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The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

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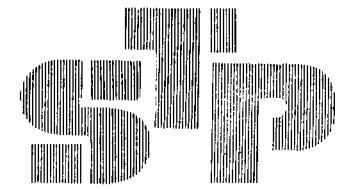
**An elitist party or a party of the whole
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Present-day fascism: who needs it •

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SOCIALISM:
THEORY
AND PRACTICE

The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

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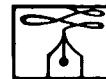
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By reading your publications I've learned not only about the history of the Soviet people's struggle against their enemies. I've also become more convinced that the USSR is a reliable bulwark of all peace-loving forces of the world.

Baljiryn Naidan,
Mongolia

We Spanish Communists whole-heartedly approve your policy of peace and your struggle for strengthening communist ideals. We bow down before your people who won the day in 1917.

Manuel Borrego Pérez,
Spain

I read in your digest that democracy is an intrinsic feature of the Soviet political system. But what talk can there be of democracy if Soviet society is guided by a party of the élite? It substitutes the state, depriving its apparatus of initiative and independence. Your state is a party state based on the dictatorship of the party.

Kurt Flosser,
FRG

Gennady Kobyakov, a journalist, answers Kurt Flosser's letter (see p. 24).

PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

MILITARIZATION OF OUTER SPACE— A THREAT TO MANKIND

by Alexei PLATONOV

In March, 1983 the US President announced a plan for developing a large-scale ABM system. In the Pentagon's official publications this project is named Strategic Defence Initiative. Now, what does it amount to?

This programme envisages the deployment of a multi-layer ABM system designed to "cover" the US territory. According to press reports the proposed system will be capable of "neutralizing" ballistic missiles of the other side at the final leg when they enter the atmosphere, during their flight through space and when the missile gathers speed at the initial stage of its flight towards the target.

Diverse means and resources are required to implement the project. US specialists believe that one of the more promising ones would be the use of lasers and also of beam weapons, i.e. beams composed of charged elementary particles. These weapons installed upon space platforms are to neutralize ballistic missiles at the initial leg of the flight, before separation of their warheads. These schemes and calculations have won the American large-scale ABM project the name "Star Wars".

About 1.5 billion dollars have been appropriated in the current fiscal year for the development of this system. Within five years the sum will reach 26 billion dollars. The total cost of the programme,

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to be completed at the turn of the century, is estimated to reach one trillion dollars.

PROPAGANDA CAMOUFLAGE

Attempting to conceal the sharply destabilizing nature of its programmes for militarization of outer space, Washington is trying to sell out the idea that these plans have no aims other than to promote peace and international stability. In the words of Washington propaganda-makers, the proposed ABM system will lead to the scrapping of ballistic missiles once it is found that, confronted with a far-flung ABM system, they are no longer an effective weapon.

Talk of a large-scale ABM system is capable of replacing "assured mutual destruction" (the term the US strategists have been using since the '60s to denote the US-USSR "nuclear stalemate") by "assured mutual survival" is a variation on the same theme. To build an ABM system to destroy weapons, the Washington propaganda-mongers keep saying, is much more ethical than to stockpile weapons to destroy people.

This "argument" is rehashed in a variety of ways by the US press. Their reasoning goes like this: we shall raise an insuperable ABM wall and live as we used to once beyond oceanic expanses and securely distanced from all that is going on in the Eastern Hemisphere. Such discourses do influence many Americans unschooled in politics.

Although criticizing the "assured mutual destruction" thesis the advocates of the ABM system do not propose the elimination of the nuclear danger created through the fault of the West. In the "assured mutual destruction" formula one word—"mutual"—does not suit them—now, as before. It seems they do not object to the "assured destruction" of the other side.

The truth of the matter is that the US Strategic Defence Initiative has nothing to do with a genuine defence strategy. They give lip service to defence and deterrence but in fact hatch other plans—offensive ones. They place hopes upon the new multi-layer ABM system which is supposed to shield US territory against retaliation and thus give them the opportunity of delivering the first strike with impunity. In other words, the large-scale ABM system is conceived as an integral component of the US strategic offensive arsenal.

It appears that Washington wants to have both the armour of the ABM system and the mailed fist in the form of MX intercontinental ballistic missiles (IBM), Trident-2 submarine-launched ballistic missiles, B-1B and Stealth bombers and cruise missiles targeted on Soviet territory. Now when Pershing-2 nuclear missiles with a

flight time several times shorter than that of the IBMs' deployed on US territory, are being sited close to the Soviet borders, all talk about the "defensive" character of the Pentagon-planned ABM system sounds as pure blasphemy.

Indicatively, the ideological wrapping in which they try to sell their Strategic Defence Initiative cannot conceal its cousinly resemblance to the concepts of "limited", "controlled" and other nuclear wars much talked about in Washington in recent years. Inasmuch as the assured mutual destruction does not promise anything but suicide in the event of war, the idea is fostered that a large-scale ABM system would permit the Americans to maintain their sense of "proportion in using force". What is strange is that they do not think of how to prevent war but debate the advantages they could gain after an outbreak of hostilities.

In short, the US plans of establishing nuclear diktat never accorded with ethics, and never will. The parity that has evolved between the USSR and the USA in the military-strategic field serves the aims of peace and international stability. This parity is all the more reliable the lower the level at which it is maintained. The United States will never succeed in upsetting this parity and gaining unilateral advantages.

UNDERMINING THE 1972 TREATY

An uncontrollable race in ABM weapons would for sure sharpen competition in the entire sphere of strategic armaments, for the other side would, naturally, not wait for the US to gain overwhelming superiority over it. Eventually, mankind would face a greater danger of a nuclear confrontation and the international situation would become even more tense.

Washington claims that the Strategic Defence Initiative marks the advent of a new epoch in the field of arms control. It takes time, they allege, to realize the "revolutionary" character of the "defence" philosophy in order to strengthen stability. One feels, however, that this is not a revolution but regression. For the deployment of a large-scale multi-layer ABM system would undermine the existing permanent Treaty of 1972 between the USSR and the USA on the limitation of ABM systems prohibiting the development of anti-missile defence systems in either country.

The proponents of the Strategic Defence Initiative criticize the ABM Treaty but their criticisms are groundless. The Treaty was concluded not for the sake of establishing a "balance of nuclear fear", as Washington has been trying to make us believe. Its aims, as clearly set out in its Preamble, consist in putting an end to the nuclear arms

race as soon as possible, taking effective measures towards the reduction of strategic armaments and effecting nuclear as well as general and complete disarmament.

The Treaty's purpose is to rule out competition for unilateral strategic advantages which would be inevitable in the event of the establishment of large-scale ABM systems. To this end the 1972 Treaty and the 1974 Protocol thereof, placed the strict limitations on the number of anti-missile complexes: the USSR and the USA were permitted to have one such complex each—either around its capital or in an area where IBM launchers are sited. Of fundamental significance is the expressed prohibition, contained in the Treaty, of establishing an ABM system embracing a country's entire territory, i.e. the development of large-scale ABM systems. Of equal importance is the mutual refusal to develop, test and deploy space-based ABM systems.

Finally, the 1972 Treaty severed the endless chain of competition between offensive and defensive systems and slowed down the rates of deployment of offensive armaments. It, moreover, permitted stabilizing Soviet-US strategic parity under SALT-2 which, if ratified by the USA, could be a major step curbing the arms race and reducing the danger of war.

Washington wants to reduce its "revolution" in arms limitation to removal of the most important element, limitation of the ABM systems, from the SALT process. It wants to "forget" the unequivocal provision, once agreed upon and formalized in the Preamble to the ABM Treaty, that effective measures for limiting the anti-missile systems would be instrumental for checking the escalation of strategic offensive armaments and would reduce the danger of a nuclear war.

Urging an uncontrollable race in ABM weapons, including its space component, the USA has been seeking to fully revise the earlier agreed concerted approach to the limitation of strategic armaments, legitimate an ABM race under cover of a talk about its desire of stability.

The "revolution" which the development of a large-scale ABM system would allegedly bring about in the arms limitation area has an even more "radical" interpretation in the USA. Such "revolutionaries", the notorious Zbigniew Brzezinski among them, urge scrapping any attempts to limit nuclear weapons and allowing free play of "elemental forces". They claim that in the course of their competition in an uncontrollable escalation of armaments the sides will eventually empirically arrive at stable, power-balanced relationships.

The one and only alternative—the arms race—is put forward in the absence of accords in the field of strategic armaments limitation. With this aim in view, some people contemplate siting nuclear weapons in outer space—in contravention of international law.

WHO THREATENS THE FIRST STRIKE?

Another channel whereby the arms race can spread to outer space is the US ASAT programme for the development of anti-satellite weapons. The first tests of this system have been conducted, and more are on the way.

In the sixties, the USA developed and deployed anti-satellite weapons on the basis of land-based missiles. Today, these weapons are launched from high-flying planes. US specialists admit that the ASAT system employing target-seeking missiles is essentially a dual-action weapon capable of destroying both satellites and ballistic missiles. Since this is so, the American side testing the ASAT violates an important provision of the still effective ABM Treaty, prohibiting the development, testing and deployment of air-based ABM systems. The TASS Statement of October 21, 1984, called serious attention to this fact.

Another programme, being implemented in the USA, one envisaging the development of a facility for sighting laser weapons at space targets, is crucial for the development of space-deployed ABM systems. A special telescope is being developed for the purpose; it will be tested during flights of the Shuttle spacecraft.

Statements by certain US specialists that they are about to solve the problem of developing an insuperable ABM system have met with the authoritative criticism of competent people both in the USA and abroad. They note, with good reason, that the development of a 100% reliable ABM system, considering the present-day sizes of the nuclear arsenals and the measures which the other side is sure to take in order to avert the threat to its security, appears unfeasible. On this point, Washington argues that even though the proposed ABM defence system is not an ideal one it is still capable of bringing down a considerable number of enemy missiles. This, it is claimed, is still useful because it enhances the persuasiveness of "deterrence" and reduces the chance of a nuclear attack on the USA.

Washington propaganda-makers are again insincere. Their "concern" over the threat of a first strike against US territory, allegedly emanating from the USSR, is nonsensical. It is not the USSR but the USA that has been moving its nuclear missiles closer to the territory of the other side. It is not the USSR but the USA that has started the massive deployment of long-range land-based cruise missiles and plans increasing the flight speed of these missiles, which are a first-strike weapon, many times. Finally, it is the USSR, and not the USA, that has unilaterally pledged itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and set a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range nuclear missiles and suspended the implementation of other response measures in Europe until November. The American side not only

refuses to assume a similar pledge but, moreover, is trying to prove that in order to secure its defence interests it must have a "right" to use first-strike nuclear weapons. One may well query: who threatens who with a first strike?

