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The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

**Is existing socialism really in
"crisis"?** ●

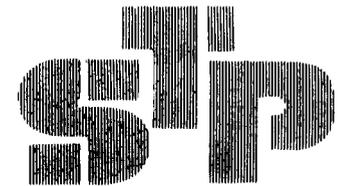
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supplement



1985

**SOCIALISM:
THEORY
AND PRACTICE**

The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

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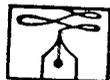
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I have read many of your publications. All of them are interesting and give a good idea of socialism.

Sewale Alemu,
teacher, aged 28,
Ethiopia

While reading your publications I came to the conclusion that socialism is the best socio-economic system for working people. This is the main thing. I live in a country of capitalist orientation. And it looks like this path is no good.

J. Odey,
Nigeria

Your publications are varied in content. But much more attention should be paid to the problems existing in Soviet society and to the ways of solving them.

Roberto Siampa,
storekeeper,
France

I am Chilean. But I have been living in Sweden for two years now. I think that most people in the West have a false idea about the Soviet Union. This is the work of imperialist propaganda. The main merit of your publications is that they tell the truth about the USSR without any bias, help the reader get to know Soviet reality.

Lesy Adalina Zúñiga Pino,
student, aged 22,
Sweden

●
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PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

PLANNED UNIVERSAL PEACE— UTOPIA OR REALITY?

by Fyodor BURLATSKY

Herodotus, known as the father of history, collected information, which filled nine books, as to how the Hellenes and barbarians waged their wars. He believed war to be a primordial, commonplace and essentially normal state of the human race. In the span of thirty centuries man, or the ruling classes, to be more exact, drilled to perfection the "art" of planning and waging wars. But the planning of peace is mentioned nowhere, either in Herodotus' works or in those of any of his successors. Is it then possible to speak about this in earnest in our day and age torn by class, racial, economic and political conflicts? Not only is it possible, but necessary!

INTERNATIONAL CONTRADICTIONS AND COOPERATION

Dialectics of world development in our epoch is marked, among other things, by a new historical contradiction affecting contemporary civilization as a whole. Intrinsic to socialism, one of the world systems, is the striving for peace and progress, whereas the other—capitalism—carries the threat of regress and war. But even in this complicated international situation, against the background of confrontation and cooperation between the two world systems, the solution of the problem of preventing world thermonuclear war must not be postponed. This problem must be solved today by using to advantage the balance of the world forces that has evolved as a factor of peace

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and peaceful coexistence. A number of important political questions arise in this connection. The foremost of them are: in what direction is the entire system of international relations evolving, what changes are taking place in the correlation of world forces and what can be done to make the struggle against the threat of thermonuclear war more effective?

The 26th Congress of the CPSU (1981) has furnished an example of a dialectical analysis of the entire increasingly intricate system of international relations. The principal ways of the development of this system are determined above all by the struggle between the two social worlds—the socialist and the capitalist ones.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU also emphasized the complicated processes unfolding in the sphere of international relations within the capitalist system. Specifically, it noted the growing contradictions between the economically leading capitalist centres, namely, between the USA, Western Europe and Japan. Although these contradictions of the capitalist system pale before the main contradiction of our epoch, one between capitalism and socialism, nevertheless the peace forces are in a position to take advantage of these contradictions, and, notably, the objective concern of the countries of Western Europe for the preservation of detente and the development of cooperation with the socialist countries.

On the other hand, processes under way in the countries of the world socialist system are by no means simple either. But, overall, they are marked by growing unity and cooperation. Herein is a source of their growing influence in the struggle for peace and progress.

Complicated processes are also unfolding in developing countries whose role has been growing on the world scene. Undoubtedly, these countries pursue their specific goals and interests which finds expression in their struggle for a new economic order, for the solution of the "North-South" problem and also in the policy of non-alignment followed by a majority of the young national states. However, there is a dangerous tendency towards the development of nuclear weapons in some of them.

In this kaleidoscope of contradictory tendencies on the international scene, world socialism is the main guarantor of peace and progress in the world. It is on its successes, initiatives and active peace policy that the question of whether nuclear war can be prevented crucially depends. The socialist countries stand for the establishment of uni-

versal peace which they view as an asset of all of mankind and the absolute value as distinct from relative values important only to individual states, nations and social groups.

The system of international relations is marked by sharp economic, social, political and ideological contradictions. Never before was the confrontation between the socio-political giants possessing the latest weapons of mass destruction more threatening than today.

However, one should not only see the nature of the two antithetical principles but also mankind's unity. Social contradictions in the international arena do not rule out political accords and compromises. The Communists are reminded of this by the experience of the anti-Hitler coalition which brought together the countries with fundamentally different systems at the time of World War II (1939-1945). This is also attested to by the successes of detente in the 1970s. Despite all sorts of obstacles, economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation clearly tends to expand and deepen. Economic interest, sharp economic competition, a desire to demonstrate superiority in the realm of social relations constitute the factors which stimulate economic, scientific, technical, cultural and political links.

Incomparably more complicated is the state of affairs in the political field. Here conflict situation prevails over cooperation. Although prevention of a world war accords with the interests of all countries, this goal is being deformed in the minds of many people through the efforts of certain political forces and social groups in capitalist countries. One such force is the military-industrial complex of the USA. The impact of political illusions and biases thriving for lack of information about the activities, plans and actual position of the socialist countries have been making themselves felt in these countries.

World development today is determined by the struggle between the two main trends in world politics. One trend, set by socialism, is marked by the efforts to curb the arms race and strengthen peace and detente, and defend the peoples' sovereign rights. The other trend, set by imperialism, is to undermine detente, whip up the arms race, pursue a policy of threats and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, suppress the liberation struggles. Herein is the key to the understanding of the historical period which started in the early eighties—one of bitter struggles between the forces of detente and anti-detente.

What are the causes behind the crisis of detente? How does it tie in with the principal contradictions of the contemporary world?

For the Communists it is crystal-clear that the US ruling circles are directly responsible for the sharp aggravation of the international situation. What is behind the changeover from detente to anti-detente in the USA itself?

This is a difficult question but, without doubt, the cause of the changeover should be sought not in any subjective moments but in the crisis of US geopolitics.

The seventies saw a decline in US economic strength within the Western alliances which caused Washington's irritation and concern. As far back as 1979, the Common Market countries outstripped the USA in the production of gross national product; Japan also began to outstrip it in a number of economic indicators. The USA is unquestionably much stronger than its allies in the military field; nevertheless, the leadership of that country (at least in its former authoritarian forms) within the Western alliances is being increasingly called into question.

Another factor behind the crisis of US geopolitics is the exacerbation of contradictions between imperialism and liberated countries. There has been a sharp contraction of possibilities for the USA to exert pressure upon liberated states on which its energy situation largely depends. Suffice it to say that the USA imports about 40 per cent of the oil it requires. The steep rises in oil and petroleum derivatives' prices (16 times, in the seventies) and the Iranian revolution which followed immediately afterwards dealt a telling blow to the US economy and swept up US strategists into a state close to hysteria. Washington began to fancy someone stealing up to the oil resources in order to strangle the USA economically.

The crisis of geopolitics compounded by the economic recession, inflation and growing unemployment in the USA stunned the US ruling circles. However, the conclusion they drew was utterly erroneous: to restore its political influence in the world by building up the country's military capability.

Does this mean that the aggressive forces of US imperialism intent on gaining military superiority over the USSR and proclaiming the "limited nuclear war" and "first strike"

doctrines really plan unleashing nuclear war in the foreseeable future? One finds this difficult to believe for Washington's strategists realize full well that nuclear war would be tantamount to suicide. One would rather assume that these forces want, at least for the time being, to win the war without actually starting it, by thrusting upon the USSR an exhausting arms race and pursuing a positions-of-strength policy. But these designs cannot but suffer a fiasco.

Besides, these forces would like not only to increase their pressure upon the socialist countries but also to strengthen US leadership in the Western alliances and to intimidate and subject to their influence the developing countries especially those on which the provision of energy resources crucially depends. But is it not obvious that in this way it would be impossible to change the military balance between the USSR and the USA, the correlation of their economic potentials, and solve the energy problem? This is a utopia, and the architects of the strong-arm policy in Washington are well aware of this. This is why they are driven to extremes, seeking to mitigate their contradictions with Western Europe and disorient the anti-war movements which have unprecedentedly gained in scope in many countries.

Attempts being made by the aggressive forces in the USA to blame all their problems and difficulties in the world arena on the Soviet Union are absurd and simplistic. Now that their feverish erratic policies towards the USSR, Western Europe and the world as a whole are countered by the balanced and clear Soviet programme for improving bilateral relations and the entire international climate, that the USSR and other socialist countries come up with more peace initiatives taking into account the security problems of the sides, the USA gains a historic opportunity to assess the situation seriously and with a sense of responsibility and alter its strategy with due regard for the genuine interests of its own and other states. The Soviet Union wants to have normal relations with the United States of America in the interests of the two countries and all of mankind. There is no reasonable alternative to it.

WORLD POLITICS IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

Basic to world politics whose objective goal is the prevention of thermonuclear war is a realistic assessment of its character and consequences. The study of the character of

future wars is usually founded on an analysis of past wars. Today this approach needs substantial specification.

A comparison of a world thermonuclear war with any of the known past wars reveals more dissimilarities than similarities and gives grounds to assert that world thermonuclear war, should it ever break out, would present an essentially new phenomenon from the military, social, economic, political and moral angles. Such a war would eventually spell untold disaster for all of mankind. It would not know any geographical boundaries and would not leave a single state intact.

The essential changes in the means of warfare make the hope of deriving any advantages from a total thermonuclear conflict increasingly senseless. In the nuclear age the political aims of war change fundamentally. The formula evolved by Karl Clausewitz, the German military theoretician and historian (1780-1831), whereby a "big" war corresponds to "high" policy does not apply to thermonuclear war because it does not match with the aims of "high policy": there would not be any victors, only the vanquished, after such a war. As for the moral aspect, the anti-humanism of nuclear weapons was widely condemned right after the destruction of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by US nuclear bombs in August, 1945.

World thermonuclear war has no precedents as far as its military-technical characteristics, possible consequences, or socio-political aims are concerned.

Meanwhile, the structure of international relations and the mechanisms involved in the war preparations still correspond to the pre-nuclear era. The thermonuclear arms race poses the greatest danger. This process reveals two tendencies. On the one hand, nuclear weapons are being piled up, and their destructive effects and accuracy enhanced; on the other hand, nuclear weapons are being further spread. Although an overwhelming majority of states have acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, an aggravation of tensions in any region can sooner or later encourage any state to join the "atomic club" for, technically, the development of such weapons is becoming more and more possible for them.

The United States of America was the first state to develop nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union was forced to take up the challenge. Later other countries joined in the race. The chance of arresting the pernicious process was

thus lost at the very beginning.

