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dreadful thing about it."

4. The principals of dialectical materialism contained in the propaganda interpret the historical past, the present and the future for "Comrade Ivanov". The unity and inter-relationship of all things are interpreted to imply complete negation of Divine Will. Under the principles of dialectical materialism it is the dialectical movement of the universe that forms the historical process. The economic system of a society, which Marx defined as the sub-structure, always provides the real basis of the society and religion, ethics, laws and conventions are a super-structure built upon and determined by it, according to Marx' book, "Selected Works" (Volume I). It means further that all things are of a temporary and relative value and they may be evaluated and judged only in relation to other things. Permanent values and objective standards of human behavior do not exist. For example, the Soviets reason that in relation to a feudal past, capitalism was beneficial, but in relation to a socialist future, capitalism is evil and must be destroyed. It can be seen that concepts of truth, morality and ethics are always relative and one sided.
5. While addressing the Third Congress of the Soviet Young Communists League (Komsomol), Lenin said: "Is there such a thing as Communist ethics? Is there such a thing as Communist morality? Of course there is. It is often made to appear that we have no ethics of our own; and very often the bourgeoisie, who derived ethics from the commandments of God, derived them from idealist or semi-idealist phrases, which always amounted to something very similar to God's commandments. We repudiate all morality derived from non-human and non-class concepts. We say that is is a deception, a fraud in the interests of the landlords and capitalists. We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. . . The class struggle is still continuing. We subordinate our Communist morality to this task. We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the tailers ^{isic} around the proletariat, which is creating a new Communist society. We do not believe in an eternal morality".
6. This explains why Communists are ready to use unlimited opportunism with respect to means as long as they serve the ultimate goal of Communist world domination. "Comrade Ivanov" therefore learns early in life that the end justifies the means used for its achievement. He can understand why, without any sense of contradiction or hypocrisy local wars or peace campaigns, treaties with Fascist or democratic states, international trade or boycott, hard diplomacy or soft diplomacy, can all be justified if they improve the position of the Communist Party in its world struggle. However, no problems may be cited in terms of general principles alone without taking into consideration the actual circumstances. There are times, for example, when it is right for working people to go out on strike and there are times when it is not. "Comrade Ivanov" is constantly reminded that things must be considered not in isolation but in their inseparable interconnection. It means that all sectional and temporary interests must always be sacrificed for and subordinated to the long-term interests of the Party. "Comrade Ivanov" is told again and again that the Communist Party is the best and most effective instrument for achieving the ultimate goal of Communist world society. Consequently, he is made to believe that good is that which is beneficial to the Party and that the so-called Party line is always to be regarded as the absolute truth; that only the Party has a legitimate right, justified by the goal, to possess and to exercise power.
7. No deviation from the Party line can be tolerated. "Comrade Ivanov" knows very well that it is not possible to oppose the Party. Slogans, which appear under numerous portraits of Lenin, state categorically that "Who is not with us is our enemy!" J Monnerot, a well-known student of Soviet sociology, came to the following conclusion in regard to this peculiar principle of Communist philosophy and wrote the following in his book entitled, "Sociology of Communism":

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"And suppose a man really is in the right against the Party, is not this the essence of criminality? If, being in the right, he is mentally opposed to the Party's actions, he has at least that much in common with the enemy, and this is the first link in the chain which connects the secret opposition with the enemy's world".

Thus, gradually, it becomes clear to "Comrade Ivanov" that at every point the fundamental question, where a decision must be made as to right and wrong, is - how will it effect the Communist cause? Motivated by fear and the instincts of self-preservation, "Comrade Ivanov" builds his whole psychology around this concept. He knows that even the Soviet Constitution stipulates the relative nature of civil rights. For instance, Article 125 of the 1936 Constitution, reads in part as follows:

"In conforming with the interests of the working people, and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, and freedom of street processions and demonstrations."

Thus, civil freedoms may be exercised only so that they will conform with "the interests of the working people: which means the interests of the Communist Party, and will serve to 'strengthen the socialist system", which means the Communist cause.