The technological aspects of all US space weapon programmes are still in the stage of research and development. But one thing is clear: a movement along the path of creating a large-scale ABM system will inevitably fling the door open for military rivalry along a very wide front.

Washington thinks in vain that it will be able to take the USSR unawares by its ABM defence programmes, ruin it by military expenditures and win out the arms drive. Such calculations were made before, and each time they failed utterly. This was so when Washington staked upon the buildup of nuclear weapons, then upon the massive deployment of strategic aviation, and later upon the deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles, and in the seventies, upon the equipment of its IBMs and SLBMs with multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRV). The USSR took retaliatory measures and restored the balance—but at a higher and more dangerous level. There is a saying: those who forget history risk repeating it. Is the USA going to commit this error?

SOVIET GOOD WILL

The Soviet Union, intent on preventing outer space from being turned into an arena of military rivalry, has been making every effort to extend the contractual-legal basis for strengthening the peaceful status of outer space. Way back in the fifties it resolutely declared for keeping space clear of weapons assuming that a war started in or from outer space would have irreparable consequences for civilization.

The USSR, then, put forward a series of concrete proposals within the UN framework aimed at preventing militarization of outer space. The obstructionist position of the Western powers prevented their implementation. Later, a number of agreements were concluded with the active participation of the USSR which are still important in affirming a peaceful regime for outer space. Thus the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water has declared space to be an out-of-bounds zone for any such activities. Of great importance is the conclusion, in 1977, of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (ENMOD Convention). This document also prohibits the use of such means against outer space.

A special place within the system of international commitments concerning outer space is accorded to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies which came into force October, 1967. A key obligation undertaken in it is the prohibition to place in near-earth orbits or to deploy in outer space in any other way objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other types of mass destruction weapons. In 1979, the UN General Assembly approved an agreement in which the obligations of states to use the Moon and other celestial bodies of the Solar System exclusively for peaceful purposes are further detailed and specified. These measures are effectively curbing the arms race and helping consolidate the peaceful status of outer space. In 1981, and then two years later, the Soviet side at the sessions of the UN General Assembly put forward draft treaties envisaging a ban on the deployment of any weapons in outer space and outlawing the use of force in outer space and also from outer space in respect of the Earth.

The Soviet Union sponsored the proposal, in August, 1983, for the total mutual forgoing of anti-satellite systems whereby the sides shall undertake not to develop new such systems and the existing ones shall be subject to destruction. In order to facilitate the solution of this question the USSR unilaterally set a moratorium on trial launchings of anti-satellite systems which would be in force as long as other powers, including the USA, did likewise.

In 1984 the USSR came up with two more peace initiatives on outer space. The United States was invited to negotiate on preventing the militarization of outer space. Here, the USSR urged forgoing the deployment of offensive space weapons including anti-satellite and anti-missile weapons wherever they are based. In other words, it urged the total exclusion of military threats that could be posed to the Earth from outer space and to outer space—from the Earth or from outer space itself.

The USSR seizes upon every opportunity to make headway in preventing the spread of the arms race to outer space. At the 39th session of the UN General Assembly (autumn, 1984) it made a very urgent and important proposal for using outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind. In his speech at the session, head of the Soviet delegation Andrei Gromyko said in part: "We want the US government to realize that the militarization of outer space threatens all mankind, including the American people. We express the hope that the United States of America will refrain from actions which would make the process of turning outer space into an arena of military rivalry irreversible and will agree to negotiations with the object of reaching agreement."

After the debate in the First Committee the UN General Assembly overwhelmingly adopted at that session the resolution formulated by the non-aligned countries and with the Soviet Union's active participation—On the Prevention of the Arms Race in Outer Space—which reflected the sum and substance of the Soviet proposal. Since the international community vigorously supported this resolution the USA did not dare to oppose it but neither did it vote for the resolution, having thus become the only country that abstained from the voting.

The line towards reliably shielding outer space from the arms race is graphical evidence of the peaceful nature of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet initiatives furnish the tangible possibility for taking joint measures which would once and for all remove from the agenda the question of using outer space as a staging area for aggression.

Hopes for a positive solution to the question of preventing the militarization of outer space were boosted after the USSR and the USA agreed, following a Soviet initiative, to open fresh negotiations in Geneva on the entire range of interrelated questions regarding the non-militarization of outer space, the reduction of strategic nuclear armaments and medium-range nuclear missiles.

As for the Soviet Union, it is ready to search for most radical solutions, along all the indicated avenues, that would further progress towards the total ban and ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons.

The setting up of an insuperable barrier to stop the arms race moving into outer space would be in the best interests of all states. Accords on this score would promote strategic stability, reduce the danger of war and reliably guarantee the development and expansion of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space for the good of mankind.

Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn, No. 1, 1985

IS IT POSSIBLE TO GO OVER TO SOCIALISM BYPASSING CAPITALISM?

(Article Two)

MARX, ENGELS, LENIN AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Bourgeois ideologists argue that the founders of Marxist-Leninist theory did not investigate problems of the colonies and semi-colonies, i.e., of the present-day underdeveloped countries. This is absurd, for Marx and Engels were the first to advance an idea about the possibility of economically backward countries (then colonies) going over to socialism bypassing the capitalist stage of development.

In a number of their works, the founders of scientific socialism repeatedly stressed that capitalism was not an inevitable stage of historical development for all times and peoples. Marx wrote that his analysis of capitalism in Western Europe should by no means be turned into "an historico-philosophic theory of the general path of development prescribed by fate to all nations, whatever the historical circumstances in which they find themselves."¹

Marx and Engels believed that the victory of the proletarian revolution in the industrialized states and the aid rendered by the victors

For the beginning see STP Supplement No. 4, 1985.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 293, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975.

● Prof. M. Avsenev, D.Sc. (Economics), specializes in problems of developing countries and criticism of anti-communism.

rious working class of those countries to the peoples of the economically backward countries would be a powerful means for "considerably shortening their advance to socialist society and largely sparing themselves the sufferings and the struggles through which we in Western Europe have to make our way."² Elaborating on this idea they pointed out that when the industrialized countries have built socialism, "when the retarded countries have seen from their example 'how it's done', how the productive forces of modern industry are made to work as social property for society as a whole—only then will the retarded countries be able to start on this abbreviated process of development."³

Advancing their thesis about the possibility of the economically underdeveloped countries going over to socialism bypassing capitalism, Marx and Engels proceeded from the assumption that individual countries and peoples can avoid certain forms of social organization without departing from the general course of historical development. Such an abbreviated, in Engels' words, process of development of the socially and economically backward countries can take place only when the form of society's organization (socio-economic formation), which these countries were to attain through their natural course of development, had already ceased to tally with the demands of progress and proved its bankruptcy; when a new, more progressive form of society's organization had emerged in many countries.

For instance, it is known from history that the Slavonic peoples, Germanic and other tribes went over from a tribal and communal-tribal society directly to feudalism. In their development they had omitted the society of the so-called classic, or antique, slavery, which existed in Greece, Italy and, in a modified form, in Egypt, Persia and many other countries.

Africa's example is also highly instructive. African peoples who were at the stage of communal-tribal or tribal society at that time, were virtually drawn into capitalist relations by the colonialists. Feudalism had just begun to emerge in some of them.

Thus, the thesis about the possibility of transition from precapitalist societies to socialism (or socialist orientation, as Communists term it) put forward by Marx and Engels, does not contradict their teaching about the successive changes of socio-economic formations as a law of mankind's progressive development.

Obviously, Marx and Engels did not delve into the possible mechanism of such a transition, into its details, such as the role of different classes in this process and forms of state power during the countries' transition to socialism, etc. This is only natural, for at that

time the problem of such a transition did not and could not confront the international revolutionary movement as a current task. Marx wrote that "the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation."⁴ Late in the 19th century there were no conditions for the backward countries' transition to socialism bypassing capitalism, they were not even being formed, therefore the problem could only be raised in a general form, as a hypothesis.

Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, analyzed very intently the problems of such a transition. Creatively developing the teachings of Marx and Engels in new historical conditions, he formulated a consistent and many-faceted theory about the possible ways of backward countries' transition to socialism. At the very beginning of his scientific and revolutionary activity Lenin stressed that the absolutization of West European historical development, the very idea of the inevitability of a capitalist stage for every country are alien to Marxism.

Later, Lenin returned to this problem several times. In the early 20s, in his report to the Second Congress of the Communist International and in a number of other works, he expressed his ideas on the subject more fully. In his speech at this international forum of Communists, Lenin said: "...are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation and among whom a certain advance towards progress is to be seen? We replied in the negative... with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over through certain stages of development to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage."⁵

Developing this fundamental thesis, Lenin in a number of works scientifically substantiated his thesis about the transitional stages of development of the national liberation movement and its consequent conversion from the anti-imperialist into anti-capitalist movement. He defined the possible concrete forms of society's political organization at this stage, i.e., foretold the special role to be played by revolutionary democracy in the underdeveloped countries. Lenin's teaching about the ways of the backward countries' transition to socialism became a component part of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist revolution.

Thus, Marx, Engels and Lenin did study the problems of the national liberation movement. Therefore, imperialist ideologists' attempts to describe Marxism-Leninism as a purely European teaching inapplicable beyond Europe, do not stand criticism. In its essence, the above con-

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works* in three volumes, vol. 2, p. 403, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 403-404.

⁴ K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, p. 21, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1970.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 244.

cept is just a slightly refurbished attempt to characterize socialism as a purely Russian development unsuitable for Europe. Imperialist ideologists widely resorted to it when the Soviet Union was the world's only socialist state. Today, this thesis is refuted by the experience of socialist construction not only in European countries, but in Asian countries as well. Socialism has also come to the American continent. Some African countries have adopted socialist orientation as their policy.

"THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTION!"

Capitalist apologists' allegation to the effect that the theory of socialist orientation is some sort of "Moscow's ideological subversion" also does not hold water.

In ignoring conclusions of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the external conditions needed for the precapitalist societies to go over to socialism i.e., the need for world socialism to aid the countries who have opted for socialism (as was mentioned above), anti-communists regard this aid as the "export of revolution", as "communist expansion", as "the USSR's claims to world domination", etc.

Thus, Soviet-Cuban help to the people of Angola in the struggle against domestic reactionaries funded by the West and in rebuffing the external aggression from South Africa was qualified by imperialist propaganda-makers as the USSR's attempt to establish communist control in the south of Africa and create a threat for international navigation around the Cape of Good Hope. Internationalist aid granted by socialist countries to Ethiopia in rebuffing the Somalian aggression served as a pretext for accusing the USSR of creating a stronghold for threatening the Western countries' routes via the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. Soviet aid to Afghan revolutionary forces in rebuffing aggression is presented by bourgeois ideologists as the beginning of communist expansion towards the southern seas and an attempt to create conditions for destabilizing the situation and subsequently gaining control over Iran and Pakistan.