The "strongest" argument which the Western advocates of the continuing arms race invoke is that more than a third of a century has elapsed since the end of World War II and World War III has been avoided, despite the sharpest international conflicts, permanent tensions, local wars and international crises.

An analysis of the real causes of this demolishes the argumentation of the people advocating the buildup of nuclear arsenals.

First of all, a world war did not break out since it is now senseless because of the threat of mutual destruction or irreparable damage which each side can inflict on the other.

Second, it has become possible to prevent it because there has emerged a bipolar international system which has led to a balance of forces and questioned (or made impossible) the victory of any of the sides in a world conflict.

Third, a world war did not break out because the forces of peace now prevail over the forces that want to unleash it.

The Communists believe that all the three factors have played their role but Factor Three is the decisive one.

The military-strategic parity established between socialism and imperialism objectively serves to prevent thermonuclear war. But the main thing is that the socialist countries have acted as the decisive force in the struggle to prevent a world war, to limit the arms race and to prohibit, eventually, thermonuclear weapons.

It is precisely with this circumstance that the Communists link the decisive importance of the third factor, the most universal and all-embrasive one—the preponderance of the forces of peace over the forces of war. We mean here not a correlation of the sides' military capabilities within the bipolar system but political factors operating also within the Western alliances. The growing influence of the working class and the progressive intelligentsia whose majority has come out against thermonuclear war, the strong impact being exerted by world public opinion, the struggle being waged by the peace forces—all these factors have combined to create a situation which has made it practically impossible for aggressive politicians to adopt a decision on starting a pre-emptive or offensive thermonuclear war. The fact that the young developing states of Asia and Africa have emerged in the international arena and are active in

the struggle against the forces of aggression and colonialism has also been of immense importance for the cause of world peace. This has radically changed the alignment of world forces and become an important factor in countering imperialist policies. A new factor—the anti-war, anti-nuclear movement—has appeared today.

However, neither the preponderance of the forces of peace over the forces of war which has been decisive in preventing a world thermonuclear conflict, nor the growing awareness of its senselessness and irreparable consequences for all of mankind, nor the balance of forces within the bipolar system, and not even all these factors combined hold out some hope that thermonuclear catastrophe can be prevented for all time. Given the contemporary state of world affairs one cannot ignore the grim prophecies that the Apocalypse is inevitable. The irrationality of such a view does not mean that it is unreal. It is necessary to seek out cardinal solutions in order to prevent a thermonuclear conflict. How then can mankind achieve this aim?

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE

The instability of peace and the danger of war in our nuclear age raise the question of changing the entire system of international relations in a way that could guarantee universal peace and international cooperation. Assuming that thermonuclear catastrophe is not fatally inevitable and that the trends in the development of the contemporary world admit of the possibility of different scenarios of the future, the social and state policies of nations can play a great role in the struggle of these tendencies by stimulating the development of some of them and curtailing the influence of others. The contemporary states and systems of states possess sufficiently strong leverages capable of arresting the arms race and assuring world peace. There is a need for a sharp turn in international relations which would eventually result in their basic changes after a more or less long period. It is necessary to project structural changes in international relations and create conditions propitious to their planning and programming.

In pre-Marxian literature one can distinguish between the two principal views on assuring universal peace in the future. One contemplated the establishment of a world federal government or some world government bodies which would secure the maintenance of peace while the other en-

visioned the further development of a system which would maintain the balance of forces between the blocs or regulate it by the standards and norms of international law.

But the idea of establishing a world government in the foreseeable future is a utopian one. On the contrary, a further differentiation of state life is much in evidence the world over with more and more states emerging and former vast colonial and semi-colonial formations falling apart. This trend associated with nations' striving for independence and self-determination will continue.

The further enhancement of the effectiveness of the UN could also play an important role in strengthening universal peace. This is the only international organization potentially capable of pooling the efforts of all states to ensure peace and progress.

As to the contemporary views on the system of international relations based on a balance of forces, a number of Western scholars believe that it presupposes a further development of the bloc system including all states in the world. They regard as a possibility the emergence of such blocs as a North American, European, Latin American, African, Arab, Indian, Chinese blocs, and others. They go so far as to envision forms of government, governing bodies of international blocs, and sets of rules for settling internal conflicts in them. In their view, the supreme sovereignty of such blocs and their combined military might should guarantee the security of the member states and create a new balance of forces system in the world. Such a system, the authors of such projects hold, would be superior to the system of national states and would furnish stronger safeguards for the preservation of universal peace.

The vision of the world outlined herein plainly illustrates the flaws of the system of international relations based on an equilibrium of fear and the continuing arms race. Extrapolated to the future, the present international system indeed tends towards the evolution of regional military-political alliances and associations. But this would inevitably intensify the arms race within the framework of blocs and alliances which have a sufficient degree of autonomy in their actions. Replacement of the bipolar system by a pluralistic system would intensify the operation of the factors conducive to the outbreak of a world thermonuclear conflict. The possibility of legalizing conventional wars and,

hence, the probability of their growing into a world thermonuclear conflict would intensify the influence of irrational and accidental phenomena and raise insuperable barriers in the way of the efforts to stop the arms race, etc.

What then is a constructive alternative to the system founded on the present balance of forces?

It presupposes the implementation by all peoples and states of coordinated, concerted actions, including collective ones, via the UN—multilateral, bilateral, purposeful, guaranteeing the prevention of thermonuclear war and development of fruitful international cooperation. The aim is to strengthen the foundations of stable long-term relations which could not be destabilized by political conflicts spontaneously erupting in different parts of the world. This would eventually lead to a fundamental change in the entire system of international links.

Thus, a plan for universal peace (or a multitude of plans and programmes) laid at the basis of the activities of at least the leading powers and international organizations might present a realistic alternative. Such a plan could serve as a point of departure for a turn and eventually radical changes within the system of international relations for the sake of preserving peace.

One example of such a plan is the Soviet Peace Programme formulated at the 24th Congress of the CPSU (1971) and developed further at the 25th Party Congress (1976) and the 26th Party Congress (1981). In proclaiming the task of preventing thermonuclear war the Soviet Union safeguards not only its own interests but also the interests of mankind as a whole. The foreign policy efforts of the Soviet Union also accord with another important goal, one of assuring cooperation among all peoples and states.

It goes without saying that the planning of universal peace cannot be an undertaking of one country or even of one social system. There are some 160 states in the world today, and if war can be started by many of them, then universal peace, evidently, depends on all states or, at least, on a majority of them, and on the great powers possessing the greatest strategic military capabilities above all.

The Soviet Union has been doing its utmost to defend and preserve peace. It has assumed a unilateral pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; the Warsaw Treaty

countries have proposed to the NATO member states that they should conclude an agreement on a mutual non-use of either nuclear or conventional weapons. The socialist countries issued a call for a nuclear freeze which would furnish conditions propitious to more drastic steps towards a reduction of these weapons and, ultimately, their liquidation.

The main goal of drafting a plan or plans for universal peace is to slow down and stop the arms race, start a step-by-step disarmament in the field of thermonuclear weapons and, eventually, to repudiate the production and use of thermonuclear weapons. Experience gained over the past few decades has shown with sufficient clarity that the implementation of such measures is a very complicated undertaking. But mankind has no alternative.

From the book, *Modern
Philosophy on Problems
of Peace and Social Progress*,
Politizdat, M., 1983 (in Russian) *

IS REAL SOCIALISM IN "CRISIS"?

by Alexander KHUDOKORMOV

The Western mass media have recently been giving much publicity to the ideas of revisionists about the "economic crisis" gripping real socialism. What is behind these ideas and what are the true facts?

DISTORTING THE INTRINSIC NATURE OF SOCIALISM

Unlike those on the extreme right, revisionists, as a rule, formally recognize Marxist theory. Appealing to Marx who, they claim, is "misunderstood" in socialist countries, they seek to discover a "conflict" between Marxism and real socialism and then interpret this "conflict" as the ideological basis of the "crisis" gripping socialism.

The most blunt expression of these ideas is the revisionist thesis about the alleged "bourgeois degeneration" of socialism which, according to Marx, is acquiring features typical of capitalist society. Thus, R. Rossanda, leader of the left-revisionist Manifesto group in Italy, declares that, despite certain differences and specific features, the capitalist mode of production prevails in both the East and the West. This is seen in the fact, Rossanda continues, that fundamental features of capitalism are manifested in socialist countries, such as transformation of labour into a commodity, the alienation of working people and surplus value, the latter being defined by Rossanda as a part of the produced value for which the producers get nothing.

What can be said about this? Under socialism there are no exploiting classes and surplus product is appropriated,

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not by capitalists, but by working people themselves. As Marx pointed out, "surplus-labour in general, as labour performed over and above the given requirements, must always remain."¹ But this does not yet mean that the profit of socialist enterprises must be identified with capitalist surplus value. Under socialism, surplus product is to meet social requirements in developing socialist production, building up defences and maintaining the non-productive sphere and administrative bodies. In the final count, it is the guarantor of the future well-being and harmonious development of society.

Rossanda deliberately avoids mentioning the intrinsic laws of socialism, resorting only to superficial analogies. Yet the labour relations to which she refers make labour a commodity only when the means of production are divorced from the direct producers, i.e., when the exploiting class has the monopoly over them. In socialist countries no one can monopolize the means of production, barring all others access to them. A labour contract under socialism merely formalizes the worker's direct association with the means of production, defines his place in a particular sector of social labour. So references to superficial relations as proof of the transformation of labour into a commodity or the alienation of workers from the means of production are completely unfounded.

Even more blunt is Spanish right-wing revisionist F. Claudín. In his writings he calls the USSR "an expansionist and imperialist super-power which presents a danger to the cause of peace" and shares the blame for the aggravation of the "economic, military and political crisis in the world".² To give his geopolitical scheme some semblance of plausibility, he accuses the Soviet system of "exploiting the working people", "subjugating different peoples", and seeking "world expansion". "This is why," he writes further, "its interests clash with those of Western imperialism, which may lead to crises as is the case now or to compromises... but this in no way stems from the socialist content."³

The above quotations show the lengths to which revisionism may go in making common cause with the most rabid reaction. Bourgeois ideologists have long been impressing on the ordinary person that the "crisis" and "inter-

¹ K. Marx, *Capital*, vol. III, p. 799.

² *La social démocratie en questions par des socialistes, des sociaux-démocrates, des communistes*, Paris, 1981, pp. 267-268.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

nal weakness" of socialism are the direct results of its growing external "aggressiveness" and the mounting threat posed to "Western democracy" by the Soviet Union. But Claudín's revisionist assertions about the Soviet Union bearing equal responsibility for the "world crisis" are refuted by its foreign policy of peace and its concrete proposals for easing international tension. Socialism's dedication to peace is also proved by the fact that, at all rounds of the arms race, the USSR has only ever retaliated to the actions of the West and taken steps to develop new types of weapons only after the imperialist countries rejected its proposals for banning them.

