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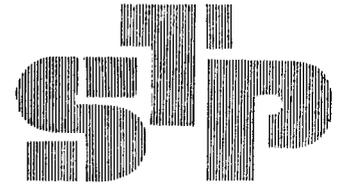
B. N. PONOMAREV

**Revolutionary changes in
the world and the factors
behind them •**

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**SOCIALISM:
THEORY AND
PRACTICE**

The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

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REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN THE WORLD AND THE FACTORS BEHIND THEM

Cardinal revolutionary changes are taking place in the modern world. They are the natural sequel to the profound processes of social and economic development.

Yet the apostles of anti-communism see all that change as being the "hand of Moscow" and the scheming of world communism. The advocates of imperialism and, above all, politicians in Washington are taking pains to instill in Americans and public opinion in other capitalist countries that all social change on the Earth in the last half a century has taken place for that reason alone. They insist on this explanation for the national liberation struggles, particularly in Latin America, and for the anti-monopoly struggle in capitalist countries as well as for social and political change in the life of mankind as a whole. The blame for all the setbacks which imperialism has been suffering in the struggle against the forces of social and national liberation is being put on the Soviet Union and other socialist nations. US President Ronald Reagan has been talking in this vein for years, too.

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The objective laws of social development, discovered by science and corroborated by practice, are not to the liking of the apostles of imperialism. They either ignore or reject them. For them, socialism and communism are not a product of historical development, nor its natural result, but an anomaly and a "deplorable and accidental chapter in human history". They are trying to reduce the historic contest of the forces of progress and reaction, of socialism and imperialism to a struggle between the abstract forces of good and evil, with the former supposedly represented by the system of free enterprise, that is, first and foremost, US imperialism.

The actual reason why American reaction has been fulminating against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and against the communist movement is that their very existence confines the expansionist activities of imperialism and hampers the worldwide extension of the sphere of the "vital interests" and domination of American capital which hypocritically calls itself "democratic capitalism".

Disdaining no means, the pillars of reaction clamour that the Soviet Union, which consistently upholds the cause of international peace and security, is a "threat to freedom and peace on all continents" and that Europe is threatened by "Soviet domination" and "subversion" by the USSR, and that there is no corner of the globe that would be safe from the insidious Soviets and Communists, those carriers of "evil and sin". Those are all infinitely ignorant assertions from the standpoint of science and slanderous from the moral standpoint.

Now, what about the intentions of the United States, of those forces of "good", for the years to come, judging, for example, by the Republican Party's documents, which reveal the undisguised class essence of imperialism's international politics?

In the military and political field, reliance is on the arms build-up and the attainment of military superiority. It is the hymn of militarism, lauding "American power and determination", the "position of strength" strategy with the listing of new types of armaments and a statement of the programmes for building up the strategic and tactical potential interspersed with pleas for military, technological, and qualitative superiority.

This is plans for creating a comprehensive system of anti-missile defence and the militarization of space; and the ambition to acquire the capability for a "disarming" first strike at the Soviet Union. This programme of militarism and aggression demonstrates once again that it is not the Soviet Union, nor the socialist forces that are threatening peace and creating the danger of a Third World War breaking out, but imperialism, the US establishment backed up by military-industrial monopoly capital.

In the economic field, the intention is to disrupt economic, scientific and technological links with the USSR and other socialist countries, to implant the capitalist orders in the Third World and to get hold of strategically important minerals, for instance, in Africa, by claiming they have to be "protected".

In the ideological field, there is the crusade against socialism and psychological warfare against the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. This platform provides for the transfer of the beneficent ideas of democratic capitalism to others, that is, the ideological expansionism of imperialism and opposition to any progressive movement. Perhaps, for the first time in US history ideological expansionism has been made a major area of national policy. This is the object of the Democracy and Public Diplomacy Programme, the propaganda Project Truth and other large-scale activities aimed at brainwashing people all over the world in the interests of the monopolistic bourgeoisie and in the interests of the ruling upper crust of the USA and other NATO countries. One of the ideologues of neo-conservatism, Norman Podhoretz once said that the war of ideas was, perhaps, even more important than any military confrontation. He argued that the USA had to restore (?) its power in this field and in the arms field so as to conduct its ideological offensive.

These subversive ideological acts are spearheaded, first and foremost, against real socialism and Marxism-Leninism so as to discredit, weaken, and leave it, as Reagan said, "on the rubbish-heap of history".

I.

Why have the US Administration's international attacks centred on a crusade against real socialism, all liberation movements and Marxism-Leninism?