Such propagandist ploys pursue several aims:

first, the authors of myths about "communist expansion" and allegations that the USSR is promoting international terrorism are trying to discredit the very idea of the possibility of socialist orientation by presenting it as an "imported ideology" which is at variance with the needs and aspirations of the liberated peoples;

second, by linking the theory and practice of socialist orientation with the alleged "Soviet involvement" and "the USSR's attempts to destabilize the situation in the developing world", anti-communists are seeking to pit the public in the developing states against the USSR and the entire socialist community. In this way, they are striving to break or at least weaken natural ties between the two revolutionary

streams in the modern world—the world communist and the working class movements, with the countries of existing socialism as their vanguard, on the one hand, and the movement for the final national liberation of former colonies and dependencies, on the other;

third and last, under the cover of the ballyhoo about the "communist threat", international imperialism and its ideological sword-bearers are trying to justify their own interference in the affairs of the liberated states, so as to retain these countries within the world capitalist system and perpetuate their exploitation by transnational corporations. Hundreds of examples of such interference, from Korea and Vietnam to El Salvador, Grenada and Nicaragua may be cited. However, here, too, anti-communist ideologists resort to obviously invalid methods. Internationalist aid rendered by the USSR and the other countries of existing socialism to the national liberation movement in general and the socialist-oriented countries in particular, fully accords with the norms of international law and is never accompanied by interference in the internal affairs of the recipient countries. In the instances mentioned above, and in all others as in the case of Egypt during the tripartite imperialist aggression of 1956, the Israeli aggression of 1967 and 1973, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries rendered military assistance to the country in question at the request of its legitimate government. This aid has nothing in common with the "aid" rendered by international, primarily, US imperialism to Israeli aggressors, Cuban counter-revolutionaries expelled from the country, to the remains of Somoza gangs or Afghan counter-revolutionaries, whose activities are aimed at overthrowing these countries' legitimate governments. Thus, there can be no talk here about the "export of revolution", but, with full justification, one can speak about the "export of counter-revolution".

The idea of the "export of revolution" could not have been invented by the Kremlin as it is deeply alien to Marxism-Leninism. Communists are convinced, and this was repeatedly stated in their party documents, that the future belongs to socialism. Such is the logic of historical development. But this does not mean that they intend engaging in the "export of revolution", or interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. The "export of revolution" is impossible as such. Socialism grows out of the objective requirements of social development in each particular country.

The leaders and the public in the newly independent states clearly realize this. The thesis of the "Soviet threat" and "communist danger" is only given credence in the developing world by puppets on the payroll of international imperialism, like Pinochet, Stroessner, Duvalier, etc.

As for the overwhelming majority of the developing countries' leaders, their reaction to foreign policy actions of socialist countries with regard to young states proves the futility of imperialist ideolo-

gists' attempts to distort the character and essence of these actions. Thus, the Tanzanian President Nyerere, in a special statement made to foreign diplomats and journalists, sharply refuted the allegations about the "Soviet threat" to Africa. "Threat to whom?" he asked. "To Africa's freedom or to its domination and oppression by former colonial powers and their allies? The answer is absolutely clear: the Soviet Union and Cuba are helping Angola and Ethiopia at the request of the legitimate and recognized governments of these countries and the reasons for this are well known and absolutely clear to every sober-minded person."⁶

In appraising the assistance rendered by the USSR and other socialist countries to the young states which have opted for socialist orientation, P. Nzé, Politbureau Member of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party, said at the celebration meeting dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR: "We regard the versatile and effective aid and support rendered by the socialist countries to the young socialist-oriented states on our continent, which are waging a struggle under extremely difficult conditions, as a factor of historical significance." Speaking about the attitude of the world of socialism to the national liberation movement as a whole, E. Hansen, Secretary of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana, said at the above meeting: "We should note that the peoples' liberation struggles would not have scored such major successes had it not been for the all-round support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries."

Similar statements have been made by other leaders of the developing states. They definitely confirm that the attempts by anti-communists to present the socialist countries' aid to the national liberation movement and their support for the ideas and practice of socialist orientation as an "instrument for the establishment of Soviet world domination" reveal their complete ignorance of present-day realities.

From M. Avsenev's book *The Choice of the Path of Development and Modern Anti-Communism*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1984 (in Russian) *

⁶ *Marxisme-Léninisme et la lutte idéologique en Afrique à l'époque contemporaine*, M., 1983, p. 173.

REAL SOCIALISM AND ITS CRITICS

SOVIET AGRICULTURE: FACT AND FICTION

by Efim KESELMAN

Of late the Western mass media have been airing their thesis on the so-called "inefficiency" of socialist agriculture and an agrarian and food "crisis" in the USSR. Is this really so?

MARXIST TENETS

Bourgeois economists claim that the supposed "inefficiency" of Soviet agriculture and socialist agrarian changes in general is rooted in the Marxist-Leninist agrarian theory. Wide currency in bourgeois literature is given to the thesis on the "basic hostility" of Marxism-Leninism towards the peasantry, based on the alleged "narrowness" of the Marxian analysis of society's socio-class structure and its "special dogmatism." We cannot agree with this.

Having explained the historical mission of the proletariat in the upcoming revolution, in changing production relations during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, Marx and Engels never sought to counterpose it against other working classes. Noting the dual socio-economic nature of the peasantry (on the one hand, petty proprietors, private owners gravitating towards petty-bourgeois ideology and mentality and on the other, direct producers, toilers), the Marxist classics considered, at the same time, that the working class could accomplish its historical mission only if it became leader of the non-proletarian working masses, notably the peasantry. Marxism was the first to put forward the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry based on their vital material interests.

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The socialist transformation of the economy presupposed socialization of the means of production not only in industry but in agriculture as well. The basic principles of converting backward family-farm households into massive, highly efficient socialist farms were comprehensively substantiated by Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state. Farm collectivization was not a hostile action forced upon the peasantry, as Sovietologists claim; it was a means for the socialist transformation of the countryside, the only possible one in the conditions of postrevolutionary Russia with account being taken of the basic material interests of the majority of the country's population. That represented, as Lenin put it, a signal breakthrough in the life of many millions of people. This cannot be effected forcibly, as "such tremendous changes can only be accomplished... when necessity compels people to reshape their lives".¹

The technical re-equipment of farming based on the accelerated development of farm machinery building industries evinced the further strengthening of the alliance of the two working classes. In 1940, Soviet agriculture had 531 thousand tractors, 182 thousand grain combine-harvesters, 228 thousand trucks and many other items of farm machinery.

ELOQUENT FACTS

Modern machinery supplies for the countryside continued to grow. In 1982, there were 2,649 thousand tractors and 771 thousand grain combine-harvesters there. In addition, in that same year another 361 thousand tractors were modified to cater to melioration and other needs. For comparison, in 1928 there were only 27 thousand tractors and two grain combine-harvesters, in the countryside. Mineral fertilizer supplies increased every year: from 6.3 million tons in 1965 (in 100 per cent of nutrients) to 20.2 million tons in 1982.

There was a steady rise in capital investment in agriculture. Between 1918 and 1940 it amounted to six billion roubles (in production projects in comparable prices). In the 10th five-year plan period (1976-1980) the figure rose to 128.5 billion roubles. Under the 11th five-year plan (1981-1985), 233 billion roubles is the amount of capital investment planned for sectors in the agro-industrial complex. It includes 189.6 billion roubles meant directly for agriculture. What's more, the proportion of capital investment in agriculture in the overall capital investment in the national economy (for production projects) constituted 11.3 per cent in 1918-1940 and 20.3 per cent in the 10th five-year plan period. A relatively smaller share of investment in agriculture during the prewar years was necessitated by the drive to industrialize the national economy, which called for a certain

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 28, p. 342.

redistribution of the funds. The development of a powerful industry assisted the re-equipment of agriculture.

Enhancement of the material and technical basis of farm production and the availability of more capital per worker contributed to the growth of total farm output and farm efficiency. In the postwar period (1945-1980) gross farm output quadrupled and work efficiency (in social production) grew 6.7 times. Significantly the annual average rate of farm production growth in the socialist countries over a 30-year period (1951-1981) appreciably outpaced that of the advanced capitalist states. In the former it ran at 3.3 per cent (2.9 per cent for the CMEA countries, 3 per cent for the USSR), while in the latter it was 2.1 per cent (1.9 per cent for the USA).

The cited data disprove the bourgeois allegations about socialism neglecting the agricultural sector and about an "agricultural crisis" in the USSR. Moreover, a comparison of Soviet and US economic indicators shows that priority is accorded in the USSR's economy to sectors providing the country's food reserves. While in 1981 Soviet industrial output amounted to over 80 per cent of the US industrial output, Soviet farm production (annual average) in 1976-1980 constituted nearly 85 per cent of US farm output.

This progress has made it possible to appreciably reduce the gap between the consumption of basic foodstuffs (per capita) and the scientific norms. In 1980, the average per capita consumption (in kg) was as follows: meat and meat products—58; fish and fish products—17.6; milk and dairy products—314; eggs (pieces)—239; sugar—44.4; vegetable oil—8.8; vegetables and melons—97; potatoes—109; fruits and berries—38; bread products—138. It should be mentioned that recent years have seen a downward trend in the consumption of bread products and potatoes. At the same time, the consumption of more nutritious products—meat, milk, fruits and vegetables—is on the rise.

On the whole, the USSR is not worse than the USA, the FRG and France in the per capita caloric content of nutrition. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), in 1978-1979, the population's daily per capita provision with foodstuffs was as follows: in the world—2,706 calories; in the European countries—3,806; in the socialist countries—3,936; in the USSR—3,913 calories. By virtue of the relatively low and stable prices of basic foodstuffs their availability for the mass of the Soviet population is incomparably higher than in the advanced capitalist states. Needless to say, the food problem in the USSR still remains high on the agenda. In spite of the fact that the general caloric content of nutrition accords with the physiological norms, its pattern needs to be improved. The demand for meat and dairy products, vegetables, fruits and some other foodstuffs is not yet met fully.

The food problem, now being extensively tackled in the USSR, has nothing in common with the bourgeois thesis on the agrarian-food crisis. What is at issue is raising the quality, improving the structure of farm production and meeting the demand for nutritious foodstuffs. Incidentally, in addition to boosting agricultural production and consumption, measures are also provided in the USSR to remove existing disproportions and raise farm efficiency. These measures, backed up by appropriate capital investment,² include the acceleration of scientific-technological progress in farm production and the development, on its basis, of the material and technical foundation of the agro-industrial complex, the restructuring of the system of planning, management and incentives, the introduction of the progressive forms of labour organization and remuneration, as well as drastic improvements in the social and living standards of the rural population.

