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

**Communists and the anti-war movement ●**

**What does psychopolicy mean? ●**

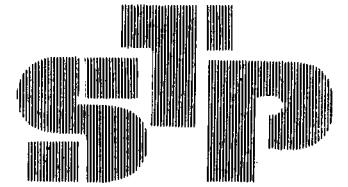
**Political pluralism. Whose ends does it serve? ●**

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1984

**SOCIALISM:  
THEORY  
AND PRACTICE**

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

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*Many young people in Britain and the West in general realize that the nation to fear is not the Soviet Union, which has never used nuclear weapons to murder innocent people and has pledged never to use them first, but the USA, which has dropped the atomic bomb on innocent people, not once but twice. It is the USA that is continually escalating the arms race by telling scurrilous lies about the socialist countries. As a member of the British Young Communist League I, along with my local branch, would like to congratulate you on your interesting publications and the Soviet Union in particular for its courageous and bold peace proposals aimed at preserving peace throughout the world.*

**James M. Conway,**  
aged 19, member of the British  
Young Communist League,  
unemployed,  
England

*People in Brazil know very little about the Soviet Union, or rather we are fed distorted facts about it. Despite this, we are convinced of the peace-loving nature of your country, of the high cultural standards of the Soviet people. The working class of our country will not reconcile itself to social injustice: unemployment, illiteracy, costly medical aid, bad housing conditions. We refuse to let our country's natural resources be plundered, our people be culturally impoverished and our children have no future.*

**Luis Sergio de Mello,**  
aged 36, personnel advisor,  
Brazil

## PEACE, THE WORKING CLASS, COMMUNISTS

*Anxiety about peace on earth is felt today by peoples in all countries. The source of the threat overhanging mankind lies in the most aggressive circles of the exploiter society, first and foremost, US imperialism which is stubbornly pushing mankind to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. What are the motives of this policy justifiably qualified as a policy of nuclear madness, what forces are opposing it and what can and should they do?*

### "WELFARE THROUGH WARFARE"!

The last quarter of the 20th century is a time of unparalleled aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and its profound socio-economic upheavals, both cyclic and structural, unprecedented unemployment and inflation, trade and financial wrangles between the imperialist countries and their irreconcilable conflicts with the liberated countries.

Sharper than ever is the main antagonism of our time—the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. The socialist world with a population equalling one-third of the world's total has reached the level of the leading capitalist powers in many economic, scientific and technical indicators. The approximate parity of their military potentials is now obvious. In these conditions the outgoing social system is growing more aggressive, increasingly attempting to settle its crisis problems by force.

This makes clear the ominous role played by the imperialist military-industrial complexes which have gained or are gaining key levers of power today. Not so long ago the arms manufacturers could not impose their will on the state and dictate their own terms on the market so aggressively and on such a scale.

The spokesmen and ideologues of the military-industrial complexes often back up their stories about the "Soviet war threat" by referring to the adverse socio-economic consequences which might be produced by ending the arms race. They dish up militaristic actions as movers of scientific and technical progress, stimulants of economic activity, and factors of social stability.

What have the decades of shooting and cold wars demonstrated? Only that the military shots are only a doping contributing to a short-lived revival in various sectors of the economy. The untenability of the "welfare through warfare" concept has become particularly obvious in the last ten years. Militarism has undoubtedly precipitated the crisis of the entire system of state-monopoly regulation of the economy.

From the standpoint of the interests of working people and above all the working class a particularly dangerous argument in favour of the arms race is that the reduction of military production spells greater unemployment. But the estimates show irrefutably that investments in civil industries create 50-100 per cent more jobs than the same investments in the arms race. Another significant fact is that prior to its joining in the intensive arms race the FRG practically had no unemployment, while in the USA during the militaristic boom unemployment increased from 7 to more than 10 per cent between 1979 and 1983, reaching 12 million jobless by official, very conservative statistics—a record high in the last forty-odd years.

The current tendencies towards changes in the structure of military spending likewise aggravate its adverse effect on employment. The growing proportion of investments in most sophisticated and capital-intensive armaments—heavy bombers, intercontinental missiles and electronic systems—provide, in proportion, fewer and fewer jobs. And most important, the arms race is exacerbating the employment problem because it leads to a general slowdown of the economic growth rates.

The arms race also has many other adverse socio-economic effects. In particular, militarization substantially lowers the living standards of working people. The growth of military expenditures is usually accompanied by rising taxes and, simultaneously, by cuts in allocations for social needs. The Reagan Administration, which has launched a veritable assault on social programmes, has drastically axed these allocations and new cuts are contemplated in the near future.

Broad masses are growing more and more aware of both the catastrophic consequences of a possible war and of the negative results of war preparations, i.e., the impossibility of solving the crisis of capitalism along the militarization road.

#### THE RISE OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The key antagonism of the time, that between socialism and imperialism, is today developing into a global confrontation between the imperialist forces and the interests of all mankind, which is a new and highly significant form of its manifestation. Thus objective conditions are appearing for an all-out opposition to imperialist aggression. This means the saving of life itself on earth, the mobilization of all resources to achieve this and simultaneously to solve the numerous pressing problems that face mankind as a whole and each individual country.

The unprecedented rise of the anti-war movement and better coordination of actions of its participants on a worldwide scale testify to mankind's universal desire to preserve peace, avert a thermonuclear catastrophe and, to begin with, prevent a new round of the arms race. The anti-war movement today is more and more distinctly spearheaded against the US nuclear strategy.

The scope of the anti-war movement and its growing ability to seriously influence political and military-strategic decision-making are evidenced also by its social and political composition.

Anti-war organizations, which emerged during the Vietnam war, and also pacifist groups hold an important place in the ranks of peace fighters. Such social and professional groups as doctors, scientists and workers in culture and art are growing increasingly active in the struggle for peace both nationally and internationally.

The growing menace of war is now being increasingly realized by members of the ruling class, especially by those of its groups which have a vested interest in wider trade and economic relations with the socialist countries and which suffer losses from the unbridled militarization of the Western economy. Peace groups of businessmen are appearing, which support the anti-war movement. Anti-militarist positions are taken by many other sections of the ruling classes in the capitalist countries—politicians and the military, including high-ranking generals some of whom, for instance, generals G. Bastian and N. Pasti, admirals A. San-

guinetti and G. La Rocque, are active in the anti-war movement in their countries.

In response to the public sentiment, religious organizations are getting more and more active in the struggle for peace. The Protestant church in Holland, the FRG, Scandinavian countries and Britain, the American Council of Christian Churches and also Catholic churches in a number of West European countries and the USA denounce nuclear war and the arms race. There has been a broad response to the anti-war messages addressed to believers by the Catholic bishops of the United States and the FRG.

The scope of the anti-war protest affects part of the governmental structures in the West. The number of municipalities proclaiming themselves nuclear-free in Britain, the FRG, Belgium, the Netherlands and other countries is not just dozens but hundreds.

The working class is voicing ever louder protest against militarism, which is quite logical, since by its nature it is objectively interested in preserving and consolidating peace, strengthening the security of the peoples and preventing aggressive wars. Imperialist war preparations and the arms race fundamentally contradict the immediate and long-range interests of workers and of all working people.

For the working class in the socialist countries the imperialists and their arms race create considerable difficulties in the building and advancement of socialism, in paving the way for the transition to communism. In the capitalist countries the arms race and the war psychosis lead to a fall in the working people's standards of living, impede the growth of political consciousness among the working class, reinforce the position of reaction, breed nationalism and chauvinism and thereby weaken the struggle for genuine democracy and social progress. For the working class and all working people in the liberated countries the mounting international tensions and the involvement of these countries in the arms race mean the perpetuation of poverty and backwardness, hunger and disease, heavier dependence on imperialism and a brake on the economic and political development.

National trade union associations in the Western countries are stepping up their activity in defence of peace and against the deployment of American nuclear missiles. This is proved by the outcome of congresses held in 1982 and the first half of 1983 by such large and influential trade union centres as the General Confederation of Labour in France, the British Trades Union Congress, the FRG's German Trade

Union Association, the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers, the Intersindical National, and others. This is also confirmed by the resolutions passed at international forums as, for instance, the international conference on trade unions of the world in the struggle against chemical and bacteriological weapons, held in May 1983.

Anti-war aspects are becoming more pronounced in the activity of working people's organizations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, such as the Standing Congress for Latin American Workers' Trade Union Unity and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, which protest against the arms race, demand the isolation of dictatorial, fascist and racist regimes, and champion broader cooperation between states on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Despite the present scope of the anti-war movement and the growing role and activity of the working class in it, considerable sections of working people and their organizations are still outside its ranks. One explanation is that the anti-war struggle is accompanied by the sharply increasing ideological pressure put by the monopolies and the bourgeois state and its reprisals against peace fighters. The propaganda machine of the advocates of rearmament is assiduously spreading the ideas in the working class movement that the power policy is a guarantee against war, while the arms race is well-nigh the only reliable means of settling the employment problem. Anti-Sovietism cultivated by the bourgeois media among the working people distracts attention from the real source of the war danger.