The CPSU and the Soviet State conduct their foreign and domestic policies according to Marxist-Leninist teachings, but they never transplant ideological differences into the area of inter-state relations, considering that the historic dispute between the system of socialism and the system of capitalism must be resolved by peaceful means, without any armed struggle. The foreign policy of the USSR, just as of the other socialist community countries, is based on the principle of peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems. The entire record of Soviet foreign policy over the years provides conclusive evidence to bear that out.

The enemies of Marxism-Leninism hate this doctrine, first and foremost, because, being global and all-embracing, it has scientifically

proved the transient character of the capitalist system, the decline of capitalism, and the inevitable triumph of communism.

So American reactionaries are wasting their time declaring the communist doctrine an anomaly and so are the NATO leaders who are trying to reassure themselves that "Marxism has proved to be unattractive to the world"! Year by year, the Marxist-Leninist teaching is winning more and more millions of supporters, who are convinced of its justice by the actual facts of modern times for this teaching alone has been able to fathom the essence of the historical process, discover the real meaning of human history and outline its prospects.

Typically, the opponents of communism interpret the history of human society, its past, present, and still more so, its future, in an unscientific and unobjective manner; theirs is a biased interpretation serving the interests of the exploiter classes. This interpretation ranges from the outright falsification of history to the manipulation of analogies relating to preceding epochs with a view to denigrating existing socialism, or simply ignoring historical progress.

The fabrications of the ideologues of neo-conservatism and reaction are counterposed by the materialist interpretation of history, the strictly scientific, dialectical and materialistic method of investigating the progress of society, and the methodology of true cognition of social processes.

Attempts to fathom the mystery of historical development had predated Karl Marx. However, it was only the discovery of the materialist concept of history and the extension of materialism into the domain of social phenomena, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, that eliminated the two chief shortcomings in the earlier historical theories. "In the first place, the latter at best examined only the ideological motives in the historical activities of human beings, without investigating the origins of those motives, or ascertaining the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations, or seeing the roots of these relations in the degree of development reached by material production; in the second place, the earlier theories did not embrace the activities of the masses of the population, whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses, and the changes in those conditions."¹

Marx was the first to suggest that the mode of material production conditioned the social, political and cultural processes of the life of any society. That proposition made it possible to ascertain the nature of the development of social relations.

However, according to Marx, to cognize a social process is not enough. That cognition is required in order to actively influence the

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 21, p. 56.

development of society for the benefit of those who make all of its wealth and who, by their labour, assure the very existence of human civilization and the conditions for its progress. The philosophy of history and methodology of Marxism, based on this principle, determine communists' revolutionary practice, and its indissoluble inter-relationship with the actual processes of social life.

An analysis of material social relations made it possible to observe the recurrence of processes in the various countries and to generalize them in the single fundamental concept of social formation.²

That warranted the conclusion that the change of socio-economic formations is basic to the historical process and social progress. Each formation represents a certain stage of social development, an integral system, a stage of world history, a historical type of a particular society and its social and economic organization. Marxism-Leninism established—this is the conclusion the advocates of capitalism are mainly up against—that no antagonistic, exploitative system can develop infinitely. The time comes when its relations of production begin to conflict with productive forces and with scientific and technical progress—this process continues under capitalism today. That brings with it the pre-conditions for one formation to be replaced by another, a higher form of historical development. "No social order," Marx emphasized, "ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself."³ Important factors here are the changes occurring not only in the basis but also in the superstructure, in various forms of social consciousness and in the social organization of forces coming to replace the outgoing classes as well as favourable external political circumstances.

Thus Marxism indicated the way to a genuinely scientific interpretation of the historical process of the rise, development and decline of pre-socialist social formations, examining the totality of the conflicting trends and contending forces. It is the **Marxist theory of class struggle**,⁴ as Lenin stressed, that is the guide to the cognition of the laws governing the development of social contradictions and revolutionary change, and the historical necessity of the transition to socialism. The founders of Marxism drew special attention to the importance of the subjective factor, to the development of the

² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 140.

³ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, vol. 1, p. 504.

⁴ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 21, p. 57.

revolutionary consciousness of the masses, and, in this context, to the vanguard, organizing role of the revolutionary party.

Whereas the antagonistic formations pertain to mankind's pre-history, the real history and progress of humanity begin only with the establishment of socialism, first phase of the communist formation free of antagonistic contradictions. With the appearance of scientific socialism it became clear that it is only from a position of materialist theory that one can grasp the process of historical development and understand the causes and the essence of changes occurring in society, the meaning of revolutionary upheavals and social revolutions.

II.