Equally groundless are Claudín's charges levelled against Soviet society alleging that it exploits its own peoples and subjugates those in other countries. A most fitting reply was given to them by Fidel Castro who in one of his speeches, refuting those who accuse the Soviet Union of aggressiveness and expansionism, said: "How can the Soviet Union be labelled imperialist? Where are its monopoly corporations? Where is its participation in multinational companies? What factories, what mines, what oil fields does it own in the underdeveloped world? What worker is exploited in any country of Asia, Africa and Latin America by Soviet capital? Soviet economic cooperation with Cuba and many other countries is based not on the sweat and sacrifices of exploited workers of other countries but on the labour and efforts of the Soviet people."

Unlike Rossanda and Claudín, West German revisionist R. Bahro considers it impossible to identify the socialist system with a variety of state capitalism. But, like them, he speaks of a permanent crisis allegedly gripping all countries of the "Soviet bloc" and affecting every aspect of their life. Bahro sees the root of the "crisis" in the absence of truly socialist relations in the Soviet Union and the countries which have adopted the "Soviet model". According to him, the "proto-socialism" established in them has been unable to ensure the actual "emancipation of man", for it has retained centralized and hierarchic economic management and social administration, has not achieved complete self-management, has inherited the "old" division of labour, has not renounced commodity-money relations and distribution according to work done, etc.

Bahro attacks socialism from the "left". From his point of view, the "crisis of socialism" is above all that of the socialist way of life as a whole. Speculating on the contradiction, inevitable at the given level of the development

of productive forces, between the need for the harmonious development of the individual and his narrow production specialization, he calls, in part, for breaking the "vicious circle of the old division of labour", for eradicating differences between manual and intellectual labour, and between the manager and those he manages. But here Bahro contradicts Marx who said that the old division of labour enslaving man would be completely overcome at the stage of mature communism. Bahro claims that "for Marx, the elimination of the difference between manual and intellectual labour was to become the main content of the socialist phase."⁴

Thus, basically the revisionist concept of "protosocialism" is a distortion of the Marxist criteria of the maturity of communist society. Among other things, this concept utterly distorts the specific features of the lower phase of communist society epitomized in Lenin's definition of socialism as "not complete communism."⁵ Bahro wrongly identifies the "incomplete maturity" of communist relations with the absence of "genuine socialism". He patently minimizes the significance of such features of socialist society as the prevalence of collectivist principles, the absence of social antagonisms, and class and national enmity, a much higher vertical social mobility than in other societies, the real right of each person to work, education, social security, medical aid, etc.

In fact, Bahro's principle is "all or nothing". He thus creates a pretext for accusing socialism of not solving tasks which can be tackled only at the highest phase of communism or at the stage of direct transition to it. But differences between complete communism and real socialism cannot serve as a proof of a "crisis" gripping socialist society. They merely testify to the complexity and diversity of the tasks facing it.

A FALSE INTERPRETATION

But revisionists are not all so straightforward as, say, Claudín or Rossanda. Many of them try to deduce socialism's "crisis" from the difficulties and problems that crop up at the present stage in the development of the socialist economic mechanism. Their strategy pursues two aims: (1) by juggling with the facts, tendentiously selecting material and deliberately painting a gloomy picture, to port-

⁴ R. Bahro, *Krise des Marxismus?* Zürich, 1980, S. 92.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 476.

ray the inertia and difficulties as signs of the bankruptcy of the socialist economy; and (2) to interpret the defects of the economic mechanism in socialist countries as the inevitable result of the "intrinsic flaws" of real socialism. This strategy is entirely borrowed from bourgeois literature. The only difference is that bourgeois ideologists are opposed to all "models of socialism", while revisionists speak only of the collapse of the "Soviet model".

Analyzing the present stage in the development of the socialist economic mechanism, the revisionists come to the conclusion about the permanent and mounting "anarchy of the Soviet economy". The main sign of this is, according to them, the excess of social demand over supply, economic deficits. There is nothing original about this position. It can be traced back to the well-known theory of the "general super-tension" of the socialist economy, propagated by bourgeois ideologists. Revisionists only try to give a pseudo-Marxist gloss to this anti-communist doctrine.

But if one takes an unbiased approach to the matter, a different conclusion can be drawn. The short supply of some goods and services, on the one hand, and general anarchy, spontaneity and chaotic development of the economy, on the other hand, are quite different things. Elements of uncertainty connected with changes in the international situation, planning errors and other factors are not decisive under socialism. The integral national-economic complex functions on the basis of social ownership and this makes its balanced development as a whole and in individual types of products not only necessary but also possible. This possibility should not, however, be interpreted as an automatic guarantee of balanced development. This is achieved by adopting and fulfilling scientifically sound plans. The problem of improving the socialist economic mechanism lies therefore in consciously kept planned balance coupled with high efficiency.

A wrong interpretation of the problem is also to be found in the revisionists' arguments about socialism's "low comparative effectiveness" which is passed off as the cause and effect of its "economic crisis". This thesis is also used as a "proof" of fundamental divergences between Marx's theory of socialism (oriented to a higher level of productive forces than under capitalism) and the economic system in socialist countries.

In their economic competition with capitalism these countries had a "lower starting point". The issue of the comparative effectiveness of the two different modes of pro-

duction can therefore only be decided by taking the starting point and historical prospects into account. A comparison of dynamic indices over a long term refutes the claims about socialism being less able to develop productive forces than capitalism. In 1951-1981, the average annual growth rates of the national income, industrial and agricultural output in the CMEA member countries were 7.0, 8.6 and 2.9 per cent respectively and in developed capitalist countries 3.9, 4.5 and 2.1 per cent respectively. In this period, labour productivity in the USSR grew by 6.2 per cent annually compared with 2 per cent in the USA. In the last decade, economic growth rates in CMEA member countries were twice as high as in developed capitalist countries. The overwhelming majority of socialist countries registered a steady increase in their production potential and the people's welfare. All this disproves revisionists' allegations that the Soviet economy is in the grips of the crisis phenomena typical of capitalism.

THE FACTS TESTIFY TO THE CONTRARY

The revisionists most stubbornly and persistently attack the socialist countries' planned economy. They declare that it is unable to create a flexible mechanism which responds to the material requirements of working people, nor it ever will. Harping on the "vicious circle" enclosing production and consumption under socialism, the revisionists come to the conclusion that in socialist countries the gap between the pattern of production and requirements is not shrinking with the years but growing.

Other revisionist studies lay emphasis on the "terrible damage" done to the people's living standards by the biased and excessive preference given to heavy industry and the inefficient consumer goods production, lagging behind in terms of structure and quality. The thesis is peddled that the "enforced lag behind of consumer goods' production" is evidence of "helplessness of the peoples in the face of the absolute power of bureaucracy" pressing for the arms build-up and the "establishment of world domination".

These insinuations epitomize the conclusions borrowed from bourgeois ideologists. They essentially reproduce the reactionary doctrines about socialism's "indifference" towards the living conditions of the masses, about the incompatibility between centralized planning and the growth of individual requirements, about the "military orientation" of the socialist economy.

In actual fact, the planned socialist economy is a sphere in which the law of growing demand operates most fully. The record of Soviet economic development, shows that general tendencies in this field are a faster growth of the demand for non-food products and services compared with food products, a more rapid rise in the demand for the most nutritious food products and a constant increase in the demand for consumer durables, especially new articles. Thus, in 1950-1978, a 4.1-fold increase in real per capita incomes in the USSR was accompanied by a fall in the share of food products sold from 43.7 to 34.2 per cent. The proportion of non-food products in the trade turnover rose from 41.6 to 47.6 per cent. The share of cultural goods and domestic appliances increased 1.9 times, knitted goods 2.3 times, electrical appliances 8.7 times, with the general volume of the sales of these goods multiplied nearly 58-fold. In the 1970s, consumer goods production almost doubled compared with the previous decade. This, in our view, fittingly rebuffs the revisionist arguments about real socialism's inability to meet individual needs of working people.

As for the planned economic management, contrary to the revisionist view, it is not an obstacle in the way of the growth of the people's welfare but is a powerful factor of boosting it. Given a correct economic policy, it ensures a general balance between the population's income and expenditure. The planned maintenance of proportions between the production of the means of production (Group A) and consumer goods production (Group B) under mature socialism has a general tendency towards their drawing closer together. The facts disprove revisionist allegations about the one-sided and excessive development of heavy industry. From 1965 to 1980, for example, the share of consumer goods production in Soviet industry remained practically unchanged, apart from slight fluctuations (25.9-26 per cent). In the eleventh five-year plan period (1981-1985) it is growing at a faster pace and is to go up 27-29 per cent, its growth rates being more than 30 per cent higher than in the previous five-year period. This tendency will continue.

TAKING THEIR CUE FROM BOURGEOIS FUTUROLOGISTS

Recently, revisionist writers have more and more often been wrongly interpreting questions of environmental protection and the quality of life as a whole. Their general

tendency is to present the evils of the bourgeois way of life as general ailments afflicting "industrial society" and thus to attribute them to socialism as well.

R. Bahro's interpretation of the causes of the ecological crisis is worth noting. It is extremely wide and biased. First, by the ecological crisis Bahro means not only the aggravation of the ecological situation, but the dangerous state of the entire complex of relations between nature and society, including the supply of raw materials, energy and various resources. Second, and this is the main thing, he interprets the ecological crisis as a manifestation of the "modern crisis of civilization" or a "crisis of human civilization in general". All this is very reminiscent of the latest concepts of bourgeois futurologists who, like Bahro, speak of the "universality" and "worldwide scale" of structural crises, painting a gloomy picture of the "civilization's doom" and blaming it on socialism, too. Trying to be more or less consistent, on the surface, at least, bourgeois sociologists and economists appraise social development prospects only from the standpoint of the development of productive forces (uncontrolled technical progress, economic growth as such), dismissing production relations and, primarily, property relations as insignificant.

Bahro who poses as a "modern Marxist" cannot, of course, adopt such an approach. His concept eclectically combines strictly bourgeois theories of "stages of civilization", of "one industrial society" with Marx's theory of modes of production. When it is a question of capitalist countries the ecological crisis is declared to be a "product of capitalism" with its fundamental principle of producing surplus value at any cost. In doing so, Bahro points to the competition between the "super-monopolies" which, according to him, affect the environment "like a herd of mammoths." But, on the other hand, he claims that only the deepest, the most "material", stratum of the general crisis is manifested in the present ecological situation, the crisis which, because of the domination of capitalist industrialism on a world scale, is also the ultimate crisis facing mankind. This means that "capitalist industrialism" (and, hence, the "global crisis" engendered by it) is arbitrarily extended to the socialist society and identified with industrial methods in general.

