter is not reducible to the former. It is symptomatic that all theories of convergence without exception, despite the fact that they absolutise the role of technology in the development of society, deliberately belittle, and sometimes completely ignore, the role of the working class.

The theories of convergence abound in economic calculations supposedly testifying to the gradual non-revolutionary "socialisation of capitalism" and the automatic "capitalisation of socialism", to radical and at the same time similar changes taking place in societies with different social structures.

Finally, the theories of convergence lay claim to a monopoly in resolving the problem of war and peace, portraying the "one world" produced by the convergence of capitalism and socialism as the only alternative to a thermonuclear world war.

Careful scrutiny, however, reveals that the "one world", that is, the "future society", must be based on the prevalence of private property. Thus, the theories of convergence are simply bourgeois anti-communist theories which try to outline practical ways of resolving the basic contradic-

tion of the present era in favour of capitalism by restoring capitalism in the socialist countries.

Such, briefly, are some of the basic features of the current theories of convergence, organically connected with deideologisation and political pluralism, which, while they are the core of the theory of convergence, have become so overgrown with various kinds of economic, historical and other arguments that they are not always easily discernible. However, the historical approach in analysis makes it possible to distinguish the later economic and other additions from the original dominant tendency, conceived as political convergence and aimed at the political absorption of socialism by capitalism.

The current theories of convergence are the reflection of a political trend in bourgeois thinking that took shape in the early fifties. Alfred Meyer, assistant director of the Russian Research Centre at Michigan University and one of the more prolific anti-communist authors who deals a lot with the analysis of the history of communist and anti-communist theories and ideas, says bluntly: "When we speak about *the* theory of convergence...we usually refer to a prognosis that found adherents beginning in the early 1950s—roughly since the death of Josef Stalin."<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Communist Party's vigorous condemnation of the personality cult was equated in bourgeois consciousness with a possibility that elements of political and social pluralism would appear as socialism developed, that it would become deideologised, thus providing ground for imperialism to realise its ideology of world dominance. This ideology was by no means pictured only as world dominance in the sphere of ideology. It was intended to ensure world dominance of the capitalist way of life in the political, social, economic and intellectual spheres. The concept of deideologisation and the theory of convergence, adapting to the growing strength of the world socialist system, outlined the corresponding theoretical-ideological and practical-political ways of realising the ideology of world dominance.

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<sup>1</sup> A. G. Meyer, "Theories of Convergence", *Change in Communist Systems*, ed. by Chalmers Johnson, Stanford, California, 1970, pp. 319-20.

This tendency found its most vivid expression in the works of Isaac Deutscher, who "foresaw" the transformation of both the American and the Soviet way of life into a so-called democratic socialism. The essential side in the evolution of the Soviet Union was supposed to be a process of "liberalisation", which meant repudiation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and above all of the leading role of the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. And all this was served up under the guise of the "convergence" of "Soviet socialism" towards "democratic socialism". "In short," notes Meyer in this connection, "the convergence theory foresees an erosion of dictatorship [meaning the dictatorship of the proletariat.—V.M.] and of ideology", and also that "the party... will change its functions...in the process it will become more representative... and perhaps evolve, finally, into a multi-party system".<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the original foundation of the convergence theory was political. The bourgeoisie was counting on the deideologisation of socialism, destruction of the principles of Marxism, a breakdown in the solidity of the Communist Party, and the creation of a pluralistic, multi-party system incapable of preserving the dictatorship of the working class and easily assailable by imperialism.

From the standpoint of the original political intent, the subsequent ramifications of the convergence theory, the emergence of its different varieties, could be explained by an excessive "preoccupation" with economic and other problems. It was no accident that Walt Rostow, the author of the theory of "stages of economic growth" which he called the "non-communist manifesto", was accused by his colleagues of superfluous theorising and an insufficiently critical attitude to Marx; in some circles he was even considered pro-Marxist (although he has always been an ardent anti-Marxist and anti-communist).

In some writings by proponents of the convergence theory one can also find advice to the West to move towards socialism as something more efficient than the "anarchy of a market economy". Even Deutscher asserted that

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Meyer, "Theories of Convergence", *Change in Communist Systems*, ed. by Chalmers Johnson, Stanford, California, 1970, p. 320.

technical progress, especially automation, would increase the demand for establishing public ownership in the “big corporations” (*sic*). But what kind of “public ownership” can one speak of if the owner is a monopoly association?

In order to correctly understand the real purpose of the convergence theory, its original and chief goal—the political absorption of socialism by capitalism—should not be lost sight of. That is why the convergence theory has become one of the basic foreign policy doctrines of the major capitalist states, above all the United States. Bourgeois ideologists themselves do not conceal this fact. Brzezinski and Huntington note that “most theories of the so-called convergence in reality posit not convergence but submergence of the opposite system”.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Meyer notes: “There is implicit in a good deal of Western convergence theory the assumption that Western society, and specifically the United States, is the model toward which all contemporary societies are striving.”<sup>2</sup>

Analysis of the connection between deideologisation and convergence leads to the conclusion that they are two sides of the same medal: in each, attention is focused chiefly on the criticism of one or another aspect of Marxist ideology and communist practice. Deideologisation is called upon to prove theoretically that Marxism is out of date, no longer corresponds to the current demands of the intellectual culture and takes a basically pseudonegative direction. The convergence theory is aimed at “scientifically” proving the possibility and practical necessity of the non-communist way of development for human society and orients itself towards a “positive” solution of the problems of world socio-political and economic development in the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Behind the seeming contradictions between proponents of the two concepts one cannot avoid seeing the common purpose that unites them into the ranks of active enemies of communist theory and practice: to inflict a political defeat on communism. And the “competition” in finding

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<sup>1</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Power: USA/USSR*, New York, 1964, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> A. G. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

the most effective ways and means of doing this only intensifies the anti-communist struggle.

The different varieties of the convergence theory, whether they forecast the coming of a "single industrial society" or a "bureaucratic political system", or apocalyptically predict "man's engorgement by the machine", give a very distinctive interpretation of the results of the modern scientific and technological revolution. They make extensive use of Marxist terminology, but only in order to emasculate Marxist concepts of their truly revolutionary, objectively scientific content and thereby cast doubt on the efficacy of a class analysis of the laws of social development.

Judging by the arguments advanced, the line of reasoning, the political aims it pursues and the narrow interpretation of the achievements and consequences of the modern scientific and technological revolution, the most typical of all the concepts of "industrialism" is the theory of "modernisation".

## THE MODERNISATION THEORY

Adherents of this theory often boast that it takes into account past and present social revolutions. However, while revolutionary changes themselves are acknowledged, their real political meaning is distorted. A prominent place in the theory is given to an analysis of class antagonisms in capitalist society, and the "conflict between labour and capital" is frequently named as the basic contradiction. But research is conducted in such a way as to theoretically substantiate ways of resolving this conflict in favour of capital.

The term "modernisation" is used to stand for any change, and at first glance it appears to be all-embracing and limitless. But it is this vagueness, indefiniteness and ambiguity that is one of the main methodological faults of the modernisation theory. The theory seems to be marching in step with the times: it reflects the changing social reality, the renovation of social life, takes into account the achievements of scientific and technological progress, etc.

However, the diversity of social and economic structures is reduced in this theory to a primitive and already archaic (even for modern bourgeois sociology) scheme, according to which all societies are divided into two types: "traditional" and "modern".

The modernisation theory is a very curious bourgeois apologetic construction in which the basic thesis acknowledges change, while the arguments, in essence, refute this thesis and try to prove the opposite—the need to

preserve the social and political status quo of capitalism. This contradiction arises because the development of technology is recognised, and the social, economic and political changes that inevitably accompany this process are denied.

This theory provides a typical example of the misadventures of present-day bourgeois consciousness. Whenever some new theory is invented to counter-balance Marxism and replace the old anti-Marxist theories that had been unable to stand the test of time, inordinately great hopes are pinned on it from the outset. It is absolutised and considered a panacea. It is loudly proclaimed to be the finally discovered theoretical key to analysing reality, removing all social antagonisms, opening up the way to general welfare, etc., etc. But this boom is short-lived.

The average life-span for such a theory is five to ten years. It reaches its peak, as a rule, in the first two or three years, its purpose is defined and vigorously advertised.