WORTHLESS RECOMMENDATIONS

Bourgeois economists do not stint the gloomiest forecasts concerning the future agricultural development and solution of the food problem in the USSR. According to Sovietologists, the desired changes can only follow upon the implementation of a "radical economic reform" and the transformation of the "institutional structure" of the Soviet "model" of agriculture. Simultaneously, Western ideologists go out of their way to prove that efficient farming is only possible under free market conditions and private commodity production. For this purpose, the Soviet state and collective farms are counterposed by the so-called "family farm" as allegedly an ideal model for effective farming.

The "family farm" myth, assiduously spread by the proponents of the neo-classical trend of bourgeois political economy, is disproved by capitalist reality itself. Thus, *Management Today*, which caters for the US business community, points out that the new profound slump in business activity has done an enormous damage to the US economy. The farmers have suffered most. Sharp declines in earnings, accompanied by escalating debts, have resulted in the ruin of a record number of farms. The agricultural hardships—the severest since the Great Depression—have dispelled the Reaganite idea of state non-interference in farm affairs. According to the US Department of Agriculture, the farmers' debts as of early 1982 amounted to \$194.5 billion, while their net profit in 1981 was a mere \$19 billion. Farmers' side earnings, unrelated to agriculture, have become the

² Under the 12th five-year plan, the Soviet agro-industrial complex is to receive nearly one-third of the capital investments to be made in the entire national economy—Ed.

most stable element of their economy, American economists say.

They also point to the accelerated process of capital concentration and centralization in the US agrarian sector as seen in the greater sizes of farms. The US Department of Agriculture predicts that towards the year 2000, one per cent of the largest farms in the USA will account for half of the country's total farm output, while three-fourths of all farm lands will be owned by a mere 200 thousand farmers. Small farms will have practically vanished by then, and 50 per cent of the smaller farms will produce less than one per cent of the total farm output.

These figures show the untenability of the myth about the advantages of "farm-type" agriculture, whose efficiency is forced by the merciless exploitation of farmers dragged into the sphere of action of agro-industrial monopolies. To no small degree such efficiency is ensured by constantly raising the retail food prices and making the consumer shoulder the burden of state subsidies to farming.

Characteristically, Sovietologists offer similar recipes to raise the efficiency of socialist farming. "Irrational prices in the agricultural sector," bourgeois economists hold, are a clear manifestation of a "bureaucratized" economy without the "free play of market forces". They point to the big gap between high purchasing and low retail prices as a flaw in Soviet price formation.

In actual fact, low retail food prices can only seem irrational from the angle of neo-classical dogmas. In the socialist economy, the functions of the retail price, just as of any other price, differ basically from those of the price in private-capitalistic competition. Obviously, retail prices are supposed to increasingly reflect the socially-necessary outlays of labour, thereby showing what it costs society to meet one requirement or another. Influenced by marketing conditions, retail prices also serve to balance demand and supply. However, of particular importance for the socialist economy is the distribution function of retail prices, which is geared to the accomplishment of major socio-economic tasks stemming from the main economic law of socialism. Accordingly, the socialist state's policy of retail prices is a component part of its economic policy. Retail prices are raised only with respect to luxury items, as well as socially harmful products (alcoholic beverages, tobacco products). As regards products in mass demand, especially basic foodstuffs, the strategic policy of the Soviet state is to keep retail prices stable and reduce them commensurably with the growth of the social productivity of labour and production efficiency. In this way, the elimination of the existing gap between the high purchasing and the low retail prices presupposes accelerated scientific-technological progress in agriculture, its comprehensive intensification and, on this basis, the reduction of the socially-necessary outlays of labour for farm output.

Prognosticating agricultural development in the USSR, bourgeois economists advance the thesis that the only way for the Soviet economy to avoid a further "sharpening of the agrarian and food crisis" is to give more leeway to the development of so-called "second farming" which includes individual subsidiary plots of rural residents, gardens owned by urbanites, as well as subsidiary farms socially owned by enterprises and offices.

Party documents clearly define the purpose of individual subsidiary holdings of the population and the subsidiary farms of Soviet enterprises and offices. They are meant to be exactly subsidiary and act as reserves of farm production which cannot be used by state and collective farms. The latter have the decisive role to play in raising farm output. Here are some indicative figures. In 1982, the share of farm output produced by socialized agriculture in overall production was as follows: grain and sugar beet—100 per cent, sunflower seeds—98, meat and milk—70, eggs—69, and vegetables—68 per cent. The share of socialized farming in commodity production is even greater: vegetables—85 per cent, meat—87, milk—97, and eggs—94 per cent. The rate of gross output growth in socialized production is much higher than that in the population's individual subsidiary economies. Between 1965 and 1982, gross output growth in the former category grew by 55 per cent, in the latter—by 14 per cent.

THE ROLE OF THE AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Farm productivity in the USSR is enhanced through the all-round development of the agro-industrial complex. Bourgeois economists are seeking to present the improved management of the entire economic mechanism of farm production as another voluntaristic organizational restructuring which does not affect the "fundamental elements of the system" and is therefore incapable of raising social production efficiency. They interpret the modern processes of inter-sectoral cooperation and agro-industrial integration as merely the further development of "bureaucratized" management, divorced from the real problems facing Soviet agriculture.

In actual fact, agro-industrial integration in the USSR is not merely the organizational restructuring of the managerial bodies in corresponding sectors of the national economy, but an objective economic process requiring planned regulation and adequate organizational forms. It is based on the progress of production forces, the development of industrial production methods in both industry and agriculture, as well as the further deepening of labour division. These processes urgently call for cooperation between technologically inter-related sectors.

The process of getting agriculture and industry closer together has been expedited under developed socialism. The agrarian sector's links with industries supplying the means of production and those processing agricultural raw materials are gaining in scale and scope. This is borne out by the fact that in terms of material composition, 85 per cent of the basic production assets of the state and collective farms are in the non-agricultural sectors. As regards the relationships between agriculture and the processing industry, at present nearly three-fourths of farm produce are industrially processed and only a little over 20 per cent are used directly for individual consumption.

The establishment of the agro-industrial complex as an integral object of planned management is geared not to achieve "further bureaucratization of the Soviet model of agriculture," as bourgeois ideologists claim, but to ensure the proportional and balanced development of all its sectors, the perfection of economic ties between them, the organization of smooth interaction between them, as well as to get all sectors to serve the general objectives of the entire complex, i.e. the production of quality foodstuffs and making them available to the consumer. The establishment of agro-industrial associations at district and regional level, and the setting up of commissions on the agro-industrial complex at the level of the union republics and the entire country ensure the effective combination of territorial, sectoral and programme and goal-oriented planning.

The development of the agro-industrial complex—a modern form of wedging agriculture to industry—is inseparable from the programme for the social restructuring of the countryside and bringing the rural standard of living closer to the urban one. In the 1980s, nearly 160 billion roubles will be allocated for these purposes.

The many year history of agro-industrial associations in the Soviet Baltic republics, Moldavia, Georgia, in some regions of the Russian Federation, Byelorussia and the Ukraine disproves the bourgeois ideologists' allegations about socialism's inability to ensure dynamic agricultural progress, about the lack of incentives for efficient farm work in the socialist economic mechanism, etc. Gross farm output in 1983 rose by an average of five per cent against 1982, in the Russian Federation it was 6 per cent, in Kazakhstan—11, Kirghizia—10, Byelorussia and Estonia—9 each, Latvia—7, and Lithuania—6 per cent. Comprehensive measures to intensify farm production will consolidate and strengthen the tangible trend towards raising its efficiency.

AN ELITIST PARTY OR A PARTY OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE?

Dear Mr. Flosser,

In the USSR, just as in other countries making up the world socialist community, the development of society is guided by the Communist Party, the people's ideological and political vanguard comprising the most conscious sections of the working class, collective farm peasantry and working intelligentsia. The USSR Constitution contains a provision defining the Party as the nucleus of all governmental and public organizations in the country. Thus, Article 6 reads: "The leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organizations and public organizations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Recognition of the Communist Party's leading role and its priority in the political system of society is a distinguishing feature of socialism. It does not stem from Communists' ambitions or their claims to power,

but emerged in the course of the country's historical development as a natural reflection of the leading role the Party played in carrying out revolutionary socialist changes. This priority is determined by the objective laws governing Soviet society's social, economic and political development along the road of socialism and communism and by the nature of the CPSU as the ideological and political vanguard of the working class and the entire Soviet people.

World political practice shows that the ruling parties play a priority role in solving major problems facing the state and society not only under socialism. These parties have a decisive say in forming governments, in cabinet reshufflings, and in formulating their countries' home and foreign policies. This is a general feature of today's political scene. The principle of Party leadership in governing the state is the natural and only method used by the ruling class

in exercising its power; otherwise it would not be able to rule at all.

Now, Mr. Flosser, a few words about your contention that the CPSU is an elitist party divorced from the masses. Its composition graphically shows whose interests the CPSU represents in the political sphere, who are its members and how closely it is connected with the different strata of Soviet society. Its membership exceeds 18 million. Primary Party organizations, of which there are 414,000 now, exist in every work collective at factories, construction sites, mines and institutions. This means that the CPSU is a mass-based Party, working in daily contact with the country's more than 276 million population. Roughly one in every ten Soviet citizens is a Communist. These are mostly people a little over 40, which is the most active age, Communists represent 100 Soviet nationalities and ethnic groups, the fact underlining the internationalist nature of the CPSU. The Party's social composition is as follows: some 8,000,000 workers (44.1 per cent of the membership), over 2,000,000 collective farmers (12.4 per cent) and almost 8,000,000 (43.5 per cent) engineers, technicians, workers in science, literature, art, education, and health protection, administrative personnel and the military.

Being the Party of the whole people under developed socialism, the CPSU remains class-based, more specifically, a work-

ing class party. This is determined by the numerical strength and leading position of the working class in all spheres of life. Workers comprise 59.5 per cent of those joining the Party.

As you see, Mr. Flosser, the CPSU is not at all an elitist Party, as you write, but a mass organization having close contact with the entire Soviet people.

To turn to your thesis that our Party allegedly supplants the state and deprives its apparatus of initiative and independence. Relations between the Party and the state in the USSR are ones of closeness. Building its activities in line with the country's state, economic and cultural development, the CPSU, indeed, tackles the country's major problems, but does this as a political leader. It outlines the general guidelines for Soviet society's development, formulates the USSR's foreign and home policies and guides the creative endeavour of the people, imparting a systematic character to it.

