

First of all, I invite you to consider what has been the fate of the Marxist ideology in Soviet Russian hands, and the note that no one in the West has yet attempted a definitive answer to this question. I would suggest that while the basic doctrine has not altered, the assumptions which have underlain the Soviet approach to the West have been subject to considerable erosion. Ever since Lenin and Stalin deduced from Marxism that an attack on the U.S.S.R. was inevitable and switched the focus of official concern to national security, no one has restored the doctrinal primacy of world revolution. Since 1934, no Soviet leader has publicly spoken of the imminence of world revolution, and it was completely ignored in Stalin's last will and testament of 1952. Since 1939, even the achievement of Marxist communism at home has been indefinitely postponed, and Khrushchev has reduced this to the concrete goal of catching up with the West in output per head. When the communist parties of the world met in Moscow a year ago they proclaimed their unity in the cause of peace; and the idea of revolution, illogically confined to the parties of the communist bloc, was merely used to argue the need for party unity and the supremacy in their respective states.

Whereas Stalin left it to the zealous to infer that world revolution would somehow be the consequence of the successful advance of the Soviet Union, Malenkov openly recognized that nothing would survive a nuclear war, and although Khrushchev had to discredit him in order to preserve the rationale of his party, he too has demolished the Leninist prediction of inevitable war by telling his people that they are now secure from attack and by asserting that the notion of capitalist encirclement must be reconsidered. It is only now that Russian thought - several centuries after Western thought - is beginning to be secularized and to be separated from Marxist idolatry. Many intelligent Russians recognize that the only element of the Marxist prophecy which has been realized in the U.S.S.R. is the nationalization of ownership and they themselves have protested against the grosser forms of statism which have developed. More and more they are coming to realize that the pursuit of a Utopia is nothing more than the belief in material progress, a belief which they now consciously share not only with the West, but with all the less developed peoples of the world.

Nor have we in the West yet subjected the Soviet use of the international communist movement to searching analysis. Yet it is surely clear that this movement has long been exploited, not for the extension of communism or Soviet power, but for the immediate purposes of the Soviet state - to combat Fascism, to expose what they call the predatory United States, to break up NATO, to weaken Western influence in the less developed areas, and to promote schemes of partial disarmament that would be in the interest of the Soviet Union.