This patently contradictory stance is explained by the class essence of modern revisionism, which champions the interests of the intermediate petty-bourgeois strata suffering from capitalism and, at the same time, attributes its

negative aspects to real socialism. This brings to mind Lenin's words, "An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade taking a clear and decisive stand... he will always wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree' with both..."⁶

The growth of modern industry undoubtedly holds a grave potential threat for the environment. But the system of relations between nature and society is not confined to the technical and economic sphere alone. In each society, and not only under capitalism, as Bahro believes, production relations are an effective factor of transforming productive forces and changing the very nature of their functioning. At the stage of developed socialism, environmental measures are an integral part of the economic policy of the Soviet state. There is a special countrywide service in the USSR which monitors the state of the environment in 450 towns, 1,900 rivers, lakes and ponds, the entire sea coast and a considerable part of the soil that is treated with chemicals.

As a result of purposeful measures taken in 1976-1980, the amount of harmful substances discharged into the air around towns and industrial centres has declined by 13 per cent. Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, has now the purest air and cleanest water reservoirs among the world's biggest cities. Great headway has been made in recycling water used in industry, in reducing the amount of untreated effluent and making waste water purer. The area for non-agricultural uses has been reduced by a half. Allocations for ecological purposes under the eleventh five-year plan reach 10.3 billion roubles or 11 per cent more than in the previous five-year plan. In future, these funds will be reallocated, with emphasis constantly shifting from the construction of waste treatment facilities to the introduction of low-waste and, wherever possible, waste-free technologies.

* * *

The revisionist theories of the "crisis" of socialism are many and diverse, but their aim is one and the same—to give a distorted picture of the situation in developed socialist countries, to denigrate the socialist system. This is why the bourgeois mass media give so much publicity to the revisionists' "ideas", for their attacks on real socialism bring grist to the mill of anti-communism.

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⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 7, p. 404.

FACTORS IN THE USSR'S VICTORY IN THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR (1941-1945)

by Evgeni KULKOV,
Oleg RZHESHEVSKY,
Igor CHELYSHEV

On May 9, 1945, thirty salvoes fired from one thousand artillery guns announced to the world the victory of the Soviet people over Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union delivered mankind from the threat of fascist enslavement. This was a victory won in the struggle against a strong and perfidious enemy that had used the military-economic capability of almost all European countries in its war against the USSR.

Why did the Soviet Union win the war? This question is still central to most works written by bourgeois authors about World War II.

A host of Western historians fulfilling a social order of imperialist reactionaries who have not relinquished their long-term strategic goals of weakening and possibly wiping out socialism, deliberately distort the causes of the Soviet victory in the battle against the fascist-militarist bloc. They have been at pains to explain this victory as being due to the impacts of various secondary factors which, in effect, could not, and did not, exert a decisive influence on the course of the struggle and its outcome. What,

then, are the real sources of the USSR's victory in the Great Patriotic War?

SECONDARY CAUSES OF NAZI GERMANY'S DEFEAT

The defeat of Nazi Germany in the war with the Soviet Union is usually explained away as being due to Hitler's incompetence in the military field and to Russia's unfavourable geographical conditions. What can be said on that score?

The exaggeration of the role of personalities in history has always been a methodological principle of bourgeois science. The world outlook of bourgeois scholars has inevitably blinded them to the objective laws governing the development of human society, led them to underestimate the role of the masses and exaggerate the role of personalities in history, be they kings or military leaders. In the myth about Hitler's sole personal responsibility for Germany's defeat these views are magnified so that under the

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pens of bourgeois historians the "demonic" figure of the nazi dictator becomes the force which allegedly alone determined Germany's destinies and the course and outcome of World War II.

Why this long-lasting adherence of the bourgeois authors to the myth of Hitler alone being guilty of the defeat of the nazi Reich? The purpose is to conceal the responsibility of the ruling classes of Germany, which raised and nourished nazism, for the plotting and unleashing of the war, for the peoples' sacrifices and suffering. At the same time this myth is being used for fomenting militarism and extolling the German General Staff which "never erred" and was prevented by the "unruly Fuhrer" from winning the war.

Discourses by bourgeois authors on the Fuhrer's intractability and his hostility towards the Wehrmacht leadership have the object of substantiating the false thesis that in order to defeat the USSR all that was needed was for Hitler to heed the advice of the Nazi generals.

The place and role of the individual in military history, and indeed in history in general, cannot be viewed and assessed in an abstract manner, outside the concrete social relationships and the class struggle. Lenin wrote in this connection: "The materialist sociologist, taking the definite social relations of people as the object of his inquiry, by that very fact also studies the real *individuals* from whose actions these relations are formed."¹

Beyond question, Hitler's personal traits did lay an imprint upon the history of fascism which inflicted untold disaster on mankind. These traits are rooted in the development level and way of thinking of Germany's ruling class at the time. The extreme adventurism which led to political and military miscalculations was intrinsic to the ruling circles of nazi Germany, and not to Hitler alone.

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 1, p. 406.

However, it would be wrong to conclude that the defeat of nazism and its military machine was predetermined at all events and under any circumstances. The lessons of the past show that when fascism evolves a state basis for its existence, when it gets hold of a mighty war machine, the fascist power structure and its leaders pose a mortal threat to the existence of all peoples, a threat that can only be eliminated at the price of the greatest effort and sacrifice.

The geographical factor played a secondary role in that war.

The geographical conditions, e.g. terrain features, water barriers and the climate do indeed affect the course of the military operations conducted by the belligerents—but not decisively. While the nazi troops advanced farther and farther into the depths of Soviet territory, their communications stretched making increasingly difficult the delivery of supplies to the army in the field. These factors were not decisive either. One cannot fail to recall here that neither the depth of the theatre of combat operations, nor the open spaces, nor the length of the communications could arrest the victorious advance of the Soviet armies which were thousands of kilometres away from their bases when liberating most European and Asian countries.

Nazi Germany's troops suffered defeats both in summer and in winter. In the autumn and winter of 1941 the nazi armies at Moscow found the winter cold "unexpected". This was not because the frosts really came too suddenly but because the adventurist plan for a "lightning" occupation of the USSR "before the onset of winter" was thwarted by the Soviet Army's stiff defence and subsequent counter-offensive. It is certainly easier to conduct combat operations in summer than in winter. But the Soviet Army having a moral superiority over the enemy—its high moral strength, the stamina and fortitude of its officers and men, the excellent standards of military training and proficiency of its commanders and political workers—

successfully carried out large-scale operations in winter too.

DECISIVE FACTOR

The economy, the foundation of a state's military strength, determines the course and outcome of war. F. Engels wrote that "the whole organization and method of warfare, and along with these victory or defeat, prove to be dependent on material, that is, economic conditions."² This idea was further amplified in Lenin's works. He said: "To wage the war *in earnest* we need a strong and organized rear. Even the best of armies, even people most sincerely devoted to the revolutionary cause will be immediately exterminated by the enemy, if they are not adequately armed, supplied with food and trained."³

The USSR's victory in the Great Patriotic War was logical because in pursuing their operations the Soviet Armed Forces relied upon the entire economic strength of the Soviet state. The Soviet system furnished the best forms of economic organization not only for carrying out national-economic tasks in peacetime but also for mobilizing the country's resources and capabilities in war time. The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, succeeded in regearing the national economy to serve the war effort within the shortest possible time despite an extremely unfavourable circumstances at the beginning of the war. It greatly increased the output of munitions and hardware and providing the Soviet Armed Forces with all that was necessary for routing the enemy and winning the war.

The conditions for the Soviet Union's economic victory in the Great Patriotic War over the strong and technically well-equipped enemy were created during the period of socialist

² F. Engels, *Anti-Duhring*. Foreign Languages Publishing House, M., 1962, p. 236.

³ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 27, p. 76.

transformations. While implementing the five-year period plans in the pre-war period the Communist Party and the Soviet government set the task of overcoming the country's economic backwardness and catching up with the advanced capitalist countries. Having laid the foundations of socialist society the Soviet people built a mighty and highly diversified industry whose output exceeded that of pre-revolutionary Russia almost ten times over. Major industrial centres were built in the Urals and Siberia furnishing the basis for an all-round development of the country's eastern regions. The collectivization of agriculture laid the grounds for increasing its marketable output and assured the victory of socialism in the village. The Soviet Union's economic self-sufficiency and its growing defence capability were based on the socialist economy developed according to plan and drew upon the country's ample raw material resources.

At the same time, in some industries the Soviet Union lagged behind the advanced capitalist countries, including nazi Germany.

Germany (without the European countries it occupied) produced more coal, steel, aluminium, lead and magnesium than the Soviet Union. Germany's chemical, machine-tool building, automotive industries and some other sectors turned out more products than the corresponding Soviet industries and sectors. Germany's machine-tool stock more than twice surpassed the Soviet Union's.

The economic base of nazi aggression against the USSR was significantly expanded by the production capacities of the occupied European states and Germany's allies. Nazi Germany's resources increased 2.1 times in electricity production, 1.9 times in coal production, doubled in steel production, and went up 1.7 times in aluminium production; its grain output quadrupled. The nazi-occupied European countries also supplied Germany with manpower in the munitions industries. As of late September, 1944, 7.5 million workers forcibly taken from the occupied countries were used

in Germany's industry and agriculture.

The war unleashed by German fascism came as the greatest test of the Soviet economic system. Its initial period, when the combat operations took an unfavourable turn for the Soviet Army, was the most trying. Nazi Germany, having fully mobilized army, seasoned and proficient in the conduct of sweeping offensive operations, took advantage of its numerical superiority and occupied a significant part of Soviet territory with 40 per cent of the Soviet population. The national economy was thus deprived of the coalfields producing 63 per cent of all coal, of the facilities that produced 68 per cent of pig iron, 58 per cent of steel, 60 per cent of aluminium, of a cropland area producing 38 per cent of all grain, of 38 per cent of all cattle and 60 per cent of the pig population. Between July and November, 1941, Soviet gross industrial output diminished 2.1 times. The enemy either destroyed or shipped to Germany 175,000 metal-cutting machine tools, 62 blast furnaces, 213 open-hearth furnaces, 18 million tons of farm produce, 7 million horses, 17 million head of cattle. It was precisely at the outset of the war, when the national economy was being regeared to a war footing, that the Soviet Union lost a significant part of its economic capability. Not only the ring-leaders of the Nazi Reich but also most specialists on the "Russian question" in America and Great Britain believed that the Soviet economy would not hold out after such losses, and would collapse. But they all overlooked the most important feature of the Soviet economy—its socialist character. Lenin pointed out that the defences of a country which had broken free from the yoke of capital, given land to the peasants, placed banks and factories under workers' control were superior to those of a country whose land was in the hands of landowners and whose banks and factories were privately owned.⁴ This idea was fully borne out

⁴ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 25, p. 365.

during the Civil War (1918-1920) and the Great Patriotic War.