The anti-war movement is damaged particularly by the position of a number of working people's organizations headed by reactionary, anti-communist leaders. In some cases the leadership of these organizations (e.g., the AFL-CIO Executive in the USA) directly supports expansion of military expenditures and openly approves the aggressive course of imperialism. In other cases (e.g., the leaders of the French Force Ouvrière) it tries to divide the anti-war movement, and to shift all blame onto the socialist countries for the growth of tensions and conflicts.

Although recently international reformist trade union centres have more explicitly opposed the arms race and supported detente (for instance, the 13th Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions held in June 1983), their leaders obstruct joint action and cooperation of workers' organizations of different orientations. As a result, the organizations affiliated with the three main international union centres, while occupying similar or identical

positions, act each on their own. This seriously weakens the anti-war struggle, hindering the mobilization of the broad masses for joint actions against the militaristic course of the imperialist powers.

#### IN THE FRONT LINES OF STRUGGLE

The present world situation imperatively demands from all contingents of the working class movement new, additional efforts for removing the threat of a world war and saving human civilization. Special responsibility rests with the Communists. Today they set themselves the task of bringing home to the people where the threat of war comes from, explaining the gist of the initiatives and constructive proposals put forward by the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole. They expose the anti-popular nature of the nuclear arms race and the lies of imperialist propaganda about the "Soviet war threat", "Soviet military supremacy", etc. The Communists show the insolvency and danger of the concept of "two super-powers" and the allegedly equal responsibility borne by the USSR and the USA for mounting international tensions and the arms race.

Thus, the West-German Communists lay bare the intentions of the FRG government to continue escalating the arms race and implement the NATO nuclear-missile decisions in league with the Reagan Administration. This was said, in particular, at the Seventh Congress of the German Communist Party which met in early January this year. The German Communist Party takes into account the concern the broadest public feels over the fact that the stationing of new American missiles in the FRG creates a situation wherein, contrary to the official declarations of the FRG government, a new world war may very well start from its territory.

The French Communist Party has undertaken a series of important initiatives. In May 1982 it proposed that the participants in the Second Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament adopt a comprehensive disarmament programme and support all negotiations on general disarmament, reduction of the weapons stockpiles or partial measures to this end. It favoured the convocation of a European conference on confidence-building and security measures and disarmament in Europe, the ratification of all treaties banning various types of mass destruction weapons, the complete ban on nuclear tests and no first use of nuclear weapons. In June 1983 the FCP ini-

tiated a Peace March with the participation of prominent members of the anti-war movement. The French Communist Party rejects the assertion about the military superiority of the Soviet Union and considers that both the French and British nuclear forces should be counted when determining the general military balance.

The Communist Party of Greece attaches paramount importance to the question of the American bases on Greek territory, viewing them as an infringement of the country's national independence. It keeps explaining to the masses that the peoples of all countries can make and are making an invaluable contribution to the struggle for peace by calling for peace, disarmament and detente in their own countries.

The statement adopted by a conference of Austrian Communists (January 1983) urges that neutral Austria make a bigger contribution to detente and disarmament, while the Plenary Meeting of the CPA Central Committee appealed to the parliament and government last June to oppose the deployment of new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

In May 1983 the Workers' Party—Communists of Sweden held a congress under the slogan "Struggle for Peace and Work!" and the Swiss Communists at the same time held their congress under the slogan "Peace, Freedom, Solidarity, Socialism".

The American Communists feel it is their special responsibility to expose the dangerous and false anti-Soviet, anti-communist propaganda covering up the US imperialist designs. They have called on progressives in their country for vigilance and charted measures for enhancing the effectiveness of their ideological work among the masses. This particularly applies to their efforts to expose imperialism's Big Lie about the "Soviet threat".

What is the basis of the philosophy of peace adopted by the communist and workers' parties? They are aware of the catastrophic consequences of a thermonuclear war in our time and firmly believe that socialism does not need war for its triumph. Their philosophy is based on the sound analysis of the relationship of forces in the world, making the prospect of preventing a war realistic through the joint efforts of the socialist countries, the international working class movement and all peace-loving states and peoples.

It is no secret that at first some Communists misunderstood the essence of anti-war movements with their motley

composition and ideological principles. They were not always able to shed prejudice in relation to some pacifist and ecological organizations which occupy inconsistent and contradictory positions, failing to see in the participants of these movements their objective allies in the struggle for peace.

In most cases these misunderstandings have been overcome. The Communist parties are doing everything possible to develop the mass struggle against the war and to promote the cooperation of diverse political and social forces alarmed by the threat of war.

Viewing their active participation in the public movements as a major means of building up ties with the masses and increasing their influence on them, communist parties do not seek gain for themselves, nor do they pursue any selfish aims but feel bound to work in their ranks, showing respect for the specific features of all movements, in order to consolidate the mass drive for peace and disarmament that is developing on their basis.

Participating in the movements, the Communists see their difficulties and weak points and help to overcome them. Noting that the awareness of the threat hanging over mankind is still growing slower than the threat itself they firmly oppose all attempts to divide the peace supporters and to use the idea of peace for counter-revolutionary aims, against socialism.

Considering the still insufficient involvement of the working class in the anti-war movements, Communists are stepping up their activity at enterprises and in trade unions. They show the direct connection between the struggle for peace and the solution of pressing socio-economic problems and practically link their activity in the anti-war movements with the tactics of struggle for broad social and political alliances.

Working for the continued expansion and consolidation of the international anti-war front, the Communists attach fundamental and growing importance to the active participation of different forces of the national liberation movement in it. Since the preservation of peace today is an issue concerning all countries and nations, the Communists believe that the liberated countries are vitally interested in international detente and in the establishment of an effective international security system. The military crises that have erupted in this zone of the world have more than once threatened to develop into a global conflagration.

The prospects for averting a new world war and safeguarding and consolidating peace depend largely on the position taken by the Social Democrats. In the 1970s, the social democratic movement, inconsistent and contradictory as it was in its stand on world issues, constructively contributed to detente and the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems. In the present, sharply aggravated world situation Social Democrats regard the course for detente as a long-term policy without "any reasonable alternative".

This is indicated, in particular, by the results of the Sixteenth Congress of the Socialist International held in April 1983. Its resolutions emphasize that ensuring the survival of the human race is the foremost task.

At the same time, the characterization of the factors responsible for the worsening of the world situation by social democratic leadership is still far from objective and bears the imprint of anti-communism. In the upper echelons of the social democratic movement problems of war and peace are still often treated as a product of rivalry between the "two super-powers". Social Democratic parties in the NATO countries continue to give assurances of their "loyalty to Atlantic solidarity". Yet their positions often reveal the growing sense of responsibility, concern for the future of civilization and gradual realization of the fact that the "threat to Europe" does not come from the USSR but is rooted in the militaristic ambitions of the US Administration. Today broad sections of international social democracy more and more clearly realize the danger of steps that are likely to complicate the situation in the world and lead to a greater arms build-up.

The latest tendency in a number of countries is towards Social-Democrats' cooperation with kindred trade unions in countering the war threat. The desire for cooperation in the struggle against unemployment, and for peace and disarmament is particularly evident in northern Europe where representatives of social democratic parties and trade union associations of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark worked out, for the first time in many years, a common platform on questions of peace and disarmament at a conference held in February 1983.

Thus, despite their controversy and inconsistency, the anti-war positions of social democracy open up broad possibilities for carrying out many practical measures aimed at

halting the arms race, preventing a new world war and safeguarding peace.

#### DISARMAMENT—THE IDEAL OF SOCIALISM

As in the past, the major force of peace today is the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, which are in the front ranks of the anti-war struggle. The policy of the CPSU on the world scene rests securely on the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of peace. Marx and Engels inscribed for all time the noble objectives of the working class on the banner of communism: to ensure the triumph of Labour and Peace. Developing their ideas, Lenin saw socialism's fundamental advantage as a social system also in the fact that it brings peace to the peoples and removes the eternal threat of war.

The communist philosophy of peace is also a philosophy of social progress and, therefore, has class roots. Its main idea is that firm guarantees of peace are ultimately connected with the progressive and democratic arrangement of all countries. Fighting consistently for peace and focusing their attention on this task, the Communists uphold the interests and will of the working class, the vital interests and will of all nations in the world.

It is not enough to set oneself worthy goals in the struggle for peace. It is important to see the real ways of attaining them in the present, very complicated international situation. The Soviet Communists see them in limiting the arms race and implementing gradual, stage-by-stage disarmament, completely prohibiting nuclear weapons and, ultimately, achieving general and complete disarmament. This approach was proclaimed by Lenin in the early years of Soviet power when the programme of general and complete disarmament was first proposed. And it is therefore only logical that the USSR puts forward proposals and initiatives for ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, including those for general and complete disarmament, general and comprehensive control, complete and general prohibition of nuclear arms tests, limitation of supplies and sales of conventional weapons to other countries, the quantitative and qualitative freeze on nuclear armaments and their limitation in Europe. It was the Soviet Union which undertook the solemn commitment never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and this step was duly appreciated by all who cherish peace on Earth.

