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**The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world**

**Ethics as Communists see it ●**

**The psychological war waged by  
imperialism: its aims and  
means ●**

**The impasses of bourgeois  
global studies ●**

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**SOCIALISM:  
THEORY  
AND PRACTICE**

**The Struggle of Ideas in the Contemporary World**

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*In our capitalist system the mass media operate to make people in the West believe in things that are to the advantage of the ruling circles. It is a real manipulation of people's minds. Your magazine is so useful because it acquaints the readers with a different view of social development.*

**Maria Gonzalez Villena,**  
student, aged 19,  
Spain

*We realize that there can be no successful revolutionary struggle or organized movement without the knowledge of revolutionary theory and that this theory can be only Marxism-Leninism, which truly reflects and expresses the interests of social progress.*

**Ebenezer Chikanza,**  
student, aged 22,  
Zambia

## US IDEOLOGICAL AGGRESSION

by Leonid ZAMYATIN

*Imperialism's strategy of ideological aggression is spear-headed against the forces of democracy and social progress. It aims at interfering in the affairs of other countries, provoking enmity in relations among states, and at escalating international tension.*

### IDEOLOGY IN IMPERIALISM'S STRATEGY

A battle for human minds, with nothing to match it in terms of intensity and dramatic quality, is going on in the world today. It runs through international relations and is a major component of the struggle of various political forces in the world arena.

The ideological battle objectively reflects the confrontation of two diametrically opposite world outlooks and social systems—socialist and capitalist. The class struggle between them in the economic, political, and, naturally, ideological fields, will continue. It cannot be otherwise, for the philosophy and class aims of socialism and capitalism are diametrically opposite and irreconcilable. However, must this political confrontation, this confrontation of ideas and economic competition unavoidably take the form of armed conflict?

The socialist nations believe that the historically inevitable struggle between differing social systems must be conducted by peaceful means. The ideological battle between socialism and capitalism should be no obstacle to the development of normal relations and mutually beneficial cooperation, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, between countries having different social systems.

However, one has to take into account the fact that imperialism has deliberately sharpened the ideological struggle in the international arena, trying to transform the realm of ideology and propaganda into a springboard for far-reaching subversive activity against socialism.

The "psychological warfare" is conducted along various lines: against the socialist nations, against the developing nations, against

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the national liberation forces and movements. It is aimed at putting barriers in the way of progressive change in the world, at making the imperialist powers once again the arbiters of the nations' destinies, at whipping up international tensions, escalating the arms race and intellectually and culturally enslaving millions of human beings.

Opponents of socialism and enemies of peace and cooperation consider that the policy of peaceful coexistence and extended detente is limiting their opportunities for outright intervention in the affairs of other peoples. That is why "psychological warfare" against the socialist countries is an essential element of the foreign policy strategy and tactics of the NATO countries and especially of the United States of America. Furthermore, acts of ideological subversion alternate with direct calls for war against socialism.

With propaganda clap-trap about an inevitable confrontation with socialism the US governing quarters are trying to distract American and world opinion from the deepening economic crisis of capitalism, the sharpening social contradictions, growing unemployment and poverty, unbridled racial violence, and avowed neo-fascism. Capitalist ideologues try to advertise the pseudo-values of the American "world of liberty and democracy" to make up for capitalism's lack of a positive ideal.

The ideological "crusade" against communism is yet another manifestation of the overall course of world reaction at fierce confrontation with the Soviet Union and its allies and at the "destruction of socialism as a social and political system".

The main task of this "global campaign", which Ronald Reagan announced in his speech in the British Parliament on June 8, 1982, is "to foster the infrastructure of democracy, the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities". What all that meant, in point of fact, was yet another move by the US governing quarters along the lines of ideological subversion against freedom-loving peoples and ideological, political and psychological build-up to support the world-wide aggressive foreign policy of the United States.

The Western propaganda machine is trying to make international opinion think in anti-Soviet terms and force the people to swallow the hackneyed allegations about a "Soviet military threat", "expansionist aspirations of the USSR", and "export of social revolutions", and present existing socialism in a distorting way. A drive is on to spread militant jingoism, militarized patriotism and chauvinism. All propaganda ploys to manipulate the public mind are brought into play: misinformation, lie and slander, arousing all kinds of political prejudice and shallow concepts. Those are integral components of the "psychological warfare" which has become part and parcel of Washington's military policy used as a kind of a head-on attack against world opinion and an instrument of pressure on other nations.

The scope of the anti-Soviet slander campaign is commensurate with that of the militarization programme being carried on by Washington with a view to achieving military superiority over the USSR. The vicious "charges" levelled against us, must, as those who conceive them presume, make the foreign public believe that it is impossible not only to cooperate but even to coexist with the USSR, and with the socialist community as a whole and that armed confrontation is inevitable.

One cannot say that this passes without a trace. One can see from public opinion polls in Western countries that some of the ordinary folk are inclined to believe that the main danger to them does come from the Soviet Union and its armed forces.

The untrammelled arms build-up and the development of more types of mass destruction weapons in the USA lead to the growing realization by the world community where the threat to peace actually comes from.

The Washington Administration is at pains to suppress news about the major Soviet initiatives directed towards securing agreement on disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost.

Contacts with the Soviet people are banned or obstructed, anti-Soviet spy-hunt stories are being played up, and members of the business community, journalists and public figures cooperating with the Soviet Union are being hounded.

#### **WHEN ALL MEANS ARE GOOD**

Project Truth, which has been used by the Americans since 1981 to carry out almost all of their anti-Soviet acts of ideological subversion, serves the tasks of struggle against Soviet foreign policy propaganda and is designed to justify the "crusade" against the USSR and against socialism. Since the late 70s, the Americans have conducted at least three major subversive campaigns against existing socialism, by spuriously accusing the Soviet Union of "human rights violations" and "involvement in international terrorism", and spreading the myth of Soviet military superiority and of the "Soviet military threat".

The myth of the "Soviet threat" has two aims:

Its domestic political aim is by creating an atmosphere of a besieged camp and war jitters at home, to restore political stability of American society to make impossible or extremely difficult manifestation of social discontent that is inevitable in the context of the worst economic crisis in the post-war period;

The external political objective of the "Soviet threat" fraud is to scare Western Europe and Japan with the alleged aggressiveness of the Soviet Union, and form a global military-political bloc with everybody in, from Washington all the way to Tokyo.

This is clearly demonstrated by the documents adopted by the leaders of seven leading capitalist states in 1983 at the Williamsburg

conference. The declaration issued at that conference distinctly revealed the US intention to bring its own allies under its military and economic influence, get them to set aside a larger proportion of their budgets for military spending and draw them into the new arms build-up programmes.

Washington has been proclaiming the restoration of the erstwhile military superiority of the United States, and, accordingly, the upsetting of the present balance of forces as an end for which "all means are good", as the American politicians believe. Hence, a somersault in nuclear thinking—from the doctrine of "deterrence" to the postulate of the "permissibility and winnability of a nuclear war". Hence, the unprecedented quantitative build-up of falsification and misinformation in the anti-communist stereotypes used against the USSR.

This course of the US Administration is accompanied by monstrous misinformation by American television and broadcasting companies and the press. The fanning of anti-Sovietism in the US has had different results. On the one hand, such a campaign enables the Administration to keep up an atmosphere of war jitters at home and consolidate the right-wing forces on the platform of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

On the other, there is mounting anti-war and anti-nuclear sentiment. The present policy of the White House has understandably made the American people fear the reality of nuclear war.

A huge propaganda machine is in operation in the United States. Billions of dollars are spent every year on international political propaganda. Ideological subversion against the socialist countries is carried on by a giant conglomeration of propaganda services comprising all kinds of castaways who have left the socialist countries, as well as those who collaborated with the nazis during the war.

Special attention is being given to the intensification of hostile, subversive radio propaganda. Appropriations for the Voice of America, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, for example, exceed half a billion dollars, with most of the programmed time being used for subversive broadcasts beamed to socialist countries.

The developing nations are also becoming a major target of the United States' ideological expansionism within its projects. Plans are afoot, for example, to launch a long-term (up to twenty years) series of large-scale and generously financed acts to create a kind of American ideological infrastructure in the developing countries.

The latest propaganda programme of this sort has been pompously named "Project Democracy and Public Diplomacy".

Yet another thing that claims attention is a set of measures being worked out by a special planning group to condition the so-called "West European elite of a new generation"—teachers, journalists, and leaders of political parties—to offset the mounting anti-American feeling of European youth.

The Washington architects of projects like "Truth" or "Democracy" or "Public Diplomacy" have been quite eloquent in describing the "open" character of their ideological inventions. However, all of these projected acts of subversion betray the authorship of the CIA and other intelligence services. All that the CIA did in the 1950s and the 1960s and that was revealed by inquiries made into its operations in the last decade is to be continued in Washington's ideological programmes. The "cloak and dagger" men have always engaged in training police and detective forces, infiltrating unions, parties, and student organizations, in bribing political leaders and party functionaries, with the only difference that today they speak more of the "inextinguishable torch of liberty" and "eternal ideals of democracy" which America brings to the rest of the world.

However, their self-assigned role of imperialism's missionaries and their attempts to impose the American order of things on the whole world by force combined with propaganda and psychological pressure are meeting mounting resistance everywhere.

Entire regions, most cynically declared to be "crucial to US security and prosperity", become the direct target of Washington's ideological and quite often military expansionism.

Those states in Asia, Africa and Latin America that have cut short their dependence on imperialism and the Western monopolies and started their genuinely independent development are now the target of particularly virulent propaganda campaigns.

Recent facts indicate that imperialism has been increasingly active in combining the "diplomacy of the mass media" with the methods of military-diplomatic blackmail, international acts of political provocation, ideological subversion and terrorism.

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Ideological aggression of imperialism is being used as an instrument for interference in the internal affairs of states and peoples, as a means for blinding and misguiding the masses, for cultivating strife and hatred between peoples.