Led by the Communist Party, the Soviet people performed a heroic feat: within the shortest time possible they regeared the national economy, with the war already raging, in a way that enabled the munitions industry to organize the production of arms and materiel which proved superior to those of Nazi Germany and its allies both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government organized the relocation of industrial enterprises from the country's western regions to the east where in the deep rear they were re-established upon new sites. Not a single country in the world had ever carried out such a sweeping and effective industrial relocation. In the second half of 1941 a total of 1,523 industrial enterprises including 1,300 major plants were moved out of the frontline zone either completely or partially. Simultaneously, the stocks of grain and provisions and a large number of farm machines, and 2,393,300 head of cattle, sheep and pigs were evacuated to the rear. In the first half of 1942 over 1,200 large enterprises relocated from the west were brought into operation in the eastern regions. A whole industrial country was in effect moved to the east. This was a grand operation equal in magnitude to the greatest military operations of World War II.

The war showed the superiority of Soviet experience in managing the national economy. The socialist economic system enabled the Soviet government and the Communist Party to employ a maximum of the country's economic capability to meet the front needs. In the war years the Soviet Union utilized the raw material resources, production capacity and labour more efficiently than any capitalist country. Out of every million tons of steel produced during the war the Soviet Union manufactured 1.5 times more planes than Great Britain, 2.6 times more than Germany and 3.2 times more than the USA. The USSR manufactured thrice more tanks and self-propelled

assault guns than Germany, 3.8 times more than Great Britain and 6.3 times more than the USA. It put out 5.4 times more artillery guns than Great Britain, 7.7 times more than the USA and 4 times more than Germany.

Under the trying wartime conditions and despite the sharply diminished material and human resources, the Soviet state secured an increased manufacture of arms and materiel. In 1943 the superiority of the Nazi army in all types of hardware and materiel was ended. Towards the close of the war the Soviet Armed Forces outstripped the Wehrmacht in the number of tanks, self-propelled assault guns and artillery guns and mortars thrice and almost 8-fold in the number of warplanes. During the war years the USSR turned out a total of 102,800 tanks and self-propelled assault guns, about 482,200 artillery guns and 112,100 planes.

The front and the rear were an integral invincible camp in the years of the Great Patriotic War. The economic victory of the Soviet Union was achieved thanks to the unremitting organizing endeavour of the Communist Party and the strenuous effort of the Soviet people. It was crucial event in the history of the Great Patriotic War.

ON THE QUESTION OF LEND-LEASE

The story that consignments of arms, combat equipment and certain strategic materials which the Soviet allies in the anti-Hitler coalition, the USA and Great Britain, delivered to the USSR under the lend-lease agreement were decisive for the Soviet victory recurs every now and then in bourgeois publications on the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people.

For many years now bourgeois politologists have been harping the thesis that the Soviet Union would not have held out against the attacks of the Nazi juggernaut had it not been for the Western allies' "selfless" aid in strategic materials and arms and wea-

pons. To what extent are such claims true? Let us examine the facts.

Addressing US Congress on May 20, 1944, F. Roosevelt, then the US President, emphasized that the Soviet Union used the arms manufactured mainly at its own plants. In late May, 1945, during the negotiations with Soviet statesmen in Moscow, H. Hopkins, President Roosevelt's personal envoy, stated that the USA had never believed that US lend-lease aid was the chief factor in the Soviet victory over Hitler on the Eastern front. It was achieved through the heroism and blood shed by the Russian army.

The significance of Allied aid to the USSR has never been denied in Soviet official documents and historical works. In the war years the Soviet Union received from the USA 14,700 planes, 7,000 tanks, about 427,000 motor vehicles, a certain amount of communication means and facilities, provisions, and other supplies. These deliveries made up four per cent of all Soviet war production. All told, the Soviet Union received from the USA war materiel worth 10 billion dollars which permits accurately to determine the proportion of lend-lease deliveries in the US budget: 3.5 per cent of the total US military expenditure.

The deliveries to the Soviet Union were made irregularly, with long intervals. On July 18, 1942, on the second day of the Battle of Stalingrad, Britain's Prime Minister W. Churchill notified the Soviet government that Britain and the US would thenceforth stop sending convoys via the Northern seaway to the Soviet Union. Notwithstanding a resolute protest from I. V. Stalin who pointed out that such a step by the Western Allies was impermissible in a situation where the Soviet Army exerted every effort in fighting the common enemy, neither the USA, nor Great Britain revoked their decision. It was not until September and December 1943 that they sent two convoys to the USSR. A longer break in the dispatchment of supply convoys followed in 1943, lasting from April to November. So, Great Britain and the USA did not

fulfil even so much as a half of their aid commitments.

Further, tactical and performance characteristics of certain types of equipment delivered by the USA and Great Britain were inferior to Soviet-made hardware. The Soviet air units which used British and US aircraft sustained more losses than those equipped with Soviet hardware. Consequently, the Soviet Air Force Command was compelled to discard them in 1942. Quite often equipment arrived either in incomplete sets or in disrepair.

Meanwhile, already in 1942 Soviet industry sharply increased the output of combat equipment and produced 25,436 warplanes, 24,446 tanks, over 158,000 artillery guns and mortars, and commissioned 15 categories of warships.

If the US ruling circles decided to give some aid to the USSR, they were motivated solely by their own interests. F. Roosevelt and many of his close associates believed that it was necessary to aid the Soviet Union first of all in the interest of the USA. They viewed the Soviet Union as their ally in the struggle against Nazi Germany which, upon establishing a military-political alliance with Japan and Italy and occupying almost all European countries, turned into a highly dangerous opponent and rival of the United States of America. W. Churchill took the same position. In his speech in the British Parliament in the summer of 1941 he said that the defeat of Russia would mean their defeat and the defeat of the United States.

These statements eloquently testify that the USA needed the Soviet Union as an ally in its war with Nazi Germany, and guided by these realistic considerations, the Roosevelt Administration decided to give aid to the USSR.

One more fact is worth mentioning here. According to statistics released by the US Department of Commerce the USA received from the USSR in the war years 300,000 tons of chromium ore and 32,000 tons of manganese ore, a considerable amount

of platinum, furs, and a whole range of primary commodities and goods. J. Jones, former Secretary of the US Department of Commerce, noted later that the USA had regained its money and, moreover, obtained profits which was not often the case in trade relations regulated by his government bodies.

As is known, in the summer of 1945 the US deliveries under the lend-lease were suspended by decision of the then President Truman. This was not because the war in Europe was over but because the US Administration adopted a new approach to the question of economic aid to the Soviet Union, which badly needed loans and plant deliveries from the USA in order to rehabilitate its war-ravaged economy. The damage done by the war was immense. The Nazi invaders demolished and burned down 1,710 towns and cities, over 70,000 villages, and over 6,000,000 buildings and made some 25 million people homeless. The Hitlerites destroyed 31,850 industrial enterprises, 65,000 kilometres of railway track and 4,100 railway stations. They ruined and plundered 98,000 collective farms and 1,876 state farms and 2,890 machine-and-tractor service stations. Direct damage inflicted upon the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany and its satellites in temporarily-occupied Soviet territory stood at 679 billion roubles. The total damage including military expenditures and the loss of incomes from the national economy in the occupied regions amounted to a colossal sum, 2,569 billion roubles.

As for the United States, it not only did not sustain any material loss during the war but even profitted from it. The Soviet Union was a US ally in World War II. It would seem that the United States had a duty to aid it in rehabilitating its national economy; there was no question of any charitable or gratuitous aid; what was to be expected was provision of credits to the USSR on a contractual basis and the placement of Soviet orders for industrial plant and equipment in the USA. But the Soviet Union was denied this.

STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War was due not only to the advantages inherent in the socialist economy but also to the strength of the Soviet state and social system, friendship between the peoples inhabiting the USSR and the unity of the working people of all nationalities.

Historically it has been proved that the capacity of a state to win a war depends above all on its social system, on the class and political foundations, on the attitude of the broad masses to the state and war. The Soviet Union pursued just, liberatory goals in the war, it defended socialism, the most progressive social system.

In planning its attack upon the USSR Nazi Germany did not only stake upon its military might, it also counted upon the supposed weakness of the state and social system in the Soviet Union. These calculations failed to materialize. History taught a grim lesson to those who hoped to crush the Soviet Union, who would not see the viability of the socialist system born of the Great October Revolution.

Way back, in 1919 Lenin said that socialism was invincible in clashes with exploiter states. "A nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants realize, feel and see that they are fighting for their own Soviet power, for the rule of the working people, for the cause whose victory will ensure them and their children all the benefits of culture, of all that has been created by human labour—such a nation can never be vanquished."⁵

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 29, p. 319.

All Soviet people rose up to defend their socialist Motherland. They exerted a decisive impact upon the course and outcome of the war by fighting battles, working in the rear and comprehensively helping the front.

The war was an unprecedentedly sharp and uncompromising clash between the two diametrically-opposed ideologies: the most humane socialist ideology versus the most misanthropic fascist ideology. The Soviet people won not only the military, political and economic victory in the war; it also defeated the enemy on the ideological front.

The struggle for the freedom and independence of the socialist country further cemented all peoples of the USSR. Representatives of big and small peoples of the country fought shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the Soviet Army. In 1944, in 200 infantry divisions comprising over one million servicemen Russians made up 58.3 per cent of the total, Ukrainians—22.3 per cent, Byelorussians—2.7 per cent, Uzbeks—2 per cent, Kazakhs, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and Armenians and others—1.5 per cent—each nationality. An Estonian corps, three Kazakh divisions, one Latvian division, one Lithuanian division, one Georgian division, one Armenian division and one Bashkir division were formed in the war years. There were other national units too.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War and the defeat of the forces of fascism and militarism were determined historically, by the entire development of the USSR, by the objective potentialities and advantages inherent in socialism, by its social and state system.

From the book, *The Truth and Lies About World War II* by E. Kulkov, O. Rzheshhevsky and I. Chelyshev, Voenizdat, M., 1983 (in Russian) *

**WESTERN COUNTRIES:
MANOEUVRES
OF THE BOURGEOISIE
AND THE WORKING CLASS
MOVEMENT**

by Nikita ZAGLADIN

In the last few years conservative, right-wing forces reflecting the interest of the most reactionary wing of the monopoly bourgeoisie have come to power in some leading capitalist countries (the USA, Britain, the FRG). On the international scene, they have set a course for escalating the arms build-up. Reactionary tendencies have gained prevalence in domestic policies too.

It is not surprising that reaction is on the offensive in many Western countries. The point is what is the reason for this offensive?