Twisting the essence of the historical process, anti-communists are seeking to distort the notion of social revolutions, presenting them as casual, haphazard occurrences in the history of society. Such an anti-historical approach has been taken, in particular, with regard to the social revolutions of this century when the working class and communist movement and the world socialist system produce a tremendous impact on world events.

The vulgar and primitive understanding of revolution has led anti-communists to deny its social substance and interpret it as nothing but a result of a "communist conspiracy", a casual episode in the life of the peoples or simply "unrest", as Edwin Meese, US presidential adviser until recently, said, for example. The false concept of the "export of revolution" by the Soviet Union is constantly peddled. Most of the national and social revolutions of our time have been passed off for "communist coups", with either Moscow or other socialist countries behind them.

The pamphlet **A Strategy for Peace Through Strength**, recently published in the USA and representing the views of its reactionary circles, asserts that most of the "blame" for the revolutionary movement rests with the Kremlin. The US Administration has based its foreign policy on this concept implying that the Soviet Union must be held responsible for all revolutionary change in the world and that the objective course of the liberation movement should be halted. Hence the banking on force and on stupendous armaments, nuclear arms included.

But one must remember the lessons of history. For thousands of years the pharaohs and emperors, kaisers and czars, presidents and other rulers have attempted to avert social change undermining their domination. All of those attempts have invariably ended in failure

for what has matured in the womb of society and been conditioned by the objective course of history is irresistible. Revolutions, Lenin pointed out, "break out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer".⁵ And today, the objective processes of social development dwarf those who anathemize communism, who see the "hand of Moscow" behind socialism, revolutions and liberation movements, and who seek to counter them with imperialist diktat and crusades.

Naturally, our ideological opponents pass over in silence the fact that, as communist theory maintains, **no revolution can ever take place without the necessary social and economic pre-conditions.** "Revolutions," Lenin said, "are not made to order, they cannot be timed for any particular moment; they mature in a process of historical development and break out at a moment determined by a whole complex of internal and external causes."⁶ It is precisely for this reason that any "export of revolution" is simply impossible and senseless, just as it is impossible to introduce socialism "from above" by importing it.

Even some prominent US bourgeois figures have had to recognize the absurdity of the stories about the "export of revolution". For example, a former Under Secretary of State George W. Ball remarked once that the Soviet Union had become a fixed idea of the US Government which would not admit that the Soviet Union bore no responsibility for any of the US crises.

The imperialists need the anti-communist argument about the "export of revolution" in order to justify their own policy of exporting counter-revolution. One does not have to look far for examples: the aggression against freedom-loving Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua, the encouragement of counter-revolutionary forces in African countries, support for counter-revolution in Afghanistan, and acts of anti-socialist subversion against the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, to mention just a few.

The export of counter-revolution has become a particularly dangerous form of imperialist international expansionism. It creates a threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples, and is aimed at preserving antipopular exploiter regimes, at restoring the capitalist orders and whipping up international tension. Imperialism exports counter-revolution both by force of arms and through subversion involving its secret services and using a wide variety of forms of intervention in the internal affairs of the countries

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 27, p. 480.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

which have undergone revolutionary change. The export of counter-revolution is aimed at wiping out the gains achieved by the peoples in their struggle for social and national liberation and spells terrorism as a means of repressing revolutionary peoples, persecuting freedom fighters and violating human rights. Yet, any **imposition of counter-revolutionary practices from without is historically doomed to failure as it has no roots in the national and social soil of a country that has set out for revolution.**

In its counter-revolutionary fever, modern-day anti-communists would like to forget that the bourgeoisie itself became the dominant class as a result of revolutions, limited though they were as far as their class character was concerned. It is worth recalling that the USA, too, gained its political independence through a national liberation war. Bourgeois revolutions triumphed because feudal relations no longer met the requirements of the nascent capitalist mode of production which was progressive at the time. This confirms once more that revolutions promote mankind's advance along the road of social progress.

Naturally, revolutions of different historical epochs differ widely, and have their own distinguishing features.

Of all the revolutions that have ever taken place in history, socialist revolution has had the greatest influence on the entire course of social development.

It is a process of the fundamental restructuring of the very foundations of human life. The Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new era in world history and brought in its wake a whole series of revolutionary upheavals within the capitalist system and the irrevocable contraction of the sphere of capitalist domination.