The escalation of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, designed as it is to fan hatred between peoples and divert their attention from the urgent problems of keeping peace is not just dangerous; it is criminal. Such a course cannot be a sensible base for a practicable policy in this nuclear age.

*Literaturnaya gazeta*, September 7, 1983 \*

## **SOCIALISM, ETHICS, POLITICS**

by Alexander **TITARENKO**

*The all-round development of the individual, his welfare and happiness—this is the supreme goal of the communist reorganization of society. At the same time, no goals are higher for the individual than the building of the most just society on Earth. This dialectical relationship of the social and the individual reflects the intrinsic, organic link between the high moral and socio-political objectives of socialist development.*

Lenin formulated this famous fundamental thesis: "The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society." (*Collected Works*, vol. 18, p. 582).

This humanistic historic mission of the working class leads, as Lenin showed, to a fundamentally new relationship between politics and ethics which serve as factors of society's historical progress. Lenin not only solved the dilemma of political cynicism and abstract moralizing in socio-political activity, which non-Marxist ideology could not overcome, but also defined the concrete historical conditions for the triumph of a new or, as Marx said, real humanism in human relations.

### **POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY AND THE DICTATES OF ETHICS**

The ideological struggle being waged today has shown that departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, their distortion and vulgarization go hand in hand, in one way or another, with a false, distorted conception of the relationship between politics and ethics. On the one hand, this is the tendency to view politics as independent of ethics, free from moral taboos and principles and, on the other hand, the insistence on "abandoning" methods of political struggle

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(including revolutionary violence), replacing them with the "moral improvement" of man.

Lenin consistently exposed the utopian nature of the idea that it was possible to do away with a society based on exploitation and institutionalized coercion without political force, using only noble slogans and moral demands. Communist aims, Lenin stressed, cannot be attained without political struggle and its major achievement—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Ignorance of this "simple" truth would mean a fundamental concession to the class adversary.

This does not mean, of course, that there is some insuperable barrier between politics and ethics. As long as acute class antagonisms exist, ethics, too, expresses certain class interests, though in a specific way. In this sense communist humanism is not some moral code existing out of historical context and apart from classes. Unlike bourgeois idealist ethical doctrines postulating their principles as "eternal" and absolute, communist ethics dictates that a moral choice in political situations should be based on a strict consideration of concrete conditions and struggle prospects. This means that moral appraisal of a political action must be always specific and historical. Moral desires which disregard the essence of political events, conditions, place and time, are therefore unacceptable not only from the point of view of political expediency, but also ethically. Analysis of the prevailing situation is an organic component of the moral appraisal of events, if this appraisal is to be really unbiased and truthful.

As is known, Lenin insisted that a Marxist politician should possess high moral qualities—force of convictions, honesty, a keen sense of justice, class fairness, devotion to communist moral ideals and, at the same time, should not be paralysed and beguiled by the wily manoeuvring of his opponents, should be able to identify the interests and political forces behind moral judgements, to reveal the inner logic of political events, the real balance of political forces. Lenin wrote: "...Politics is a science and an art that does not fall from the skies or come gratis, and... if it wants to overcome the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train its own proletarian 'class politicians', of a kind in no way inferior to bourgeois politicians." (*Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 80).

It is generally known that politics reflects the fundamental interests of a certain class, that it itself, as Lenin repeatedly said, is an interclass relationship. Ethics, too, expresses the interests of this or that class and its relationship to other classes. It follows that the politics and ethics of a certain class are usually similar qualitatively, reflecting, each in its own way, the socio-historical position, interests, role and other attributes of this class. Thus, the reactionary policy of the bourgeoisie generally reflects the hypocrisy of its ethics and moral degradation accompanying the process of its historical decline. "We live in an age of commerce, when the bourgeoisie have no



scruples about trading in honour or conscience", Lenin wrote, stressing this moral aspect of capitalism (*Collected Works*, vol. 19, p. 53).

The policy of the proletariat has a different moral content. It defines the main direction of the struggle of the working class and the ultimate aims of this struggle. These aims also have an ethical aspect—the ideals of a new, humane society and a new, highly ethical man. The ways and means of political struggle are chosen with due regard of these aims. Of all the available effective ways and means of struggle that can be applied in a given political situation, the Marxist-Leninist chooses the most humane, corresponding to moral norms. This choice is dictated by his ideology, ethics and moral convictions.

The interests of the working class and its party are incompatible with narrow class egoism and the narrow-minded policy-making it generates. A scientific, objective analysis of all opposing political forces gives Marxist-Leninist ideology a special power of penetration allowing the most correct and, consequently, the most moral ways of realizing its lofty social and historical aims to be found.

The masses embraced Lenin's logic of political struggle, based on the idea of the opposite class interests of the exploiters and the exploited, on the theory of proletarian dictatorship, precisely because it was true and just. The workers and peasants could see its correctness and moral justice from their own experience. When combating every kind of opportunist who believed that the Russian proletariat was incapable of withstanding the offensive of hostile forces and of emerging victorious in a socialist revolution, Lenin drew attention not only to the strength of the proletariat allied to the oppressed working people, but also to the fact that the struggle was being waged for the most just cause. Marxist science and justice organically fuse in Leninism.

Not only avowed anti-Communists but also those who feigned sympathy with the highly moral goals of the socialist revolution, always did their utmost to prove that political expediency, a sober analysis in politics inevitably "destroyed" moral ideals. "Rejection of ideals" was automatically attributed to Marxism, as proof of its "negation" of "morality" and "ethics" in general.

Leninism demolishes these arguments not only in theory but also in practice. Lenin said that, in reality, Communists supported only those ideals which were rooted in concrete social and historical conditions, wanted ideals not to be merely pie in the sky but real stimuli in the revolutionary class struggle pushing forward the course of history. Summing up the experience of the Russian Communists' political struggle Lenin wrote: "...How is the discipline of the proletariat's revolutionary party maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its tenacity, self-sacrifice and heroism. Second, by its ability to link up, maintain the closest contact,

and—if you wish—merge, in certain measure, with the broadest masses of the working people—primarily with the proletariat, *but also with the non-proletarian masses of working people*. Third, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided the broad masses have seen, *from their own experience*, that they are correct." (*Collected Works*, vol. 31, pp. 24-25).

In other words, the charges levelled against communist ideology, claiming that it engages in politicking, that it "banishes" ethics from politics, are nonsensical. It is enough just to consider Lenin's words about consciousness, tenacity, self-sacrifice, heroism, solidarity and other qualities of the proletarian vanguard confirmed by the experience of the broad masses themselves, to see the great importance Lenin attached to the moral factor in politics. Lenin most emphatically stressed the close connection between the political consciousness of the working people and their ethics. In his article on "The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Government" he pointed out, among other things, that the victorious working class needed not only political alertness, but also moral tenacity, comradely discipline and organization, confidence in the rightness of its cause in order to build socialism. In the work entitled "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" he lays special emphasis, among the new forms of the class struggle, on "fostering a new discipline", thereby viewing the struggle for fostering and reinforcing the moral factor in politics as a matter of cardinal importance. Politics is all the more in harmony with ethics the keener the masses' interest in the former, the greater their effort to make politics meet their moral demands. Working people introduce into politics the experience of their own moral quests, their moral standards, demands, hopes and ideals. The increased political activity of the masses also means that the ethics prevailing among the masses exerts a greater influence on politics. Lenin qualified the revolutionary initiative of the masses as "the awakening of the conscience, the mind, the courage of the oppressed classes..." (*Collected Works*, vol. 24, p. 318).

A keen sense of justice, high moral convictions and self-sacrifice are intrinsic features of a truly mass revolutionary movement. On the other hand, Lenin attached exceptional importance to the political education of the masses, to helping them acquire their own experience of effective political struggle. The inexperienced, politically naive masses are easy meat for the deception and perfidy of the ruling exploiting classes at turning points in the political struggle. The political maturity of the Communist party, its leading role and its dedication to the goals of the struggle are then of particular importance. "Serious politics," Lenin pointed out, "can only be promoted by the *masses*: non-party masses that do not follow the lead of a strong party are, however, disunited, ignorant masses, without staying power, prone to



become a plaything in the hands of adroit politicians..." (*Collected Works*, vol. 19, p. 436).

Ethical demands as such, unrelated to the real conditions of the socio-political struggle, can often become demagogic slogans unrealizable at a given stage. These slogans are then exploited by anti-socialist forces to weaken the political vigilance of working people and to use them as a cover for their departure from socialism (this was, in particular, the case in Poland in 1980-81).

### The Humanism of Communist Policy

When dealing with political issues, Lenin never made politics an end in itself. He viewed it against the background of the general historical prospects of the communist movement. Like Marx, Lenin was a "real humanist". He was strongly opposed to moralizing, to utopianism in politics under cover of pseudo-humanistic harangues and sanctimonious talk and, at the same time, to political amorality, narrow-mindedness, cynicism. His precise theoretical formula reads: "Honesty in politics is the result of strength; hypocrisy is the result of weakness." (*Collected Works*, vol. 17, p. 166). This formula expresses the indissoluble unity of revolutionary politics and ethics forged by the objective and subjective historical features of the communist movement.

"We must condemn most resolutely those who regard politics as a series of cheap little tricks, frequently bordering on deception... You can't fool a class", Lenin pointed out (*Collected Works*, vol. 32, p. 215). It is precisely the class principle invoked by the "critics" in order to prove the amorality of group egoism in Leninism that is the best antidote against deception and all sorts of amoral political goings-on. In liberating itself the proletariat liberates all mankind. This is not only the historical mission of the working class but also the lofty, positive moral principle of its activities and struggle.

The noble humane ideals of communism are attained by adequate moral means. While promoting and upholding the principles of humanity, solidarity, collectivism and friendship among peoples, communist humanism affirms lofty ethical ideals, in contrast to the amorality of the outgoing reactionary classes.