The Party's leading role in building a new society can be compared with the work of an architect creating designs for houses and whole towns to be erected by builders. There is a deep meaning in this comparison. Just as an architect who first designs a future project, the Party formulates a scientifically sound programme for transforming society and plans the work for attaining the targets set.

The representative bodies of state authority in socialist society perform different duties

and functions. Within the sphere of their competence, they adopt laws and other state acts, form administrative bodies responsible for everyday managerial work, etc.

I'll cite only one example illustrating the difference between Party and state functions. The latest, 26th CPSU Congress (1981) discussed and endorsed the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990, worked out by the Party Central Committee with participation of specialists. Although this document has become a guide for action for each Communist and, the entire Party, it is not a state law.

The five-year plan for 1981-1985, based on the Congress-endorsed ideas, and then adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, was a state rather than a Party act. It was drafted by the Soviet government, the USSR State Planning Committee with account taken of the opinions of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme body of state authority, and governments of the Union Republics—but not by the CPSU Central Committee. Thus, the five-year plan is a state law binding on all government bodies and all Soviet citizens.

Since the early years of Soviet government, when the foundations of the political system were being laid in the country, Lenin, the founder of our state, had sought the optimum correlation between the Party's lead-

ing role and the functions of government bodies, a correlation that would help create an effective system of people's representation having great powers which would promote the working people's initiative to the utmost and most fully express the interests of the working classes and social strata.

The Party Programme adopted at the Eighth Party Congress in 1919 noted in part that the functions of Party collectives should in no way be confused with those of government bodies, i.e. the Soviets, that the Party was trying to *guide* the Soviets, not to supplant them.

The Eleventh Party Congress held in 1922, adopted the following resolution. "By maintaining general leadership and guiding the Soviet state's entire policy, the Party must draw a more clear-cut line between its current work and that of the Soviets, between its own apparatus and the apparatus of the Soviets. Such a methodical delimitation should, on the one hand, ensure a more systematic discussion and solution of economic problems by the government agencies and enhance responsibility for the work entrusted and, on the other hand, enable the Party to concentrate on the main Party work of exercising general leadership of all government bodies in charge of education and organization of the working masses."

As before, the Party guides the people while the state governs them. This laconic formula

reflects the specific features of the activity of Party and state bodies in the USSR. The Party's influence does not stem from the binding character of its decisions which, unlike state laws, are not binding on all citizens. Rather, it rests on its high political and moral authority. That is why the Party's word is heeded with full trust by state and public organizations, work collectives, by all Soviet people.

A democratic tradition has long struck root in the Soviet Union: at all crucial moments in society's life the Party and the government call on the people to discuss major problems of state development. "The Party," reads the CPSU Programme, "considers it its duty always to consult the working people on the major questions of home and foreign policy, to make these questions an object of nationwide discussion, and to attract more extensive participation of non-members in all its work."

To illustrate. The 26th Congress was held in Moscow in February-March, 1981. It adopted the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period Ending in 1990. The draft document had previously been published in the Soviet press. Broad sections of the population discussed the ways of developing the national economy in the tenth five-year-plan period. Over 121 million people participated in discussions at various meetings and conferences, thousands wrote letters to

the newspapers, Radio and TV. Overall, they made 1.2 million suggestions, remarks and amendments. After analyzing this document, the remarks and amendments to it, and introducing their own corrections, the USSR Supreme Soviet endorsed it as the Law on the five-year plan for the country's development.

Another example. Before a new Soviet Constitution was adopted in October 1977, its draft had been discussed by the entire Soviet people for almost four months. Over 140 million people or four-fifths of the country's adult population took part in the discussion. About 400,000 suggestions were made on introducing amendments to articles that would improve their wording or supplement them. As a result, amendments were made to 118 articles out of the 173 in the Constitution, and a new article was added. All important decisions on improving planning and management and advancing production democracy were born in the same way.

Naturally, the Party and its leading bodies cannot concern themselves with all the problems. This would be irrational and wasteful and would relieve other, primarily governmental organizations, of the responsibility for their work. Besides, its dealing with many secondary questions would divert the Party from its task of formulating fundamental political guidelines and outlining long-term social and economic targets. Nor would it increase its leading role.

The Communist Party and the socialist state closely cooperate with each other. This by no means signifies that our system can be labelled as a "party state". The basic truth is that while there is a state, it is guided by parties. In capitalist society, they are parties defending the interests of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, while in socialist society—it is the parties which are defending the interests of working people. As you see, both under capitalism and under socialism, the state is class- and party-based.

Strictly delimited are also the functions of Party and public organizations, such as trade unions, the YCL, cooperative societies, etc. This is recorded in the CPSU Rules and other Party documents, as well as in the Constitution of the USSR. Thus Article 7 therein clearly states that public organizations "participate, in accordance with the aims laid down in their rules, in managing state and public affairs, and in deciding political, economic, and social and cultural matters". Far from trying to supplant or oust them, the CPSU encourages them in every way to widely display bold initiative.

Lastly, what "party dictatorship" can one speak of when it is the broad masses that ensure the functioning of the political system in the USSR. Thus, the Soviets, representative bodies of state authority, have over 2,000,000 deputies working in them, two-thirds of them workers and collective farmers. In ad-

dition the Soviets have 31 million activists who, voluntarily and without pay, help decide various questions related to state government. It is estimated that every fourth Soviet citizen over 18 participates in administering the state in one way or other.

People's control bodies are another important form of mass involvement in running the state. Over ten million citizens participate in their work as elected inspectors, most of them gratuitously. Practically all state institutions and organizations—from shops and service enterprises to ministries and departments—come under them. They have access to nearly all documents. Incidentally, there are no such bodies in any capitalist country.

These are just a few examples, but, to my view, they give an idea of how the activities of government bodies are coupled with grass-roots initiative. This is nothing but genuine democracy.

The CPSU and the Soviet people are an integral whole. The CPSU is pursuing no other interests than those of the people. Trying to pit the Communist Party against the Soviet people, talk about "party dictatorship" and describe it as an elitist Party divorced from the masses amounts to, say, separating the heart and brain from the rest of the body.

I hope, Mr. Flosser, that the above will clarify matters raised in your letter.

Yours faithfully,
Gennady KOBYAKOV

MODERN CAPITALISM

NEO-FASCISM: WHO NEEDS IT

by Ernst HENRY

Forty years have passed since the Second World War (1939-1945) which brought an end to the Hitler Reich, prophesied by its nazi architects to exist for thousands of years. The twelve years of its existence cost mankind 50 million human lives. Can such a thing happen again today? How viable is neo-fascism?

THE SOCIAL BASE OF NEO-FASCISM

To begin with, one thing is certain. On the political map of the world there are no powerful fascist organizations, such as existed at the time of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. A big fascist party exists now only in Italy, operating mainly in the backward South. Some electoral gains were recorded by neo-fascists from the National-Democratic Party of Austria in April 1983. But no mass fascist parties have emerged on the scene in the last forty years either in the FRG or in France, Britain, Spain, Portugal and the USA. Almost everywhere in the West there are only comparatively small, though extremely dangerous neo-fascist terrorist groups which try to copy the nazis and create an atmosphere of tension in many countries, an atmosphere conducive to the installation of dictatorial military-fascist regimes. In some Latin American countries such regimes are holding power.

But does this mean that fascism has fizzled out since the war as a significant political force and that open ventures cannot be expected from it now? No, all the indications are that it would be a grave mistake to think so.

On whom does contemporary fascism rely? What strata of capitalist society support it?

● E. Henry is a prominent Soviet journalist.

In the past, in the twenties and thirties, we could refer first of all to the petty bourgeoisie, which actively sided with Hitler and Mussolini in search of a "firm order" and deliverance from inflation. Today we cannot regard it as main mass base of fascism anywhere, except Italy.

It is not only that the petty bourgeoisie in Central Europe and elsewhere cannot forget the horrendous forties. Millions of people from its midst are worried by the thoughts of the future and overcome with the fear of a nuclear war. This even impels some of them to move leftward and take part in mass anti-war demonstrations which are now sweeping the capitalist world. Neo-fascists, on the other hand, occupy diametrically opposite positions, fully backing the "hawks". In any case, today it is hardly correct to view the petty bourgeoisie as the main trump card of neo-fascism.

No one can, of course, guarantee that this will remain so in future, that the petty bourgeoisie will not turn back to fascism in some countries at the critical moment.

In Italy the main factor behind the success of the neo-fascist party, the "Italian Social Movement", now numbering about 300,000 members is the continuing pauperization of the peasants in the backward agrarian regions of the South.

Still less favourable is the outlook for neo-fascists as far as young people are concerned—in the past youth made up the main contingents for pogrom units. Millions of young people were killed in the Second World War. True, today too, neo-fascist terrorist bands in West Germany, Italy, France and other countries are recruited, as a rule, chiefly (as much as 83 per cent, by some estimates) from among immature and decadent youngsters attracted by the adventurist promises of their ring-leaders, by military "games" or simply by cash payments. But the bulk of young people in bourgeois countries reject neo-fascist adventurism.

Nonetheless, it is clear that neo-fascism by no means ceases putting its stake on youth. It lays special emphasis, in this respect, on the crisis of the capitalist economy and the prospect of millions of young people becoming "redundant". And there is much evidence that in the near future neo-fascists will continue betting on unprecedented mass unemployment in the capitalist countries of Europe stemming from the intensified automation of production—and not the temporary, cyclical unemployment, but the chronic unemployment of the technological kind. Even Hitler and Mussolini could not stake on this in the days of their struggle for power.

Even in the early eighties the number of the unemployed among people under 25 years of age in the Common Market countries reached 40 per cent of the total number of jobless. The same is true of the Asian capitalist countries, where fascism is just trying to gain a foothold. Young people constitute 60.4 per cent of the unemployed

in Thailand, 56.9 per cent in Singapore, 54.9 per cent in the Philippines and 46.7 per cent in South Korea.

In neo-fascist circles it is evidently believed that this is only the beginning and that tomorrow, with the further aggravation of the situation, thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, would flock to them from among the chronically unemployed youth. At any rate, it is beyond doubt that everywhere neo-fascists are intensifying their propaganda, especially among schoolchildren and students. In West Germany, for example, they publish dozens of journals and leaflets for teenagers in printings ranging from 2,000 to 10,000 copies.

One more thing is certain. Already now the corrupt neo-fascist youth in different countries is being willingly joined by lumpen-proletarians and criminals who would go to any lengths. The stake on the lumpen-proletariat is now typical of world neo-fascism as a whole which is putting its all on terrorism. The number of declassed people on whom neo-fascist leaders are trying to rely is growing in the capitalist world faster than ever before.