An important political document is the Statement made on November 24, last year by Yuri Andropov, General Se-

cretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in connection with the deployment of US medium-range missiles in Europe. At their meeting in 1983 Party and state leaders of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR issued a Joint Statement calling on the NATO countries and on all countries in the world to weigh soberly and objectively the dangerous tendencies in the development of international relations and to draw sensible conclusions in the best interests of mankind. They gave a clear and detailed answer to the question: how peace can be preserved. At their Moscow meeting the socialist countries' initiatives were crystallized still more. Its results are a further indication that today, socialism is the most consistent champion of sound principles in international relations, fighter for detente and peace, for the interests of each nation and mankind as a whole.

The USSR and other socialist countries are ready to hold a constructive dialogue with all anti-war movements, and search for common positions in the struggle to prevent thermonuclear war, restore and strengthen international detente, and achieve disarmament. Openly declaring their philosophical and political views on questions of war and peace, the Communists are prepared to exchange views with all participants in the anti-war movements, to reckon with their viewpoints in the interests of the common cause of peace. Only through joint efforts of all peace-loving states, peoples and movements is it possible to consolidate peace on earth and prevent a thermonuclear catastrophe disastrous for all mankind.

*Kommunist*, No. 12, 1983 \*



## THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND ANTI-COMMUNISM'S ARGUMENTS

*More than thirty years have passed since the world socialist community was formed. Historically, this is a rather short period. But these years have seen an immense build-up of the socialist countries' economic potential and a growth of their international prestige and influence on the social processes in the world.*

### THE NEW STAGE

As pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the present stage of the socialist community's development is marked by the further deepening and expansion of all-round cooperation, by the growing mutual understanding and confidence among fraternal states and their drawing closer together. The socialist community has passed onto a new higher stage of maturity in production relations both within individual states and the community as a whole—in international relations, in economic interaction as well as in the political, ideological and cultural spheres. This is a union of countries based on "a type of truly just, equal, and fraternal relations between states never seen in history before."<sup>1</sup>

The countries of the socialist community jointly formulate a common foreign policy strategy aimed at preserving and strengthening peace and the security of peoples and at ending the arms race: they put forward important peace initiatives, coordinate their activities on the world scene, discuss crucial issues of socialist and communist construction.

In the economic sphere, the fraternal countries' cooperation is oriented on further integrating and internationalizing their economic life.

<sup>1</sup> *The 26th CPSU Congress: Documents and Resolutions.* Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1981, p. 8.

The socialist countries have achieved substantial progress in this. They turn out nearly one-third of the world's industrial output. Despite the mounting international tension, the worsening world economic situation, the aggravation and growing complexity of the ideological struggle in the international arena, the CMEA member countries' economic growth rates in 1971-1980 were double those of the advanced capitalist countries.

Socialist integration has led to the community countries' economic rapprochement, the formation of modern highly efficient national economic structures, establishment of stable relations in major economic sectors as well as in science and technology and the gradual levelling out of economic development.

Thus, in 1980 the share of industry in the national income was: in Bulgaria—51.8 per cent, in Hungary—49.5 per cent, in the GDR—68.3 per cent, in Poland—54.7 per cent, in Romania—59.3 per cent, in the USSR—50.9 per cent and in Czechoslovakia—64.8 per cent. Programmes for the accelerated development of Mongolia, Cuba and Vietnam are being implemented. All the above convincingly shows that one of the most pressing global socio-economic problems, that of overcoming of the tremendous difference in certain countries' economic development and living standard, a legacy of capitalism, is being successfully solved.

In the ideological sphere, the fraternal parties jointly work on topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory, pool their efforts in the struggle against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, accomplish the tasks connected with forming a scientific world outlook among the overwhelming majority of working people. In the course of ideological cooperation the socialist countries coordinate their mass media and propaganda activities and hold joint propaganda campaigns. Cultural relations are expanding and common principles are being worked out for the development of socialist culture and the socialist way of life. Generally speaking, the socialist countries are drawing gradually closer together, revealing more and more common features in their political, economic and social life.

This is reflected in their common scientifically grounded strategy for the construction of the developed socialist and communist society which is being realized with due account taken of the specific conditions in each of them.

The growing role of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the working class in socialist and communist construction, in improving the mechanisms of the CMEA countries' econo-

mic development and reinforcing their material and technical base, in coordinating their economic and social policies, in consolidating the socialist state and advancing socialist democracy as well as in moving towards social homogeneity deserves special mention.

It is impossible to imagine the successful development of the world socialist community—an international community of sovereign national and multinational states—as a smooth and even process. Contradictions arise, for instance, between the specifically national state interests of different countries, between the growing internationalization of production and the existence of national-state limitations; certain differences also appear among the socialist countries' interests when cooperating on the international plane, etc.

However, these are not antagonistic contradictions. They are being overcome and resolved. The fraternal parties' policy is aimed at combining national interests, determined by the specific historical conditions under which socialism is being built in various countries, with the interests of the community as a whole, an international community of a new type.

#### FUTILE ATTEMPTS

Bourgeois ideologists try to undermine the solidarity of the socialist community and discredit the high international prestige of socialism by exploiting for their own ends the contradictions which arise as the world socialist system develops.

They present the formation of socialist international relations, the development of multilateral political, economic and ideological cooperation of the socialist countries, and the principle of socialist internationalism as a far-fetched "ideological scheme", as a "myth". When analyzing the socialist countries' relations, "Sovietologists" concentrate their attention on relations between the USSR and other fraternal countries, interpreting these relations as "unequal" and "forced".

These allegations are based on attempts, on the one hand, to emasculate international socialist relations of their class content and, on the other, to interpret them from the positions of bourgeois nationalism.

What can be said about this? The relations of dictat and subordination typical of capitalism are arbitrarily transferred to a different type of international relations based on the principle of socialist internationalism. Bourgeois propaganda

strives to distort the class solidarity of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties and states as well as the principle of socialist internationalism which it portrays as an "ideological construction", not as the essence of socialist international relations.

In fact, socialist internationalism expresses the community of the fraternal states' goals and ideals, the coincidence of their key interests and the identity of their social and class nature. Communists of the socialist community countries not only declare their allegiance to this principle but constantly apply it in all their party, state, economic and other relations.

The socialist countries' internationalist policy dialectically combines the national interests, determined by the specific historical conditions under which socialism is being built, with the common interests of all socialist countries.

The "convergence" theory ("merging", "coalescing") has been another "hobby-horse" of imperialist propaganda over recent years.

The strategic idea of the "convergence" versions is to force the socialist countries to deviate from the road of socialist development to a certain "hybrid" or mixed society combining the features of capitalism and socialism. The question here is not so much one of the "coalescence" or "merging" of the two systems, but mostly of capitalism absorbing socialism.

According to the "convergence" methodology, the gradual "evolution" of socialism must be accompanied by the "erosion" of communist ideals and cultural values and the wide penetration of bourgeois ideology into the socialist countries' cultural life. Various modifications of the "convergence" theory whose aim is the internal "evolution" of socialism according to bourgeois and revisionist ideologists' recipes, speculation on the global problems, attempts to influence the socialist countries' population on a large scale—all these forms of ideological struggle are, in the long run, aimed at splitting the socialist community, at driving a wedge in the world communist movement.

Along with the "convergence" theory, "divergence", "discrepancy", "deviation" and "polarization" concepts have recently become widespread in bourgeois ideology. They all have the same purpose—to split the communist movement, the fraternal parties and the socialist countries, discredit real socialism and its growing international prestige.

Using the "divergence" concept bourgeois ideologists try to disprove the concepts, jointly elaborated by the fraternal

communist parties, of the socialist community as an international community of a new type, of developed socialism, socialist economic integration, the objective law of the fraternal countries' gradual drawing together and levelling of their development.