It is not accidental that the forces of reaction fiercely attacked and maliciously slandered the October Revolution. This points to their anti-communist mentality as well as to their inability to comprehend the essence and character of that revolution. Moreover, it betrays their elementary ignorance and lack of knowledge of what they dare to talk about. The above-quoted pamphlet **A Strategy for Peace Through Strength** typifies such ignorance. It contends that between 1917 and 1921, the Soviet Union extended its frontiers by swallowing up the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. It never occurred to those writers that the USSR was formed only in 1922, and that the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Turkestan (which did not only include Kazakhstan) had become part of the Russian State long before the October Revolution.

The October Revolution ushered in the era of the liberation of all of Russia's peoples from social and national oppression, from all forms of exploitation, and paved the way for a multinational socialist community, the Soviet Union.

Yet another thing that shows the significance of the October Revolution for the history of humanity is that it put an end to a scheme of things on Earth whereby one dominant class was replaced by another while exploitation and oppression continued. Social development was radically put on the track of socialism which meant abolishing for ever exploitation and oppression and minority rule over the majority.

A great role has been played in the 20th century historical process by the revolutions of the 40s and later on (and somewhat earlier in Mongolia), when Albania, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Laos, North Korea, Poland, Romania, Vietnam and Yugoslavia dropped out of the world capitalist system.

Although the course taken by the revolution in each of those countries has had its own specific aspects, the overall revolutionary change has had some fundamental features in common predetermined by the objective logic of social development. The outdated form of relations of production was replaced by a new one. Industries, banks and transport facilities were nationalized. The outgoing bourgeois class was defeated in class battles and had to yield power to the working class and its allies. A new type of political authority—the rule of the people—was established.

From the anti-communist standpoint, all that was the Soviet Union's "expansionism" in action. But such assertions are needed solely for justifying the subversive activities of the US and NATO against the socialist countries.

There was a sweeping upsurge of the national liberation movement following the defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan in the Second World War. Internal forces had come to the fore to fight against the stranglehold of colonialism and against imperialism. Popular protest generated greater national awareness. There was, furthermore, the rising of social awareness among the working class, millions of peasants, intellectuals and professional people constituting, by and large, the major force of the liberation movement. The preconditions for cardinal revolutionary change were thus in the making.

It is because of those factors, rather than "Soviet expansionism", that the peoples got rid of colonialism, and many of them opted for a socialist path of development.

The anti-communist concept of the "foreign origin" of national liberation revolutions is an affront to the peoples who have carried out such revolutions. It ignores the many-year selfless struggle of each of these peoples and their vanguard and the sacrifices they made to win their freedom and national independence.

Here are a few examples from recent history.

A national democratic revolution broke out in Ethiopia in 1974, as a result of the most acute social and ethnic contradictions, of the profound crisis of the entire system of power and the general discontent in that country. The masses were under the yoke of triple oppression — feudal-monarchic, capitalist and neo-colonialist. The country's numerous ethnic communities and minorities were subjected to national oppression and religious persecution by the ruling group, consisting primarily of Amhara feudals with the Emperor at their head.

Facts show what Ethiopia had been like before the revolution. According to official UN statistics, it was one of Africa's poorest nations as far as its annual per capita income was concerned.

The overwhelming majority of the peasants, close to 90 per cent of the population, were landless. Abject poverty and lack of rights, almost total illiteracy, widespread epidemics and diseases were the lot of the common folk.

All this led to a revolutionary situation developing in Ethiopia in 1974. The nation was swept by strikes, peasant riots, and student unrest. The army was in turmoil. It was only natural and inevitable for the Ethiopian people, driven to despair, to overthrow the monarchy and win a revolution that pursued anti-feudal and anti-imperialist aims right from the outset.

Today, the 32-million population of Ethiopia is making steady headway in removing the vestiges of feudalism. They have created a Workers' Party of Ethiopia which is directing the process of bringing off one of the most important stages of the Revolution, that of guaranteeing the conditions for going over to socialist construction.

Here is another case in point.

Anti-communist propaganda alleges that the events in Afghanistan are inspired by the Soviet Union. In actual fact, the Afghan people's Revolution is entirely a domestic matter. The USSR had nothing to do with it.

Today, the people's government of Afghanistan is successfully solving problems posed by the 1978 April Revolution. It has been setting up state-run enterprises with an eight-hour working day, resolving major social problems in the field of education and health protection, and carrying out a land reform. A Labour Act designed to defend the interests of the working people has been passed. It could be said that many of the Afghan people's social problems would have been solved long ago but for the criminal intervention by the USA, Pakistan and other countries which have been giving considerable military and material support to internal counter-revolution and the bands it has formed.

The examples of Ethiopia and Afghanistan make it clear that popular revolution arose in these instances from an objective necessity, that society needed it, and that the change of social order was bound to come.