Lenin repeatedly stressed that the supreme historical mission of the socialist revolution (and in this it differs from all previous revolutions) is not violence, negation or destruction, though these cannot be avoided, but promotion of the creative principles inherent in it. The humanistic, positive historical orientation of the socialist revolution therefore creates new conditions for the triumph of advanced ethics, including ethics in the political struggle. Lenin wrote with pride that, by relying on the sympathy and support of workers in advanced countries, "our proletariat—numerically weak and tormented

by poverty and privation—won out because it had the moral strength." (*Collected Works*, vol. 32, p. 276).

Lenin put forward a fundamental social criterion of communist morality: "Morality serves the purpose of helping human society rise to a higher level and rid itself of the exploitation of labour." (*Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 294). This criterion is both realistic and humane.

As an ethical criterion communist humanism pervades all of Lenin's fundamental ideas on socio-political tasks and methods of socialist construction. This is proved not only by the analysis of Lenin's theoretical heritage but also by the entire practical political experience of Leninism: the task of establishing new social and moral relations is one of the focal tasks in Leninism.

It cannot be said, of course, that Lenin did not see any collisions, including moral ones, in Marxist politics. The clash of ethical norms, the problem of moral choice are part of all social life and, naturally, of such a sphere as politics, full of acute contradictions. Does not the fact that in the ideal—and Lenin repeatedly stressed this—Communists are against all coercion yet, at the same time, are forced to resort to it, give rise to complex, contradictory feelings and engender problems of a moral and psychological nature? This is when it is highly important to strictly analyze socio-moral boundaries and conditions justifying the use of coercion. Use of coercion when it can be avoided is unacceptable and at times even criminal from the moral standpoint. It was none other than Lenin who pointed out, for example, that forcible measures against working people during a peaceful period of construction are unacceptable. "Coercion is effective against those who want to restore their rule. But at this stage the significance of force ends, and after that only influence and example are effective. We must show the significance of communism in practice, by example." (*Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 457).

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Today Leninism demonstrates the organic fusion of rationalism and the lofty ideals of committed humanism in politics.

The policy of Communists, being of class nature and partisan in spirit, is integrally incompatible with the amoral practices so typical of the policy of the ruling upper echelon of the bourgeoisie, disguised by phrase-mongering about its being "extra party" and "extra class", about "eternal canons of morality" and so on. The humanistic methods of the Leninist policy are, in the moral respect, the direct opposite of those used by the bourgeoisie in the political struggle.

*Kommunist*, No. 11, 1983 \*

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA: A LOOK AT THE 1968 EVENTS

The official paper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, *Rudé právo*, published an editorial which says the following:

Fifteen years have passed since the events that greatly influenced the development of the Czechoslovak society and markedly affected international relations. We are referring to the days when the attacks of reactionaries, both domestic and foreign, on socialism in Czechoslovakia were thwarted, and the schemes to sever Czechoslovakia from the socialist community and to weaken considerably this community failed completely.

The international assistance rendered to the Czechoslovak people by fraternal countries in August 1968 not only saved socialism in Czechoslovakia, but also consolidated peace and socialism in Europe and throughout the world.

Since then time has proved convincingly the validity of the conclusions contained in the document "Lessons from the Crisis in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in Society After the 13th CPC Congress". The modern view of the events in 1968, enriched by the experience of other states, confirms that international imperialism is seeking continuously to weaken world socialism one way or another and change the balance of forces in the world. It openly interferes in the domestic affairs of socialist states, stirs up anti-communism, nationalism and anti-sovietism.

All those who honestly and sincerely adhere to socialist ideas can be sure of the necessity of international assistance and solidarity that met the basic interests of the working people of Czechoslovakia, the socialist community and the international working class. In this way the internal and external conditions for the peaceful and creative work of the Czechoslovak people were created and the Western borders of the socialist world consolidated. The international assistance

strengthened the Marxist-Leninist forces within the CPC and provided a solid foundation on which to mobilize the working people for the political struggle against counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist and right-wing opportunist elements and dispel by political means the threat of counter-revolution in Czechoslovakia.

The crisis in the Party and society, resulting in an open threat of counter-revolution, did not appear from thin air. It came not only from the difficulties in carrying out new and complicated tasks of building socialism, but also from grave errors having a subjective character, like inconsistent implementation of the Leninist norms of party life, groundless self-confidence, unrealistic estimation of possibilities for further development and attempts to artificially accelerate it. Underestimation of the importance of ideological, political and educational work of the Communist Party, attempts to replace it with administrative measures and ignore criticism, demands, needs and experience of the working people were also grave errors.

Today, years later, we realize even more distinctly how vital it is to work creatively and on principle in consolidating socialism and consistently respecting the interests of the working people and the principles of socialist internationalism. Only by pursuing this honest and open policy and applying the Leninist style of work, did it become possible to harness the creative powers of the people for repairing the damage, to consolidate society, work out and gradually put into effect the grandiose programme of building an advanced socialist society.

The forces of international imperialism will never cease their fight against the socialist states. As the developments in Poland showed, imperialism had learned lessons from the "experience" in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. But one fact is clear, every time counter-revolution threatened socialism, it failed. It did not succeed in Poland either. The idea that our class opponents can annul the deep-rooted changes in the world brought about by victorious socialist revolutions, is illusory. However, our common experience teaches us that the aggressive forces of imperialism, above all the military-industrial complex of the USA and its militarist Atlantic allies, openly proclaim destruction of existing socialism as their ultimate goal.

Never before has the world seen the threat of destroying mankind become an ideological and political principle and the state policy of imperialism. But no less impressive than the unprecedented danger threatening mankind is the resistance put up by the forces that have joined and are joining the struggle for preventing the nuclear holocaust—the most pressing problem in the world.

More and more people realize that it is the USSR and its allies that are the principal stronghold of peace in the world now, protecting and promoting the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This is proved by the many peace proposals and initiatives including those advanced by the Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states in January 1983 and the Moscow meeting of party and state leaders of the socialist countries in June 1983.

The clear programme and realistic plans worked out by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia have become the common cause of the Czechoslovak people. Creatively developing and promoting socialist values also means vigilantly protecting these values and cherishing the gains of the socialist revolution and socialism.

Further consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries is the principal condition assuring their progress towards common goals. We realize the importance of vigilantly keeping a watchful eye on any imperialist schemes, and we will never let anybody undermine socialism or sever the socialist community. Fraternal friendship and the socialist countries' unity meet the basic interests of their peoples and make a reliable foundation for accomplishing further socialist development.

*Rudé právo*, August 19, 1983 \*

## PROJECT "DEMOCRACY" AND ITS AIMS

No sooner had the Republicans entered office than their leaders attempted to change the accent in the "human rights" policy which had been pursued by the Democrats. The conservative forces did not approve of this policy, which, they believed, carried a threat to US "friends"—dictatorial regimes which were often targets of "human rights" criticism.

Initially, Washington tried to replace Carter's "human rights" policy with a propaganda campaign of its own which would be a kind of "trade mark" for the new Administration. This is precisely why they raised a hue and cry about the Soviet Union's alleged participation in "international terrorism". It should be noted that the "struggle against international terrorism" was, in fact, just part of a large-scale campaign against a mythical "Soviet threat", a campaign the Republican Administration used as the main instrument in its foreign policy and ideological offensive.

Ronald Reagan announced this new ideological initiative in his speech in the British Parliament on June 8, 1982, in which he called upon European allies of the US to join in the "crusade for freedom and democracy". He said that research was under way in the US into a specific project which would contribute to this "global campaign". The President had in mind Project "Democracy".

The project embraced programmes, varying in scope and character, which had only one thing in common—anti-communism.

First, it is "training" foreign political leaders in the "theory and practice of democracy" or, in other words, attempting to inculcate the basic principles of the US political system in the political elite, primarily

in the developing countries.

Second, it is the attempt to advertise the US system by exerting broad influence on the educational system, and particularly on young people, in other countries.

Third, it is the "strengthening of basic democratic institutions" in other countries, i.e., rendering support, including direct financial backing to specially selected trade unions, political parties and the mass media which further Washington's interests.

As was the case in the past these activities give the US special services wide scope for infiltrating public and political organizations and movements.

White House officials do not conceal the fact that the new project includes programmes earlier implemented as CIA secret operations and designed, in particular, to destabilize regimes which are not to Washington's liking.

As Secretary of State George Shultz stressed, most programmes concern Latin America, Africa and Asia. This is not accidental and reflects the US leaders' concern over the extreme unpopularity of their country and their policy in the developing states, over the growing disillusion with "US democracy".

The activities envisaged under Project "Democracy" show that it is spearheaded, directly and indirectly, against the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries.

However, Washington's attempts to launch a "global ideological offensive" in the spirit of "refurbished" anti-communism will not be able to bring the Reagan Administration success in its struggle against the forces of social progress.

## YOUTH AS AN OBJECT OF IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION

*In the article below, Prof. Leslaw WOJTASIK, D. Sc. (Psychology), tells Y. Orlik, a "Komsomolskaya pravda" correspondent in the Polish People's Republic, how imperialist subversion and propaganda services are trying to indoctrinate young people in socialist countries.*

*We are witnessing a massive ideological onslaught by imperialism against socialism. In the first place, bourgeois propaganda is attempting to influence the hearts and minds of young people...*

Although there are many different types of young people (a young worker, for instance, differs from a senior school pupil), there is a whole complex of features in the psychology, mentality and behaviour of young people which single them out into a separate social group. What are these features? Youth is the beginning of life, of a person's search for his own place in the world; the time when his convictions, world outlook and class consciousness are shaped. More often than not young people base their judgements not on concrete knowledge and the practice of social relations, but on ideal, romantic notions. Every departure from their ideal is considered evil, this is why they are so easily prey to bouts of criticizing. Young people are in a hurry to grow up, impatient and apt to take maximalist attitudes, eager for action, bursting with energy.