Disregarding reality, bourgeois theorists see the "strengthening of centrifugal forces" instead of the deepening of cooperation and the socialist countries' drawing together. This point of view is based on an arbitrary interpretation of the trends and laws underlying the development of the world socialist community, on the emphasis of certain specific features in these or other countries and on the disregard of the general laws of socialist and communist construction. The fraternal countries' development confirms the universal character of the main laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. As Lenin said, "the task consists in learning to apply the general and basic principles of communism to the *specific relations* between classes and parties, to the *specific features* in the objective development towards communism, which are different in each country and which we must be able to discover, study and predict".<sup>2</sup> The socialist countries' drawing together is an objective tendency in the socialist community's development. It stems from the fact that they have the similar socio-economic and political systems, the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the common aims and tasks. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism has never considered this profound process as some kind of mechanical "levelling", as the elimination of national features and traditions. As the 26th CPSU Congress stressed, the process of the socialist community states' drawing together does not at all eliminate their national specific features or historical traits. "We should see the variety of forms in their social life and economic organization for what it really is—a wealth of ways and methods of establishing the socialist way of life."<sup>3</sup>

The "divergence" methodology predominates in bourgeois interpretations of socialist economic integration, its ideological and political significance. The major premise of their anti-communist interpretations is the thesis of the "incompatibility" of the CMEA countries' interests. In the opinion of bourgeois experts, the economic and political diffe-

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *The 26th CPSU Congress: Documents and Resolutions*. Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, pp. 14-15.

rences within the socialist community make the CMEA countries' economic integration highly unlikely for the next decade.

With such an approach, the relations of domination and subordination, the intensification of capitalist contradictions, more uneven development and the greater gaps in the economic levels of individual countries, characteristic of capitalist economic integration, are transferred to the socialist integration processes.

However, under socialism the integration processes proceed differently. The CMEA countries' economies develop at high rates, great successes have been scored in drawing them together and levelling them out. The optimum economic complex is being formed in each country. The CMEA countries constitute a most highly dynamic world economic region, free from crises and stagnation. In this connection, the national income index is especially characteristic. In the 1970s, it went up 1.5 times in the CMEA member countries (in the Common Market countries—20 per cent) and industrial output—almost 1.7 times (in the Common Market countries—17 per cent).

Developing the "divergence" concept, "Sovietologists" try to invent "conflict" relations between the USSR and the other socialist community states. In some cases, it is a question of an imaginary "disharmony of interests" of large and small countries, of the Soviet Union's tighter "control". In others, on the contrary, it is allegations that integration contradicts the USSR's interests, as it creates an economic situation, "without precedent in history", in which the "economic leader" is a "raw material appendage of the countries connected with it".

Such assertions are unfounded. The USSR participates in economic integration, assisting the fraternal countries in their economic development. It supplies other CMEA member countries with raw materials, particularly energy-carriers and equipment in large quantities with due regard for their requirements. The CMEA member countries deliver ships, railway stock, communication and automation facilities etc., to the Soviet Union.

The processes of the socialist countries' development, questions of socialist and communist construction and the basic conclusions of Marxist-Leninist teaching are interpreted within the context of the "divergence" model.

The imperialist mass media makes a great din about the "Sovietization" of the East European socialist countries,

of the allegedly forced introduction of the "Soviet model" in these countries, causing internal "centrifugal" tendencies and the growth of tension.

Such an interpretation is again a falsification.

The experience of real socialism eloquently confirms the correctness of Lenin's words that "certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international".<sup>4</sup> The experience of the construction and development of advanced socialism is also of world historical importance.

The Soviet Union was the first country to carry out a socialist revolution and create an advanced socialist society. It is because of this that its experience is of great importance for other countries building the new society. However, recognition of the importance of the experience gained by the CPSU and the Soviet state does not imply mechanically copying it. The general laws of revolution and socialist construction have and are being applied with due account taken of the specific features of different socialist countries.

Generalizing the practice of socialist and communist construction in the socialist community countries, the fraternal communist parties elaborate a scientific strategy for their countries' socio-economic development.

Real socialism is strong because it is proving in practice the correctness of Marxist-Leninist teaching, of the laws it discovered of the emergence and development of the communist socio-economic formation.

From the book *Developed Socialism and the Crisis of Sovietology*, Moscow, Nauka Publishers, 1982 (in Russian)

<sup>4</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 21.

## "POLITICAL PLURALISM"— A DISGUISE FOR THE DOMINATION OF MONOPOLIES

by Eduard KUZMIN

*Questions of the state and democracy figure prominently in the present-day ideological struggle. The ideologists of the monopoly bourgeoisie hold up the political system of capitalism as a model of state organization. In theory this is supported by the concept of "political pluralism" meaning a multi-party structure and the existence of opposition.*

### A SEMBLANCE OF DEMOCRACY

"Pluralism" negates the class struggle as a motive force of historical progress and replaces it with "harmonious coexistence" and "regulated interplay" of the competing social strata, groups and organizations. On this basis various variants of "pluralistic democracy" are construed in which authority in society no longer belongs to the state alone but is atomized between the numerous social institutions.

The advocates of bourgeois "pluralism" put across the idea that only a multi-party system and inter-party strife can "guarantee" democracy and freedom, ensure compliance of the state with the will of the majority and a dynamic development of society regardless of the social system. But we know from experience that the existence of two or more parties and a parliamentary opposition do not in themselves undermine the domination of monopoly capital. Multi-party structures are adopted sometimes even by the most

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reactionary dictatorial regimes. Expressing the ideology, interests and aims of the exploiting minority, bourgeois parties act as staunch guardians of the establishment and, in fact, represent different factions of the dominant class. The rivalry between them (often very acute), seen by the theoreticians of "pluralism" as a "clash of opposing forces", does not overstep the boundaries of the "political game" with its alternation of parties in power, with its emphasis on particular, often spurious disagreements, etc. All this is designed to create a semblance of "pluralism" of society when all classes and social groups participate in politics and to divert the proletariat and other exploited sections from the struggle for their vital interests.

It should be stressed that bourgeois "pluralism" with such an inevitable institution as a "clash" and "interplay of opposition forces" is objectively rooted, on the one hand, in the division of capitalist society into antagonistic classes and, on the other hand, in the heterogeneous nature of the dominant class, itself made up of different strata and groups with their specific interests and their internecine competition assuming rather sharp forms. However, despite this inter-group competition, "political plurality" is in the long run reduced to the common political denominator—fundamental (above-group) interests of the monopoly elite.

How can they speak of democracy when the true exponents of the working people's interests—communist and workers' parties and also left trade unions and other progressive organizations—contrary to all the talk about "universal" freedom and "equality", contrary to the theories of "participation in the power-struggle process", are put at a patent disadvantage by various means and subjected to open persecution and reprisals! Such practices are described as "the spirit of emulation", "competition" in the "free play of political forces", and a standard of democracy. How this "free play" works in practice can be seen from what is going on in Italy where the United States, acting as a self-appointed "guarantor" of the existing system, has arrogated to itself the right to control political life in the country by infiltrating American agents into Italian secret services, by financing conservative parties, and "vetoing" the participation of the Italian Communist Party in the government, etc.

For Marxists-Leninists the question of democracy, as any other political issue, is always historically concrete. Pointing to the class limitations of bourgeois democracy, they are farthest from the thought of ignoring the opportunities

it affords for the anti-monopoly struggle of working people. It is not accidental that in the capitalist countries none other but Communists, in alliance with other forces that often espouse different ideologies, consistently champion democratic rights and freedoms and counter the attempts of reaction to whittle them down, to revise progressive provisions of constitutional laws.

As far as the interests of real class struggle are concerned, some bourgeois democratic institutions may at a certain stage obstruct social progress and important social changes. "As long as property remains in the hands of the capitalists," Lenin said, "democracy is nothing but a thoroughly hypocritical cover for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."<sup>1</sup> This explains why in bourgeois society there are no real foundations and true guarantees of the proclaimed democratic institutions, civil rights and freedoms. Only when democracy meets the class interests of the proletariat and all working people does it change its content and, acquiring a different quality, turns into an active transforming force, a powerful vehicle of society's progress.

#### IN THE INTERESTS OF MONOPOLIES

The ideologists of "pluralism" are at pains to present the imperialist state as a body taking neutral decisions which help achieve a "compromise" between different social groups. Playing up the relative independence of the state, they would have us believe that it rises above classes and carries out its policy in the interests of the whole of society.

Of course, with the transition of capitalism to the monopoly stage the field of activity of the bourgeois state has broadened considerably, its regulating role has grown steeply and it now increasingly interferes in such important spheres as investment, price formation, siting of production projects, external economic ties, etc. Lastly, the state concentrates in its hands vast material and manpower resources. Objectively, all this gives the bourgeois state a larger measure of relative independence.

But the new level of monopolization inevitably leads to the forces of the monopolies and of the bourgeois state gradually merging into a single mechanism. Gripped by a profound crisis, the bourgeois state is unable at times to conceal its class role behind the screen of "regulator of so-

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 414.

cial relations" concerned with "general welfare". Acting through its national institutions (the president, the government, parliament) and local and regional institutions, it more and more openly protects the interests of big capital, sacrificing the welfare of society to the monopolies.

The ultimate aim of increasing state interference in the economy and social affairs is to stabilize the capitalist system, to help it survive the unparalleled social upheavals. To a certain extent, it also protects the interests of national capital in its struggle against the sprawling transnational corporations.