The revolutions in Chile and Nicaragua were also prompted by the requirements of free social and economic development. The revolutions in those countries were brought about by the people's determination to get rid of the rule of the national bourgeois-landlord oligarchy and the domination by foreign, above all North American, capital, rather than by any prodding from without, as imperialist propaganda claims.

Incidentally, the revolution in Chile came about by purely **peaceful** means, with all the rules of parliamentary democracy properly respected. But that did not stop the US interference and the overthrow of a lawfully elected socialist and communist government. That exposes the cynicism and falsity of the contention that the spread of socialism in the world "has been brought about by armed force or subversive action, not by popular movements or free elections". It is US imperialism that has used armed force and undertaken subversive acts in Chile, Nicaragua and other countries. The events in Chile and, presently, in Nicaragua, too, may well serve as classic examples of how imperialism is organizing the export of counter-revolution. The defeat of the Chilean Revolution is temporary, however. All that the forces of imperialism and the Pinochet dictatorship have been able to do is to hold up the revolutionary process in that country. They can never halt it.

To sum up, these and other social revolutions of modern times have been generated by the internal requirements of the political, social and economic development of the peoples. That makes it obvious that there are no grounds whatsoever for allegations about the "foreign" origin of those revolutions or for a denial of their laws and their historical predestination.

III

Anxious to check the irresistible course of history and hinder revolutionary changes, imperialist reaction is attempting to prevent the growth of the revolutionary activity of the masses not just on the "periphery" of the capitalist system, that is in former colonies, but also in the bastions of capitalism themselves. In so doing imperialism resorts to political pressure, to ideological "brainwashing", to police persecutions, using its entire machinery of propaganda and coercion, and at the same time demonstrates infinite hypocrisy, Pharisaism and sanctimony. According to the platform of the US Republican Party, democratic capitalism in the United States and

other countries has demonstrated an unprecedented ability to ensure political and civil rights, as well as secure prosperity for a steadily growing number of people. But that platform says absolutely nothing about the fact that over 8 million people in the USA are currently unemployed and that 35 million live below the poverty line. In this "wealthiest" and "freest" country human rights are being constantly violated, racial and national discrimination is rampant and allocations for the people's social needs are being cut. None other than the President himself has stated the deplorable state of education and public health in the USA.

All this creates an objective basis for the growth of discontent among the broad masses. The social demagoguery of the ruling classes obviously does not work.

With the continuing development of society the popular masses grow more active. Lenin described this conclusion as one of the "profoundest and most important precepts"⁷ of Marxism. He particularly stressed the thought of Marx and Engels that "with the thoroughness of the historical action the size of the mass whose action it is will therefore increase."⁸

The popular masses have responded to the social evils of capitalism by a mounting anti-monopoly struggle, and to the imperialist threat to peace by an anti-war movement, which has been gathering unprecedented momentum in the 1980s. The actions against the arbitrariness of capital and the bourgeois state by British miners and dockers, by West German metal workers, by French miners and steel makers, by US car workers and by members of other contingents of the army of hired labour, and along with this the thousands-strong peace marches, the siege of NATO's military bases and the mass protests against the stationing of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe—all bear indisputable witness to the correctness of Lenin's conclusions.

During a social revolution, the two opposed classes—the doomed one and the one to which the future belongs—usually clash. Lenin believed that the notion of a social revolution was not concrete enough without the notion of classes, of a class society.

There is nothing more false, more at variance with reality than the assertion of bourgeois ideologists about the "classless" or "supra-class" structure of modern capitalism. All the bourgeois concepts denying class contradictions and the class struggle within capitalism, like Bell's "fashionable" theory of a "post-industrial society" in the recent past, have not withstood the test of time and are belied by

⁷ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 2, p. 524.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 36, p. 462.

the facts. Similarly, capitalist reality itself has refuted the Weber theory of "classes and strata," the attempts by Dahrendorf and other Western sociologists to substitute "inequality" for the "class" concept and the functionalist theories of stratification by Parsons, Davis and Moore, which were still recently treated in the West as a "refutation" of the Marxist theory of classes and the class struggle.

The view that it is not these ideologists, but Marx and his teaching that most fully reveal the content of classes and the class struggle at the present time is gaining ever wider currency in Western countries.

Thus, the attempts to "abolish" the class struggle, to pretend that it has become totally irrelevant towards the end of the 20th century, have all failed, both theoretically and practically. Class battles are an integral feature of present-day social development. The capitalist world faces an unprecedented toughening of confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie and between the popular masses and monopoly capital.