There is another reason why Western propaganda services pay such close attention to young people. Those who are 17-20 today, will, tomorrow, play an important role in running the affairs of state—its politics, econom-

ics, culture. This is why imperialist ideologists consider it so important today to instill their ideas in the minds of those who, in the not so distant future, will be responsible for the destinies of socialism. Even if they fail to change young people's ideological orientation completely, to water down or weaken the system of ideological and moral values fostered by socialism, it is enough, according to their way of thinking, to sow the seeds of doubt in the young souls. They can bide their time until their action bears fruit.

In pursuit of their aims, bourgeois propaganda services use scientific and cultural contacts and exchanges. In the 1970s, it was common practice for young Polish scientific workers, people in the liberal professions and students to be invited to the US to receive advanced training on favourable terms. Flattering young people and alluring them by the "American paradise", imperialist propagandists skilfully played on the nationalistic and petty-bourgeois prejudices of some of them. Later, some of these "senior-grade students" were among the organizers of strikes in Polish higher educational institutions, demanding that state control over higher school be abolished.

*Western radio services, in particular the CIA-controlled Radio Free Europe, play an important part in*

*the psychological warfare being waged against the socialist countries...*

Prior to the events in Poland, the flow of subversive broadcasts doubled. The number of people conducting programmes in Polish also increased. Today, there are 75 people in the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, 70 in the BBC, and 30 in the Voice of America. Subversive programmes vilifying people's Poland are broadcast round-the-clock.

Making use of the fact that young people have no experience of life and that, for them, World War Two and the years when people's power was being established are merely past history, Western "radio voices" try to peddle their own version of the past to young people. They falsify the history of Polish-Soviet relations, the nature of trade and economic ties between Poland and the USSR.

Overt support for counter-revolutionary forces, denigration of socialism and the Party, instruction of the former Solidarity leaders hiding underground, the spreading of illegal publications, calls for sabotage and boycott, incitement of nationalist, anti-Soviet sentiments—such is the repertoire of subversive radio centres. The aim is to hinder the normalization of the situation in the country and to protract the crisis.

*What channels are used to disseminate bourgeois ideology and what are the methods of instilling it in young people's minds?*

Imperialist subversive services carry out their activities along different lines, using various forms and methods of so-called sociological propaganda which is considered in the West to be most effective in the battle for young people's hearts and minds. Sociological propaganda emerged on the scene at a time when bourgeois ideologists, having realized that their calls for the restoration of capitalism in socialist countries were futile, feverishly started seeking other ways to achieve their ends. What does

sociological propaganda amount to? It disseminates bourgeois ideology not directly, by propagating ideas, doctrines or slogans, but through shaping and affirming ideas about a certain style and way of life in people's minds. Naturally, what is meant is the Western way of life, the American one, to be more precise.

Bourgeois mass culture is an important instrument of sociological propaganda. The myth about America—"a land where one's dreams come true"—is being created every day and every hour in books, films, TV and radio programmes, exhibitions. This is the America of advertisements, America for show, America for sale. Enterprising qualities, success at any price are valued most of all. They paint an image of America which contrasts with a young person's everyday life. This contrast is intended to cause dissatisfaction, sow doubt and mistrust in the possibilities of socialism, which is precisely the aim of specialists in the export of bourgeois ideology.

It is a fact that a certain sector of Polish youth has fallen under the spell of the dazzle of Western window-dressing. To a great extent, this was caused by errors in educational work among young people, when consumer, petty-bourgeois attitudes were fostered. There were other mistakes, too. For instance, in the 70s, about 50 per cent of all films shown on our TV were bought in the West, primarily in the USA. Those films were sold at suspiciously low prices. For instance, we paid only 300 dollars for a TV serial to be shown only once, while France or Canada had to pay 15,000 dollars. We paid \$1,000 for one TV feature film, while France or Canada paid \$60,000. The peddlers in ideological hardware have their own accounting system, their own notion of profit. As has been shown by subsequent events, the organizers of the Polish crisis made maximum use of a certain section of Polish young people's sympathy with the West.

*The current tactics and strategy of the subversive activities against socialist countries reveal new tendencies brought about by the aggravation of international tension.*

Anti-communist centres vary their tactics. They either mask their aims by sociological propaganda, or toughen their course, going over to head-on attacks against socialism. The US President's recent statement shows that interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries has now been raised to the rank of US state policy. Organizational, ideological and propaganda measures to support this course were worked out at a Washington "conference on democracy in socialist countries" (October, 1982), and at an "international conference on free elections" (November, 1982), which stres-

sed the need to step up psychological warfare against the socialist community countries by building up illegal opposition to the ruling communist and workers' parties, the wide use of all sorts of dissidents, and the expansion of the subversive activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Washington's present course shows that the US has, in fact, rejected the code of peaceful coexistence formulated in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. It continues to push the world to the brink of confrontation. This is a dangerous course which has no future. The failure of the plot against socialist Poland is proof of this.

*Komsomolskaya pravda*, March 17, 1983

## **GLOBAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS**

by **Vadim ZAGLADIN**  
and **Ivan FROLOV**

*At the turn of the second millennium mankind is confronted with acute worldwide problems. Their solution is decisive for the destiny of each man and for the preservation of life on the planet in general.*

### **THE SCALE OF THE PROBLEMS**

Problems which have become known as global have given mankind quite a few complex tasks. As Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, pointed out, "its concern over ever more acute raw materials, energy, food, ecological and other global problems is justified. But the most important thing people are thinking about today is the need to safeguard peace, to avert a thermo-nuclear catastrophe."

The magnitude of these problems can be seen from statistical data. In this century the world population has increased 2.6 times, and agricultural production—only 2.2 times. Chronic undernourishment is the lot of half a billion people.

According to forecasts by the end of the century industrial production will treble. This will require enormous raw material resources. In the last 25 years as much raw materials have been used in the world as in the entire previous history of mankind. World energy consumption has grown 12 times.

The satisfaction of man's growing requirements is inevitably putting a strain on his relations with nature. In fact, we can speak already of really deep-rooted contradictions between nature and society, contradictions which under capitalism become antagonistic and develop into dangerous crises.

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The emergence and aggravation of problems now treated as global were the result of man's development and his conscious activity, on the one hand, and of his relations with the rest of nature, on the other.

At the same time, the rise and exacerbation of these problems, the serious threat they pose to the future of the whole mankind are the inevitable effect of the domination of social orders based on exploitation. These orders, especially at the capitalist stage, have brought about the antagonistic social division of society, the alienation of the worker from the object and product of his labour and, simultaneously, the antagonism between man and nature.

Nature as such is one harmonious entity. It is the same, one and indivisible nature, be it in Europe or South America, Africa or the Antarctic. Any disruption of equilibrium in one region is bound, in the long run, to affect others.

In the same way, the life of human society, its history, its entire development are one continuous, dialectically developing world process.

Soviet science has worked out a constructive approach to global problems as an integral system with its inner logic. As it is, despite all differences in the character and origin of separate global problems, they have much in common. In one way or another, they affect the vital interests of all mankind. Each of these problems appears as an objective factor of social development not only in individual countries, but on a global scale. All of these problems call for urgent solution. If they remain unsolved (and even if their solution is delayed), the very survival of the human race will be in jeopardy. And, lastly, an essential condition of success is the all-round and constant international cooperation of countries irrespective of their social system.

Analysis of the problems, fruitful search for the ways of solving them presuppose the active interaction of scientists in various fields. And the entire system of problems constitutes an independent object of scientific research, an important issue for social and philosophical analysis. Naturally, all-inclusive treatment of global problems gives a deeper insight into relations between man, society and nature.

## TWO APPROACHES

Today there are clear indications of the influence exerted by the global problems of our time literally on all aspects of the life of the individual and mankind as a whole, on the material sphere and culture, politics and ideology, world outlook and ethics. Like the technological revolution, the emergence of these problems has created new conditions in which the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism is now taking place. Their aggravation furnishes one more proof of the limited potentialities of capitalism.

Analyzing the capitalist system, Marx and Engels demonstrated the need to protect the products and productive forces created by bourgeois capitalist society from the destructive impact of the capitalist social system itself. Now we see that the general crisis of capitalism is being accompanied by an ecological crisis. Here and there it has become a real calamity. Chasing after super-profits, transnational companies try to set up the most harmful industries in the developing countries, disregarding environmental protection and rapaciously exploiting the natural resources of these countries. Militarization of the economy of the United States and its NATO partners, the manufacture, testing and stockpiling of large quantities of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction, the dumping of radioactive and highly toxic wastes into the World Ocean are ruinous for the environment and cause the unproductive use of natural resources.

When studying the works of many Western experts on global problems, one can note that many of them are foretelling the approach of "deadlock" situations for mankind and they more and more clearly realize the need for resolute action. But so far not one has offered more or less serious recommendations on the problems in question.

By contrast, studies on global problems by scientists in the socialist world are imbued with optimism, confidence in the abilities and power of man who can meet the challenge of the global problems, given proper social conditions.

Marxist-Leninist science is today facing new problems connected with the perfection of developed socialism and prospects of communist construction. It would be hardly correct to describe communism as a society in which all the good things of life, "gifts of nature" will flow as if from a cornucopia, a society free from all difficulties and problems. The further we advance, the more obvious will be the need for society to use the resources available to it more sparingly, utilize them more effectively and ensure the highest possible return from the labour of the whole of society and each individual.

The Soviet Union is doing everything possible in practice to cope with this really great task. Two main international aspects should be singled out in the activity of the Soviet Union. One of them is the untiring struggle to solve the global problem of averting a world nuclear missile war. The other aspect is the Soviet Union's active participation in activities aimed at promoting international cooperation to help solve global problems.

This committed position is natural: socialism is a system under which man himself and his well-being are the aim.