Thus, the coalescence of the bourgeois state with the monopolies brings into still bolder relief the main function of the imperialist state—to protect the capitalist system and buttress its foundations. This is manifested in state-monopoly regulation and management of the economy in the interests of the ruling class and in the efforts to hold the majority of working people in check by ingenious social manoeuvring and, when necessary (as demonstrated by the reprisals against the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization in the USA), by sweeping recourse to all forms of class violence.

Of course, while remaining essentially a weapon of the dominant class, the imperialist state also engages in a wide range of "public activities" and "general affairs". In the course of sharp class struggles, under the pressure of broad masses, the government carries out definite measures in the field of education, the health service, social security, working conditions, etc.

A certain expansion and modification of the "general affairs" functions, the growing economic role of the imperialist state and other aspects of the monopoly stage of capitalism provide grounds for the contention that the purely administrative police functions of the state, its functions of authority are narrowing, that the concept of sovereignty is "metaphysical" and discords with our realities, that sovereignty is now "divided" between the state and various associations and groups of society.

These contentions have no substance. There is no "diffusion" of sovereignty in the modern bourgeois state. The dominant class is dominant precisely because it concentrates all basic levers of power in its hands. The fact that in a class society, apart from the state institutions, there are other organizations serving as instruments of state authority does not clash with the principle of the sovereignty of the state, for all these organizations and the state have the

same social nature, serve the interests of the dominant class and maintain its dictatorship, with the authority of the state playing the decisive role.

True, to make its domination more effective, the bourgeoisie cannot rely on the state apparatus alone (though the state remains the main instrument of class suppression), but has to draw to its side the bosses of "yellow" trade unions and other organizations that have broken off with their social milieu and put themselves in the service of capital. The monopolies also use other state organizations (employers' associations, political parties, bourgeois "pressure groups", etc.).

A certain functional distribution of powers between the state apparatus and non-government bourgeois and pro-bourgeois organizations benefits the ruling class which thus brings into full play all levers of its domination. In this way the diverse components are integrated in a single powerful mechanism of state authority (and the state was and remains its main component). In other words, to use the "pluralist" terminology, we should speak of the "transfusion" of power, rather than its "diffusion".

#### THE DECLINING ROLE OF REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

In many countries the evolution of the bourgeois state in the 1960s and 1970s was indeed highlighted by the growth of personal, authoritarian power. This forcefully demonstrated the inability of monopoly capital to keep itself in the saddle without destroying the traditional bourgeois-democratic institutions and without curtailing the role of representative bodies.

The constitutions of a number of bourgeois states have been revised towards restricting the government's political responsibility, further curtailing the legislative activity of parliament, and so on. Arguing that this is a "natural" process, bourgeois scholars and members of parliament themselves refer to a number of factors which, in their view, promote the process—the sharply increased regulating role of the state, the expansion of international contacts, introduction of elements of planning, active monetary, customs and tariff policies requiring prompt decisions.

All this is true to a certain extent. The government, the executive authority is a far more flexible and quick-acting apparatus compared with the parliament. On the one hand, this enables the monopolies to effect their plans quickly and unflinchingly and, on the other hand, closes or at least dras-

tically limits access to real levers of power for the forces opposing them. The dominant class does everything it can to keep representatives of the working classes away from the executive apparatus. The selection of its staff, especially the top and medium echelons is by a strictly class criterion, the broadening of the powers of the executive bodies is a sort of defensive reaction of the ruling class to the definite consolidation of the positions of Communists and their allies in representative institutions recently observed in some countries.

Thus, the activity of the parliament is often reduced to the formal endorsement of laws laying down the most general principles and, acting within their framework, the governments with their broad powers can take concrete decisions. This is how the mechanism works and when it falters, the "arm twisting" method is applied to the legislators. One of the most recent instances was the crude pressure on parliaments applied by the governments of a number of West European countries during the debates on the installation of new American medium-range missiles in Europe.

Relying mainly on government institutions, the monopolies promote the growth of bureaucratic tendencies in the executive structure. They stake on ministerial bureaucracy also in drafting legislative acts. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, this is the level at which legal acts foreshadowing the character of the subsequent solution of most of the questions subject to legal regulation are outlined in the general form (in particular, by the drafting of so-called reference projects as the basis for prospective laws). Secondly, the monopolists act on the premise that the participation of the bureaucracy in law-making is mostly concealed from the public, which makes it easier to disguise the contacts existing between them than at the later stages of the law-making process.

#### INSTRUMENT OF THE FINANCIAL-INDUSTRIAL OLIGARCHY

The heads of leading monopolies and their organizations, in uniting with the top crust of the ruling parties and state apparatus, actually seize the basic levers of the modern imperialist state and thus control its external and internal policies. Widely infiltrating the state apparatus, the monopoly bourgeoisie sets sights on gaining dominant positions in its key economic, military and diplomatic departments. In short, "a monopoly, once it is formed and controls

thousands of millions, inevitably penetrates into every sphere of public life, regardless of the form of government and all other 'details'".<sup>2</sup>

The ruling elite often uses not only class but also caste principles in training and promoting leaders of political parties, members of parliament, ministers, top-ranking officers, the judiciary, etc. Many bourgeois states have private schools and colleges whose students belong to the wealthiest and highly aristocratic families. No wonder that "hereditary" politicians and top officials are, as a rule, closely linked with big capital and the military-industrial complex, and profess the most conservative and anti-democratic views.

Ever more conspicuous (if carefully masked) is the role played in the system of bourgeois dictatorship by various consultative big business agencies which actually handle the election campaigns of politicians contesting for cushy elective posts and also help them to stay in power as long as possible. Instituting sundry charity funds, the financial oligarchy now has its own "brain trusts"—universities and research institutes. In the USA, for example, these centres get most munificent assistance from the Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie and other foundations. Quite often they join hands.

Various powerful "secret societies" influence the internal and external policy to suit the industrial-financial oligarchy and militarists. For instance, the ill-famed freemasons society "P-2", which used all means, from political blackmail to open terror, to get the reins of power, has become "a state within the state" in Italy and even outside it. According to press reports, Lucio Gelli, its "Grand Master", manipulated it as a political force.

The conversion of the bourgeois state into an instrument of the financial-industrial oligarchy inevitably intensifies the reactionary nature of the political system of capitalism, leading to the restriction and curtailment of democracy. The most glaring aspects of the crisis in the political sphere are: the growing instability of power, the narrowing of the social base of the majority of political structures, anti-democratic degeneration of traditional state institutions (the parliament, the government, the judiciary), corruption in different echelons of the state machinery, the increasing tendency towards departing from legality, offensive on the democratic rights and freedoms of citizens.

<sup>2</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 237.

An extremely high level of concentration of capital, monopolies' control over the majority of political organizations and the means of the ideological indoctrination of the population, and their merging with the state—are the three pillars of bourgeois dictatorship in the modern "Western democracies".

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The crisis of the political system of bourgeois states has deep roots. Lenin emphasized: "Capitalism in general, and imperialism in particular, turn democracy into an illusion—though at the same time capitalism engenders democratic aspirations in the masses, creates democratic institutions, aggravates the antagonism between imperialism's denial of democracy and the mass striving for democracy."<sup>3</sup> Without an energetic struggle for truly democratic transformations in bourgeois society it is impossible to limit and, subsequently, to liquidate the political and economic domination of the monopolies, to create favourable conditions for the transition from democratic to socialist transformations. The struggle for democracy as one of the directions in the process of the revolutionary remaking of the world is therefore high on the agenda for the working masses, for communist and workers' parties in the capitalist and developing countries, for all progressive people.

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<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, Vol. 23, pp. 24-25.

## KEYNESIANISM: PAST AND PRESENT

by Irina OSADCHAYA

*The crisis of Keynesianism, along with the practice of controlling the capitalist economy by regulating demand, led to the conservative turn in economic theory and policy. Conservative circles oppose Keynesianism with concepts demanding the curtailment of state interference and of the working people's social gains. Nevertheless, Keynesianism continues to play a major role in the ideological substantiation of both the liberal and radical reformist doctrines of state monopoly capitalism.*

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), a leading English bourgeois economist, sought ways of bolstering up the capitalist system and its foundations through moderate reforms and indirect state regulation of the economy. In the early 1930s he resolutely came out against the then dominant doctrine of free competition and non-intervention of the state in economic processes. The discordance of this doctrine with

reality led him to formulate recipes for the state regulation of the capitalist economy with the aim of mitigating its contradictions and ensuring stable growth.

Keynesianism has become the generally recognized ideology of state-monopoly capitalism, the theoretical foundation of the "economic policy of regulated demand".

### THE CRISIS OF THE REGULATION CONCEPT

By the end of the 1970s the strategy of state-monopoly regulation based on the Keynesian concept of regulated demand had ceased to conform to the new conditions brought about by the scientific and technolog-

ical revolution, progressing socialization of production and new contradictions in capitalist reproduction.