The outcome of the class battles of the sixties, seventies and eighties convincingly shows the bankruptcy of the concepts of bourgeois ideologists who talk about workers being "integrated" into the capitalist system. At the same time, it fully vindicates the conclusions of Marx about the historical role of the working class, which has in practice proved its ability to fight against the system of capitalist exploitation, to lead the people's struggle for freedom and equality and to ensure the triumph of socialism, relying on its rich historical experience of class battles.

Communist parties play a leading, vanguard role in the struggle of the working class. It is profoundly symbolic that working people have long been associating those who fight for a just future for mankind with the word Communist. Today's Communists are successors to the fighters who throughout the centuries saw the evils of their contemporary societies and dreamt of transforming them.

Modern anti-communism directs the poisoned edge of its propaganda against the parties of the working class and is trying to vilify them, to present them as groups of "plotters", "Moscow's agents" and almost terrorists. The hatred of the monopolistic bourgeoisie for working class parties can well be explained. Communist parties are the most dynamic, purposeful and leading part of the workers', revolutionary movement, equipped with scientific theory. "The party", stressed Lenin, "is the politically conscious, advanced section of the class, it is its vanguard. The strength of that vanguard is ten times, a hundred times, more than a hundred times, greater than its numbers".⁹

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 406.

Marxist-Leninist parties combine socialist ideas, the theory of scientific communism with the working class movement. The activity of communist parties is aimed at ensuring that the working class and other toiling classes realize from their experience and in the course of the daily struggle for their immediate social, economic and political interests that capitalism is historically doomed, that the transition to socialism as a higher form of society meeting their vital interests is inevitable and that they should fight for socialism.

Communist parties in the capitalist countries have to operate in very difficult conditions. Imperialist forces put tremendous political and ideological pressure on them. The fiercest propaganda campaigns have been launched against the communist movement, especially after World War II; communist parties have been harshly repressed. Extremely sophisticated methods of political discrimination against the best representatives of the working class, like the "bans on professions" in the FRG, are used. The class strategy of the monopolistic bourgeoisie has become more subtle. But the communist movement is growing, expanding and is reinforced with new detachments.

In the last few years imperialism has stepped up its subversive work against the international communist movement. The USA and NATO would like to discredit communist parties, to erode them from within and to neutralize them through these parties' distancing themselves from the CPSU and departing from the Marxist-Leninist ideological basis.

The development of social processes in the capitalist world confronts Communists with new problems. In order to understand them, a deep analysis of specific material, its thorough discussion, reference to the experience of other communist parties and, most importantly, its Marxist-Leninist interpretation are required. The diversity of conditions in which communist and workers' parties operate may give rise to varied assessments of and approaches to different issues of political struggles. The enemies of communism take advantage of this, seeking to exaggerate the differences and to turn them into contradictions and a tool of schism. The writings of many anti-communist ideologists show that such calculations do exist in the camp of the enemies of communism.

The ranks of the supporters of socialism grow in the course of the daily struggle for the vital interests of the working people. This economic and political struggle with monopoly capital meets with alternating success. Workers and all working people are becoming more and more convinced that no partial gains can change their underprivilege under capitalism and end exploitation and oppression.

The working class is not alone in its struggle; it has allies in the capitalist world who also suffer from the evils of the bourgeois system. The countries of the socialist community, of the world socialist system invariably side with the just struggle of the international working class. An ever larger number of peoples in the zone of national liberation is now marching along the socialist road. The revolutionary transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism, the replacement of one formation by another, of a higher type, is founded on the powerful driving forces of the contemporary social revolution.

IV

The zone of capitalism on the world's geographical map is like shagreen skin: it is continuously shrinking because of the appearance of states which have proclaimed the building of socialism their aim. One can say that all mankind is gradually moving towards socialism, which is peremptorily knocking at its door.

The advocates of imperialism regard this as "worldwide expansionism" of the Soviet Union. Senator Laxalt, one of the leaders of the reactionary Coalition for Peace Through Strength, asserts that Soviet expansionism pursues the aim of world domination and is guided by a global strategy in pursuance of this aim. The latter-day followers of Guizot and Mitternich, who feared the "spectre of communism", see a "global communist empire" in the triumphant march of socialism across the planet. But that is only a distorted, reactionary view on the course of contemporary history.

Socialism is today the command of the times. Its historical pre-determination is manifest in the fact that all today's social revolutions, despite the distinctions and specific features of each of them, have one thing in common: they contribute to mankind's advance towards socialism.

What objective factors predetermine the further development of this process?