8. Raymond A Bauer, a student of the Soviet Union, wrote as follows in his book entitled: "The New Man in Soviet Psychology":

"Another Bolshevnik premise of importance here is that of unity of truth. The ideology of Soviet society, it is maintained, is 'scientific' and self-consistent. Therefore, there can be only one correct theory in any area. In fact, there can only be one current general theory-Marxist ideology-and all particular theories must be consistent with it."

9. To maintain the assertion that the Party line always represents absolute truth and wisdom is possible only by means of a contrast. An absolute good requires an absolute evil. Dialectical materialism excluded any possibility of a compromise between, or a combination of, bad and good. Therefore, "Comrade Ivanov" is conditioned to be able to see and distinguish only two basic colors: black and white. He is taught that outside the Soviet Union everything is bad and everybody is unhappy. It is, therefore, quite obvious that everything in the Soviet Union should be good and all Soviet citizens should be happy. In reality, however, things are not that simple. For example, how can "Comrade Ivanov" be made to believe that a railroad accident, which occurred in the Soviet Union, is a happy event; or that the pair of shoes which "Comrade Ivanov" managed to buy, is good, despite the fact that both shoes are for the left foot? To avoid confusion and to deliver "Comrade Ivanov" from temptation, dialectical materialism provided an effective and safe remedy. It is called rational discussion or criticism and self-criticism. One of the leading Communist theorists, Andrey Zhdanov, made the following statement about the nature and significance of this dialectical method in his speech at the Philosophical Workers Conference in 1947 (Bolshevik Volume VII, 1947, Page 12):

"In our Soviet society, where antagonistic classes have been eliminated, the struggle between the old and the new, and consequently the development from the lower to the higher, proceeds not in the form of struggle between antagonistic and cataclysmic classes as in the case under capitalism, but in the form of criticism and self-criticism, which is the real motive force of our development, a powerful instrument in the hands of the Party. This is incontestably a new form of movement, a new type of development, a new dialectical law".

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Statements such as this, calling for criticism and self-criticism, have been a common feature of Soviet life from the time of the introduction of the first Five Year Plan (1928-1929) down to the present. Stalin himself wrote in his "History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union" as follows:

"A party is invincible, if it does not fear criticism and self-criticism, if it does not gloss over the mistakes and defects in its work, if it teaches and educates its cadres by drawing the lessons from the mistakes in Party work, and if it knows how to correct its mistakes in time."

Likewise, Malenkov stated in his speech to the 19th Congress of the Communist Party as follows:

"Criticism and self-criticism is the Party's tried and tested weapon in the battle against the shortcomings, mistakes, and unhealthy phenomena which undermine its sound organism. Criticism and self-criticism does not weaken, but strengthens the Soviet state, the Soviet social system and this is a sign of its vigor and vitality".

Practically every periodical published in the Soviet Union dedicates a special page or section to criticism and self-criticism and it serves as an important controlling device and an outlet for "Comrade Ivanov's" grievances and complaints, which otherwise could develop into dangerous dissatisfactions within the regime as a whole.