At the present time, the modernisation theory has reached its summit, although it coexists with two kindred concepts: the post-industrial society and the technotronic age. The most typical representative of the modernisation theory is Seymour Lipset, a member of the Executive Committee of the Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University and a man well known for his anti-communist views. In his presentation, the theory emerges most fully and grotesquely, as regards its "academic" aspect and its political aims. Its basic task is to serve as a weapon in the struggle against the Marxist-Leninist understanding of classes and class struggle, revolution, social conflicts and the national-liberation movement.

### **The Myth About the Reconciliation of Class Contradictions**

The modernisation theory claims to give universal interpretation of the major social and political developments of the times, particularly those connected with scientific and technological progress. "Modernisation," writes Lipset, "reduces the sources of worker hostility to

management...."<sup>1</sup> He proceeds from the thesis that the contradictions between labour and capital are of a purely temporary character. When they increase, various conflict situations, kindled by the interference of ideology, arise. But modernisation makes it possible to prevent the stimulation of revolutionary ideology and the political activity of various workers' unions by putting labour-management relations on a purely "business", "pragmatic" basis.

Today it is typical for anti-communism and for petty-bourgeois consciousness with its Left-radicalist slogans to interpret the scientific and technological revolution as a means towards an alleged economic, political and ideological "integration" of the working class and the capitalists. The advocates of the modernisation theory have given it a specifically apologetic form. "There is some direct evidence," writes Lipset, "that modernisation results in a positive attitude by workers toward their occupational situation."<sup>2</sup> But he fails to cite a single piece of "direct evidence" to substantiate his conclusion. He limits himself to drawing a picture of an altruistically minded worker who thinks the way Lipset would like him to think. Speaking of himself, Lipset writes: "The author notes that the workers view the effects of technological innovation as a 'good thing', that they see it as resulting in an increase in employment, greater possibilities for social mobility, and increased earnings."<sup>3</sup>

The modernisation theory is expected to boost the monopoly bourgeoisie's hopes that the working people would readily believe the myth about the scientific and technological revolution automatically leading to the elimination of social antagonisms and ideological conflicts in the capitalist society, to the establishment of "social peace" and the attenuation of the class struggle. Consequently, say the apologists of capitalism to the working people, the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism is of no practical value. The socio-political

<sup>1</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset; *Revolution and Counter-revolution. Change and Persistence in Social Structures*, London, 1969, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



aim of this concept is to disarm the working class in the capitalist countries ideologically and make it accept the standards and evaluations of bourgeois ideology. The monopoly bourgeoisie thus seeks to prove the necessity for integrating the mass organisations of the working people into the system of state-monopoly capitalism, steer their activity in its own interests and deprive them of independence.

What conditions produce concepts such as the modernisation theory? They are the anti-proletarian and anti-revolutionary political stance of the monopoly bourgeoisie, whose class positions and aspirations are reflected in the given theories. The modernisation concept is a product of the profound social, economic, political and ideological crisis of present-day capitalism; it is its theoretical expression. At the same time, it represents a futile attempt to find a way out of this crisis.

State-monopoly capitalism is trying to use the scientific and technological revolution to stabilise its economy, to strengthen the social system and political regime that enable the monopolies to extract the greatest profits, and intensify the exploitation of the working people. The economic achievements of capitalism allow it to perform social manoeuvres, to make certain economic concessions to the working class, which in a number of cases results in a temporary relaxation of social tension in one or another sphere of production. But none of the propositions advanced by Lipset to the effect that workers in capitalist enterprises view as a "good thing" the "technological innovations" brought on by modernisation, can be corroborated by any convincing facts. Under capitalism, the scientific and technological revolution aggravates the employment problem as it increases the army of unemployed—the victims of "technological innovations". In the United States alone, as admitted by President Nixon, there were over five million unemployed in 1971, or 6.2 per cent of the gainfully employed population. This was the highest level of unemployment in the United States in seven years. Its specific character consisted in the fact that this time it was not only unskilled workers who found themselves out of a job "due to" scientific and

technological progress; the axe fell also on engineers and highly skilled workers, who together made up over half of the unemployed—about three million. The number of degree-holding scientists in various fields was high. In other industrially developed capitalist countries, the number of fully unemployed in 1971 was as follows: France—336 thousand, Britain—849 thousand, Canada—552 thousand, Japan—639 thousand, and the FRG—174 thousand.

The scientific and technological revolution in the capitalist countries has tragic consequences also for the workers who retain their jobs. To the constant threat of losing one's job is added a monstrous intensification of labour, built according to all the rules of the "scientific" speed-up system. Growth in labour productivity is achieved through accelerated work tempo calculated for maximum labour efforts. This, naturally, involves a tremendous nervous and mental strain, resulting in premature wear-out of labour power and higher occupational disease and industrial accident rates.

One of the social consequences of the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism is the ever widening gap between the volume of production and consumption by the working people, the extreme degree of the producer's alienation from his work and its results, which deprives him of individuality.<sup>1</sup> Labour alienation

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<sup>1</sup> American sociologist Erich Fromm notes that "the central issue of the effects of capitalism on personality [is] the phenomenon of alienation". And further: "What happens to the worker? To put it in the words of a thoughtful and thorough observer of the industrial scene: 'In industry the person becomes an economic atom that dances to the tune of atomistic management. Your place is just here, you will sit in this fashion, your arms will move  $x$  inches in a course of  $y$  radius and the time of movement will be 000 minutes.

"Work is becoming more repetitive and thoughtless as the planners, the micromotionists, and the scientific managers further strip the worker of his right to think and move freely. Life is being denied; need to control, creativeness, curiosity, and independent thought are being balked, and the result, the inevitable result, is flight or fight on the part of the worker, apathy or destructiveness, psychic regression.'" (Erich Fromm, "Alienation Under Capitalism", *Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society*, ed. by Eric and Mary Josephson, New York, 1962, pp. 56, 60.)

underlies all the other kinds of alienation—political, ideological, moral, cultural and aesthetic, etc. The introduction of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, which under private ownership conditions takes on extremely monstrous forms, has not only failed to help resolve the basic contradiction of capitalism (that between labour and capital), but has aggravated it even further and has brought about new and deeper contradictions. It has activated the struggle of the working class, given rise to new mass anti-imperialist movements and made more obvious a whole series of social antagonisms stemming from the basic contradiction of capitalism (the build-up of the police and bureaucratic functions of the state, militarisation, rampant racism, suppression of freedom, democracy and civil rights, etc.).

If we trace the dynamics of the growth of the strike movement in the industrially developed capitalist countries over the recent period we will find that the number of its participants increased 150 per cent since 1965 to reach a total of 48 million in 1971. In the capitalist world as a whole, the number of participants in the strike movement was 36 million in 1965 and 70 million in 1971. The working class movement is most active in industrially developed capitalist countries.

True, workers joining the strike movement are not always aware of the political meaning of their activity. The monopoly bourgeoisie frequently succeeds in temporarily reducing social tension: it is forced to make partial economic concessions, lest it lose the main thing—its political power. This situation is taken advantage of by the working class in order to derive economic benefit for itself. There is no question that the victories gained by workers in the industrially developed capitalist countries are the direct result of their organised mass struggle against the bourgeoisie, and not the consequence of “modernisation”. As Lenin pointed out, “partial improvements can be (and always have been in history) merely a by-product of revolutionary class struggle”.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the bourgeoisie's attempts to smooth over the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 16, p. 170.

contradiction between labour and capital, an analysis of mass working-class actions shows that the proportion of political demands is steadily growing. This objective tendency is caused by a number of circumstances, among which the following should be underlined. First, there is the working-class awareness of capitalism's inability fully and consistently to meet the economic demands of the working people. In all industrially developed capitalist countries, for example, wage increases are usually accompanied by a sharp rise in the cost of living, which swallows up the greater part of the wage gains. Thus, for example, compared with 1963, the cost of living in 1970 had gone up 25.2 per cent in the United States, 26.5 per cent in Austria, 33 per cent in Great Britain, 26 per cent in Italy, 29.1 per cent in France, 19.9 per cent in the FRG, 32.9 per cent in Sweden and 42 per cent in Japan.

Second capitalism has significantly activated the mechanism of the bourgeois state apparatus and modified its functions. Of course, the bourgeois state still stands guard over the interests of the monopolies, but it increasingly assumes the role of regulator of relations between labour and capital and fulfils its protective functions in a new way. The anti-monopoly struggle which the working class is waging for the satisfaction of its immediate demands is logically growing over into conflicts with the state apparatus. The struggle itself inevitably takes on a political colouring.