First, labour and production under capitalism today become ever more socialized while the appropriation of the product of common work continues to be private. "Capitalism in its imperialist stage," Lenin pointed out, "leads directly to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of a new social order, a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialization".¹⁰ Capitalism is trying to adapt itself to these changing conditions; it looks for new forms of rule and alters its colouring. But it cannot get away from its major contradiction.

Second, the antagonism between labour and capital sharpens. The

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 22, p. 205.

degree of exploitation of the working class grows and the gap between the level of wages and corporate profits widens. The distance between the working people's growing requirements and their satisfaction also increases. The monopolistic bourgeoisie is bent on taking away from the working people even those gains which they have won in a long and hard struggle and which reflect the vital requirements of the popular masses.

Third, the capitalist contradictions stimulate the growth of class consciousness, of anti-capitalist sentiments. They ultimately arouse the masses to political action, which, in turn, further aggravates the crisis of capitalism. Naturally, any profound social changes, especially social revolutions, only come about as the result of conscious struggle by the masses.

Capitalism's attempts to overcome its growing internal contradictions through the scientific and technological revolution, state intervention in the economy, coordination of the economic policies of major capitalist states, etc. cannot stop the objective course of events, which leads to an explosion of the contradictions inherent in capitalist society. Certainly capitalism manages to prolong its life, which costs the working people very dearly. But the various adaptation measures cannot rid capitalism of its incurable ills. Its withdrawal from the world scene is still inevitable. This is why the words of Marx about the "old mole" of history that digs steadily and firmly and cannot be stopped by capitalism are as relevant at the end of this century as they were in his time.

Bourgeois ideologists claim that socialism and communism "do not suit" industrialized countries and that the structural changes in modern capitalism make the working class a "minority" which does not represent the will of the entire people. In saying this they ignore the fact that the changes in the structure of the wage labour army and the working class itself have not abolished its leading role in production and in society and that it is precisely socialism that can solve the burning issues of today, which capitalism, rather than solving, can only aggravate.

The last few decades have shown that, with due regard for specific circumstances and drawing on the experience of political struggle, the Communist parties deepen their understanding of the process of general democratic, anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist, socialist changes in the context of the conditions and specific features of their own countries. The ideas of profound changes in the structure of society, of anti-monopoly democracy, etc.—these and many other important programme provisions are called upon to highlight the different stages and transitional forms that correspond to concrete degrees of maturity of the socio-economic prerequisites of socialism in capitalist states.

Anti-communism, in a bid to discredit the fighters for socialism, is depicting them as advocates of violence. Such allegations are nothing farther from the truth.

In actual fact, a social revolution today means ridding society of violence and the arbitrariness of big capital. The transition from capitalism to socialism may take on different forms. As is stated in the final document of the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, "each party, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and in keeping with concrete national conditions, independently formulates its own policy, determines the guidelines, forms and methods of struggle, and, depending on the circumstances, chooses the peaceful or non-peaceful way of transition to socialism, as well as the forms and methods of building socialism in its own country".

Motivated by humanism, Marxist-Leninists support the peaceful path of revolution. Armed struggle is a forced measure, implemented when reactionary forces hostile to the revolution attempt to do away with it arms in hand. In that case the revolutionaries also take up arms. The main objectives of a socialist revolution are constructive. They require peace and the preservation of society's productive forces.

In the present-day conditions, the working class and its vanguard, a Marxist-Leninist party, strive to accomplish a socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would meet the interests of the working class and the entire people, the national interests of each country. The situation in a number of capitalist countries may develop in such a way that the working class and its vanguard will be able, through various forms of agreement and political cooperation among various parties and public organizations, to unite the majority of the people, to win state power without a civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the working people. But this will only be possible to achieve through the broad continuous development of the class struggle of the workers, the peasant masses and other sections of the working people against big monopoly capital and reaction, the struggle for deep-going social reforms, for peace and socialism.

A social revolution in capitalist countries matures when socialism has already convincingly demonstrated its fundamental advantages over capitalism. Among the real gains of socialism are the elimination of all forms of social oppression and national inequality; the absence of unemployment; the introduction of free education and medical care and state social insurance; low-cost housing and many other things denied to working people under capitalism; the accelerated development of formerly backward peoples and ethnic groups; the crisis-free economic growth, and genuine democracy

under which the working man actually enjoys extensive rights and social benefits and gains access to education and to the values of culture and science. Socialist society has made it possible to develop the best qualities of the people, and stimulated unprecedented activism among the popular masses in every sphere of social life.