10. Actually, from the point of view of a bourgeoisie observer, Soviet criticism and self-criticism is nothing but a form of deliberate and carefully planned hypocrisy. Nothing and nobody is being criticized without an appropriate blessing from Soviet authorities. Even self-criticism is only a planned "confession" supplementing the official Soviet propaganda. Yet, for "Comrade Ivanov", who conceives freedom of speech as the ability to buy Soviet newspapers, criticism and self-criticism represent a genuine democratic achievement.
11. Since, according to another principle of dialectical materialism, the whole historical process is the result of a continuous synthesis, every period of revolutionary enthusiasm is bound to be followed by a period of spiritual depression. To find an antidote for such spiritual depression and to keep "Comrade Ivanov" in a state of permanent agitation, necessary artificial stimuli have to be periodically introduced. This "making of history" is done at carefully chosen historical moments and under strict supervision of the Communist Party. To such artificial antithesis, which influence "Comrade Ivanov's" life, belong notorious show-trials, public purges, peace offensives and various "shock" campaigns. While still attending high school, "Comrade Ivanov" learns the meaning of one more basic idea of dialectical materialism, namely, the law of transportation of quantitative into qualitative changes. He is patiently taught that all change has a quantitative aspect, that is, an aspect of mere increase or decrease which does not alter the nature of that which changes. But quantitative change, increase or decrease, cannot go on indefinitely. The qualitative change suddenly occurs at a certain critical point. This, "Comrade Ivanov" is told, is the most important difference between mere growth and development. He is shown several laboratory experiments illustrating this theory. For instance, transformation of water into steam, a weight attached to a cord where the weight can be increased until a certain point is reached and the cord is broken, etc. During these lectures, his professor never fails to point out that, unlike all bourgeoisie philosophies, dialectical materialism is a real science which can be supported by laboratory experiments. By this time "Comrade Ivanov" is ready to move one step further along the road of dialectical materialism. He learns from his professor that the principles involved in the development of society are not opposed to but are in essence the same as those involved in the development of nature. Therefore, society cannot be changed by evolutionary reforms (quantitative

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change), but only by revolutionary means (qualitative change). Stalin formulated this law in the following way:

"The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a 'struggle' of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions".

This he set forth in his book entitled, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism". Thus, "Comrade Ivanov" learns to perceive life as the struggle of opposing contradictions for survival. He knows that in this struggle between Communism and Capitalism a permanent compromise is a reconciliation of the differences and is unthinkable and that the socialist transformation of society is possible only on the basis of the transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes (revolutions and wars for 'liberation') and of unity and struggle of opposites (class struggle). He also knows that in this struggle the ultimate victory cannot be easily won. Stalin himself gave "Comrade Ivanov" a warning in this regard, when he said:

"Something in life is always dying. But that which is dying refuses to die quietly; it fights for its existence, defends its cause ... The struggle between the old and the new, between the dying and the ... such is the foundation of development."

This was set forth in Stalin's report to the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

12. As to the selections of the means and methods of struggle, "Comrade Ivanov" knows his dialectical materialism well enough to understand that they must be determined entirely by the concrete objective conditions. In his article entitled "Guerilla Warfare", written in 1906, Lenin observed as follows:

"Marxism insists that the question of the methods of struggle shall be investigated from an absolutely historical standpoint. Those who would treat this question apart from the concrete historical circumstances simply fail to understand the very elements of dialectical materialism. In the various periods of economic evolution and depending on the varying political, national and cultural, social and other conditions, various methods of struggle assume prominence and become the chief methods of struggle, and accordingly the secondary and supplementary methods of struggle also change in their turn. To attempt to express a definite opinion, yes, or no, regarding any particular method of struggle, without subjecting the concrete circumstances of the given moment and the given stage of its development to careful analysis, simply means abandoning the standpoint of Marxism completely."

Thus for "Comrade Ivanov" the choice between one or the other of the weapons in the Communist arsenal, which range from a top political speech on the possibility of peaceful existence to a super hydrogen bomb, is merely a matter of expediency. He knows that the Party leadership is governed only by logic of dialectical materialism.

13. Finally, there is one very important principle of dialectical materialism, which "Comrade Ivanov" is required to study. This principle implies that negation is the condition for positive progress, in which the old is abolished only after it has already produced the condition for the transition to the new. This is the so-called law of the "negation of negation". "Comrade Ivanov" is told that through the negation of negation the old stage in many processes of nature, history and thought is repeated on a higher level. Engels wrote in his book entitled "Anti-Duhring", that:

"Negation in dialectics does not mean simply no."

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Thus when a Communist says that he is against something, he actually means that he is for something different. The negation is a positive advance. The old is not simply abolished; it is abolished only after it has itself given rise to the conditions for the new stage of progress. "Comrade Ivanov" learns that a revolutionary period, a negation of the old society, is actually twofold: it implies not only destruction of the old system, but also creation of a new one. He is to conceive of revolution not as an end to the old order, as a destruction of the old civilization, but rather as their substitution with the new ones. This, "Comrade Ivanov" is told, is the fundamental difference between the Marxian revolutionary theory on the one hand, and nihilism on the other.