Third, we should note the activation throughout the world of the revolutionary process, evoked by the successful struggle of the world socialist system against world capitalism, the activity of the fraternal Communist Parties, and the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

It is no accident that the modernisation theory lays primary emphasis on the elimination of ideological conflicts between management and labour, on the "deideologisation" and "depoliticalisation" of the working-class movement.

Present-day capitalism, without wanting to and even fiercely fighting against this tendency, actually contributes to the stronger unity and internationalisation of the world proletariat.

The natural process of the socialisation of production and the international division of labour finds expression in the efforts of monopoly associations of different countries to integrate economically and politically, which is accompanied by both an expansion of imperialist states and an all-out attack by world capitalism on the rights of the international working class.

This same natural process inevitably promotes the unity of the international working class and the heightening of class consciousness. It strengthens the feeling of international political solidarity, helps the working class in different capitalist countries to understand that the anti-monopoly struggle can become consistently effective only if every detachment of the international working-class movement sees itself as part of a whole (if it stands up not only for its own specific interests, but defends the interests of the entire international proletariat, an inherent part of which it is).

A scientific understanding of this objective process underlies proletarian internationalism and the policies of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties. "Capital is an international force," wrote Lenin. "To vanquish it, an international workers' alliance, an international workers' brotherhood, is needed.

"We are opposed to national enmity and discord, to national exclusiveness. We are internationalists."<sup>1</sup>

The development of the proletariat as a class in the industrially advanced capitalist countries and the strengthening of the interdependence and interweaving of the anti-capitalist interests of the wage workers of all countries comprise a twofold objective tendency; without taking it into account it is impossible either to scientifically study or understand the evolution of the relations between labour and capital in the present epoch.

The basic methodological fault of the theorists of "modernisation" is above all their metaphysical approach to dialectically contradictory and developing phenomena. In contrast to the scientific dialectical materialist view of social processes founded on a revolutionary-critical analy-

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 293.

sis of reality and the examination of every form of socio-economic and political life as a transitory stage, the modernisation theory regards the capitalist social structure as something permanent and immutable. Despite the verbal recognition of the "modernisation" process, a special system of arguments is devised to refute dialectical development generally. The social and political contradictions which are the essence of social development under capitalism are portrayed as something paradoxical, as a "deviation" from the norm. In contrast to Marxism-Leninism, which in accordance with the real facts of social life sees in objective contradictions the motive force of development, the adherents of the modernisation theory try simply to "eliminate" antagonistic contradictions by "reconciling" them.

Proceeding from the false thesis that modernisation leads to the reconciliation of ideological and political antagonisms in society, Lipset states: "...Nations with a high level of industrialisation and urbanisation tend to have a low level of ideological conflict."<sup>1</sup> But facts refute this proposition. In the industrially developed capitalist countries, including (and above all) the United States, ideological and political conflicts have reached such intensity that in the period of only five years (between 1965 and 1969), the government invoked the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Act—which pursues the aim of cancelling the right to strike—more than ten times.

And although the mass actions of the working people are often basically of an economic character, they more and more frequently proceed under political slogans such as the defence of civil rights, development of democracy, struggle against racism, defence of peace and demands to stop aggression. This is especially characteristic of the United States. And the more sober-minded bourgeois political scientists connect this with the political crisis of present-day capitalism, which has been unable to adapt to the demands of the scientific and technological revolution.

After advancing the above-mentioned proposition,

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<sup>1</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

Lipset formulates another which does not dovetail with the first. He writes: "But within nations, whatever the level of intensity of political controversy, larger factories and cities tend to be the strongholds of the Left politics dominant in the country, Communist, Socialist, or Democratic. Trade unions also are generally stronger in large factories in large cities."<sup>1</sup>

Lipset's treatment of the basic problem turns out to be logically contradictory. If modernisation leads to industrialisation (the growth of factories) and urbanisation (the growth of cities), and if large factories and cities tend to be citadels of Left politics (consequently, the sources of ideological conflicts), then there are no grounds for saying that a high level of industrialisation and urbanisation leads to a low level of ideological conflict.

This kind of contradiction is today highly typical for the bourgeois consciousness, which refuses to reconcile itself to the facts, but cannot completely ignore them either so as not to lose at least a semblance of connection with them. If a bourgeois ideologist were to allow that modernisation under capitalism leads to the sharpening of class struggle, then he would have to admit the ultimate necessity of revolution and victory of the "Left forces". Such a statement of the question fundamentally contradicts his class orientation. Therefore he asserts the opposite. But in capitalist countries conflicts (economic, political and ideological) are growing, and they have to be explained somehow. Lipset senses logical contradiction in his arguments and tries to overcome it, at the same time doing everything he can to place modernisation at the service of state-monopoly capitalism. He sees that modernisation aggravates the class struggle and activates the Left forces, and he tries to explain this process.

He writes: "How might we account for this? In part it may be related to the fact that the large factory environment sustains fewer informal relations between members of different classes, reducing the possibility that the members of the lower class will be influenced personally by the more conservative and more prestigious members

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<sup>1</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset. *op. cit.*, p. 230.

of middle and higher classes such as owners, managers, and supervisors. And the more concentrated the members of a lower class are in a social environment, the easier it is for common class attitudes to spread among them and for representatives of class-oriented parties or other organisations to reach them and activate their anti-elitist sympathies."<sup>1</sup>

Showing through every line of the above statement is fear of the working people, of the working class and its united social energy. Bourgeois theorists not only deny the role of the popular masses in social progress, but try to dissuade them from believing in the necessity of purposeful revolutionary struggle for the future. Attacks against the working class are always attacks against the Communist Parties. The only purpose bourgeois ideologists have in addressing themselves to such a subject of research as the working class and the Communist Parties is to neutralise their revolutionary-creative activity and to defend the interests of the "elite".

### The Leading Role of the Working Class and Its Luckless Critics

The modern scientific and technological revolution objectively enhances the role of the working class in society, promotes its numerical growth and a steady rise of its level of general and vocational education. It concentrates the working class more and more in the centres of economic activity, in the main areas of the anti-monopoly struggle. The working class is becoming more and more organised and its economic, social and political activity is growing.

At the present time, the working class accounts for more than three-fourths of the world social product. A hundred years ago, the proletariat numbered about 9 million; at the beginning of the 20th century, about 30 million; and now the working class is more than 500 million strong, representing an exceptionally broad social base of anti-monopoly movements, the anti-impe-

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.



rialist front and the socialist revolution. The steady proletarianisation of the population in the capitalist countries inevitably leads to a sharpening of social contradictions. The bourgeoisie strives to use the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution to stabilise its own position. However, the dialectics of the development of the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism is such that it inevitably strengthens the elements of capitalism's own negation, that is, it strengthens the economic, social and political positions of the working class, the grave-digger of capitalism. Also manifest in this is the historical anachronism of state-monopoly capitalism and one of its deepest contradictions at the present stage—its inability to allow full play to the scientific and technological revolution in all spheres of life.

The bourgeoisie's efforts to use technological progress for its own narrow class aims inevitably lead to ugly, anti-human social consequences. Economist Jürgen Kuczynski, after making a careful study to determine exactly in what spheres of social life the achievements of science and technology find application in the United States, came to the conclusion that the scientific and technological revolution in that country is felt primarily in the defence industry—which is placed fully at the service of the monopoly military-industrial complex—and hardly affects the sphere of civilian production at all. On the basis of a large body of factual material, he cites some interesting figures on civilian production in the United States over the past 80 years, making a comparison by decades.

**Increase in Labour Productivity in Manufacturing**  
(per man-hour)

Years	Per Cent
1890-99—1900-09	15.1
1900-09—1910-19	20.8
1910-19—1920-29	42.7
1920-29—1930-39	32.8
1930-39—1940-49	23.1
1940-49—1950-59	26.8
1950-59—1960-69	32.1

Kuczynski is right when he writes: "If we compare the pace at which productivity per man-hour increased during the fifties and sixties with that of the twenties and thirties, we will find that the rate of increase is rather lower than higher. Where is the so-called scientific and technological explosion in civilian industry? It has not happened."<sup>1</sup> American writer Seymour Melman expresses similar ideas in his book *Pentagon Capitalism* published in 1970.