The old system of regulation was sapped by the operation of a number of factors: first, the

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worsened reproduction conditions caused by the shortages of various basic resources and the consequent steep rise in the prices of some of them, especially of energy resources; the ecological crisis; slower rates of labour productivity growth; etc. All this depressed profits and shifted the key economic contradictions from the market to the production sphere (supply). The main barrier to growth was now not the poor demand but bottlenecks in the production and supply of resources and, especially, in their efficient utilization. This called for a new approach to state interference which would directly influence production, its efficiency, structure and sectors. It was imperative to alter the national income structure by increasing the share of capital accumulation at the expense of consumption. So the regulated demand concept had to give way to a supply-oriented theory.

Second, the growing internationalization and intensification of economic ties, the greater "openness" of the capitalist countries' economies, their deeper dependence on the outside world, and also the expanding operations of transnational corporations were felt more and more. Thus the government measures to stabilize the economic situation (to curb inflation, for instance) could be defeated by the migration of international capital or opposite export-import flow tendencies.

Third, inflation became uncontrollable and chronic. Due to this, the state was confronted with the difficult problem of promoting the growth of production and employment without precipitating inflation. How to combat inflation without retarding economic growth and increasing unemployment?

Finally, we should add the contradictions raised by the expanding socio-economic functions of the state.

Throughout the 1960s the state budgets registered a growth of social expenditures (unemployment benefits, various aid, education and health care). Besides, the legislation adopted under public pressure compelled monopoly capital to make bigger investments in environmental protection. The new restrictions and standards in this sphere called for additional investment, which was unproductive for the capitalists.

In view of the general deterioration of the conditions of economic growth bourgeois ideologists started campaigning for freeing capital from excessive taxation and shackling restrictions, for cutting social spending, reducing the scope of state "charity" in order to increase the incentive to work and check the sponger attitudes.

The crisis of the Keynesian state regulation concept was intensified also by the increasing ineffectiveness of the state apparatus itself, its excessive growth, bureaucratization, discordant operation of its agencies

called upon to control and regulate particular aspects of economic decisions. The system of state interference accompanied by growing tax burdens and chronic budget deficits not only failed to resolve the capitalist contradictions but generated new contradictions and imbalances, as Marxists predicted.

The state was criticized not only by its avowed opponents but also by the advocates of state interference who insisted

### CONTRADICTIONS OF THE CONSERVATIVE COURSE

The term "conservatism" has theoretical, ideological and political implications. In the United States conservatism has become the ideological source of Reaganomics. Yet it would be a simplification to identify conservatism with the economic concept or, still more, with the practices of the Reagan Administration.

Conservatism was revived before Reagan's inauguration and will probably not end with his going from the political scene. Conservative ideas were spreading in the USA at the turn of the 1960s, but only in the late 1970s, when the Keynesian regulation policy failed dismally, did they provide the base for economic policy, notably for the right conservative course of President Reagan or Reaganomics.

The Conservatives urged revision of the Keynesian ideas on all fundamental economic

on modernizing and improving it. Intervention in economic processes was thought to be the main cause of economic inefficiency, lower labour productivity, slower rates of productive accumulation, growing inflation and unemployment.

In a number of leading capitalist countries, the USA included, the late 1970s witnessed a throwback to conservatism in ideology, economic theory and policy.

questions. They rejected Keynes' theory of "effective demand" and "forced unemployment", and produced new theories of unemployment linking it with structural factors (technological and industrial changes, the level of education and personnel training, etc.). A major cause of unemployment is said to be the policy of "full employment" which stimulates inflation and the growth of unemployment.

In the Conservatives' view, "inordinate" increase of state social payments weakens the incentive to work and contributes to the growth of "voluntary" unemployment. Particularly popular is the concept of the "natural" unemployment level which supposedly depends on the size of wages. According to this theory, all attempts to reduce this level by expanding effective demand only exacerbate inflation. Unemployment can be reduced only if wages do not increase rapidly, it is claimed.

There was also a substantial revision of the attitude to savings which Keynesianism sees as inhibiting the expansion of demand and preventing the growth of production and employment. Viewing savings as the main stimulus and source of capital accumulation, the Conservatives advocate a policy encouraging private savings and limiting the growth of demand.

Conservative economists have made an all-out criticism of the Keynesian methods of economic regulation. For them the main destabilizing factor is the government policy of stabilization and stimulation of economic growth. They consider government spending, especially in the social sphere, not so much as a means of creating "social values" but as a tax burden borne by both producers and consumers. The Conservatives say that free social services are mere fiction as they lead to high taxes and additional outlays on state control, and to bureaucratization. They propose reducing this burden which allegedly hampers free enterprise, weakens the stimuli for saving, inhibits investments, promotes inflation, and so on. The Conservatives also dismiss a "much too" progressive tax system as discriminatory, which robs enterprising and energetic people and which encourages "the indolent and lazy" to evade taxes. Reforms are needed therefore not for income redistribution but for enhancing labour productivity and economic growth. Accordingly,

they say, it is necessary to lower taxation rates, promote the growth of savings and cut taxes on corporate profits.

As an alternative to the Keynesian strategy of economic control through the regulation of demand and a redistribution of national income, conservatism offers a policy stimulating private production and capital accumulation. While the Keynesian, essentially liberal bourgeois, model of "mixed economy" with its emphasis on expanded demand was premised on some concessions to working people, the conservative strategy implies the maximum restriction of the working people's rights, their ever lesser share in national income redistribution and the utmost encouragement of private capital.

The core of the conservative economic strategy is the credit and monetary policy which should not depend on the economic situation and the level of employment. Its main aim is to maintain a stable growth of money in circulation in accordance with long-term rates of growth of gross national product.

The Conservatives also advocate a rigid restriction of direct state interference into price-fixing, and fewer administrative and legislative restrictions in the sphere of environmental protection and industrial labour safety. Many of these principles underlie the programme for the economic revival of the United States which the Reagan Admini-

nistration proposed in early 1981 and which was accompanied by a wave of demagogy in an attempt to prove that the country was about to return to the times of free capitalist competition.

In actual fact this had nothing to do with a real elimination of state interference into the economy. The conservative turn signified substantial changes in the aims, scope and forms of state regulation and strategy and, consequently, in the relationships between the state and monopoly capital. The revival programme, which spelled the renunciation of the liberal reformist course whereby internal problems were to be solved through the state regulation of demand, emphasized the strengthening of the internal resources of the private sector through the expansion of profits and savings accruing to private capital.

This conservative course was full of contradictions. The reduction of taxes along with the cuts in social payments took place at a time of the unprecedented expansion of military spending and a crisis in production. Consequently, the expected production and state budget growth was not achieved and the budget deficit increased upsetting the promised balance between government spending and incomes in the near future.

The concept of "sound", balanced state finances remains an utopia and the growth of budget

deficits constitutes a regular feature of the capitalist economy. At the same time, the tough course for maintaining a stable growth of monetary means led to an unprecedented rise in interest rates which seriously impedes investment growth. Unemployment has spiralled, intensifying social contradictions and mass discontent.

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Despite the crisis of Keynesianism, this theory continues to remain the ideological and theoretical platform of liberal bourgeois reformism, while its leftist varieties provide the basis for social-democratic reformism. The reformist circles in capitalist countries are in no hurry to scrap the Keynesian theory. They are refurbishing it and seeking new forms of its synthesis with other trends in bourgeois political economy.

Thus, the liberal and, especially, radical reformist programmes of "improvement" or expansion of state economic interference contain theoretical ideas and practical recommendations of Keynesianism. They reflect today's requirements of state-monopoly capitalism, which is trying to alleviate class antagonisms and limit competition and the anarchy of production with the help of the active state regulation of the economy.

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# "PSYCHOPOLICY": MEANING AND IMPLICATIONS

by Sergei ROSHCIN

*"Psychopolicy" is a course adopted by US authorities with two intertwined spheres of application. First, it is a system of measures designed to sustain and improve the mental health of the population; second, it stands for the methods and means used in psychiatry and psychology to resolve the acute political problems besetting American society. Both these aspects of "psychopolicy" are outlined below.*

## TERMS OF REFERENCE

In the view of US specialists the question of the mental health of the American people has assumed the magnitude of an acute and complicated problem. The following statistics were cited by G. W. Albee, a psychologist at Vermont University. He reported that according to the results obtained in a series of studies, between 32-34 million Americans (15 per cent of the entire population) form a constant group of people suffering from "emotional disturbances". This includes people suffering from functional psychoses, persons who cannot live and work normally because of

acute neurotic anxiety, chronic mental depression, etc. The entire network of medical institutions including mental hospitals, clinics and private doctors, Albee stresses, is capable of treating no more than seven million patients each year. Thus, 25-27 million people needing medical attention cannot get it. The said figures do not fully illustrate the real state of affairs because, Albee adds, besides the stable group of patients there are always a large number of Americans succumbing to emotional and mental disorders due to "traumatic" factors or events among which the loss of one's job stands foremost.