14. Engels defined negation of negation as follows:

"What, therefore, is the negation of the negation? An extremely general - and for this reason extremely comprehensive and important - law of development of nature, history and thought . . . It is obvious that in describing any evolutionary process as the negation of the negation I do not say anything concerning the particular process of development . . . When I say that all these processes are the negation of the negation, I bring them all together under this one law of motion, and for this very reason I leave out of account the peculiarities of each separate process. Dialectics is nothing more than the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought."

15. Lenin has pointed out that there is "a development that seemingly repeats the stages already passed, but repeats them in a new way, on a higher basis . . . a development, so to speak, in spirals, not in a straight line." This was set forth in Lenin's book entitled "Selected Works", Volume VII. "Comrade Ivanov" is given examples of such development in history of economic institutions, philosophy, art and literature. He is told, for instance, that primitive communism was negated and replaced by capitalism, and that modern communism arises as the negation of that capitalism. Here again his professor points out that the negation of negation is a real scientific law which operates also in nature. The higher development of life takes place through its negation and is possible only at the cost of death. This law is also found in the series of chemical elements in which properties of elements of lower atomic weight disappear and then reappear in the elements of higher atomic weight. Other examples are found in geology and mathematics according to Engels. "Comrade Ivanov" is warned that only by using this formula of the negation of negation, will he be able to find correct interpretation of complex and often confusing situations. Here is, for instance, in his book, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", what Stalin had to say about one of such highly confusing problems:

"We are for the withering away of the state. And yet we also believe in the proletarian dictatorship which represents the strongest and mightiest form of state power that has existed up to now. To keep on developing state power in order to prepare the conditions for the withering away of state power - that is the Marxist formula. Is it 'contradictory'? Yes, 'contradictory'. But the contradiction is vital, and wholly reflects the Marxist dialectics . . . Whoever has not understood this feature of the contradictions belonging to one traditional time, whoever has not understood this dialectic of historical processes, that person is dead to Marxism".

From his daily experience, "Comrade Ivanov" knows very well that "dead to Marxism" may easily mean also physically dead. Therefore, he will make a superhuman effort to master his dialectics.

16. This method of the negation of negation is supposed to provide "Comrade Ivanov" with satisfactory explanations for all seeming paradoxes and inconsistencies which he may discover in the theory and practice of Communism.

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By using this method of thinking, "Comrade Ivanov" can, for instance, understand why it is perfectly all right for the Communists to profess freedom while practicing dictatorship. He knows and accepts the fact that the Communist leaders are guided by this kind of "new logic". He knows that no matter what the cost in present sacrifices there must be built up a new order in which human beings would find a complete liberation. It is this ideal end which gives the Communist Party absolute power over the lives of millions of "Comrade Ivanovs".

17. It is important to know this Communist philosophy and attitude if it is to be attacked psychologically. It is necessary to know what areas of "Comrade Ivanov's" mind remain open for such an attack. It is necessary to know what words would reach the heart of "Comrade Ivanov" and which propaganda appeals would strike home. To assume that "Comrade Ivanov" and his fellow citizens are merely victims of the red tyranny and that they act in accordance with the Communist theory only because of their fear of punishment is wishful thinking and a dangerous simplification of the problem. Dialectical materialism, as it is applied in the USSR, teaches "Comrade Ivanov" not only what to think, but how to think. His mind is rendered responsive only to certain stimuli and there he can think only in terms of dialectical materialism. To reach deep inside of him, all offers of freedom from the red dictatorship, and asylum under our free system must be expressed in similar terms. The Communist ideology can be most effectively challenged only by another ideology or ideologies which start from the same principles. "Comrade Ivanov's" mind cannot be put into reverse at once and only a slow and gradual process can turn it away from Communism.

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