Historical experience shows that only socialism and socialist social relations create unlimited possibilities for the broadest development of the scientific and technological revolution and the systematic use of its achievements to the benefit of the entire society.<sup>2</sup> One of the most fundamental differences between capitalism and socialism on the social plane, connected with the application of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, is that under capitalism the gulf between labour and capital, between the working class and the monopoly "elite" is deepening (the socio-economic, political and ideological contradictions between them are becoming more and more aggravated), while under socialism different social groups are drawing closer together, and essential distinctions between town and country and between physical and mental labour are being eliminated. There is a steady movement towards the full social homogeneity of society, towards its classless structure.

The economic basis of this process is public ownership of the means of production. In contrast to capitalism, which at every step gives rise to and reproduces class antagonistic relations on an ever-broadening scale, socialism is over-

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<sup>1</sup> Jürgen Kuczynski, "The Scientific and Technical Revolution", *Labour Monthly*, Vol. 53, No. 7, July 1971, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Making a comparative analysis of the basic directions of the scientific and technological revolution under capitalism and socialism, Kuczynski writes: "*We shall approach the broadest introduction of the scientific and technological revolution in all spheres of social life to the extent to which we succeed in checking the monopolies and drawing nearer to the goal of disarmament. It will, of course, be introduced on this scale particularly in the socialist countries where all the preconditions obtain for the broadest implementation of the scientific and technological revolution.*" (Jürgen Kuczynski, op. cit., p. 333.)

coming class differences and developing production, as Lenin foresaw, "with the object of ensuring *full* well-being and free, *all-round* development for *all* the members of society".<sup>1</sup> Marxist-Leninist science is the theoretical foundation for the successful policy of the CPSU in the economic, socio-political and cultural fields. With every passing year the moral, political and ideological unity of the Soviet people grows stronger.

The policy of the CPSU takes full account of the interests of the entire people: the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the working intelligentsia. "The Party's policy," says the Report of the CC CPSU to the 24th Congress of the Party, "is directed towards helping to bring the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia closer together, and gradually erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between brainwork and manual labour. This is one of the key sectors in the building of a classless communist society."<sup>2</sup>

Socialism opens up new and unmatched prospects for the creative development of labour, freed from the fetters of exploitation. Whereas under capitalism the working class is the object of exploitation, under socialism it is the most active political force, the conscious maker of history, whose role is constantly growing. At the present time, the working class in the USSR accounts for considerably more than half of the working population, and the proportion of workers with a higher or secondary education has reached 55 per cent. This makes it possible for them to take an active and creative part in the scientific development of production processes, to introduce scientific achievements into production, and thereby to function as a mighty motive force of scientific and technological progress.

Thus socialism ensures the systematic development of a twofold dialectical process through which science and production are drawn together. On the one hand, the continually growing effectiveness of scientific research

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 87.

leads to the deep penetration of science into production; science increasingly broadens and improves its functions and becomes a direct productive force of society. And on the other hand, the main productive force of society, the Soviet working class, is progressively mastering science, assuming many new functions of creative mental activity and thereby undergoing qualitative changes.<sup>1</sup>

The CPSU systematically implements a scientific social policy aimed at creating most favourable conditions for introducing the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution into all spheres of the national economy and the life of the people, for gradually improving the quantitative and qualitative composition of the working class—the force that plays a decisive role in accelerating scientific and technological progress itself, in raising the scientific and technical level of production and in creating the material and technical basis of communism.<sup>2</sup> An important factor is the programming of advanced rates of quantitative and qualitative worker growth in the major industries.

The Directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU for the Ninth Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975 provide for the further development of higher and secondary education in accordance with the requirements of scientific and technical progress, in order that "during the five-year period approximately 9 million specialists shall be trained at institutions of higher learning and secondary specialised schools, with special attention to the training of specialists in new fields of science and technology, for the rapidly growing branches of production and for the services industry".<sup>3</sup>

The enormous ideological and organisational work of

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<sup>1</sup> Suffice it to note that in 1971 alone, as a result of the active participation of millions of workers in scientific and technical societies of rationalisers and inventors, about 3.5 million inventions and rationalisation proposals were put to use in the Soviet economy.

<sup>2</sup> The Soviet Union's broad system of various vocational schools produced over 25 million skilled workers between 1941 and 1971. Each year, over 16 million workers learn new trades and continue their education right at their enterprises.

<sup>3</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 294.

the CPSU promotes political activity of the working class. This finds expression in the growing number of workers in the Communist Party, the working class' ever-increasing activity in various spheres of social and political life and its growing participation in the work of government bodies. At the present time, there are 5,800,000 workers in the ranks of the Party. Almost one out of ten workers is a member of the CPSU. This fact refutes the fabrications of the anti-communists about a "dictatorship of the Party over the people", "contradictions between the Party and the people", etc. Equally unable to bear criticism are the various revisionist notions in which a slanderous attempt is made to portray the Communist Party as some kind of "new class".

There are 481 workers in the Eighth Supreme Soviet of the USSR, or 31.7 per cent of the total number of deputies. In the local Soviets, 39.3 per cent of the deputies are workers. Such is the real state of affairs.

In the Soviet Union, the working class is the predominant political class, uniting all working people around its socialist interests and communist ideals. It won high prestige by its great revolutionary, creative activity, its ability to unite and direct its socio-political energy towards the building of a new, communist society.

Lenin's prophetic words have come true: "Only when the whole working class, irrespective of trade or craft, succeeds in uniting as a ruling class and creating a united army of labour, will it win the respect of the world."<sup>1</sup>

The general laws of the developed socialist society manifest themselves in the most diverse spheres of life. The elimination of class antagonism has created a harmonious combination of the interests of the society, social groups, production collectives and the individual. The Soviet citizen has a high sense of responsibility for his work, because his personal contribution to the common cause accords with the common interests of all members of society. Relations of friendship, comradesly mutual assistance and socialist collectivism are developing successfully. Contradictions that arise are resolved on the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30. p, 522.

basis of the existing social relations in the process of their development and improvement.

A fundamentally different picture can be seen in the capitalist countries, where the social contradictions are of an antagonistic character and can be resolved only by means of a qualitative change, a revolutionary transformation of the existing private capitalist relations. That is why the attempts of bourgeois theorists to eliminate "conflict" situations without eliminating the causes engendering them are utopian.

Many of the bourgeois ideologists' theoretical constructions are prompted by the fact that modernisation, which leads to the maximum concentration of the working class at enterprises, ultimately promotes the development of class-consciousness and increases the antagonism between labour and management. Of course, the ideologists of the bourgeoisie do not make this conclusion, but assert something directly opposite, suggesting that the cause of ideological and political conflicts lies in such things, for example, as excessive formality in "human relations". Lipset, for instance, calls for establishing "informal", "friendly" relations between management and workers in the spirit of "social partnership" and thereby to remove the cause of conflicts.

However, relations between workers and managers, their outward appearance, are not the cause of ideological conflicts, as Lipset seems to think, but rather the consequence of deep-going internal objective contradictions, the consequence of capitalist production relations based on the dominance of private capitalist ownership and the appropriation by a handful of people of profits created by the mass of working people.

### Nationalism Versus International Unity

Modernisation, bourgeois ideologists hold, opens up prospects that will supposedly help weaken the ideological and political unity of Communist Parties.

Leopold Labedz, a well-known American "theorist", has worked out a special system of arguments designed

to make the ideological struggle against the world communist movement more effective. He divides all Communist Parties into two groups—the “autonomists” and the “internationalists”—and urges that the capitalist countries use this division as a guide in their economic and political relations with socialist countries and Communist Parties. According to Labedz, every effort should be made to support the autonomists’ movement, for it will inevitably lead to the internal disintegration of world communist unity. “The autonomists,” he writes, “may achieve their aim of autonomy or independence, but it will not contribute to international communist solidarity, but to its erosion.”<sup>1</sup>

The value of the autonomists’ movement, says Labedz, is that it undermines the principle of internationalism and will inevitably lead to intensified factional activity within separate Communist Parties, eroding them and leading to their degeneration.

The international communist movement is indestructible not only because it itself essentially expresses a progressive law of development of modern civilisation. In contrast to former mass movements, including progressive and revolutionary movements, the socialist revolution and the construction of a communist society are not fortuitous, but a conscious process of mass socio-revolutionary creative activity.