INCOME GAP

First of all, the structure of the working class has become more complex with the introduction of the scientific and technological achievements into the economy. Capital is rapidly intensifying exploitation both of manual and intellectual labour. This has laid foundations for the establishment of broad class alliances of the proletariat employed in the traditional industries with intellectual workers. However, representatives of the technical intelligentsia, the

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petty bourgeoisie ruined by the crisis, urban middle strata and office employees, while they do not subjectively identify themselves with the working class, do join its ranks, bringing with them prejudices and biases of the middle strata, in particular, their distrust of Communists, of the socialist countries.

The growth of class consciousness of working people is retarded by a considerable income gap between the different working class strata. Thus, according to US press reports, the privileged sections are workers who are AFL-CIO union members (in the iron and steel, automobile, tyre and petroleum-refining industries, especially at enterprises of the military-industrial complex). Their incomes, on the average, are 40 per cent higher than those of most workers. In various polls they, as a rule, refer themselves to the "middle class". Indeed, sometimes their incomes are higher than those of many representatives of the petty bourgeoisie—petrol pump owners, shopkeepers, etc. At the same time, wages of workers employed in the textile and food industries and retail trade are 70-80 per cent lower than the average. This fact is widely exploited by the bourgeoisie to keep the working people under its ideological and political influence.

The low-paid categories of workers are opposing this policy of the capitalists. But their struggle for social and economic rights is complicated by the fact that most of them belong to national and ethnic minorities. Thus, in the USA a Black worker's average income is usually not higher than 60 per cent of a white worker's income. Workers of Latin American origin, too, suffer from discrimination. While, according to official statistics, in the USA as a whole 11.4 per cent of the population (one family in every nine) lived below the poverty line in 1979, among the Black population the figure was 30.6 per cent (one family in every three) and among Spanish Americans 21.6 per cent (one family in every five). For the white workers the figure was 8.7 per cent (one family in every twelve). The burden of unemployment was shared in approximately the same ratios.

It is important to bear in mind that in the USA the protest of the low-paid categories of working people usually assumed a racial and national form and monopoly capital has learnt how to combat it. Moreover, the mounting competition on the labour market, a traditional factor of disuniting the working class movement, helps bourgeois ideologists to impress on the white workers that their main enemy is a man with a different colour of the skin who is prepared

to do the same job for less pay. These tactics are also used by the bourgeoisie in the EEC countries where there are large contingents of immigrant workers.

SAFEGUARDING THE INTERESTS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

The policy of splitting the working people's unity, the policy of social manoeuvring is pursued on an increasingly broader scale as state-monopoly capitalism develops. The bourgeois state is a direct regulator of labour conflicts. It legislatively formalizes the status of national minorities and immigrants, recording, as a rule, their unequal position.

As the experience of the 1950s and 1960s demonstrated, the development of state-monopoly capitalism makes it more difficult for the masses to realize the real antagonisms of capitalist society. The working class is confronted today, not by individual employers, but impersonal monopoly associations controlled by leading groups of the financial oligarchy, international monopolies and the bourgeois state. The working people often see the state as a force standing above classes and capable of protecting their interests. The fact of the matter is that in the conditions of the technological revolution the reproduction of skilled labour on a growing scale becomes a pressing social requirement compelling the bourgeois state to shoulder the major portion of responsibility for the proper education, medical care and social security of working people. By redistributing the population's primary incomes, the state accumulates considerable financial resources. With the help of a rigid taxation system it extracts funds from office employees, the petty and middle bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia and the working class, and redistributes these funds through the central and local budgets. This enables the state to meet the working people's demands actually at their own expense, a fact which they do not often realize. In capitalist countries the share of taxes in the national income averages from 25 to 50 per cent and direct taxes account for one quarter to one-third of a working people's income.

The illusions about the state standing above classes are fostered by the assumption that its bodies, acting as mediators in settling conflicts between trade unions and employers, sometimes, on the face of it, take the side of working people granting their demands for higher pay. But this does not reduce the rate of exploitation and, so, does not infringe on the employers' interests. The growth of real wages is actually reduced to nought by galloping

inflation. Its high rate (in the majority of capitalist countries exceeding 10 per cent a year) gives the bourgeoisie a chance to recoup the concessions they were forced to make to working people.

THE ROLE OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

The conditions of the proletariat's class struggle are being considerably complicated by the process accelerating the internationalization of capital. This process is symbolized by transnational corporations, giant monopoly associations mushrooming all over the world. They establish their branches in countries where labour is cheap and transfer contracts to them from the developed capitalist countries. They provoke direct competition between national contingents of the working class, pitting low-paid workers from the "periphery" of the capitalist world (for example, workers in the USA, the FRG and Britain and workers in South Korea and Taiwan) against the workers of the West, who have won relatively high living standards in the course of class struggles. This creates a whole set of new problems for the international working class movement.

The unrestrained expansion of transnationals brings them into a conflict with the mechanisms of state-monopoly regulation of the economy established in capitalist countries. Under their pressure attempts are being made to form a system of supranational state-monopoly regulation within the framework of imperialist integration. These mechanisms are still more removed from the working people than the mechanisms of state-monopoly capitalism. As these systems develop a situation obtains when separate contingents of the working class are confronted by the combined might of the capitalist system as a whole, and not by individual employers as in the past, and not by the bourgeois state.

TWO ALTERNATIVE WAYS

The social and economic conditions in which the class struggle is developing in capitalist countries are extremely contradictory.

Take, for instance, the position of the privileged section of the working class. It breeds illusions about the identity of its interests with those of the employers, may lower its social activity as for the time being its basic demands are more or less satisfied. At the same time, a base appears for their making qualitatively new demands which capitalism

cannot satisfy. After all, in any case the achieved material well-being is unstable being sapped by inflation and even a temporary loss of job. The well-being of the working man depends on the play of uncontrollable forces which, from his point of view, are spontaneous and accidental. His life and position depend on ups and downs in production, the situation on the world market and many other factors. The main of them is the will of a given employer or director of a concern, which is beyond his control and which aims at profit maximization from the production process. This gives the worker the feeling of insecurity, dissatisfaction with himself and society.

Take another example: the position of the majority of working people. For them the struggle for their current, economic demands is as important as ever. But it is becoming more and more difficult to wage this struggle in the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism and growing competition on the labour market between workers of different nationalities and races both in the world as a whole and in individual countries. On the one hand, this may breed social pessimism, a feeling that the struggle is senseless and purposeless. On the other, this may stimulate the search for new forms of struggle and organization corresponding to the present conditions, say, by coordinating the actions and economic demands of workers employed at subsidiaries of one and the same transnational corporation in different countries. It is also obvious that a successful struggle against the TNC system may be waged by political means. Thus, an effective reply to the sabotage of workers' demands by a transnational corporation is political pressure on the respective government in favour of nationalization of the subsidiaries of the given international monopoly.

Thus, social and economic conditions allow two alternative ways for the working class movement to develop. One of them is the scaling down of the level of the class struggle, submission of the proletariat to the dictate of the monopolies and the bourgeois state. The monopoly bourgeoisie is pushing the movement on this road. But advance along this road means perpetuation of the capitalist system. The other road is raising the working class movement to a qualitatively new level from the standpoint of the character of its demands, the forms of its organization and methods of struggle. This choice objectively meets the fundamental interests of working people, the interests of social progress.

The appearance of such alternatives seems quite natu-

ral at turning points in historical development. They have repeatedly arisen before the working class movement. The choice of the road is not, naturally, determined by a wilful decision of one or another political leader. It depends on a multitude of factors and, first of all, on the development of the ideological and political struggle in the capitalist countries. This truth is increasingly dawning on the ruling circles of bourgeois states.

IDEOLOGICAL ACCENTS ARE SHIFTING

Public opinion polls held in the 1970s in the capitalist countries revealed that a type of mentality has appeared there which can be defined as transitional: the overwhelming majority of working people were dissatisfied with their position. But this discontent did not have a precise social address. The masses did not yet come to a clear realization of the alternative to the existing system, of finding ways leading to it. This was the position back in the 1970s when the ruling circles of the bourgeois countries undertook a series of ideological and political manoeuvres aimed at turning political and ideological processes in society to the advantage of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Accents were shifted in the ideological conditioning of the masses. Frank advocacy of capitalism, the forecasts that it was to grow into a post-industrial, "technotronic" society receded into the background. Criticizing the gains of real socialism and discrediting communist parties was now the spearhead of propaganda. In fact, in the mid-1970s bourgeois ideologists indirectly admitted the evils of capitalism but impressed the idea on the working people that there was no alternative to the existing orders. Any attempts to change these orders, they said, would only aggravate the position of the masses.

The working people were intimidated with the "horrors" of the social revolution with its "inevitable" rampage of violence and terror, which would, allegedly, deprive them of the few gains they had made. A smear campaign was mounted to discredit the theory and practice of real socialism.

Simultaneously, a series of political manoeuvres were undertaken in the capitalist countries in the 1970s to undermine and weaken the influence of communist and workers' parties, the main force capable of fostering revolutionary awareness in the masses and turning their spontaneous

discontent into a conscious protest against the realities of capitalism.

On the one hand, the US ruling circles and NATO command resorted to open pressure to sway the political choice of electors in those countries where power could be assumed by Communists or left alliances with their participation. On the other hand, a number of influential bourgeois theoreticians and political leaders made it understood that the objections of the USA and NATO to the participation of Communists in the governments of West European countries would be lifted if the communist parties gave guarantees of "exemplary", from the standpoint of the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie, conduct. In particular, "recommendations" were made that they should not recognize the historical role of the working class, renounce the demands for the nationalization of subsidiaries of transnational corporations, and discontinue their criticism of US war preparations.

By the late 1970s the ideological strategy of the bourgeoisie had changed again. The line for "taming" the communist parties was dropped: experience revealed the futility of the attempts to prevent the radicalization of the masses by means of a "flexible" policy. Nor did the West European communist parties go social-democratic, as the bourgeoisie hoped.

As for the Social-Democratic parties, they were, as before, seen by the bourgeoisie as an important factor of preventing revolutions and helping it to contain the mass discontent within limits acceptable for capitalists. At the same time, bourgeois theoreticians took account of the fact that the signs of growing mass discontent appeared when social-reformist or bourgeois-liberal parties, bent on using Social-Democratic "recipes" in social policy, were in power in many Western countries. According to the data quoted at a seminar sponsored by the University of Reading (Britain), mass disappointment with the capitalist orders extended also to the activity of Social-Democrats. Thus, sociological studies show that in the 1970s only 3 per cent of British workers and 23 per cent of Swedish workers believed that the reformist policy led to the establishment of social equality. A mere one per cent of British workers and 20 per cent of Swedish workers (against 6 and 52 per cent respectively in the 1950s) attributed the improvement of their conditions to the activity of social-reformist parties. The seminar participants came to the conclusion that Social-Democrats would very likely either lose the support of

industrial workers or experience strong pressure in favour of a radical policy going beyond the existing system of property and government.