*Izvestia*, July 19, 1983

## THE IMPASSES OF BOURGEOIS WORLD STUDIES

by Grigory KHOZIN

*The stormy socio-political processes of our time, the ever mounting impact the technological revolution has on the life of every nation and mankind as a whole make removing outdated forms of social relations which impede social progress a high priority. Bourgeois scholars carrying out the social orders of the ruling class of capitalist society, balk at a scientific interpretation of the changes taking place in mankind's development which Marx associated with the conscious reorganization of human society.*

Drawing widely on the ideas of F. Nietzsche, A. Schopenhauer, O. Spengler and other reactionary philosophers of the past, many bourgeois theoreticians try to prove that modern crisis phenomena are not the product of capitalism but stem from the essence of human life, and reflect the internal contradictions inherent in the development of all of mankind. They also regard the global problems of our time as proof of the limited potential of civilization now on the threshold of nuclear war.

Marxism takes a fundamentally different position. It has convincingly demonstrated that the existence of the capitalist system of economy, the desire

of the ruling class to maximize its profits by every available means, slow down the development of progressive tendencies towards the creation of a truly international system of world economic relations, towards mankind's transition to a higher stage of social progress ruling out the exacerbation of global problems. Lenin referred to an objective tendency "towards the creation of a single world economy, regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole" and said that it should be "further developed and consummated under socialism."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. 147.

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## Paradoxes of "Common Destinies"

The hallmark of most bourgeois conceptions is their inability to expose the real causes of the growing antagonisms in the capitalist system. Bourgeois scholars supplant real and pressing tasks in the socio-political field with secondary tasks which do not reflect the imperatives of the time, with its scientific, technical and ecological problems and crises.

The bourgeois theories of the 1950s and 1960s, for which technical progress was the source of good things for mankind, the basis of unlimited economic growth (while no mention was made of the limited stocks of natural resources in the world and mounting anthropogenous impact on the biosphere), gave way, in the 1970s, to alarmist concepts and technological phobias which argued the need for a general slowing down of economic growth rates as a means of alleviating crisis phenomena and proposed that all countries pool their efforts to solve the most urgent problems. In formulating the concept of the "common destinies of all nations", bourgeois philosophers and sociologists regarded the capitalist and socialist countries as equally responsible for the aggravation of global problems and that they should contribute an equal amount of material and manpower resources to solve these problems.

The concept of "common destinies" which explains the caus-

es of the aggravation of global problems and involves the majority of the countries of the world in solving them is demagogical and has a distinct class bias. The point is that the negative effects of the economic activity of capitalist countries have long overstepped their boundaries and make themselves felt at least in neighbouring countries. The history of the formation and growth of the capitalist economy graphically proves that employers, private corporations are reluctant to introduce rational forms of production, which demand certain material outlays of them, and thus obstruct the optimization of the entire system of relationships between society and nature. In this case capitalist entrepreneurs not only ignore the "common destinies" of mankind but continue to multiply the ecological difficulties.

Extending their studies on the entire world economy and ignoring the differences in the functioning of the capitalist and socialist economies, bourgeois scholars try to economically base and back up the concept of "common destinies". However, they do not stop at this. They propose bringing the "common concerns" of mankind to the attention of all states and societies existing in the world. But they lose sight of the fact that the "common destinies" of mankind are marred, not by the activities of all countries but only of the



capitalist states which put the "national interests" of monopolies above all else.

Basing themselves on the statistics that reflect the state of affairs in capitalist countries, primarily the USA, bourgeois scholars draw universal conclusions and make generalizations in line with the concept of "common destinies" extended to the future of mankind in general and global problems in particular.

Indeed, in the early 1970s the USA accounted for over one-third of world energy consumption (the USA has only 6 per cent of the world population) and the per capita growth rates of its energy production are much higher than its population growth rates: from 1960 to 1970, its population increased by 13

#### The Social Function of Alarmism

In stressing the universal human essence of global problems, many bourgeois scholars aim, above all, to give the world public the impression that the exacerbation of these problems arises from the shortsightedness of some political leaders whose sole concern is to stay in office for one more year or term and who therefore do not care about the future, turning a blind eye on many pressing needs of their peoples and the interests of mankind as a whole. Sidestepping serious analysis of the real socio-economic and political causes of the increasingly acute global problems, bourgeois scholars argue that mankind's analy-

tical abilities are limited and that therefore people at large are incapable of understanding the complexities of the modern world. To support their claims they cite the following facts: the experts have failed to foresee the energy crisis, food shortages, the sharp rise in inflation, cardinal changes in the world political system, depletion of fish stocks in the main fishing areas, the astronomical growth of wheat prices in the early 1970s, the world-wide economic recession, the deepest since the Great Depression. From this it can be concluded, they say, that the aggravation of global problems is a logical consequence of prog-

ress which is inevitably attended by complicated periods of breakdown in traditions, economic structures, federal and local organizations but with no changes in the nature of the capitalist system.

Bourgeois world studies also contain biological conceptions explaining global socio-political processes in the first place by man's specific evolution and behaviour as a biological species influenced by the changing natural environment. Another aspect of bourgeois conceptions of global problems is their distinct alarmism, their emphasis on the extreme acuteness of global problems and the urgent need to solve them.

Alarmist conceptions perform a very definite social function in bourgeois world studies. Instead of making a scientific analysis of global problems they highlight their acuteness. In other words, they would like to confine solving global problems to merely carrying out some reforms, leaving bourgeois society intact. A particular problem is declared critical and considerable state resources are urgently allocated for solving it, but nothing is said about the fact that preoccupation with one problem means that less attention is given to other, no less important problems, which will soon reach a critical point. An objective analysis of the processes and developments unfolding in modern

capitalist society compels some bourgeois scholars to admit that the ruling circles of capitalist countries cannot safeguard their peoples from the stresses and difficulties reproduced by state-monopoly capitalism in the process of its spontaneous development.

However, expressing concern over the destinies of some peoples, which are subjected to particularly intensive capitalist exploitation and which therefore experience the full impact of global problems, and seeing their sorry plight as the "common destiny" of mankind, these scholars do not, in fact, offer any constructive solutions. Their solutions leave the foundations of capitalism intact, only wishing that it be perfected. Here is the opinion of A. Toffler, a popular Western futurologist and sociologist, who qualified the havoc caused by the general crisis of capitalism in the mid-1970s as "the breakdown of industrial civilization on the planet and the first fragmentary appearance of a wholly new and dramatically different social order: a super-industrial civilization that will be technological, but no longer industrial."<sup>2</sup> If we are to believe Toffler, capitalism can alleviate some global problems with the help of new technology for a while (though it cannot remove the objective causes of these problems). He thinks that, having passed through the stage of in-

<sup>2</sup> A. Toffler. *The Eco-spasm Report*, N. Y., 1976, p. 3

dustrial society, capitalism will rise to a higher stage of its development, retaining private corporations' main form of profit-making--the merciless exploitation of working people in their own country and in other capitalist and newly independent countries.

Concepts of "mankind's common destinies", alarmist views of global problems, are to be found not only in theoretical works. They also figure in various studies and reports submitted to important international conferences on individual global problems, and underlie practical recommendations intended for all countries of the world. They are also used in messages by US presidents who have assumed the right to speak on behalf of all of mankind. The authors of such documents ignore the socio-political differences between states, treating the major problems of today and the cardinal trends in world development in the near and distant future from positions dictated by bourgeois interests.

Attempting to present tech-

### ----- "Interdependence" Under Capitalism -----

In treating present-day global problems bourgeois scholars attribute their emergence to the fact that world economics and politics have passed over to a qualitatively new stage characterized by a high degree of interstate dependence.

This concept is one of the theoretical pillars of bourgeois

nology as an effective means of solving global problems and, at the same time, ignoring the fact that these problems have been aggravated precisely because of the adverse effects of technological development within the framework of American capitalism, US political leaders are out to prove that the US experience is a "universal model" for the development of all mankind. Thus, capitalism and, first and foremost, its American variety, is passed off as a leader of progress. A blatantly great-power foreign-policy course is being pursued by the Reagan Administration, which deems it possible to decide by itself what is good for mankind as a whole and to take far-reaching unilateral actions jeopardizing many positive tendencies in the field of disarmament and mutual cooperation of states with different social systems, which originated in the 1970s. Disregarding the future of mankind to benefit national and international corporations is a salient feature of the foreign policy of US imperialism in the early 1980s.

world studies. Both scholars and politicians use it not only to explain the nature of quality changes in the world economy, politics and even in the ideology of broad social groups, but also to substantiate the solution to global problems advocated by the leading capitalist states. This concept is shared by many repu-

table political figures in capitalist and developing countries. According to bourgeois scholars, the "interdependence" concept is associated with the scientific and technological revolution's transition to a stage where many new technologies, developed and controlled by the most advanced countries, become vitally important for many other countries.

Bourgeois scholars single out the following components of interdependence: the political actions of states, their economic activity, scientific and technological policy, the relationship between society and nature, social processes going on in countries with different social systems.

They claim that interdependence is a complex phenomenon affording states possibilities for solving the aggravating problems but, at the same time, imposing certain obligations on them. Interdependence sometimes gives rise to "asymmetric relations" between states when the "national interests" of some of them are harmed to a certain extent. Seeking to meet the interests of the leading capitalist states as much as possible, bourgeois scholars very actively promote the interdependence theory.

Bourgeois globalists have no real ways or means for tackling global problems. This would require them to work out measures limiting the spontaneous activities of monopolies and, ultimately, to recognize the need of replacing capitalism with socialism. Instead, they have recourse to the ruse of putting off solv-

ing the most acute problems affecting all mankind to the remote future.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s bourgeois ideologists promised to deliver the population in capitalist countries from many crisis phenomena and troubles. In the early 1980s, when capitalist forms of business activity have confronted mankind with a complex of global problems, when capitalist social relations are becoming increasingly narrow for the further growth of productive forces and for progress in general, we again see a revival in the activities of various bourgeois "theoreticians" and propagandists.