The ever-growing role of the popular masses in the present epoch imperatively demands the existence of Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties capable of working out the theoretical guidelines of the communist movement, organising and directing it, and bringing the activity of the masses into correspondence with the laws of social development. The revolutionary communist movement is inconceivable without Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties.

The teaching on the Party occupies an important place in Marxist-Leninist theory. Bourgeois ideologists, trying to belittle and discredit the role and significance of the

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<sup>1</sup> Leopold Labedz, “The End of the Epoch”, *International Communism After Khrushchev*, ed. by L. Labedz, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965, p. 28.

Communist Parties, here too turn to the absurd device of opposing Marx to Lenin. They hold that Marx, basing himself on the principle of "economic determinism", assumed that revolutions would proceed automatically and capitalism would grow over into communism "without interference" by a Communist Party. The latter is portrayed as the product of "Lenin's voluntarism".

However, discussing the need for the working class to have its own political party, that is, a Communist Party, Engels noted: "For the proletariat to be strong enough to win on the decisive day, it must—and this Marx and I have been arguing ever since 1847—form a separate party distinct from all others and opposed to them, a conscious class party."<sup>1</sup>

It was left up to Lenin to formulate and substantiate the organisational, ideological and theoretical principles of the new type of party. Revealing the dialectics of the class struggle of the proletariat as it grew in political maturity, he wrote that "the spontaneous struggle of the proletariat will not become its genuine 'class struggle' until this struggle is led by a strong organisation of revolutionaries".<sup>2</sup> Lenin creatively developed the ideas of Marx and Engels and enriched them with new revolutionary content.

The present-day international communist and working-class movement has a coherent and strictly scientific theory outlining the organisational, theoretical and ideological principles of the Communist Party, its strategy and tactics. This theory is by right called Marxist-Leninist. It has stood the test of time. Over the last half century it has been considerably enriched on the basis of new experience gained in the revolutionary movement, the anti-imperialist struggle and the building of socialism and communism, and is now the theoretical basis of the successful political activity of Communists in the struggle for social progress.

When bourgeois ideologists interpret the unity of the world communist movement, based on the principle of

<sup>1</sup> Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 475.



proletarian internationalism, as the work of some kind of "formal" group of "participants", they are engaging in wishful thinking.

The unity of the international communist movement has a profoundly objective basis—the general historical laws of social movement: the proletarian class position and struggle against the bourgeoisie as a class; the necessity of carrying out a socialist revolution; the elimination of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the building of socialism and communism. The various contingents of the international working class are now at different stages of carrying out their common, international task.

Depending on the concrete historical conditions in which one or another detachment of the working class is operating, there can be and are specific ways and means for solving the *common* tasks of the communist movement. The unity of the world communist movement is expressed also in the community of fundamental interests, social ideals and long-range goals. This objective unity of the international working class and the totality of its common "subjective" interests and goals underlie the principle of proletarian internationalism, which is the principle of the actions and interrelations of Marxist-Leninist parties and their international responsibility.

Marxism is scientific because it is based on the dialectics of the social process—from which it derives its principles and the guidelines for mass revolutionary action. Having in mind the objective necessity of international working-class unity in the struggle against the capitalists, Engels said: "Because the condition of the workers of all countries is the same, because their interests are the same, their enemies the same, they must also fight together, they must oppose the brotherhood of the bourgeoisie of all nations with a brotherhood of the workers of all nations."<sup>1</sup> Unwavering adherence to the scientific principles of Marxism guarantees success in the struggle of the working class against imperialism; it is the guarantee of the correct, international policy of the Communist Parties.

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<sup>1</sup> Marx/Engels, *Werke*; Bd. 4, Berlin, 1969, S. 418.

The Moscow International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (June 1969) noted: "Each Communist Party is responsible for its activity to its own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class. The national and international responsibilities of each Communist and Workers' Party are indivisible."<sup>1</sup>

Moving the common, international tasks to the forefront does not in the least imply that national interests and the specific problems standing before one or another contingent of the working class, one or another Communist Party, are ignored. On the contrary, national interests are served best only from the positions of defending common international interests. *This is the only realistic way towards the successful, radical, constructive solution of specific problems.*

The national and the international are dialectically related. The national-specific can find realisation only on the basis of the international-general, and the international content finds its concrete manifestation in national forms. The methodological key to the solution of general and specific problems is the class approach, in which the main role is played by the solution of the general, international problem. Any attempt to absolutise the national, to turn it into the international, inevitably leads to a disregard for the national itself, to its belittlement, to theoretical and practical fruitlessness. As Lenin pointed out, "anybody who tackles partial problems without having previously settled general problems will inevitably and at every step 'come up against' those general problems without himself realising it".<sup>2</sup>

On the political plane, historical experience shows that pushing national tasks to the forefront, turning them into the international or ignoring the latter does great damage to the world socialist system, the international communist movement and the interests of the entire working class, and, above all, to the working class and people of the given country. It leads to the emergence of hegemonic

<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, Prague, 1969, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, p. 489.

tendencies, creates conditions for the reanimation of counter-revolutionary anti-socialist and nationalist forces and the activation of opportunism and revisionism. It weakens the positions of the given country in the struggle with imperialism, undermines the prestige of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, shatters the ranks of Marxists, engenders factionalism, ruinous to the normal functioning of the Communist Party, and can lead to an open break with Marxism-Leninism.

The unity of the communist movement, its firm and steadfast adherence to the principle of proletarian internationalism, serves as the necessary prerequisite for successful struggle against imperialism and its anti-communist ideology and policies. To strengthen internationalism is the main task of Communists. The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties stressed that "the most important prerequisite for increasing the Communist and Workers' Parties' contribution to the solution of the problems facing the peoples is to raise the unity of the communist movement to a higher level in conformity with present-day requirements. This demands determined and persistent effort by all the Parties. *The cohesion of the Communist and Workers' Parties is the most important factor in rallying together all the anti-imperialist forces*".<sup>1</sup>

It is precisely because the unity of the Communist Parties is an effective weapon in the hands of the working class for struggle against imperialism that the bourgeois ideologists have made the principle of internationalism the target of fierce attacks. Their objective is to weaken the communist movement, to isolate the various detachments of the international working class and individual Communist Parties and set them off against each other. They strive to promote the idea of "national communism" and the "pluralism of Marxism", in order, with the support of revisionist and renegade elements, to discredit the Communist Parties, launch a new attack on the working class, intensify the exploitation of the working people, and wherever possible to try to restore capitalism in socialist countries.

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969*, p. 36.

The ideologists of anti-communism exploit and absolutise differences within the world communist movement, and they portray errors caused by deviation from Marxism as signs of the "erosion" of Marxism itself.

The present-day communist movement is experiencing certain difficulties connected with a number of circumstances which may be conditionally divided into "external" and "internal". Among the external circumstances is the exceptional intensification of anti-communist activity by imperialism in the spheres of politics, economics and ideology. This includes expansion of the scope of this activity and also the use of more sophisticated ways and means of struggle against communism, the "zigzags of bourgeois tactics", political manoeuvring, the creation of pseudoscientific anti-communist concepts and intensive development of the forms, methods and devices of anti-communist propaganda. Among the "internal" circumstances the one that should be mentioned first and foremost is the inadequate mastery and assimilation of Marxist principles by separate detachments of the revolutionary movement.

The internationalisation of the world revolutionary process has awakened to political activity new millions of people, new social strata of the population which, along with the working class, take part in the social revolution of the 20th century. Lenin insisted on using "any, even the smallest, opportunity of winning a mass ally, even though this ally is temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional. Those who do not understand this reveal a failure to understand even the smallest grain of Marxism, of modern scientific socialism *in general*."<sup>1</sup> The broadening of the communist front by the addition to it of the petty-bourgeois and peasant masses is a quantitative gain, but one frequently fraught with a "qualitative" danger. The petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletarian and peasant masses bring into the revolutionary movement their prejudices, vacillations, inconsistency, nationalism, anarchistic impatience, etc. In these conditions, as Lenin noted, "it is quite natural that the

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pp. 70-71.

petty-bourgeois world-outlook should again and again crop up in the ranks of the broad workers' parties".<sup>1</sup>

Analysing the causes of differences in the working-class movement, Lenin wrote: "If this movement is not measured by the criterion of some fantastic ideal, but is regarded as the practical movement of ordinary people, it will be clear that the enlistment of larger and larger numbers of new 'recruits', the attraction of new sections of the working people must inevitably be accompanied by waverings in the sphere of theory and tactics, by repetitions of old mistakes, by a temporary reversion to antiquated views and antiquated methods, and so forth."<sup>2</sup>

A serious problem arises here—to ensure not a formal-dogmatic, but a creative mastery of Marxism, which requires patience and painstaking, thoughtful work "to translate the true communist doctrine ... into the language of every people",<sup>3</sup> as Lenin put it. And also into the language of the given time, we might add.