Fearing that the masses, seeing the limitations of the social-reformist policy and getting disappointed in it, would adopt the alternative proposed to them by the communist parties, the ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie coupled the attacks on real socialism with their own "alternative" serving the interests of big capital. It was advanced by the neo-conservatives, ideologists of the right forces which have recently come to power in a number of Western countries. While not abandoning anti-communism, they mounted an ideological attack on the positions of social-reformist and bourgeois-liberal parties.

The right forces are trying to convince working people that, first, the end of state interference in the economy would stimulate the expansion of production so that unemployment would decrease; second, cuts in social spending would make it possible to reduce taxation on all social strata and thus increase workers' real incomes and third, social reforms harm the working people's interests since they lead to counter-actions by employers. Thus, after the enactment of the law on sick benefits employers endeavour to sack all workers in poor health. Because of the introduction of maternity leaves they are not too willing to employ women. In response to legislation on minimum wages employers dismiss those workers whose labour cost, in their view, is below the established level.

Such ideological line reflected in the election programmes of the right forces in the USA, Britain and the FRG had a definite response among the masses, for the neo-conservatives operated with real facts. The working people could not quickly enough realize the insolvency of the alternative proposed to them by the right. An obstacle to this was also the system of social demagoguery used by the "New Right", which played up the ideas of abstract humanism and Christianity which are supposedly translated into reality in the course of the development of "democratic capitalism".

Realizing that promises of a "better life in future" could not have a strong effect on the social conduct of the masses, the imperialist strategists decided to back up the ideological offensive of the right forces with the traditional means which the bourgeoisie had used in the 19th century to buttress its power. An atmosphere of militarist psychosis, of fear of a threat from the outside, was created in the lead-

ing capitalist countries. Under cover of the myth about the "Soviet war threat" the conservative forces, on the one hand, set into motion new techniques for discrediting real socialism and its foreign policy and, on the other, tried to divert the masses from the class struggle. However, in the present situation, the war hysteria has had contradictory consequences. Indeed it can distract the masses for some time from the class struggle. However, the mounting war threat in the nuclear age impels them to take actions against the militarist policy carrying the threat of destruction for all mankind. The result is a higher level of political activity of the masses.

NEW TASKS

While discussing present day ideological manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie, it is important to bear in mind that its ability to manipulate mass consciousness is not boundless. Communist and workers' parties have strengthened their positions in the last decades and, hence, are better able to fight for the masses.

Back in the early 1970s most communist parties came to the conclusion that the period of the relatively quiet development of capitalism was drawing to an end and that their task was to go over from the mustering of forces and gradual winning of new positions in local government bodies and parliaments to new, more vigorous forms of activity. A number of communist parties put forward new programmes of struggle for socialism. Their aim is: by using the positions already gained and the mass discontent with the existing orders, to lead the working people to the democratic alternative. Communist parties hold that the struggle for anti-monopoly changes which do not yet go beyond the framework of capitalist society would make the masses realize the need of a struggle for socialism and that these changes themselves would pave the way for carrying out socialist changes.

The search for new methods of struggle for socialism is not at all a smooth process in all fraternal parties. Not all of their activists have grasped the need for such a search. The very idea of advancing programmes which could become a guide to action for the working people at the present level of their political awareness implies certain "attuning" to the moods of the moment. And it is not always easy to combine this course with fidelity to Marxist-Leni-

nist principles. In a number of parties a tendency has surfaced towards criticizing the achievements and historical role of real socialism.

It is still too early to sum up the search for new ways leading the masses to the struggle for socialism. It has not yet been completed. Complex contradictory processes are at work in a number of fraternal parties. However, on the whole one gets the impression that the masses of working people in capitalist countries continue to regard communist parties above all as parties struggling for socialism. The idea of a "democratic alternative" has not yet brought an increase in the votes cast for Communists. At the same time, attempts at "attuning" to the moods of the electors have produced some bewilderment and misunderstanding in that section of the working people which has already chosen its place in the political mosaic of bourgeois society.

A fundamentally new development which threw the bourgeoisie and its politicians into disarray and which was not immediately appraised by Communists was the emergence of so-called new social movements. The strongest and most influential of them are movements fighting against militarism, for the preservation of peace. A characteristic feature of these movements is that many of their participants belong to social strata that so far were politically passive. They rally round concrete demands which in their totality do not undermine the pillars of capitalism but which seriously affect the interests of monopoly capital.

The rise of "new social movements" is logical in principle. Now that a considerable portion of the population in the West has lost faith in the efficacy of the capitalist system and in bourgeois political parties but has not yet arrived at the realization of the inevitable replacement of capitalism by socialism advocated by Communists, the rise of movements reflecting the "transitional" state of consciousness was quite natural. They do not fight for socialism but, at the same time, they are rejecting some capitalist realities.

Fraternal communist parties diverge significantly in appraising the anti-capitalist potential of the "new social movements" and prospects for alliances with them. The future of these movements is not clear either. Will they become a factor of political life in bourgeois society for a long time to come or will they disintegrate as the current tasks put forward by their leaders are solved? No precise answer can yet be given to this question.

Broadly speaking, the contradictory tendencies of modern capitalism make it impossible to give a clear answer concerning the development prospects of the working class movement. It seems that three possibilities should be kept in mind.

First—discontent of the masses with their position and their unpreparedness to wage a struggle for the socialist alternative are fraught with the growth of political passivity and apathy, weakening of the organized working class movement which, in turn, opens the road to the establishment and consolidation of the rule of the right, reactionary forces for a long time ahead.

Second—conservation of transitional forms of consciousness, the incorporation of the “new social movements” as a long-term factor into the political life of capitalist countries, the appearance of conditions causing definite political instability, alternation of rightist, centrist and left forces in power is, in our view, an intermediate variant. Sooner or later it will give way to a new course of events.

The third possibility is revolutionization of mass consciousness, expansion of support for the communist parties which would open prospects for the struggle for the democratic, anti-monopoly and, then, socialist alternative.

The prospects of the working class movement in the capitalist countries depend not only on social and economic processes inside individual states. At turning points in social life, when a choice is made for the coming decades, the example of real socialism acquires increasing importance. How soon the working people in capitalist countries will go over from non-acceptance of capitalism to active struggle for social changes depends, not least of all, on the extent to which the new system reveals its advantages and becomes a guide for them.

Rabochy klass i sovremenny mir,
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THE ARMS RACE AND ITS GLOBAL IMPACT

The arms race has no bearing upon the global problems of our time: it cannot precipitate an ecological crisis. This view is held by many bourgeois ideologists. Soviet scientists, however, look at the problem differently. Vladimir GAVRILOV, Cand.Sc (Econ.) and Sergei PATRUSHEV, Cand.Sc (Hist.), discuss this subject.

In the second half of the twentieth century man's productive, transforming activity has encompassed virtually the entire planet and has even spread to near space. Under the scientific and technological revolution (STR) the anthropogenic impact upon the biosphere has increased greatly. The need to save, protect, rationally manage and restore man's universal natural means and objects of labour and the human environment, to effectively control the society-nature interaction processes and the planetary biosocial system has become much more urgent. A major obstacle in the way of fulfilling this task is the arms race which restricts mankind's potential and its ability to regulate life on our planet.

By its very essence, any kind of military equipment, and especially the very latest weaponry, makes the anthropogenic processes destructive and ecocidal. The nuclear arms race alone—i.e., the production and storage of nuclear weapons and particularly their continuing testing—contaminates the planet with dangerous amounts of radioactive isotopes. The after-effects of this kind of pollution are highly detrimental to both the planet's atmosphere and biosphere. Weakening the protective properties of the vegetation zone and the great ecological disturbances being caused in the stra-

tosphere—penetration of dust particles and nitrogen oxides, etc.—are some of the effects of isotopic contamination caused by gamma and beta radiation.

The development of new mass destruction weapons, e.g. chemical and bacteriological weapons, also gives cause for concern over the state of the environment, this vitally important pool of natural resources. Although less costly and "technically more suitable" than the others, they are quite comparable, in their destructive effect, to nuclear weapons and present no less a threat to the planet's balance of nature. Even an accidental "leakage" of organ phosphorous compounds and their spread over an area of several hundred hectares is enough to trigger off a zoological catastrophe.

The views that the ecological crisis is unrelated to the arms race and that technical systems of control over mass destruction weapons would be enough to prevent irreversible harm to the environment are unfounded. The real situation is totally different. The arms race today transcends the confines within which nature can safely handle and neutralize its depletion caused by the production and storage of mass destruction weapons and it enters a new phase of the destabilization of the ecosystem. The planet's living nature is now the target: powerful geophysical warfare means are being intensively developed, i.e., methods and techniques for a deliberate modification of the natural environment and utilization of natural phenomena for military purposes. Now on the agenda is the artificial triggering of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, control of natural lightning, disruption of acoustic properties in the World Ocean, manipulation of electrically-charged particles in the ionosphere to induce noise interference and jamming of communication and missile control systems, partial destruction of the ozone layer over selected areas of the earth's surface in order to kill the people living there with ultraviolet radiation.

There is hardly any need to prove that attempts to use nature as a death dealing weapon are insane because it is impossible to predict the aftereffects of such manipulations. They can destroy all the interconnecting links of the existing ecosystem, upset geoplanetary equilibrium and, possibly, obliterate the planet itself.

Besides, the attaining of a technical level for manipulating the environment for military purposes will logically give a further twist to the arms race as has happened many times in the past, and will require a range of the means

of control over this kind of weapon transcending the bounds of the geosphere. It is not fortuitous that the militarists in the West are hatching plans for including outer space in the potential arena of confrontation and extending its zone to the fringes of near space and this will inevitably affect the Earth's nitrogen, carbon and oxygen cycles, deplete its ozone layer and will cause climatic shifts.

The dwindling of our planet's life-sustaining capacity under the impact of the arms race is also seen in the depletion of natural resources. As is known, over the past few years the raw materials problem has raised quite well-founded apprehensions, even if sometimes exaggerated with respect to certain kinds of raw materials. The World Ocean alone is a potential source of colossal reserves of many types of raw materials now classed as "vanishing" resources. There are sufficient grounds to believe that the development of novel technologies will help resolve the problem of providing mankind with raw material resources. However, for the new technologies to become an effective means of resolving this problem it will take a fairly long period of time, and also considerable material and technical inputs. Meanwhile, the changes occurring in the provision of many types of raw materials to meet increasing production requirements are so fast that the real danger of disparity between the given technical level and the acuteness of the raw materials problem is growing steadily.