Analysing the partial, half-way measures taken by bourgeois states, defenders of capitalism try to construe a "scientifically grounded" theory of capitalism's viability, to prove its right to exist in the future. They rant on about the unlimited potential lying dormant within capitalism and about the "radiant future" which can be assured by using this potential. Bourgeois scholars and propagandists paint rosy pictures of capitalism's potential for creating a "general welfare society", a society of "social justice", for establishing harmony between "humanistic" technology and nature. But all this will take time, once the concepts of "organic growth", of a "socially controlled technology", of "planetary mankind" which will make for "space settlements", have been translated into practice.

Disregarding the realities of the day, the authors of such projects are energetically, each in his own way but with equal optimism, construing scenarios of the future according to which capitalist society, relying on its "potential and dynamism", can find a solution to every crisis. However, mindful that many previous forecasts made by the defenders of capitalism have failed to materialize, they are now far more cautious in their predictions.

\* \* \*

Bourgeois globalists as a whole recognize the difficulties facing mankind at the present stage of historical development.

But they are doing their utmost to free capitalism of the blame for the exacerbation of these difficulties. They offer mankind roads into the future which sidestep the main political and socio-economic contradictions of the time and assign capitalism a leading role in world development. The alarmism and social pessimism which they whip up are designed to create a quite definite socio-psychological climate, which will identify global problems with crisis processes in world capitalism. New universal sacrifices must be made if these problems are to be solved.

A chapter from the book entitled *Global Problems of Our Time. Criticism of Bourgeois Concepts*, Moscow, Mysl Publishers, 1982 \*

## PEACE, DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT

### HOW MYTHS ARE DEVISED

## PEACE: ITS FRIENDS AND FOES

*In a bid to sap the peace movement, the imperialist forces are seeking to pit its contingents one against another. They also invent all kinds of arguments alleging capitalism's and socialism's equal responsibility for the arms race and the equally aggressive nature of both sides vying for supremacy.*

*A fitting rebuff to these intrigues is given in an article carried by the Hungarian Communist Party daily "Népszabadság". Below is a condensed version of the article.*

Of late, imperialism's propaganda machine, spreading hypocritical lies about the threat to peace from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, has persistently been asserting that both sides are arming themselves, and not the United States alone. It's improbable, they claim, that nuclear weapons of one side serve "good aims" while those of the other "bad aims". Both sides' weaponry carries destruction.

### WHY IT MATTERS WHO HAS WEAPONS

At first glance such "argumentation" seems objective enough as it does not deny the danger of arming the West and the legitimacy of the mass-scale anti-war movement developing there. But it is namely such "objectivism" and the demand for observing an "equal right" to manifestations against the armaments that reflect the tendentious nature of Western propaganda. The point is that it is seeking to impress on all who are not aware of actual interrelationships and who sincerely desire peace and a stop to the arms race that a "genuine peace movement" in all countries must necessarily have the nature of anti-government opposition.

Subtitles are given by the Editors.

Such logic of "equality" is used to cover up inequality. It is not all the same who owns the weapons, and this should always be borne in mind. Whenever we speak of peace and the danger of nuclear war it is important to understand who wants peace and who does not, who threatens with nuclear war and who is against it. The peace movement can prove effective only if it is clear against what and whom, for what and whom it works. The main point is to understand who threatens nuclear war and starts the production of ever new types of mass destruction weapons, and who strives to reduce and eliminate armaments; who is interested in the arms race, and who is not. The crux of the matter is that one side (NATO states), hoping to win, considers nuclear war admissible, while the other side (Warsaw Treaty countries) is striving to prevent it, for it realizes that no one can emerge victorious from such a war. Those who see the defence of peace as their moral duty must determine their position on this score. Otherwise there can be no genuine peace movement.

It is common knowledge that after World War II, the USA invariably initiated the production of atomic and nuclear weapons, different types of rockets for inclusion in its war arsenal and created conditions suitable for military operations in outer space. If a global war has not broken out in almost forty years since World War II, in spite of the fantastic stockpiles of weapons of unparalleled destructive force, and the United States has failed to accomplish its openly proclaimed "mission" of "leading" the world, it is mainly thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union in creating and maintaining military parity.

### THE USSR OPPOSES EXPANSIONISM

The mere fact that in the Soviet Union just as in other socialist states, there are no groups of people interested, for material or other considerations, in building up armaments, proves that the USSR cannot but unswervingly pursue the policy of peace, detente and good-neighbourly relations.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty states have been and remain initiators of peace. Soviet initiatives are aimed at freezing, reduction and banning conventional and nuclear weapons, including complete or even the partial destruction of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the USSR has undertaken the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. What do the socialist community countries want to receive in return from the other side, namely the USA and the other nuclear powers? Just the very same thing—an actual equality of commitments and security that is genuinely reciprocal.

This is exactly what does not suit those who are interested in reaping huge profits from the capitalist war industry, who do not venture to start peaceful competition with socialism, and who believe

they can attain their ends solely through military superiority over the community of socialist states—the main bulwark of fighters for peace, against any oppression.

This is exactly why the armaments of one side cannot be considered equivalent to those of the other for the arms build-up by one side (namely the USA) is directed against peace, at gaining world supremacy and upsetting the present military balance. On the other hand, the maintenance of military might at an appropriate level by the other side (the Soviet Union) has preserved military parity, promoted the peace struggle and helped oppose the attempts of capitalism at gaining world domination.

### THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE INTERESTED IN PEACE

One may ask: if the Warsaw Treaty Organization possesses a force sufficient to destroy an aggressor many times over, why should it go on producing more weapons, thereby fuelling the arms race?

Indeed, the socialist countries possess a force sufficient for the multiple destruction of an aggressor, but the need to create it was imposed on them by the other side. Unfortunately, this fact in itself does not provide a final guarantee for averting war. The point is that the USA has started manufacturing new types of weapons which will upset the existing military balance as they have increased the target hitting accuracy and speed making it more difficult to intercept them. In other words, a first-strike capability is being developed making it difficult for aggressors to restrain the urge to embark on new dangerous ventures. This is the reason why the struggle for a nuclear weapon freeze calls for movement against governments opposing this solely correct measure, a first step to halting the arms race. It is likewise necessary to work for achieving an agreement on mutual non-aggression, which certain NATO governments do not wish and which the governments of the Warsaw Treaty countries are striving for.

This also explains the falsity of the slogan alleging that a genuine movement of peace supporters is always an "anti-government, opposition movement". Genuine supporters of peace should know exactly what governments are striving for mutual security at a lower, even zero level and are interested in a real cut in military spending.

Only such a movement accords with the interests of all who are prepared to fight for mankind's salvation, no matter whether they are believers or atheists, non-party people, Christian Democrats, Socialists or Communists, whether they are individuals, or groups of people, parties or governments. The main thing is that they all should fight for peace and understand who really threatens it.

### IS EXPLOITATION DISAPPEARING IN THE AGE OF ROBOTS?

by Vladimir LIZUN

*Many bourgeois sociologists and economists are trying to refute the cornerstone of Marxist thesis that the exploitation of working people is intensifying with the growth of capitalism, which sharpens the antagonism between labour and capital.*

*The author of the following article exposes the futility of these attempts.*

What arguments do the defenders of capitalism use to prove that exploitation no longer exists in modern capitalist society? American scholars R. Heilbroner and H. Marcuse and French economists J. Fourastié and G. Elgozy contend, for instance, that the current automation and computerization of production in capitalist countries gradually oust and even totally banish living labour, the main source of surplus value, according to Marx. This means, they say, that it is machines and robots that are being increasingly exploited, that the worker's labour is becoming much easier and his antagonism towards the system of private enterprise is disappearing. Is this really so?

#### WORK IS NOW MUCH HARDER

Marx fully recognized that the growth of capitalist production was attended by the ever wider use of machines. More than that, it was Marx who first scientifically formulated the thesis about the growth of the share of embodied labour at the expense of living labour in the value of a commodity. Marx stressed, however, that this did not entail a corresponding decrease in the degree of workers' exploitation. The reverse is true. Technical progress leads to a rapid

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increase in labour productivity, i.e., to a fall in the value of labour. In capitalist conditions this is tantamount to the intensification of the exploitation of labour, though at times this exploitation assumes more disguised forms.

Is this refuted by the automation, computerization and robotization of production under way in the capitalist countries? Soviet economists estimate that in automated and mechanized sectors the share of embodied labour in the value of output rises by 300 to 800 per cent. But living labour does not disappear. Dozens and hundreds of operatives are employed even at the most highly automated and computerized enterprises in the USA or Japan. Their work is very strenuous, consuming large quantities of mental, nervous-psychic and even physical energy. Moreover, in the attempt to recuperate their expense on new technology, the monopolies, as a rule, sharply intensify work processes. The "Telecontrol" automatic system installed at some General Motors enterprises controls the operation of 100 machines, emitting sound and light signals every 36 seconds. The operator is immediately alerted if a worker slackens his pace and a foreman is called out.

American scholars studying the conditions of workers in automated production conducted a survey at many enterprises and came to the conclusion that neither good wages nor clean and adequate premises could make labour more attractive for American blue-collar workers. The reasons for their discontent are: extremely intensive work, nervous strain and their complete dependence on the will of the plant owners or managers. In a survey conducted at a metallurgical plant in Japan, almost 90 per cent of steel workers said that, over the last two or three years, their work had become much harder and the physical and nervous strains greater.

The introduction of scientific and technical achievements in the work of office workers also entails more intensive exploitation. The use of computers and machines makes offices more like factories, increasing the noise and dust level, an assembly line rhythm of work and the attendant fatigue and monotony of operations. According to data released by the Trade Union International of Public and Allied Employees, 40 per cent of clerical workers in capitalist countries, employed at offices with a high degree of mechanization, suffer from nervous disorders.

#### WORKERS ARE BEING ROBBED TO AN INCREASINGLY GREATER EXTENT

The advocates of capitalism contend that automation, computerization and robotization of production mean higher wages, enabling the

worker to satisfy his needs, thereby delivering him from exploitation.