In a bid to manipulate public opinion, to foist upon it hatred for our country and the socialist system and to condition the population militarily, imperialism has unfolded large-scale operations to discredit real socialism, socialist society. However, despite the various propaganda obstacles, the truth about socialist achievements is reaching the masses in the capitalist countries. American reaction is now confronted with the fact that many US citizens, despite all the attempts of imperialist propaganda and the exhortations for a crusade, soberly assess the anti-Soviet and anti-socialist myths.

A vivid illustration of this is a public opinion survey published in the autumn (1984) issue of the **Foreign Affairs** magazine. The magazine describes the Americans' growing awareness that communism is something with which one can coexist even if one does not accept it as a radical shift in their way of thinking. And the most politically conscious sector of America does not feel the "ideological hostility" towards the Soviet Union the anti-communists hoped for.

Recently, imperialist politicians and ideologists have been increasingly playing a fairly new card in their propaganda game by talking about morality and ethical values. The moves in this game are fairly simple: declaring Soviet society and Soviet foreign policy "immoral" and speaking of everything concerning US imperialism as highly moral and highly ethical. In keeping with such logic, the use of arms by the USA is always "moral," even if this inflicts death on peaceful populations, as was the case in Vietnam, Lebanon and Grenada.

The hypocrisy of such assertions is obvious to many Americans, who assess the international activities of the ruling crust of their country quite realistically and very critically. Ramsey Clark, former US Attorney-General, has commented in this connection that the very US system seems to be devoid of moral integrity, while retired Brigadier General Hugh Hester wrote in a letter to the US President that there had not yet been a state in history which had acted more immorally than the United States since the Second World War.

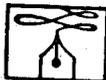
The immorality of the US imperialist course consists primarily in its power politics, in its nuclear arms buildup, in its fabulous arms budget increase, in its extension of military rivalry to outer space and in its proclamation of a "star wars" era.

In establishing itself and developing as a world system, socialism maintains a social structure in which there is no place for classes and other social groups interested in war as an instrument of politics. Acting as a powerful bulwark of peace among nations, it creates the conditions for the solution of the most burning problem of today, the problem of war and peace, and prevents the forces of imperialism foisting upon mankind a devastating war waged with weapons of mass destruction. The humanist mission of socialism in this field is to avert a new world war which could undermine the very conditions necessary for the existence of human society.

The historical potential of socialism is inseparable from the historical perspective of social progress—the establishment and development of a new, communist civilization. Society will travel a historically long distance on this road, the stage of developed socialism. Continuing to develop and advance socialism will gradually evolve into communism and meet the main requirement of the transition to the higher phase of the communist formation: it will establish the most just and humane social relations on the basis of complete social equality. Communism is a logical result of history which raises the social life of mankind to a qualitatively new, higher level of development. It preserves and accumulates the best of what has been created over the centuries by generations. This will be a society where there will be enough bread and roses for all, so to speak.

Thus, **history works for communism; communism is inevitable because of the course of historical development itself.** The inexorable march of social progress dooms those who are attempting to stop the wheel of history by crusades and imperialist diktat to failure.

Kommunist, No. 16, 1984



In most your books I have been influenced by the teachings of both Marx and Lenin. As a result of this, I have really come to like the ideas of communism more than the corrupt capitalism.

R. P. Kamara,
21, Sierra Leone

I found most of your writings very good and useful to counter-balance bourgeois propaganda.

R. P. Lemama,
teacher, Tanzania

Your publications epitomise hope for mankind through socialist ideology.

G. Belton,
48, England

Your publications describe the various aspects of life in the Soviet Union which the Western media are trying to distort in order to mislead public opinion in their own and other countries. I very much agree in your policy concerning the Western world. I very much admire Lenin and am very much in favour of his thinkings and actings.

Massimo Ellul,
Malta

I look forward to reading more

books regarding Marxism-Leninism. I myself being the Secretary of our local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament realize the only way forward is socialism.

Andrew White,
machine operator, 21, Britain

You are doing important work publishing materials about the Soviet Union, its politics and economic affairs. This way helps counter capitalist press slander and bias.

Jacobo Hanna,
school graduate, Venezuela

Those of us in this part of the world, for some reasons, have wrongly been made to believe and regard the Soviet Union as the "evil one" in the world. Contrary to the expectations of the propagandists of such views, many of us here are beginning to know who the "enemy of this world" is. We try to pass on information to those who still live in ignorance about international politics. I plead that you make your publications find their way unto us here in their large numbers.

Martin Frimpong-Manso,
student of theology, 28, Nigeria

The Soviet monthly digest **SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE** and supplements to this journal are digests of the political and theoretical press featuring the vital problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, the practice of socialist and communist construction, the peoples' struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, and worldwide ideological struggle.

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