The arms race is unquestionably boosting the process. The point here is not only that the consumption of mineral resources for military purposes is a parasitic way of utilizing natural wealth, including scarce and the rarest riches of our planet¹. More important still is the fact that the wasteful use of human and other resources for military purposes prevents the timely scientific and technical solutions to be found to a vast complex of issues bound up with the raw materials problem. The current unprecedentedly huge military expenditures now reaching the astronomical sum of 650 billion dollars exceed, roughly four times, the worldwide expenditures on research and development, including the 20-25 per cent falling to the share of defence research programmes. Engaged in the implementation of these programmes are more than a half a million scientists and en-

¹ The qualitative improvements in armaments over the past decade have induced a progressive change within the raw materials pattern of military consumption—away from traditional pig iron and steel to aluminium, chromium, beryllium and other relatively rare minerals.

gineers let alone hundreds of thousands of civilian researchers whose projects may also be used for military purposes. This, in effect, is another manifestation of the distinctive "ability" of the escalating arms race to hinder the technological progress, twist its original aims and objectives and, consequently, widen the gap between mankind's requirements and the directions of scientific and technical quests.

This dual trend generated by the arms race—to deform the aims of the scientific and technological revolution and to weaken mankind's creative scientific and technical capabilities—begins to forcefully tell on the energy crisis. Before long, besides developing technologies designed to reduce the wastes attending the existing energy sources massive efforts are called for to find novel energy resources capable of replacing the limited reserves² of oil, natural gas and even coal.

The arms race aggravates other problems harmful for mankind's future. The global problems themselves assume increasingly dangerous proportions and become more and more interrelated.

Food shortage is another problem closely tied in with the arms race, primarily food rich in animal protein now one of the more serious signs of a planetary biosocial disequilibrium affecting a significant section of the world population. In this age of science and technology, when food can be produced in "unusual" ways, hundreds of millions of people suffer from chronic undernourishment and inadequate diets. Various estimates give the numbers as ranging between 700 million and 1,600 million people. Every year, almost as many people starve to death as were killed during World War II. Children under five make up a third of these victims. Many children are mentally and physically handicapped because of chronic undernourishment. This means that not only the current generation but also many future ones will be excluded from social production and a life worthy of man.

Demilitarization of world development can and must become a natural source for the means and resources needed to solve the food problem. If the present rate of financing the arms race is kept up for the next fifty years, roughly as much will be spent on arms as required to provide work

² Note that oil today is more important for the military sector than for the economy as a whole supplying three-quarters of all energy consumed for military purposes.

for all and satisfy the average world level of consumption within the zone whose population suffers socio-economic backwardness, unemployment and hunger. Meanwhile the world military spending keeps growing and in the early 1980s it approximated the total increase of fixed capital in the developing world and comparable with the gross income of the poorest part of mankind. Military spending has exceeded the developing countries' annual financial accumulation and manifold the annual aid to them rendered by the international community. In this situation the forecasts warning that in the absence of adequate food exports to the developing countries in South and Southeast Asia, 560 million children under 15 years of age will die there in the next fifty years can well become tragic reality.

It is becoming more and more obvious that stable world development cannot be secured if vast regions of the planet continue in a state of stagnation and backwardness. Inequities in the development levels, and the deep economic and socio-cultural gulfs intrinsic to the contemporary world are a permanent source of tension and conflicts destabilizing the contemporary system of international relations. The global danger posed by mankind's socio-political instability clearly comes through the reality and prospects of military clashes of various magnitudes including the local wars which have raged almost without respite in the zone of the developing world. Their duration and intensity have been increasing steadily, paralleled by the growing military spending in those countries and obstructing progress in their development.³

Thus, the arms race sharply restricts today's scientific and technical capabilities in this way condemning masses of people to backwardness and weakening the role of mankind's demographic potential.

³ Besides the general negative economic impacts exerted by military production, its expansion in the developing countries is especially pernicious because it is highly capital-intensive and adversely affects the growth of employment and the qualitative structure of sectoral manpower allocation and aggravates skilled labour shortages. In addition it undermines the export capabilities of a developing country's economy, increases its dependence on foreign technology and sharply reduces the accumulation fund thereby exacerbating the entire complex of specific problems facing these countries.

INFORMATION—A SPHERE OF IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

There are now some 30,000 radio broadcasting stations and 1,300 million radio sets in the world, 33,000 TV stations and roughly 500 million TV sets; some 150 news agencies function worldwide and 8,240 daily newspapers appear daily in a total print of 450 million copies; there are tens of thousands of other periodicals. These figures indicate that the development of the mass media at the contemporary stage has assumed truly gigantic proportions. The media have become a powerful instrument for influencing the minds of millions of people. Mass communications have nowadays become an arena of bitter struggles between the forces of peace and progress, on the one hand, and of imperialist reaction, on the other.

In this connection, the following question is sharply posed: whose interests does this powerful instrument of shaping public opinion serve? And further: do the media promote peace and international security, mutual understanding and cooperation among nations, or do they sow distrust and enmity, provoke clashes and conflicts and spread lies and slander?

Some urgent problems of the ideological struggle in the field of international information exchanges are examined in a pamphlet on this theme written by Yuri Kashlev,¹ D.Sc. (History), a noted Soviet specialist in this

¹ Yu. Kashlev, *Information Imperialism*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1984; in English, French and Spanish.

field. He describes the means of communication as a crucial factor shaping the world destinies. The author notes that the efforts by the imperialist powers to use the media for conducting "psychological warfare" against sovereign states and for ideological expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America pose, therefore, a grave threat.

Analyzing the role of the press, radio and TV services in the West, Kashlev comes to the conclusion that the "communication explosion", being on the whole an objectively inevitable and positive process in the development of mankind, has obviously negative aspects under capitalism. It helps the ruling classes to manipulate public opinion and carry out ideological conditioning of millions of people in their own countries and abroad in the bourgeois spirit, contrary to the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of people.

Effectively wielding full power in capitalist society, private monopoly capital controls the more important information channels and outlets. The fact that there are also government-controlled radio and TV services in some countries does not alter the overall picture. As is shown in the pamphlet, the information industry today has all the attributes of the capitalist economy: a high level of concentration of property, immense profits, modern technology and large capital investments abroad. Capitalism has built a mighty information empire which has the task of spread-

ing bourgeois ideology and imposing the standards of the bourgeois way of life on other peoples. "The drive for profit and the striving for political control of society are two mainsprings for the development of information under capitalism", the author points out.

These mainsprings operate not only within particular countries but also throughout the world where the lion's share of the news outlets and channels is controlled by the monopolies.

The Soviet specialist demolishes the claims made by bourgeois theoreticians that freedom of the "flow of information" is basic to the activities of the Western press, radio and TV. What kind of unbounded "freedom of information" can there be if several dozen transnationals determine the content and trends of informational and cultural programmes on radio and TV and of the mass press in the capitalist countries and a majority of the developing nations? The pamphlet furnishes statistics revealing the real structure of information delivered by the monopolized mass media. Eighty per cent of all international information disseminated on radio and TV and in the press of the capitalist and developing countries comes off the conveyers of the four leading news agencies of the West—namely, the United Press International (UPI), the Associated Press (AP), Reuters, and Agence France-Presse.

The USA is in the lead here controlling 75 per cent of the worldwide flow of telecasts, 50 per cent of film-demonstration time, 35 per cent of book publication, 90 per cent of TV news (together with the British Visnews), 60 per cent of the entire output of records and tape-recorder cassettes, 82 per cent of the production of electronic devices used in the mass communication sphere and 89 per cent of all commercial information stored in electronic computers.

Such is the material base of the ideological and propaganda activities of international and, primarily, US imperialism. The so-called "free flow of information" proves to be a formula serving as a suitable coverup

for imperialism's ideological expansion—for information imperialism. Freedom for some people turns into "ideological bondage" for other people and countries, and, above all, for the developing states which have inherited from the colonial past not only economic backwardness and poverty but also very weak means of mass communication, rather ineffective ideologically and using poor technical facilities. Taking advantage of this situation, the imperialist circles added to their arsenal the so-called information neo-colonialism, whose essence and methods were exposed by Fidel Castro in his report at the 7th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Delhi in 1983. "The imperialist mass media," F. Castro noted in part, "have been pursuing, both covertly and overtly, an ideological and cultural penetration of the developing countries. In so doing, they are thrusting upon the peoples of the emergent states the views and ideas alien to them and are trying to belittle and distort the national cultures of those countries... The transnational information agencies manipulate the news coming from our countries, interpreting it as they see fit; they beam to our countries deliberately distorted information about the events abroad."

In his pamphlet Kashlev gives an exhaustive definition of information imperialism. As evidenced by international statistics, the developing countries, which account for two-thirds of the world's population, put out about 40 per cent of all newspapers appearing worldwide, their total circulation being only one-sixth of the circulation of newspapers published in the industrially advanced countries. Even more limited is the scope of television broadcasting. According to UNESCO, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America account for a mere 5 per cent of the TV transmitters in the world. Because of the poor technical facilities for disseminating information, many African, Asian and Latin American states depend on the Western sources which are vehicles of the imperialist policies of the USA and

its allies. On the whole, Kashlev writes, "according to some estimates the information flow from the West to the developing countries exceeds approximately 100 times that in the opposite direction". The disproportion inherited from colonial times is still here. This being so, the most important problems facing the liberated states and affecting their further socio-economic, political and cultural advancement are either deliberately ignored or distorted by the Western mass media. The policy of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries and the achievements of existing socialism are also falsified. Imperialist propaganda pursues a definite strategic goal, one of preventing progressive revolutionary changes in the developing countries and of retaining them within imperialism's orbit.

Inequities in the field of information exchange, which is a critical realm of social life, evoke an ever more vigorous protest on the part of political leaders and the broad masses in the developing world. At present, resistance to information imperialism has developed into an organized international movement which has evolved its own principles and theoretical and organizational foundations. In the concluding chapters of the pamphlet the Soviet scholar deals with the formative stages of this movement and analyzes the concept of restructuring international relations in the sphere of information. Essentially, it calls for the establishment of a new information order that would secure equality to all members of the international community in the sphere of mass communications and information and promote the democratization of international relations in this field.

Ideologists of monopoly capital are at pains to counterpose some sort of a "global information order" to the proposed new international information order. The Soviet researcher exposes the true reasons behind the attempts at the substitution of these terms which have deep political implications: "The absence of the word 'new' shows that the advocates of information imperialism are not going to give up their positions, to relinquish the 'order' which they have created and which does not correspond to the real state of things in the world."

Despite the stubborn resistance of the Western news and propaganda monopolies, the struggle for restructuring international relations in the field of mass information has been gaining in scope and the activism of the developing countries has been growing. More attention is being given to this problem by the UN, UNESCO, the non-aligned movement and international journalist organizations. Success of the programmes proposed by these organizations will largely depend on the concerted efforts of the developing states and their friends and allies—the countries of the socialist community. Yu. Kashlev's pamphlet, exposing the methods of imperialism's ideological expansion and reflecting the mounting opposition of the liberated states, embraces the more important aspects of the struggle for a new international information order and furnishes answers to many questions arising before the participants in this struggle.

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