And we can hardly exclude a situation in which neo-fascism, in the event of the further aggravation of the international situation and growth of technological unemployment, would be able to recruit lumpen-proletarians and criminals to make good, to some extent, its losses among other strata. To them it indeed opens the road to criminal ventures, as it were. At any rate, the fact that the social base of modern fascism rests, in part, on a declassed mass is rather indicative of its present character and its future.

ORIENTATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

There are, however, other dark forces in the West which covertly support various neo-fascist organizations. The first among them are the ultra-right military prepared to go to any lengths to rout the left working class movement and unleash an anti-Soviet war. It is the military of the dictatorial, Pinochet type whose roots go back to Franco and Hitler, who once declared in a speech addressed to his subordinates: if the army had not been with us, we would not have been here now.

There is every ground to believe that these circles in various countries are already maintaining doubly secret contacts with the neo-fascist leaders, who promise prospective generals the support of their thugs in reactionary coups in return for special privileges for their bands, as was the case in Chile.

It is not fortuitous that the Mediterranean region occupies a special place in the neo-fascist international camp today. In Italy the "Italian Social Movement" founded by Mussolini's direct successors has gathered hundreds of thousands of people in its organizations. It is the only mass neo-fascist party. Nothing like it exists

in any other capitalist country. It is also known that nowhere does neo-fascism have such firm ties with influential military circles as in Italy and Spain, and, not long ago, also in Greece. In any case, it is clear that the international neo-fascist headquarters is now definitely trying to shift the centre of world fascism from Central to Southern Europe.

In Italy, for instance, it was irrefutably proved back in the seventies that the right-wing generals in the army, navy and air force have close connections with neo-fascist conspirators. Former NATO navy commander in Southern Europe Admiral G. Birindelli became vice-chairman of the "Italian Social Movement" upon his retirement. Former chief of staff of military police General Lorenzo at one time headed the fascist plot. Former chief of the Italian military intelligence General Micheli and General Ricci of the armoured force too were involved in such affairs. Simultaneously, all of them maintained close contacts with the USA and NATO.

Attempts to carry out a coup with the aim of "establishing order" were made by these military circles in Italy in collusion with neo-fascists five times in the first half of the seventies alone! The organizers of the plot code-named "Antarctic" planned to complete their operation for the seizure of power and defeat of "Red areas" in the country within 36 hours. Now that with the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the Italian military are apprehensive of the working class mounting anti-war actions, the threat of coups by the military is more and more real. The inauguration of a coalition government headed by Socialist Party leader B. Craxi in Rome in 1983 was hindering the implementation of these plans. But, still, in October 1984 the authorities were forced to arrest several prominent figures in the SISMI military secret service with General Muzumeci at their head, who had connections with the CIA and the clandestine P 2 mason lodge. Judging by everything, these circles are just biding their time in order, with the CIA's aid, to storm and occupy Rome and such workers' centres as Milan and Turin, to enlist fascists as a police guard of a dictatorial regime and drown the working class movement in blood. The fascist "Italian Social Movement" party is making its own preparations, hoping to gain power at last by taking advantage of this situation.

It is only natural that the Italian neo-fascists stand foursquare for the bellicose anti-Soviet policy pursued by the United States. Their leader G. Almirante, who was in Mussolini's government at one time, attended, several years ago, a conference of the World Anti-Communist League in Washington, a semi-secret international organization preparing an aggressive attack on the Soviet Union. Everything goes to show that the "Italian Social Movement" has considerable funds part of which clearly comes from the safes of the Italian military concerns fulfilling NATO's contracts. This enables

the fascists to catch in their nets peasants, the unemployed and lumpen-proletarians, especially in the distressed South. It is equally beyond doubt that their party is also financed by the mafia, which has contacts with the United States.

Not so long ago similar neo-fascist circles operated in another Mediterranean country important for them—Greece. In 1967 they even managed to do what they have failed so far to do in Italy: put the fascist military in power and keep them there seven years. Though the Greek people toppled the hateful regime of "black colonels" and a socialist government is now in office in Athens, the patrons of Greek neo-fascists have not abandoned their plans in the eastern Mediterranean.

In Turkey neo-fascists are also putting their stake on the extreme right military circles. Though their local terrorist organization "Nationalist Movement", whose members are dubbed "grey wolves" by the people, has been dissolved, pro-American Turkish fascism has not yet, it looks, departed from the scene.

Still more conspicuous is another thing. What is happening in the central and eastern Mediterranean is recurring in its western part—Spain. Here the Francoist generals' plots recur literally from year to year. The neo-fascist organizations "New Force", "Spanish Solidarity", "National-Revolutionary Youth" and others, despite the strong anti-fascist sentiments of the overwhelming majority of Spaniards, do not lose hopes of achieving their aims with the help of the NATO and pro-American circles which, seemingly, have so far kept on the sidelines.

In France, where the reactionary army circles, in turn, are impatiently looking forward to the advent of a rightwing government, the pro-fascist "National Front" is active; its leader Le Pen, a former legionary, almost every day speaks at meetings, lauding Hitler and, very significantly, Pinochet. At the elections to the so-called European parliament in June 1984 the "National Front" put up its candidates. Le Pen loudly declares the intention of his organization to have its own candidate at the future presidential elections.

What is the reason of such special orientation of modern fascism on the Mediterranean region? The answer should be sought not in Rome, Paris or Madrid, but in Washington. For the neo-fascists have direct ties with American militarism with its aggressive strategic designs. While prewar fascism fully served the aims of German imperialists, the new, postwar fascism takes its cue above all from the Pentagon and its plans. This explains its good financial position, its political guidelines and its terroristic ventures.

It is no secret that the Pentagon's military strategy envisages, in the event of an aggressive war against the USSR and other socialist countries, a general offensive of American and NATO armed forces in the first place from the Mediterranean region. Here are the

powerful US Sixth Fleet and the chief US landing formations whose operations are to develop in the direction of the Balkans, the Black Sea and the Middle East. The South European NATO headquarters stationed in Naples and headed by an American admiral has been busy for years trying to secure a reliable political base for its military positions. This is being done through the mediation of the local reactionary military and financial circles and also through a secret collusion with the neo-fascists in the Mediterranean countries. Hence, the seeming "upsurge" of Italian neo-fascism, an upsurge which cannot be regarded as fortuitous.

In the first postwar years, neo-fascists had different plans. The chief stake of their international headquarters was then put on the restoration of the big old Hitler party in West Germany. Things went so far that in the early fifties, at the height of the cold war, at a secret gathering of former nazis headed by W. Naumann, state secretary in Goebbels' department, it was decided to engineer a plot with the aim of seizing power in Bonn and then, with the aid of the United States, attack the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. Old Wehrmacht generals dreaming of revenge were brought into the game. The plot was uncovered and the revival of German fascism did not materialize. The rightist military in the FRG did not dare to come out into the open, the population of the country refused to side with the fascists and their neo-nazi organizations were left high and dry. Then the initiative was taken by Mussolini's successors who colluded with the American headquarters in Naples. And, since then, they remain the biggest force in the international neo-fascist movement.

COLLABORATION WITH THE CIA

Nonetheless, neo-fascists of the second generation in the FRG did not feel discouraged. At present they have a comparatively small number of supporters and terrorist bands. Neo-nazis infiltrated the Bundeswehr. According to the estimates of a special study group of West German researchers, in 1978 about 10 per cent of the cadets at the Bundeswehr higher school had an obvious sympathy for neo-fascist ideas. As for the Bundeswehr generals, many of them former Hitler officers, no statistics on their views are kept, of course. The Bundeswehr occasionally supplies West German neo-fascist terrorist bands, hiding under the signboards of military-sport organizations, with considerable quantities of armaments, including "second-hand" tanks and armoured vehicles.

However, the most influential pro-fascist military clique has woven a nest for itself in the USA around the Pentagon and inside it. At one time, in the fifties, its leader was General Douglas MacArthur, the former commander of the US armed forces in the Far East

and leader of the US intervention in Korea, who had direct contacts with West German neo-fascists. This is clear from an interview with the general published in neo-fascist Munich newspaper *Deutsche National-Zeitung*.

The influence of the MacArthur group was so strong that the right circles openly put him up for president with dictatorial powers in the event of a "communist threat". They failed in this, but it would be wrong to believe that the influence of the authoritarian militarist circles in America came to an end with that. Now they are kept in the reserve of the Pentagon and the White House, and their contacts with neo-fascists in Western Europe continue, though not so openly as in the past. Only bourgeois media, eagerly covering up the behind-the-scenes interlocking of reactionary forces, can underestimate the significance of such contacts for neo-fascism.

It is not surprising that such a pogrom racist organization as the Ku Klux Klan has recently reared its head in America. According to press reports, the number of its members has grown several times in the first four years of the Reagan Administration and now stands at 40-50 thousand. Reportedly, there are over 100,000 sympathizers. The "Nationalist Party of America" is on the scene too.

It appears that American bourgeois politicians do not yet dare to discredit themselves by declaring their open ties with terrorist fascist bands. But in the event of a sharp aggravation of the international situation the picture may no doubt change abruptly.

British neo-fascism is doing everything to cash in on the fact that the Tory government headed by Thatcher is in power. In February 1984 reports appeared about closer ties being formed by the extreme right wing of the Tory party with fascist and semi-fascist organizations like the "National Front", "British Movement", "League of St. George" and "Column 88". It came to light that systematic work in this direction is being carried out by a special Tory action group founded by G. Young, a former intelligence officer who specialized in tracking progressive organizations.

Young reported that the group has the support of 24 MPs in the Commons and, at least, two members of the cabinet. He did not disclose their names. No doubt, involved here are the two sides' secret ties with the CIA and the Pentagon. The edifice of a "black international" is gradually taking shape.

The recent electoral successes of the Labour Party in some constituencies and still more powerful strikes of British workers have so much frightened the British Tories that they are more and more tending to the right, leaning towards the most extremist course. Are not some of them hoping to use the services of the obliging bellicose ultras in the event of serious class battles in the country?

In Latin America neo-fascist military terrorist groups are everywhere subsidized by the same CIA through figure-heads. The "death

squads" operating in El Salvador are headed by R. D'Aubuisson, an emissary of the pro-fascist "Nationalist Republican Alliance", a retired major of the Salvadoran army. Between 1979 and 1983 these "death squads" killed about 45,000 people in that country.