The broadening of the social base of the anti-imperialist struggle makes it especially urgent to understand that anti-communist ideology and politics, bourgeois and revisionist ideas become dangerous wherever and whenever the opposing forces cease active struggle against them.

The main conditions for overcoming the contradictions that arise are the hegemony of the working class in the revolutionary process, the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the light of the current balance of class and political forces, and struggle against opportunism, revisionism and dogmatism.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties made a profound analysis of the reasons for the differences and difficulties that had arisen in the world communist movement and outlined practical ways towards overcoming them. The fact that the Meeting took place, the documents it adopted and the strong emphasis it placed on the need to further the unity of the communist movement and wage a relentless struggle against imperialism, serve as a practical refutation of fabrications about

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 16, p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 30, p. 162.

the "erosion" of Marxism and the "nationalisation" of the communist movement. One of the conditions for the further strengthening of its unity is the development of the natural forms of co-operation among the fraternal parties which were noted by the Meeting—bilateral consultations, regional and international meetings and theoretical conferences on urgent questions of the working-class movement and Marxist-Leninist theory, conducted on the basis of the principles adopted in the communist movement.

The April Plenary Meeting of the CC CPSU (1973) stressed: "In its struggle against imperialism, the CPSU will, as always, firmly adhere to the Leninist course in its entire foreign policy and support the peoples fighting for their right to independence and social progress. Consistently working for political and ideological unity of the communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the CC CPSU stresses its readiness to participate together with the fraternal parties in implementing concrete initiatives to achieve this goal."

At the present time the international communist movement is the most influential political force. Never before in the history of mankind has a party or a mass political movement demonstrated so convincingly its viability as do the Communist Parties and the international working-class movement which they head. Despite the enormous sacrifices suffered in the struggle against reaction and fascism, despite the persecution, repression and anti-communist legislation which force Communists in many countries into an illegal or semi-legal position, the world communist movement is growing; it is successfully surmounting difficulties, being enriched by new experience in the class struggle and striking increasingly telling blows at imperialism.

### Modernisation and the Third World

The modernisation theory gives a mirror reflection of the present-day monopoly bourgeoisie's most typical stereotypical interpretations of the economic and socio-

political processes taking place in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as imperialism's anti-communist ideological patterns and policies used in the struggle against the national-liberation movement. The struggle for the Third World, for influence over its further evolution, is a major component of the economic, political and ideological strategy of imperialism.

The national-liberation movement is a component part of the world revolutionary process. Its successes, consequently, are connected with the successes of the world socialist system and the entire international communist and working-class movement. In the final analysis, they stem from the successful resolution of the basic contradiction of the present epoch in favour of socialism. The national-liberation process, therefore, is a manifestation of the class anti-imperialist struggle in the economic, socio-political and ideological spheres.

The movement for the economic and political independence of nations and for the democratisation of life is a twofold process of development towards socialism "through" anti-imperialist struggle. Within the developing countries themselves, depending on the level of social, economic and political maturity and the balance of class forces, the whole complex of "external" contradictions is reflected in the interrelationships among different classes and social groups, in the more or less clear-cut division into forces of progress and reaction. The socio-political and class heterogeneity of the strata drawn into the anti-imperialist struggle—the proletariat, semi-proletariat, the peasantry, part of the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie—frequently affects the consistency of the progressive movement.

In these conditions pro-imperialist forces—the compradore bourgeoisie, the big oligarchy and part of the petty bourgeoisie—have greater opportunities to engage in political subterfuge and social demagoguery with the all-round support of interested foreign monopolies. These forces seek to portray the "interests of the people" as something strictly national, supposedly isolated from and completely independent of the successes of the decisive anti-imperialist forces (the world socialist system, the

international communist and working-class movement), and thereby to impede the progressive development of the country.

The emergence of socialism, as everyone knows, is not something that happens all at once. It is a process that is not only connected with the revolutionary break-up of the existing system, but one demanding a definite period of time, depending on the ripeness of the material and intellectual prerequisites, to firmly establish the new social system and reveal its unquestionable advantages over capitalism. The developing countries of the Third World also need a certain period of time to overcome age-old socio-economic backwardness, the low general cultural level engendered by the colonial regime, and ethnic, religious, class, caste and other prejudices. The gradualness of this process which involves carrying out large-scale measures of industrialisation, implementing agrarian reforms, democratic and cultural transformations, the nationalisation of foreign capital, etc., is unavoidable. This process runs into a number of difficulties—the lack of skilled national cadres, lack of management experience, the fierce resistance of Right-wing forces, etc.

Still observable in the Third World countries is an insufficiently high quantitative and qualitative level of development of the working class. The proletariat often lacks distinct class homogeneity.

An analysis of the size and structure of the army of hired labour in the Third World countries shows, for example, that in the developing countries of Asia about 70 per cent of the working population are engaged in agriculture. While about 17 per cent work in trade and the services field, and only 13 per cent work in industry, mostly small handicraftsmen. The position of the working class in Africa—the youngest detachment of the world proletariat—is not much different. True, some exceptional contrasts are observable here: while in some countries wage workers account for 70 per cent (South Africa) and 50 per cent (ARE, Rhodesia) of the working population, in other countries this figure is substantially lower, sometimes reaching 5 to 10 per cent. On the whole, the proportion of wage workers is small, and the permanent proletariat



amounts to an average of 10 to 15 per cent of all wage workers.

The correlation of class forces is better in Latin America, where in the overall structure of the gainfully employed population, 47 per cent work in agriculture, 28 per cent in the services field, and 25 per cent in industry, construction and transport. On the whole, wage workers make up 61 per cent of the gainfully employed population there.

The small relative size of the working class in the Third World countries and its lack of the necessary experience in the class struggle account for the fact that it is not everywhere capable of playing a vanguard role in social transformations, actively defend its interests, lead the popular masses to revolutionary struggle and successfully oppose internal and external reaction.

At the same time, the dynamics of the social structure in the developing countries testifies to a rapid growth in the number of wage workers, and above all in the size of the whole working class. Thus, in the countries of South and South-East Asia, the number of people working in the manufacturing industry in 1969 was more than twice the number in 1953. In a number of African countries—the ARE, South Africa and others—the formation of powerful detachments of the working class is proceeding at a rapid pace. In Latin America, in the last 18 years the number of workers in the manufacturing industry went up 61 per cent, in construction—64 per cent, and in mining—100 per cent. Some countries, such as Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Venezuela, are approaching West European capitalist countries in their level of proletarianisation.

The numerical strength of the working class is an important factor, and it is steadily growing in the Third World countries. However, it should be underscored that the strength of the proletariat is measured by its organisation and prestige, its ability to win over the popular masses from the bourgeoisie and other ruling classes, and to unite around itself all oppressed classes that can join a united revolutionary front at some individual stage of the liberation struggle. With this backing the working class can attain hegemony in the revolutionary national-libera-

tion movement, and its party can become the political leader of all working people.

Consequently, the working class is not alone in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and other ruling classes. It is important, however, that this struggle be waged from the positions of the working class. Only then can it be consistently revolutionary and victorious. Lenin pointed out that "the strength of the proletariat in the process of history is immeasurably greater than its share of the total population".<sup>1</sup>

The relatively small numerical strength of the working class in the Third World countries is frequently conducive to the emergence of various kinds of opportunist tendencies. Lenin castigated advocates of a contemplative, temporising attitude, all those who doubted the revolutionary power of the proletariat. Analysing the interconnection between the process of the proletarianisation of the masses and the proletarian revolution, he noted that "it would be a profound mistake to think that the 'complete' proletarianisation of the majority of the population is essential for bringing about such a revolution".<sup>2</sup>

These words of Lenin's are especially relevant today. The anti-imperialist national-liberation movement today has the powerful support of the world system of victorious socialism, the international communist and working-class movement, and the experience of revolutionary struggle and building socialism in the USSR and other socialist countries.