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Even more impressive figures attesting to the wide incidence of mental diseases in the USA and to the inadequacy of medical assistance in this field are cited by a group of US specialists in their book "Mental Illness in the United States: Epidemiological Estimates", published in 1980. They say that 16 to 25 per cent of the US adult population aged between 20 and 65 suffer from various mental disorders. One should add to this number at least 12 per cent of all school-age children and 18-24.5 per cent of sick persons over the age of sixty. The authors point out that roughly forty per cent of psychic cases never get medical attention. The most alarming conclusion they arrive at is that the statistics of psychic disorders have been rising steadily in the USA. This is not surprising because the principal factors causing such illnesses are part and parcel of the capitalist economic and social system. Economic recessions and the attendant unemployment are the main source swelling the numbers of patients in mental hospitals. In this respect, married men aged between 30 and 65, well-educated and receiving

## "THE DOCTOR KNOWS BEST"

The essence of the other aspect of "psychopolicy" lies in using psychiatry and psychology for reaching ideological and political objectives. All too often members of these humane professions are reduced to a posi-

decent wages constitute the most vulnerable group. A sudden loss of work puts them in a state of acute mental stress which often brings on psychic and organic illnesses.

The American psychiatrists and psychologists who perfectly realize this state of affairs propose remedial measures which are impossible to effect in capitalist society. Some of them, for instance, invite psychologists and psychiatrists to "give attention" to society's cardinal economic and political problems. Others urge the implementation of a wide-ranging and costly social reform to remove the "dehumanizing influences". Still others believe that in order to do away with the evil of maladjustment to the social environment it is necessary to abolish the capitalist socio-economic system itself. This is the problem which the American psychiatrists and psychologists are powerless to resolve.

The current US Administration has clearly shown where it stands in this matter by slashing expenditures on social and health-care needs, including research in the field of psychology and psychiatry.

tion of "educators" and judges and prison warders. This happens when ostensibly health-protection measures have a camouflaged ideological and/or political thrust.

Way back in 1963, T. Czazs, a well-known psychiatrist, in his book "Law, Liberty and Psychiatry" laid open the sinister essence of what he termed the "therapeutic state" in which problems of ideology and policy were resolved with the aid of psychiatry. Already then, in his opinion, the USA was well on the way to becoming a "therapeutic state". On the plea that "the doctor knows best" it was ready and willing to force "patients" to undergo "treatment" against their will.

Theoretical premises have been defined for the discharge of such specific functions by psychiatry and clinical psychology. They amount to the principle of "laying the blame on the victim". In other words: if a person is sick, poor, jobless, feels lonely and unhappy he alone is to blame as this shows his "defectiveness". Society and the socio-economic conditions which are thrust upon the individual have no bearing upon his plight. The principle of "laying the blame on the victim" is not by far always manifested absolutely being accompanied by protestations of "concern", high-flown "charitable" talk, and good wishes; this, however, does not alter anything in a person's condition.

Another theoretical premise is tied in with the above principle, namely a "clinical" approach to assessing a person's behaviour. This means that any deviations in an individual's behaviour from the "standards"

of American society (and these are the standards of the so-called middle class) are equated with psychic illness. In other words, a schizophrenic, and a drug-addict, a criminal and a civil-rights fighter are included in the same group of persons with a deviationist behaviour. It is not accidental that back in 1972 the idea was mooted to create a centre for identifying potential criminals from among those who had not committed any crimes, including children. This scientifically invalid project was approved by Ronald Reagan, then the Governor of California.

This idea has many supporters who are guided by it both in the theory and practice of social studies. One example will suffice. A tidal wave of mass action by youth and students against the Vietnam war and in defence of civil rights swept the United States in the 1960s. Concerned authorities turned for help to psychologists and psychiatrists in the hope of finding an explanation for these actions and developing a means of fighting and neutralizing them.

Quite naturally, it was students with progressive and leftist views that were targeted as "guinea pigs" inasmuch as reactionaries were accepted as normal by the US Administration. After summing up the findings of the studies it was found that most "scientists" had sought the causes of youth unrest anywhere but in the social and po-

litical situation in the country. However, some scientists, R. Flaks, for one, said straight-away that the youth actions were a reaction to the Administration's imperialist militaristic policy.

The role of psychologists and psychiatrists in the USA is not limited to "clinical" explanations of political phenomena. Today they are called upon to go beyond treating the sick and get down to training healthy people in the art of living. Of course, there is nothing bad in the idea of aiding people in good health who may find themselves in a predicament one day. Psychologists and psychiatrists can be of good service here. The point is, however, that we are dealing not with isolated cases of psychic personal troubles but with conditioning people to the unjust social conditions existing in present-day America and causing difficulties which turn people into "victims".

A law passed in 1963 gave the go-ahead for a network of mental health centres to be set up in the USA. One centre was to cater for counties with populations ranging from 75,000 to 200,000. By the early eighties the number of such centres had topped 700. Originally, the centres were to give all kinds of aid to persons suffering from emotional or mental disorders. However, already towards 1966, according to psychologist I. Iscoe, a shift from the "classical psychopathological models" to "life

problems" and "vigorous social action" was noted. Whole population groups, above all the lower and underprivileged strata, began to be viewed as "cases" for psychologists and psychiatrists. The aim was to develop "competent communities" capable of dealing with their socio-economic problems. In practice this meant conditioning the poor to submissively accept their poverty, the jobless to reconcile themselves to their plight, the slum-dwellers—to put up with their substandard living conditions. Critically-minded American scientists believe that the social action strategy is politically motivated rather than a serious attempt at changing the social conditions. Whatever the model used—medical or any other—its starting point is blaming a victim for his plight while in actual fact the problems are rooted in the social system. To put it simply: the laying of the blame upon the victim means a psychologist's interference in order to adjust the individual to the existing conditions which are responsible for his being a victim. If such people were provided with jobs and normal housing this would do more for their mental health than the mental health centres. The latter have been expanding. Considering their socio-political function and for want of psychiatrists and psychologists, they enlist the services of clergymen and middle-class specially trained housewives.

Besides, a number of centres for "intervening in critical situations" were set up in the 1970s. They were organized on the basis of the "suicide-prevention centres" but have more extensive functions. "Critical situations" include a wide range of phenomena—from a family quarrel all the way to street

#### FORCED TREATMENT

These features are even more conspicuous in the sphere of "psychopolicy" in which psychiatry is used as a method of social control and coercion. We mean people confined to mental hospitals for forced therapy. In the USA, notorious for its high crime rates, prisons are never vacant. Yet, the number of persons imprisoned without charges four times exceeds that of the convicted criminals. Professor N. Kittrie, LL.D., writes that the "therapeutic state", when justifying the practice of forcibly confining people to mental hospitals, proclaims more "humane" principles than those in criminal law and promises to be more flexible in controlling "anti-social behaviour." In actual fact, this "humanity" and "flexibility" means trampling upon the basic constitutional rights of US citizens. The point is that the forced "treatment" suits the authorities down to the ground because it enables them to circumvent standard legal procedures and makes a person absolutely helpless, by denying him the right to explain things, to

disturbances. No wonder, the centres operate in close contact with the police. Psychologists have written books on work with the police, and for the police, and have even co-authored books with police officers. Thus, in the USA, the outlines of the "therapeutic state" are clearly discerned.

justify himself and secure legal assistance. C. W. Offir, D.Sc. (Psychology), says that if anyone intends to clap you into a mental hospital you are up against serious problems. In many states you may be denied some, or most, legitimate rights which are normally guaranteed to criminals, including the right to legal advice, to a trial by jury, the right to invite independent experts, the right to a trial in accordance with generally-accepted rules and procedure. C. W. Offir collected a large amount of data illustrating the state of affairs in a number of mental hospitals in the USA, including information on patients that underwent forced treatment there. She reported truly appalling facts which had come to light only after a series of official and independent investigations, after inmates managed to make their plight known to the public. To begin with, under US laws persons undergoing forced treatment have a constitutional right to both medical treatment and a guaranteed exercise of their civil

rights. But what kind of medical treatment could be administered, for instance, in a mental hospital in the State of Alabama where there was only one doctor "with a degree of psychiatric training" per 5,000 (1) patients. Instead of medical treatment patients there were subjected to beatings, solitary confinement and violence.

In 1971, upon an inquiry into the state of affairs in St. Elizabeth hospital, Washington, a medical panel established that 68 per cent of all patients did not have any behavioral deviations; nevertheless, some two thousand persons were sent later there annually for compulsory therapy. The inmates of such hospitals are the poor, Black Americans, and people from other "underprivileged" strata. Black Americans are pronounced mentally sick disproportionately more often than whites and are placed in mental hospitals although there is no evidence that mental diseases are more widespread among them than among the whites. In 1969 there were over 540 persons aged between 25 and 44 confined to mental hospitals per 100,000 white Americans; the respective figure for Black Americans was 1,185. This well illustrates the "flexibility" of the "therapeutic state" in "controlling anti-social behaviour".