It has been established that the money for this massacre comes from the CIA leadership in Washington enraged by the revolt of the peoples of Central America (especially the people of Nicaragua) against dictatorial regimes. In June 1984 D'Aubuisson came to Washington at the invitation of a group of American Senators. The bourgeois press does not conceal the fact that the CIA was not only involved in the formation of "death squads" but continues to give them all possible help.

In a totally different part of the capitalist world, Norway, a neo-fascist party was finalized organizationally in May 1984, for the first time since the Second World War. Its chief aim is the abolition of the parliament. Quisling's shadow is again looming in the north of Western Europe. Even in Japan, which lived through the American atomic bombing, neo-fascism is now maintaining contacts with the CIA.

THE RIGHTISTS ARE UNITING

And, lastly, worthy of special note are, of course, the current relations between neo-fascists and big business in various countries, mostly in the FRG, the USA, Italy, France and Spain. Much less is known about this now than in the past. Mindful of the exposures made after the Second World War, the monopolists today take more care.

As is known, in its time the Hitler party was repeatedly financed by the magnates of German heavy industry and leading bankers. Right from the start Mussolini's party was subsidized by the "Conf-industria", association of leading Italian industrialists, and individual monopolists. Today, the primary role among the secret patrons of neo-fascists in different capitalist countries is, obviously, played by arms-manufacturing monopolies interested in the aggravation of international relations and the attendant arms race. But they are not the only ones.

Among American and also West European big business circles there are those who are generally discontented with bourgeois democracy and yearn for a "strong hand", i.e., an authoritarian and even undisguised military-fascist regime. For some time these monopolists prefer to conceal their views, to keep low and to confide their views only to a close circle of like-minded people. But there can be hardly any doubt that in the event of aggravation of the international situation and a still more powerful upsurge of mass movements for peace and disarmament they would not remain on the sidelines. The

missing names of the secret financiers of neo-fascism will then come to light.

There are also proofs that the modern neo-fascists and their patrons are constantly trying to unite internationally. Though the composition of this association is changing now and again because of internal squabbles between its members (each of their leaders wishes to be the Führer), the main constant participants are known. The whole lot of them are eager to succeed Hitler.

A number of international neo-fascist gatherings have been reported in the press in recent years. Thus, at the end of April 1978 a conference was held in Rome which was attended by G. Almirante, the leader of the "Italian Social Movement", with all the members of its executive, Tixier-Vignancour, the head of the French "Party of New Forces" (whom these circles called the "spiritual and political leader of the French right" at the time), and B. Pinar, president of the Spanish "New Force" neo-fascist party (who too came with its leadership members). Then, in Naples, the bastion of Italian neo-fascists, a 40,000-strong meeting was held at which the three neo-fascist leaders declared that their "Euro-right" is not simply a coalition for contesting parliamentary elections, but a "union of principled importance" standing for "European renewal", i.e., fascistization of Europe.

The "Euro-destra" ("European Right") was formed to "combat the offensive of the left forces and, first and foremost, the growing prestige and influence of communist parties". The "fundamental" document adopted by the conference urged all right forces in Europe to join the "triple alliance" of fascist parties, to form a united front. It was also declared that the "Euro-destra" would become the "first nucleus of a much broader political association". Then followed meetings in Madrid, Marseilles, Lyons and Paris.

At the "world conference" of the "Anti-Communist League" held in Washington in 1978 attended by representatives of 67 countries, including countries in North and South America, Asia and the Middle East, something like a formal deal was struck at the "summit level" between neo-fascists and professional anti-communists. In May 1984 the congress of one of neo-fascist parties was attended by one P. H. Riis-Knudsen who called himself "Secretary-General of the World Congress of National-Socialists".

Such international gatherings of neo-fascists are becoming more frequent. In December 1984 Almirante, the leader of the Italian ultras, and his French counterpart Le Pen met behind closed doors in Athens with their Greek friends from the "National Union". The coordination of neo-fascist organizations in the Mediterranean region is thus continuing.

Under the supervision and, here and there, also with the material aid of the "black international", the ranks of neo-fascist terrorists

outside the main continental West European countries are gradually broadening, especially in countries with a strong working class movement, although things have not yet come to the point of forming mass fascist organizations.

* * *

Such are some features of modern fascism which remains a mortal foe of the international working class and the communist movement. Neo-fascism cannot not compare with prewar fascism, but there are all indications that it is frantically trying to return to the big international arena. Its circles have to reckon, willingly or unwillingly, with the fact that the world balance of forces in the postwar years has changed radically in favour of socialism. But it is precisely this that impels neo-fascism to come to terms with the extremist, most aggressive wing of US imperialism and its allies in various countries. And this makes it dangerous, in spite of the fact that in the majority of countries it has lost its former prevailing influence on the petty bourgeoisie and youth. It remains to be seen whether neo-fascism will be able to regain its positions among these population strata.

Most recently, a new prospect, which cannot escape one's attention, seems to be opening up for neo-fascism in the West European countries. The deployment of American missiles in the NATO countries is causing such a high wave of popular opposition that Washington and the capitals of NATO countries are frightened as seriously as, perhaps, never before in the postwar period. There is much evidence that the ruling circles in Western Europe and their American patrons are preparing for a direct attack on the peace fighters. Ordinary police units can hardly cope with the resistance of broad masses on their own. And this is the opening through which the fascists hope to invade the world political scene again.

What are the concrete aims of neo-fascism? What does it bring to the contemporaries?

Judging by the numerous statements of its leaders and press media in different countries, the general programme of the successors to Hitler and Mussolini comes down to the following.

The main task of fascists of the second generation is to speed up a third world war at any cost. For this they intend to pave the road for the most aggressive forces of US imperialism. Neo-fascists are ready, at a critical moment, to contribute in every possible way to the installation of a Pinochet-type military-fascist dictatorships in the leading capitalist countries.

Neo-fascism strives, through the use of nuclear, space, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, to sweep socialism off the face of the earth first of all in Europe.

Its other aims are:

to destroy or subjugate (in the literal meaning of the word) all "non-Aryan" peoples, to strangle the working class movement everywhere, to do away with the different-minded intellectuals, to eradicate the historically evolved human culture, to consolidate throughout the world the sway of the monopoly oligarchy which has merged with the fascist top echelon, to re-establish the system of death camps.

It can be said that this programme witnesses more the incurable lunacy of its authors rather than a real political platform. No doubt about that. But, then, wasn't there Hitler, a raving political madman? Were not there Auschwitz and other death camps where thousands of people were exterminated every day? And does not fascism personify the despair of bourgeois society which is drawing closer to its historical doom, which has lost faith in its own future, which is taking any mortal risk in order to survive?

And if modern imperialism dares to declare war on the socialist world, to go over to reckless political ventures, it will most likely try to make neo-fascism its accomplice.

But there is also another prospect. The rapidly growing popular anti-war movement sweeping the whole world can, in the course of its struggle against the aggressive imperialist circles, defeat fascism once and for all. The signs of the times are that history will develop precisely along this road.

Znamya, No. 2, 1985 *

TODAY'S MOST IMPORTANT TASK

Mankind is now faced with a choice: either to do everything possible and lessen international tension or let the world slide into a thermonuclear abyss. Back in 1921 Lenin wrote that averting imperialist wars is the "keystone of all policy in all the countries of the globe. It is a question of life and death for millions upon millions of people."¹ Today the revolution in military science and technology has led to the development of new types of mass destruction weapons which can jeopardise the lives of the entire world population. War and peace is the crucial issue in the present-day ideological battles between socialism and capitalism.

The APN Publishing House has recently brought out a number of books and pamphlets examining various aspects of contemporary ideological struggle, among them "Ideological Struggle and Questions of Peace" by Leonid Zamyatin, a Soviet journalist. The author thoroughly analyzes the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and its peace initiatives aimed at stopping the unbridled arms race. He exposes the adventuristic foreign policy of the present US Administration which has proclaimed a crusade against the USSR and socialism in general, and shows what aims and whose interests this crusade pursues.

The psychological warfare unleashed by US imperialism is also discussed in the book entitled "Washington Crusaders on the March" by Vladimir Bolshakov, a world news analyst. These two books contain a wealth of facts showing who is really to blame for the serious worsening of the international situation and for the difficulties which have arisen in the world over the past few years. These are

"the result above all of the negative changes in US policies, the result of the current unprecedented arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, forced on the world by Washington's advocates of a policy based on force," Zamyatin writes.

As he notes further, besides the course for achieving military superiority over the USSR, another line is increasingly evident in Washington's policy—that of gaining supremacy in the sphere of ideology and propaganda-making.

Disconcerted by the fact that the dynamic and constructive foreign policy of the USSR has the growing trust of the world public, US ideologists and politicians resort to psychological warfare ploys impermissible in international relations, in order to create an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion with regard to the Soviet peace initiatives. They are re-hashing the old-old thesis that the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism was allegedly proclaimed by the USSR to serve its "hegemonic aims", thus deliberately distorting communist principles. "The ideological struggle," Zamyatin writes, "objectively reflects the confrontation between the two opposite world outlooks, the two social systems—socialist and capitalist. The class struggle between them will continue in the economic and political spheres, to say nothing of the ideological sphere. This is inevitable, because the world outlook and the class objectives of socialism and capitalism are diametrically opposed and irreconcilable. But does this mean that this political confrontation, ideological struggle and economic competition will inevitably lead to a military conflict? The socialist countries believe that this can and must be avoided." This idea also keynotes V. Bolshakov's book.

Psychological warfare tactics is not anything new in the arsenal of imperialist reaction. Losing the 20th century class battles, it is employing various means to retain its ideological positions. Back in the early years of Soviet government Lenin noted, "...if at the moment they cannot attack us with guns, they attack us with lies and slander."² Western propaganda services have long used misinformation and slander in their struggle against the world's progressive forces. Today, however, the imperialist attack on the human mind has assumed unprecedented proportions.

In the books under review, Soviet journalists describe in detail the methods of modern psychological warfare and reveal its reactionary, anti-human nature. "Washington does not stop short of direct interference in the socialist countries' internal affairs whether in the guise of the 'defence of human rights' or in the form of uninvited advice," Zamyatin notes. "Since the cold war," he continues, "the US has not seen such a massive participation of the country's top

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 33, p. 54.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 32, p. 159.

statesmen and high-ranking military in official propaganda-making as today, or such an outspoken fusion of imperialism's war preparations with subversive propaganda."

The socialist countries refuse to regard the ideological struggle as a barrier obstructing peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with differing social systems. They oppose even more the attempts to transfer the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism into a military sphere. The USA and NATO take a different view on the issue. The Reagan Administration's crusade virtually borders on a declaration of a new cold war on real socialism. "Apparently, what is involved is a new strategy of active interference in the affairs of socialist countries with a view to changing their system," Bolshakov notes.