The class, internationalist character of Soviet foreign policy manifests itself most clearly in the vigorous rebuff given to the aggressive infringements of imperialism, in broad and disinterested assistance to peoples waging an armed struggle against imperialist aggression, overcoming its consequences or threatened by it. A vivid practical expression of the internationalism of Soviet foreign policy is the Soviet Union's fraternal solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. The struggle to stop the war in Vietnam on terms meeting the interests of the Vietnamese

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<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 3, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 15, p. 39.

people was one of the major elements in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Now, after the signing of the Agreements on Vietnam, the Soviet Union consistently comes out for consolidation of the peace achieved and in support of the legitimate right of the Vietnamese people to be the masters of their own land and to decide their internal affairs in accordance with their national aspirations. The Soviet Union wholeheartedly supports the determination of the Vietnamese people to turn the DRV into a mighty and flourishing socialist state, to enhance even further its role in the world. As Nguyen Duy Trinh, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the DRV, stated in Moscow on January 30, 1973, "the great and effective assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the Vietnamese people was an infinitely important factor contributing to the achievement of our victory".

The disinterested aid which the Soviet Union gives to fighters for national liberation and against colonialism and neocolonialism is another important manifestation of the class character of the Soviet foreign policy. Suffice it to point out here the vigorous diplomatic, moral and political support given recently by the Soviet Union to the people of Bangladesh in its struggle for freedom and independence. The world knows what role is played by the Soviet Union's assistance to the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, who are waging an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonialists. "The CPSU is the most consistent and loyal ally of all anti-imperialist forces and, in particular, of the national-liberation movement," said Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party of Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, at a meeting in Moscow devoted to the 50th anniversary of the USSR. Amilcar Cabral was later foully murdered by the hirelings of imperialism. The implementation of the Soviet Peace Programme means the creation of new requisites for the struggle against the remnants of colonialism, for the advancement of the newly independent countries along the road of national independence and social progress.

The international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Government consistently combines the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social systems with the interests of the whole world liberation revolutionary movement. Therefore, the principle of internationalism, of support for all peoples struggling for freedom, national independence and social progress, remains an immutable principle of Soviet foreign policy.

A characteristic positive feature of the present world situation is the growing international role of progressive states in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this connection, we should note the fruitfulness of the Soviet Union's consistent line of supporting the peace-loving anti-imperialist policies of developing countries and extending friendly relations with their governments and progressive social forces.

History confirms Lenin's thesis that with a definite ripeness of the economic relations within a country and with account taken of other objective factors (the general crisis of capitalism, inter-imperialist contradictions, the emergence of a weak link in the general chain of countries in the orbit of imperialism, etc.), politics is moved to the forefront and begins to play a decisive role, for only the winning of political power by the working people can ensure the further consistent development and improvement of economic relations. The experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries testifies to this.

Sometimes the situation is such that even when the party of the working people wins important economic victories, this does not necessarily mean final victory over reaction, nor is it a guarantee of the irreversibility of the progressive revolutionary process. This is true in cases where the question of "Who will win" has not been completely decided in the political sphere.

A typical situation took shape in Chile in the period of 1970-73, when the Popular Unity coalition, the basis of which was made up of Left forces—the Communist and Socialist Parties—was in power. The revolutionary government succeeded in implementing a number of important economic measures: foreign and local monopolies were nationalised, latifundia were expropriated, incomes

were redistributed in favour of the working class and the peasantry.

At the same time, the presence in the National Congress of a Right-wing reactionary majority made it possible for the opposition to frustrate political measures and thereby to impede the progressive development of the country, including its economic growth. This was also expressed in such actions as rejecting progressive proposals made by the government (for example, important items in the national budget in order to deprive the Popular Unity government of funds for implementing progressive reforms) and the passing of reactionary legislation (declaring illegal all government measures to nationalise and expropriate enterprises).

The fascist coup of the military junta in Chile revealed to the whole world the real face of reaction, internal and external, and the monstrous hatred the forces of imperialism nourished for the policy of the Popular Unity government.

On October 11, 1973, the Communist Party of Chile distributed an address "To the Chilean People", which said, in part:

"The military coup of September 11 plunged the country into a situation of such terror and brutality as history has never seen before. The brutality and wrath with which all democratic movements and especially the working-class movement are being suppressed have no precedent in our country or in all of Latin America....

"Every act of the military junta is a complete negation of that which the forces who were in opposition to the popular government defended in word. They spoke of democracy and are imposing a dictatorship. They spoke of freedom, but are organising concentration camps. They spoke of respect for the individual, but are shooting people every day without trial or investigation....

"The fascist junta does not represent any national or patriotic trend. Its essence is anti-patriotic; it acts against the interests of Chile as an independent state. The junta is a fascist weapon of imperialism and internal reaction."

The dialectical contradictory interrelationship between politics and economics is especially clearly seen in the

developing countries. Present-day imperialism does everything possible to tie the Third World countries to it economically. But economic dependence, despite its exceptional significance, does not automatically ensure similar relations in politics, political dependence in particular. The working class draws its conclusions from this fact as it activates the political struggle against imperialism. But the imperialists, too, draw disturbing conclusions from this same fact, and they are careful to see that every step in the sphere of economics with respect to the countries of the Third World is determined not only by motives of deriving economic benefit, but also by long-range political considerations resting on a pro-imperialist orientation and anti-communism. Robert Asher, a well-known American expert on the Third World, quite frankly states that the way out does not consist in giving the developing countries the opportunity for unlimited growth. There is no certainty that economic growth will be accompanied by desirable social and political changes.<sup>1</sup>

The struggle between Right and Left forces relating to the solution of economic problems in the developing countries has primarily a political basis. It is a struggle for political power, the possession of which opens up a real opportunity to direct the economic development of the country into the appropriate channel. Such an understanding of the relationship of politics and economics does not in the least contradict the general law of the crucial significance of economics, which, as the classics of Marxism frequently stressed, manifests itself only ultimately. However, such an understanding takes into account the real active role—impeding or stimulating—which the government can and does play in the development of production.

Assuming primary significance under these circumstances are the political education of the working class and all working people, a clear understanding of the role of the proletariat in the revolutionary process, the mastery of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the raising of class-conscious-

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<sup>1</sup> R. E. Asher, *The United States and the Developing Nations*, New York, 1965, p. 176.

ness, criticism of bourgeois and revisionist distortions of the objective course of history and exposure of anti-communist slander. The greater role of the popular masses in the present epoch makes it still more imperative for the working masses, and above all for the working class, to enhance their class, political and revolutionary consciousness.

The promoters of the concept of "modernisation" distort the real state of affairs and the correlation of economic and political forces operating in the developing countries. They obscure the main question, the winning of political power by the working people. States in which a pro-imperialist orientation still prevails are described as "nations maintaining a democratic policy", by which is meant the expansionist policy of the imperialist monopolies of the developed capitalist countries. The struggle of economic forces is interpreted on a purely "industrial" plane and portrayed as some kind of basic and, moreover, "new" form of the manifestation of social differences.

Thus, revolutionary transformations are removed, as it were, from the agenda of the developing countries, and political struggle between Right and Left forces is declared inessential. Therefore, any analysis of social reality based on the class approach and taking into account contesting political forces is also said to be anachronistic and "traditional". This deliberate disregard of the political aspect, which disorients the working masses, has a quite definite political and ideological purpose.

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians cannot ignore the connection between the national-liberation movement and the struggle between capitalism and socialism. The gravitation towards socialism and communism and the orientation towards the socialist prospect of development in the Third World countries naturally entail sharp criticism of capitalism and an intensification of the struggle against it. In these conditions, the politicians and ideologists of the bourgeoisie work towards a double objective—the discrediting of socialism and the apotheosis of capitalism.

The arsenal of means used by the imperialists in the struggle against the national-liberation movement contains a large collection of "theoretical" devices and

propaganda tricks designed to "catch the minds of men" in the anti-communist trap.

The ideologists of anti-communism are forced to reckon with the attractiveness of the ideas of socialism for the peoples of the developing countries. However, to discredit socialism, it is declared to be a "symbol" which is only formally associated with progress. The "modernisation" theorists even try to explain the successes of socialism as being the consequence of—modernisation. Lipset, for example, writes: "To an important degree, socialism and communism are strong" because they are symbolically associated with the ideology of independence, rapid economic development, social modernisation, and ultimate equality."<sup>1</sup>

The prospect of socialist development attracts the masses because socialism does indeed ensure independence, rapid and stable economic growth rates, progressive social transformations, genuine democracy and equality. The historical experience of already existing socialism demonstrates that the connection between socialism and economic and socio-political progress is indissoluble.