Highly skilled workers at modern enterprises and offices do indeed often earn comparatively high wages and salaries. But these cannot be compared with the fabulous profits raked in by the monopolies through the steep rise in labour productivity. What is more important is that workers' wages are not higher and sometimes even lower than the value of their labour, i.e., the means required to restore their ability to work.

Besides, we should not overestimate the monopolies' striving for scientific and technical progress. Employers are in no hurry to loosen their purse-strings to pay for new technology if it does not promise further profits, not least of all through the more intensive exploitation of labour. Take, for instance, Japan so readily cited by the "refuters" of Marxism. The pilot highly mechanized plants of the monopolies are surrounded by constellations of small- and medium-sized private enterprises, handicraft and home industry workshops using obsolete technology. Labour productivity there is 30-40 per cent lower than at large enterprises, and wages and labour conditions are far inferior. Eager to maximize profits, Japanese corporations, just like those in other capitalist countries for that matter, use methods of exploitation which some Western economists too hastily declared "extinct". As Marx said, under capitalism the growth of labour productivity is not at all unconditional and is often restricted by the employers' desire to "squeeze out" profits by other, even the most inhuman methods of exploitation.

This is confirmed by the visible tendency of large Western monopolies to install technology at their plants which can be operated by less skilled workers, earning lower wages. The introduction of machines and equipment, which can be serviced by untrained personnel carrying out the simplest operations brings employers double benefit: while reducing the size of the workforce required, they simultaneously reduce the wages of the workers who retain their jobs. In the FRG, for instance, the lowering of qualifications and wage rates has reached proportions which led the trade unions to set the task of restricting these practices as one of their priorities.

### **INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EXPLOITATION**

Another way of intensifying exploitation is capital transfers on an international scale, i.e., transnational corporations making use of wage differentials between various countries. For example, US subsidiaries employ 2.5 million workers in Western Europe, bringing them an additional profit of nine billion dollars. At home, they would

have to spend much more on wages.

Mounting unemployment, which has already affected more than 10 per cent of the national workforce, is also used by US employers, and by those in other countries, for stepping up exploitation. This is especially evident today, when the leaders of the USA, Britain, West Germany and other capitalist countries are curtailing social programmes, especially expenditure on work training and the creation of new jobs.

On top of this, employers use scientific and technological achievements as a means of intensifying the intellectual and psychological exploitation of white and blue-collar workers.

\* \* \*

These are the facts. They show irrefutably that no "improvements" in capitalism can alter its exploitative substance, for the overriding aim of capitalist production, as Marx stressed, is the production of maximum surplus value and its appropriation by capitalists through intensification of the exploitation of wage workers.

APN

## THE CRISIS OF "PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM"

The term "people's capitalism" is of the same brand as the catch-phrases peddled by bourgeois economists, such as "democratization of capital", "property is fragmented", "workers turning into small capitalists", "levelling of incomes", etc. Having seized upon these phrases and incorporated them into their arsenal, Western propaganda claims that quite soon each member of society will have his own share in the country's capital which will become the "people's capital". Along with this, they stress the idea that the economic revolution is presently under way, which will wipe out the differences between the worker and the capitalist.

What is the real state of affairs in this respect?

As is known, the majority of capitalist firms are shareholding enterprises, companies, corporations and societies. They issue large quantities of small shares which give their holders (the people who buy them) the right to a certain part of the profit.

For instance, in the USA there were more than 30 million small shareholders by the early 70s. However, by the mid-70s the number had decreased to 25 million, or 12 per cent of the country's population. Among them, there are only 2 million workers and 5 million people whose annual income does not exceed 5,000 dollars. Eighty per cent of all shares belong to less than one per cent of the total number of shareholders.

The true owners and masters of the company are the few rich who bought control of it. Thus, for instance, in the "McDonnell-Douglas"

military-industrial concern, some 30 people own over 57 per cent of all stock capital.

According to estimates by progressive American economists, a working shareholder has, on average, one or two shares, which bring him some 50 dollars a year. It should be remembered that a low-paid worker produces about 9,000-10,000 dollars of annual profit in the manufacturing industry. Three-quarters of the national income are appropriated by capitalists and only one-quarter goes to working people.

Thus, instead of protecting the people's interests, so-called people's capitalism safeguards capitalists' profits. However, genuine democracy becomes a reality only when the means of production belong to the people who handle them, while the profits are distributed in their interests.

In actual fact, the "democratization of capital" and the "fragmentation of property" have strengthened monopoly domination and exacerbated social contradictions. An insignificant number of working people bought shares. But, at the same time, very many lost their jobs. There are over 30 million unemployed in the industrialized capitalist states today. They do not think about shares, while standing in queues at the labour exchanges.

Thus, it is not by chance, that the term "people's capitalism" is going out of everyday use. And no ideological cover-up can save capitalism—a society without a future.

*Argumenty i fakty*, No. 8, 1983

## PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

A biographical study of the life and work of Palmiro Togliatti, an outstanding figure in the Italian and international communist movement and an ardent internationalist, has been published in the USSR to mark the 90th anniversary of his birth.

In writing this book<sup>1</sup> N. Komolova and G. Philatov, Soviet scholars Italianists, based themselves on P. Togliatti's works, reminiscences of his comrades-in-arms and Italian Marxists.

The authors highlighted those aspects of Togliatti's work that are associated with his struggle against the military threat, which is especially relevant today.

Much space in the book is devoted to Togliatti's efforts to prevent Italy from joining NATO. This became his principal task in the last ten years of his life. Referring to the theoretical propositions of the 20th CPSU Congress (1956) and the International Meetings of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1957 and 1960 on the possibility of averting a new world war, Togliatti stressed the great significance of the working class' struggle for peace and detente. Countering the attempts to justify Italy's participation in NATO by "defence" needs Togliatti pointed out that nobody had threatened Italy since the end of World War II. "What is needed most of all," Togliatti stressed, "is for the Italian people to throw off that heaviest of burdens—offensive atomic weapons bases in our territory."

Basing himself on a principled class approach in analyzing world political issues Togliatti, in his speeches in Parliament and in numerous articles, objectively assessed NATO as an aggressive military bloc set up by US imperialism as an instrument of struggle against the socialist countries, against all democratic forces in the rest of the world, and against the communist movement in particular.

Togliatti considered the struggle to avert a nuclear war to be closely related to the need for unity in the international communist and working class movement. He realized the danger of, and resolutely rebuffed, the splitting activities for undermining the unity of the forces of world socialism and the international communist movement.

While advocating the independence of communist parties, their

<sup>1</sup> N. P. Komolova, G. S. Philatov. *Palmiro Togliatti. A Study of His Life and Work*. Moscow, Politizdat, 1983 (in Russian).



autonomy, Togliatti, also saw the negative aspects of this autonomy warning that, in some cases, "it may present a serious danger". In 1961, noting that it would be wrong not to recognize this, Togliatti wrote in "Rinascita", the theoretical and political journal of the Italian Communist Party: "This is, primarily, the danger of isolation, of every party withdrawing into its own shell, and indulging in blind provincialism. And this provincialism may be manifested in many ways: in weakening the internationalist spirit, in misunderstanding or underestimating the tasks of propaganda and struggle which are directly linked with the international situation, with the struggle against imperialism, for peaceful coexistence and peace; in self-conceit which may bring one to believe that he is the centre of the Universe, that his mission is to superficially criticize the other contingents of the movement without making any effort to study the conditions of their development in depth".

Togliatti believed that to overcome this danger, to avert it, every party had to be educated in the spirit of internationalism and develop contacts with other parties, exchanging experience with them and freely discussing common problems.

Togliatti's critical approach to things and his creative quest for the best, the optimal ways of struggling for socialism in Italy did not overshadow his main concern—a class approach to all political issues.

When explaining the necessity of such approach by the tasks of the struggle, which were common to the entire working class movement and all communist parties and which ensued from the main content of the contemporary epoch, Togliatti stressed that if these tasks had been different, "our autonomy would have turned into disorganization, confusion and disarray". The communist parties' elaboration of joint initiatives and joint decisions on questions concerning the whole world and the entire revolutionary process in no way impinges on the independence of national revolutionary detachments. Togliatti said that "it is necessary to be able to combine each party's independent development with the maximum of solidarity and cohesion of our entire movement."

When working out the strategy of struggle for socialist Italy, with due account taken of new conditions which arose after the Second World War, Togliatti invariably stressed the universal significance of the basic tenets of Marxist-Leninist theory, confirmed by the revolutionary practice of numerous detachments of the working class movement. Togliatti's name is closely associated with the development of revolutionary, internationalist traditions in the history of the Italian Communist Party.

Togliatti's role in affirming Marxism as the most viable and powerful ideological trend in postwar Italy's social thinking cannot be overestimated. In the revolutionary practice and, above all, in the

establishment, on the basis of the conscious application of scientific theory, of a new society, free from exploitation, in the USSR and the other socialist countries, Togliatti saw convincing proof of the universality of Marxism, its general significance. The Marxist teaching proved, he wrote, that "it is a reliable guide not only in cognizing the surrounding world but in establishing a new economic and social system as well".

Regarding heated discussions around Marxism as proof of its tremendous influence in the liberation movement, the Italian Communists' leader resolutely exposed any distortions of the essence of revolutionary theory, of Marxism-Leninism from consistently class positions.

One of the most sophisticated methods, peddled since the late 50s by representatives of various bourgeois and social-reformist ideological trends, was to deny the connection between the teachings of Marx and Lenin, going as far as to counterpose their views on the major problems of class struggle. Denying the integrity of Marxism-Leninism as a continuously developing teaching, the supreme synthesis of revolutionary thought and action, the proponents of such views, ignoring the obvious facts, aimed to prove that Lenin dealt with the situation in a "peripheral", "pre-capitalist country", hence the "model" of the Soviet revolution could not be applied to the developed capitalist states. This concealed the aim of belittling not only the historical significance of the October Revolution, which opened a new era in mankind's history, the role of Lenin as leader of the world proletariat; but also of instilling in working people the erroneous idea that the working class movement in the zone of developed capitalism did not have effective guidelines for a socialist transformation of society and thus could only achieve partial successes within the framework of the capitalist system. Togliatti resolutely denounced such assertions which ideologically disarmed the working class and deprived its struggles of prospects. In his theoretical works and speeches delivered to Italian working people, he elucidated various aspects of Lenin's contribution to the development of revolutionary Marxism stressing, in particular, that none but Lenin, with unparalleled prevision, could link the theoretical analysis of imperialism with political conclusions.

Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence, forming the basis of the USSR's foreign policy today, his theory of imperialism, of the state, the proletarian revolution, the tactics of a united front of the working class as applicable precisely to Europe, which he worked out in 1921-22—all testify to the universal significance of Leninism. "It would be absolutely absurd," Togliatti wrote, "to ignore Lenin's brilliant discoveries and statements developing the Marxist teaching still further. At the start of this century, Lenin was the only thinker who predicted the precise development of historical events in subsequent

decades, up to the present time. His teaching on imperialism and proletarian revolution embraces all problems of modern philosophy."

In elaborating his concept of the struggle for socialism in present-day Italy, Togliatti undertook a strictly scientific, bold yet, at the same time, cautious search for a well-grounded Marxist-Leninist strategy in relation to the general and the specific, the international and the national.

Togliatti described two interconnected factors as a major prerequisite for the success of this strategy, i.e.:

— Loyalty to the basic Marxist-Leninist principles which constitute the laws of socialism's development and which are binding on all workers' parties fighting to overthrow the capitalist system. "Parties and people, in whatever country or part of the world, will be unable to make even the smallest step towards socialism if they have rejected these principles," Togliatti pointed out. "They might call themselves 'socialist' but in fact the only thing that such pseudo socialist parties could do was to rule bourgeois society in the interests of capitalists."

— Due account to be taken of the radical changes in the correlation of socio-political forces in the world in favour of socialism, the changes won in the selfless work and struggle of millions of people led by the vanguard of the working class. Noting that the international situation, due to the emergence of the world socialist system, favoured the Italian working people's struggle, Togliatti said that "what we are doing today would have been impossible and wrong to do some 30 years ago, it would have been sheer opportunism, as we justly called it at that time. We must clearly admit this, as it helps the working class and all working people to see the importance of our party, to realize the significance of the most stubborn past struggle which bore fruit only due to the fact that it was developing mostly along correct lines, despite some occasional errors."

Togliatti was a sincere and true friend of the Soviet Union. Contacts and ties of the Italian Communist Party with the Party of Russian Communists, with the other communist and workers' parties which are the ruling parties in many countries today, Togliatti wrote, "have a positive significance for the entire Italian people making them ever more experienced and serving as a stimulus and aid in their efforts to become the true masters of their destiny and win a peaceful and happy future."

Palmiro Togliatti devoted his entire life to this noble aim.

Vladimir BOGORAD  
*Kommunist*, No. 5, 1983 \*

## PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR IN THE CIA PLANS

One of the most ominous catalysts responsible for the current aggravation of the international situation is the psychological war unleashed by imperialism, primarily US imperialism, against the USSR and other socialist community countries. It is part of the arsenal of a "crusade" launched against communism, all forces of peace, freedom, democracy and progress. The CIA is a prime mover in this psychological war.

The subversive activity of the US spy agency and the methods it uses are the subject of N. Yakovlev's book "The CIA Versus the USSR"<sup>1</sup> now published in a new, complemented edition.

Psychological warfare is a component part of Washington's strategy reflecting its claims to world supremacy. This strategy is spearheaded against the USSR and other socialist countries—a formidable obstacle in the way of Washington to the realization of its imperialist ambitions.

The Pentagon and the National Security Council prepared a report, "Fiscal Years 1984-88. Defense Guidelines", envisaging, along with a "protracted" nuclear war, all kinds of "weaponless wars" in peacetime. "Special operations", acts of subversion and methods of psychological warfare must be improved, the report says.

The share of psychological war in the CIA strategy, the book notes, is reflected in the findings made in the seventies by a special commission of the House of Representatives that investigated the activities of intelligence bodies. According to the findings, in 1965-1975 "manipulation of elections in other countries" accounted for 32 per cent of the CIA's clandestine operations; "financing of secret armies, the transfer of weapons, ammunition and military supplies"—23 per cent; espionage in the narrow sense of the word, i.e., intelligence gathering—16 per cent; the share of psychological war proper, called "operations related to mass communications media"—29 per cent.

This breakdown is conventional, of course. More often than not, the US spy agency adopts a complex approach to its operations. Like in Chile, for instance.

Referring to earlier unknown documents American journalist Seymour Hersh wrote that soon after the election victory of Salvador

<sup>1</sup> N. Yakovlev. *The CIA Versus the USSR*. Moscow, Molodaya Gvardia Publishers, 1983.

Allende, who represented the National Unity coalition, the "Committee of 40", supervising CIA secret operations, sanctioned stepping up propaganda to convince the Chilean Congress that endorsing Allende's candidacy would result in a financial chaos. Two weeks earlier, 23 journalists from at least ten countries had been sent to Chile on the CIA's initiative. Jointly with CIA propaganda-makers, already stationed there, they cooked up over 700 articles and radio programmes for publication and broadcasting both inside and outside Chile on the eve of the elections to Congress. It is hard indeed to measure the impact of such a huge amount of material. Towards the end of September, virtual panic broke out among those who possessed capital in Santiago. . . Industrial output sharply declined.

In effect, that was a psychological war entailing economic sabotage and then the murder of General Schneider. . . There followed a spate of cables from the CIA headquarters demanding that a pretext be created in support of the allegation that the aim of the coup was to save Chile from communism.

No wonder then that from time to time the Western press spouts forth sensational concoctions to the effect that Central America is threatened by "communism", brought there from without, that the Palestine Liberation Organization or Salvadoran insurgents are "terrorists", while Afghan counter-revolutionaries are "freedom fighters".

All these propaganda platitudes and provocative calls emanate from Washington's top-ranking officials. The White House chief, acting as a mouthpiece of psychological warfare, personally proclaimed a "crusade" against the socialist countries. He branded the national liberation struggle as "international terrorism", sanctified the so-called "programme of democracy and public diplomacy", etc.

Then what was the CIA for? The fact is that for "objectivity's sake" it has become customary in the USA to create a semblance of the Administration's impartiality and disinterestedness in respect to all kinds of propaganda fakes. This is where Langley "experts" step in.<sup>2</sup>

A short while ago, CIA officials admitted that for many years intelligence "analysts" from the Pentagon and the State Department have been overstating Soviet military spending by a good one-third. An "error in calculation" is all they say when justifying themselves. But such an admission is almost nothing compared with the massive and lengthy campaign concerning "the Soviet military threat", which the US special agencies have been waging for many years now, without regard for the means used. It was precisely the CIA that juggled facts in the 1950s-1960s to prove some mysterious "aircraft" and then "missile" lag of the USA behind the USSR. In the 1970s too, it invented a method of estimating the Soviet defence expenditure

<sup>2</sup> Langley, a suburb in Washington, D.C., where the CIA headquarters are—Ed.

which many times surpassed the already inflated figures supplied by Washington at that time.

The US spy agency finds it easier to catch stale fish in the troubled water of the brazen anti-communist and militarist hysteria and pass it for a fresh product. No wonder the world now bears witness to a falsehood on the "complicity" of Bulgaria and other socialist states in an attempt on the life of Pope Joan Paul II. This concoction—unparalleled for its impudence and falsity—was fabricated by the Italian authorities at the CIA's diktat.

Langley's hand can easily be discerned in last year's action by the French authorities who demanded—without any ground whatsoever—the expulsion of a group of Soviet officials from France. And a campaign of allegations, flooding the press in this connection, was clearly inspired from across the ocean.

Right at the opposite end of the planet, in Japan, the CIA raised a wave of "spy mania" designed to poison the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union and cast aspersions on those who advocate their development. It is also intended, of course, to sidetrack attention from the brazen bossing of Japan by American state and private agencies. This bossing is symbolized in the case of ex-premier Tanaka and his accomplices who grabbed bribes in millions of dollars from the Lockheed corporation.

In recent years, socialist Poland has been subjected to the most insolent forms of subversion. The psychological war figures prominently in Washington's anti-Polish campaign in which the CIA is assigned a special task. A kind of pattern has been worked out for such operations. The "Liberty" and "Free Europe" radio stations, directed by the US spy agency, incite anti-socialist forces or politically immature and unstable people to demonstrate and take extremist actions. They openly transmit provocative calls and instructions. The anti-socialist underground received funds and printing equipment directly from the CIA or through stand-in firms or organizations like the AFL-CIO amalgamated trade union. An incident, provoked from outside, is presented by the same "radio voices" and the White House as a pretext to start a new round of psychological war, to raise hue and cry about "human rights violations" in Poland and to justify all kinds of "sanctions".

In the psychological war against the socialist countries special emphasis is made on ideology and the attempts to "soften socialism from the inside". In pursuance of the subversive aims, the CIA tries to use Soviet citizens who consciously adopted an anti-socialist stance or simply showed political gullibility. Western propaganda names them "dissidents", or people "thinking otherwise".

"The CIA Versus the USSR" produces many facts attesting to the use of "dissidents" by the US spy agency not only for smearing everything associated with the Soviet Union, for fanning up anti-

communist and anti-Soviet sentiment in the USA and other Western countries, but also for building up international tension.

Psychological war proponents spout forth a lot of filth that poisons the international atmosphere. But they are not at all omnipotent. These "knights of darkness" leave behind a long trail of disgraceful setbacks. The Bay of Pigs in Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Iran, Afghanistan, crimes of the CIA and FBI exposed in the USA itself...

The truth, the peoples' striving for peace and independence are indomitably breaking out through the screen of slander and provocations.

Yevgeny RUSAKOV  
From *Pravda*, August 16, 1983 \*

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