Who is to benefit from this strategy?

"Of course," Bolshakov continues, "what we are talking about here is not just a question of cynical US politicians who easily change from doves into hawks, depending on the political situation, but one of the actual centres of power in the United States." Significantly, the very same "brain trusts" which in the seventies drafted programmes of cooperation with the socialist world within the framework of detente policies, such as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Brookings Institution and others, began to act in league with anti-communist centres, such as the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, the Georgetown Centre for Strategic and International Studies and the American Enterprise Institute. It has come to light that these centres' activities have been funded by the same powerful foundations, i.e., Ford's, Rockefeller's and Carnegie's.

Naturally, the sharp turnaround in US policies from detente to military supremacy is not a chance affair, it is caused by the strengthening of the military-industrial complex, most interested in the arms buildup and military ventures abroad. As the New Programme of the Communist Party USA emphasizes, the power and privileges of the military-industrial complex grow in proportion to the growth of a military machine which it drives.

US military spending is literally skyrocketing. In the opinion of the US military and politicians, the country has weapons enough to wage two and a half wars at a time. The USA has always initiated the development of new weapon systems.

Leonid Zamyatin quotes many facts bearing this out. "In the post-war period," the author writes, "the USA has 95 times initiated the development of new weapon systems to tilt the balance of armed forces in its favour. During the four years in office, the Reagan

Administration has almost doubled its military budget, increasing it to nearly 300 billion dollars. Huge sums are being spent on the development of first-strike weapons and weapon systems, including B-1B bombers, Trident submarines, a new Trident II/p-5 SLBM, multi-purpose strike submarines of the Los Angeles type, large cruisers equipped with the Aegis system and B-52 bombers with cruise missiles." Nowadays, the USA is planning to extend the arms race to outer space and is preparing for Star Wars.

It is worth noting that the propaganda machine of the USA and other NATO countries steered by the White House is set in motion to justify the course for gaining military superiority, to mislead the world public and create an atmosphere of military psychosis in these countries, thereby helping the military-industrial complex to wind the spiral of the arms race more tightly.

The US mass media hurls lame charges against the Soviet Union, accusing it of a failure to fulfil its commitments in the field of arms reductions.

Going back on their word, and trying to lay the blame at the wrong door is a most favourite trick used by US politicians and ideologists. The Soviet journalists, authors of the books under review, expose this trick scathingly and argumentatively. They emphasize the Soviet Union's principled, firm and consistent adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence and spotlight its main aims at the present stage. The Soviet Union sees the only reasonable way out of the current tense situation in promoting active cooperation between all states, based on goodwill, in the name of peace, cooperation, incompatible with crusades, slander campaigns, misinformation and other refined means of psychological warfare.

Yekaterina SHALAYEVA (APN)

IN SUPPORT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In a speech delivered in March 1919, Lenin thus commented upon the resolution adopted by the small Italian town of Cavriago in support of the Russian revolution: "When you read a resolution like that, ... you have every right to say to yourself that the Italian people are on our side, the Italian people understand what the Russian 'Sovietisti' are..."

A year later the people of this town had conferred upon Lenin the honorary title of Mayor of their town. A bust of the leader of the world proletariat was erected in the main square. Cavriago's example was followed by other towns. The movement of solidarity with the newly formed Soviet Russia was widespread throughout Italy. For Italian workers the socialist revolution was inseparable from the name of Lenin.

Today, an enlarged framed photograph hangs in the townhall of Foiano della Chiana. It shows the town square crowded with people, and in the foreground a large placard bearing the inscription "Long Live Lenin, Long Live Russia!" This photograph was taken at 11 a.m. on May 1, 1920.

"We are proud that our fathers and grandfathers resolutely took the side of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Soviet Russia," Mayor Franco Gervasi said. He was head of the city branch of the Italian Communist Party before being elected to this post.

Why did the ancient town of Foiano della Chiana become a centre of the movement of solidarity with the socialist revolution in far-off Russia? Documents show that the first industrial enterprises, macaroni and tobacco factories and mechanical workshops, were set up in this typical agricultural Toscana town. The workers and farmhands led a miserable existence and were mercilessly exploited. This was fertile ground for socialist ideas. In 1903, the Socialists won the majority of votes in the elections to the local organs of power.

We went with Ezio Raspanti, chairman of the local branch of the National Association of Italian Partisans, from the townhall to the People's House, which the citizens of Foiano della Chiana built in their free time. One room houses the archives containing documents on the history of

the workers' movement in the city and its environs.

"The majority of our people enthusiastically welcomed the news of the socialist revolution in Russia," Ezio Raspanti said. "Lenin's slogans, 'Factories to the Workers', 'Land to the Peasants', 'Peace to the People', struck chords deep in the hearts of the Italian working people. When imperialist states, including Italy, launched their armed intervention against the Soviet Republic, our citizens were very active in the movement of solidarity with the just cause of Russia's working people."

In confirmation of his words he carefully turned a time-yellowed manifesto issued on July 19, 1919. In it, local Socialists called upon workers and peasants to join the strike in support of the Russian revolution. "May the wind of freedom blow freely whereever people crave it!" A new appeal was pasted on the walls of houses in Foiano della Chiana a few days after that, listing the main political demands the Italian workers

were making on the government of their country! One of these was that the allied troops be withdrawn from Russia. Placards proclaiming solidarity with revolutionary Russia set the tone in the 1920 May Day march.

"Socialists from Foiano della Chiana unanimously joined the Italian Communist Party which was formed after the split of the Socialist Party at the Livorno Congress in 1921," Ezio Raspanti continued. "Our people resolutely rebuffed the fascist thugs, who elbowed their way to power through bloody terror. The town's 'red' junta refused to give in to the fascists' ultimatum that it retire. Arms in hand, the workers and peasants repulsed the fascist death squads, sending them packing. We fought fascism to the death in the ranks of the Italian Resistance movement during World War II. Today, we resolutely work for peace and oppose the deployment of US missiles on Italian territory."

Nikolai PAKLIN

From the newspaper *Izvestia*

PERIODICALS FEATURED IN THIS ISSUE:

Voprosy ekonomiki

(*Economic Affairs*)

-a monthly journal published by the Institute of Economics under the USSR Academy of Sciences. Founded March, 1948, circulation 43 thousand.

Znamya

(*Banner*)

-a monthly literary, social and political magazine published by the USSR Writers' Union since January 1931, circulation 175 thousand.

Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn

(*International Life*)

-a monthly scientific and political journal of the All-Union "Znaniye" Society, founded 1954, circulation 112 thousand, published in Russian, English and French.

PUBLISHING HOUSES WHOSE BOOKS ARE FEATURED IN THIS ISSUE:

Mysl

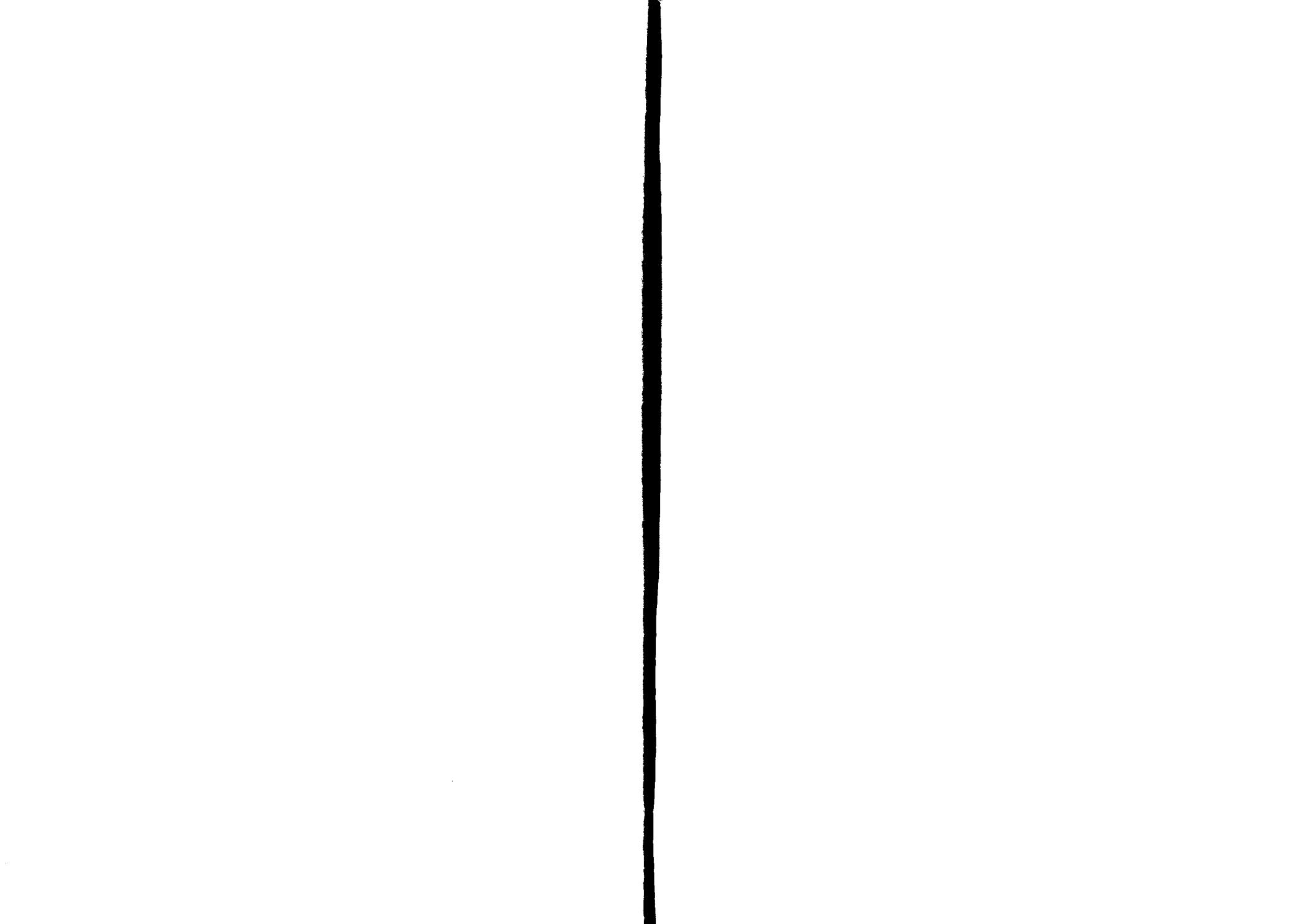
(*Thought*)

-state publishing house in Moscow, publishes literature on philosophy, economics, history and geography, publishes approximately 300 books in a total printing of 15 million yearly.

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