The centuries-long colonial dominance of capitalism in the countries of the Third World shows no less distinctly that capitalism is the main impediment on the way to progressive economic and socio-political transformations. The peoples of the developing countries reject capitalism as a system hostile to humanity which entails brutal exploitation, economic and political backwardness, aggressive wars, and poverty and ruin for millions upon millions of working people.

The imperialists find it increasingly hard to mislead the popular masses. Neither "traditional" means, nor false slogans of "modernisation", nor the launching of campaigns under demagogic calls for "progress", "freedom" and "peace" are of any avail. The notorious Alliance for Progress, created in 1961 at the initiative of the United States for the struggle against the progressive movements in the countries of Latin America, has not yielded any positive

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<sup>1</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 201.



results, admit eminent American "experts" on the Third World, Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís. In their book, *The Alliance That Lost Its Way*, they write: "A decade of the Alliance for Progress has yielded more shattered hopes than solid accomplishment, more discord than harmony, more disillusionment than satisfaction.... The Alliance was unable to impose reconciliation on the fundamental conflicts it sought to overcome."<sup>1</sup>

Trying to put the dubious recommendations that flow from the concept of modernisation on a practical footing, the Alliance formally outlined a widely broadcast programme of "total modernisation" for the Latin American countries. There was no lack of slogans promising accelerated industrialisation, increased incomes, a higher standard of living, the elimination of illiteracy, etc. However, in both the economic and political spheres the Alliance played a reactionary role. Characteristically, the widely advertised "aid" to Latin American countries was to come in the form of foreign government and private investments in these countries in the sum of 20 thousand million dollars. The main role in subsidising "modernisation" belonged to the United States. Analysis showed that "aid" really meant pumping capital out of Latin America. Thus, for the period from 1961 to 1969 7,100 million dollars was transferred from Latin American countries to the accounts of private US firms.

The anti-communist nature of the Alliance's work manifested itself in its stated purpose: to keep the political situation in the Latin American countries under strict control, to prevent the development of revolutionary movements and to block the "infiltration" of communism. It is no wonder that in the Third World countries, the Alliance for Progress was called the Alliance Against Progress.

The failure of imperialist policy with respect to the developing countries can also be seen in the activity of other organisations. One example is the so-called Peace Corps, which came into being in 1961. The activity of that

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<sup>1</sup> Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís, *The Alliance That Lost Its Way*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1970, p. 307.

organisation of "volunteers" and "noble envoys of America" to the countries of the Third World formally involved perfectly laudable goals—the elimination of illiteracy, free medical service to children, etc. In the beginning many developing countries were deluded regarding the real intentions behind the "charitable" American policy and even signed official agreements on the reception of the volunteers. In 1967, over 14 thousand members of the Peace Corps were in 58 countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.<sup>1</sup>

The main purpose of the Peace Corps, as admitted by its own leaders, consisted in serving as an effective means of struggle with communism in the developing countries.

The activity launched according to the anti-communist programme found expression in the support of reactionary regimes, participation in counter-revolutionary coups, subversive work during election campaigns, etc. Ultimately, American "volunteers" were expelled from many developing countries for collecting information of an intelligence nature.

The lack of prospect for the imperialist ideology and policy in the developing countries prompts bourgeois ideologists to seek new ways of getting out of the crisis. Many of them, especially those preaching the concept of modernisation, are beginning to understand that the revolutionary activity in the developing countries inevitably enhances political self-consciousness, increases sympathy towards socialism and communism (the support of Left movements) and gives momentum to the anti-imperialist struggle. The growth of political self-consciousness of the masses is also evoked by the objective requirements of scientific and technological progress, which not only promotes the development and spread of special knowledge, but stimulates a rise in the general level of culture and education.

Scientific and technological progress has a pronounced, in most cases indirect, stimulating effect on the political

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<sup>1</sup> After the United States, "volunteer" corps were created in the FRG (German Development Service), Sweden (the Volunteer Service of Sweden), Britain, Canada, Belgium, Japan, the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand and other countries.

activity of the working people. Hence that deep, internal and, under capitalist conditions, irreconcilable contradiction when, on the one hand, scientific and technological progress cannot be impeded, and, on the other, it is impossible to stop the growth of the political activity of the broad masses of working people and the growth of their self-consciousness and anti-imperialist sentiments, all of which inevitably accompany scientific and technological progress.

A fact that especially disturbs the ideologists of anti-communism is that the growing political activity of the working people and their increasing awareness that socialism is the most just social system invariably evoke sympathy, deep respect and great interest for the Soviet Union, the first country of victorious socialism, and its experience in revolutionary struggle and the building of a new society. They cannot deny the tremendous successes of the Soviet Union in the fields of economics, scientific and technological progress, politics, culture and education. But to neutralise the great attractive force of the historical experience and present-day reality of the Soviet Union they, along with falsifications and pushing into the forefront real or imaginary shortcomings, try to portray the achievements of the Soviet people as being "not dependent" on the leadership of the Communist Party, on its political and organisational activity.

The CPSU, therefore, becomes the main target for anti-communists, who are fully aware of its vanguard role in directing the creative effort of the Soviet people in building socialism. Typical in this respect are the utterances of American Sovietologist Charles Wilber. In his book, *The Soviet Model and Underdeveloped Countries*, he poses the question of "whether it has to be a Communist Party that operates the Soviet model". He then answers the question himself: "...There is no inherent reason why the Soviet model must be operated by ... a Communist Party."<sup>1</sup>

Attempts to discredit the Communist Party pursue a most definite aim: to hamper the revolutionary process,

<sup>1</sup> Charles K. Wilber, *The Soviet Model and Underdeveloped Countries*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1969, p. 222.

and the construction of socialism and communism by the peoples, since only under the leadership of a Leninist Communist Party can the working masses headed by the working class achieve a revolutionary transformation of capitalism and build socialism.

The experience of socialist construction in the USSR shows that the solution of all fundamental problems facing the Soviet society at all stages of its economic, political, ideological, scientific-technological and cultural development is directly connected with the leadership of the Communist Party. The Resolution of the CC CPSU "On Preparations for the 50th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" notes: "*Only the Communist Party, expressing the vital interests of the working class and all working people and pursuing Lenin's nationalities policy could unite all the nations and nationalities into a single international fraternity and direct their efforts towards the creation of a new society.*"

Socialism is now a world system. It points out to all peoples concrete ways, tested by history, of building a new, classless society. The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969, drew this conclusion: "*The main direction of mankind's development is determined by the world socialist system, the international working class, all revolutionary forces.*"<sup>1</sup>

Tangible successes in the building of socialism and communism comprise the heaviest and most effective blow to anti-communism. At the same time one of the major means of successful struggle against anti-communist theory and practice is well-argued critical analysis of present-day bourgeois ideology, anti-Marxism and revisionism. This is possible only as a result of a creative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory itself, the constant development of revolutionary teaching on the basis of a dialectical materialist study of the changing concrete situation, and the wide dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

At the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev stressed: "Theoretical work is a major element of our

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<sup>1</sup> *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Moscow 1969, p. 13.*

common internationalist, revolutionary duty. The struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism on the world scene and the attempts of revisionists of all hues to emasculate the revolutionary teaching and distort the practice of socialist and communist construction require that we continue to pay undivided attention to the problems and creative development of theory."<sup>1</sup> Creatively developing Marxism-Leninism is a formidable weapon in the hands of Communists all over the world, the working people and all progressive revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism and anti-communism, for the rise of the world revolutionary movement to a new and even higher level.

Elucidating the class meaning of Soviet policy, General Secretary of the CC CPSU L. I. Brezhnev said in his speech on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the USSR: "The CPSU has always held, and now holds, that the class struggle between the two systems—the capitalist and the socialist—in the economic and political, and also, of course, the ideological domains, will continue. That is as it should be, because the world outlook and the class aims of socialism and capitalism are opposite and irreconcilable. But we shall strive to shift this historically inevitable struggle onto a path free from the perils of war, of dangerous conflicts and uncontrolled arms race. This will be a tremendous gain for world peace, for the interests of all peoples, of all states."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *24th Congress of the CPSU*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> L. I. Brezhnev, *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, Moscow, 1972, p. 60.

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