A leading trend in American psychological science is radical behaviorism propounded by B. F. Skinner. It regards man

not as a being endowed with a consciousness that distinguishes him from animals, and with the ability to objectively cognize the world and its laws, and to consciously build his life on this basis, but as a creature motivated by a sum total of habits and customary forms of behaviour which develop mechanically, like conditioned reflexes. For instance, if an action repeated several times enables a person to meet one of his needs this action becomes for him a customary form of behaviour which is repeated automatically under similar conditions in the future. Thus, according to Skinner, this action receives a "positive reinforcement". And, contrarywise, if an action has undesirable or unpleasant consequences for the doer it is not reinforced and does not become a customary form of behaviour. Such concepts inseparably bound up with man and his life in society as consciousness, high ideals, conscience, honour, love, dignity, liberty, democracy, etc. are simply dismissed as far-fetched since, Skinner says, all that these concepts mean simply does not exist. There are only customary forms of behaviour—and nothing else.

On the strength of the behaviorist ideas Skinner suggested a programme for restructuring society by means of so-called "pre-programmed culture". This programme boils down to the provision of living conditions under which men will

automatically, contrary to their will and wishes, adopt only those customary ways of behaviour which are suitable, acceptable and profitable to capitalist society. In other words, citizens of a "new" society must

#### "ORDINARY" FASCISM!

Despite the unscientific nature of these ideas reactionary bourgeois ideologists have seized upon them as an "alternative to contemporary Marxism." In justice to most Western and American psychologists, philosophers and sociologists it should be noted that they have vehemently repudiated "pre-programmed culture".

Nevertheless, these concepts have provided the basis for the behaviour modification method which has now gained wide currency in the USA. This method is easy to understand in comparison with the training of animals: desirable acts and actions are encouraged while objectionable ones are punished. This idea of Skinner's has long been implemented in some capitalist countries in the practice of bans on professions. Its first and foremost victims are Communists, trade union activists and other fighters against the injustices of capitalist society.

Behavioral modification was used initially in mental hospitals, then in reformatories, child-care centres and schools and later, the question was mooted of applying this method in all areas of American social life.

in no way be different from pre-programmed robots. This, Skinner asserts, will do away with revolutions, class and national liberation struggle. All that is needed is a "technology for controlling human behaviour."

This method has gained special notoriety in places of confinement. A special US commission looking into the matter published its report in 1977. It was formed in response to numerous reports saying that experiments were made on humans and, more particularly, on prisoners either without their consent or with their enforced "consent". Even though the commission was composed of government officials and, so, was reluctant to expose civil rights violations in the country it was obliged to admit numerous unseemly facts. It will be recalled that after World War II, when atrocities perpetrated by Nazi "researchers" in concentration camps came to the knowledge of the world public, the Nuremberg code was adopted prohibiting experiments on persons who are denied the right to voluntarily consent to them. This code was signed by the USA, among other countries. The commission was obliged to admit that US authorities had systematically violated the provisions of this international document.

With respect to the experiments conducted by psychiatrists and psychologists, the com-

mission noted that their purpose was to rectify aggressive behaviour using electroshock or discomfiting drugs, and to modify behaviour when inmates were deprived of their basic rights which they had to "earn" later by behaving "correctly". Extreme cases of research or corrective practices were castration for rapists and psychosurgery for cases of uncontrollable aggressiveness.

It is important to note that all sorts of "corrective" procedures including psychosurgery (operations on the brain) have been carried out by decision of prison authorities and a prison psychiatrist, in contravention of elementary rules of law and medical ethics. Therefore, anyone, political prisoners above all, could be subjected to such operations.

As a rule, behavioral modification is supplemented by "aversion therapy". An inmate guilty of the slightest infringement is administered "corrective" drugs causing, for instance,

respiratory failure for several minutes which induces a desperate fear of death for the person is really dying, or drugs causing long-lasting persistent vomiting.

But the main thing is that prisons can be made into "proving grounds" for trying out methods of social control and coercion. "Specialists" adopt not only behavioral modification techniques including "encouragements" but many other means and methods for influencing the mind and behaviour developed by modern psychiatry and psychology for controlling the behaviour of citizens with the aid of psychotherapy, hypnosis, forcible administering of drugs, electroshock and even implantation of microelectrodes into the brain in order to stimulate its particular regions and induce "needed" states, moods and conditions.

So much for the two facets of the "psychopolicy" now part and parcel of the American way of life.

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## "HUMANIZATION OF LABOUR" OR INTENSIFIED EXPLOITATION?

*"Humanization of labour", "sincere concern for the interests of the working people", "mutually advantageous cooperation between factory owners and workers" ... This is how Western economists and sociologists appraise the new forms of the organization of labour and production processes at the enterprises of General Motors, Mitsubishi Electric, Volvo and other monopolistic corporations. Below is what Vladimir LIZUN, Cand.Sc. (Economics), has to say on it.*

Under debate most of all now is, perhaps, what they call "short assembly lines" serviced by small, semi-autonomous teams (6-7 men on each). As distinct from the traditional line, each team-mate here does not perform one but several operations. The team is thus concerned with fulfilling a whole set of operations in assembling, say, a large unit or block. Its members have a measure of independence: for instance, they take on functions involving technical servicing of equipment or quality control. Sometimes they are allowed to portion out their earnings or even share in hiring new workers.

At first glance the new methods differ a great deal from the traditional forms of using hired labour whereupon a worker becomes a living appendage of conveyer-belt operation. The more so since labour processes in semi-autonomous teams are maximally relieved of routine, monotonous and mechanical operations. In

reality, however, all these novelties are of little advantage to the worker.

Even though the labour operations they do become more attractive and meaningful, their intensity noticeably grows, as a rule. This is precisely the conclusion arrived at by experts who surveyed the situation at the French Renault plants where semi-autonomous teams are widespread. As has been established, the assembly workers of these enterprises are much more overstrained physically and mentally as they fulfil ten times more operations while being in motion all the time and closely watching all sequences of these operations. According to a poll taken by Japan's metallurgical trade union, almost 90 per cent of the workers declared that their work had become much more difficult in recent years, and physical, nervous and psychological strains had increased considerably.

As for the factory owners, they derive more profits from the new

forms of labour organization. For instance, at an electrical gadgets plant of Japan's Mitsubishi Electric, it has become possible with the setting up of semi-autonomous teams, to raise per worker productivity to 50 per cent, with a substantial decrease in substandard output. Specialists calculated that the average resulting cut in overheads is not less than 20 per cent.

"Humanization of labour" thus plays into the hands of monopolists who have devised a tricky method of intensifying the exploitation of hired labour with the help of factory and office workers themselves.

Things are much the same with the introduction of a four-day working week and the sliding work shifts. This arrangement enables factory and office workers to independently set the duration of their work time within the generally fixed number of working hours, of course. On the one hand, they obviously stand to gain benefits from it—they can have an additional day-off, plan a working day more flexibly, skip transport rush hours, etc. But the factory owner gets much more benefits.

Take, for example, a four-day working week. Expert surveys indicate that its introduction has enabled monopolies to substantially reduce losses for "non-production" reasons. If a person working a four-day week falls ill he is not likely to take his sick leave as materially he loses much more from missing a ten-hour working day than an eight-hour one. It is no accident, therefore, that many American trade unions are opposed to a four-day working week.

Equally advantageous for monopolies are the sliding shifts which enable owners to maximally intensify labour processes by "graciously" allowing factory and office workers to choose the worktimes best suiting them. Thanks to such intensification, the time wasted on "getting set", loafing around, idle talk, etc., is eliminated. In this way US General

Motors has been able to raise labour productivity by 30 per cent. In the FRG, there has been a 15-70 per cent decrease in work shirking at firms applying the new method, and manpower turnover dropped by 15-40 per cent.

Also factory owners take advantage of state allocations for "humanization of labour" projects. In the FRG, for instance, the bulk of these funds is used to set up automated and highly mechanized production sections where labour is highly intensive. And only insignificant means are used to lighten working conditions.

Even when these conditions become more "humane", workers themselves benefit but little from it. Just the reverse. Under all sorts of plausible excuses monopolists reduce wages. This is exactly what has been done by the West German firm Daimler-Benz after it modernized its plant in Untertürkheim. The workers' monthly earnings were reduced by 160 marks, the pretext being a cut in the harmful effect produced upon them by much noise and pollutants, even though their labour intensity has increased considerably due to the technical modernization.

Incidentally, in the early 1980s the factory owners began to take less interest in effecting "humanization of labour" projects. During the capitalist economic slump—the biggest in the postwar years—corporate bosses are not inclined to risk, preferring the traditional methods of exploiting hired labour. According to American specialist estimations, 95 per cent of businesses in the USA do not accept a humanistic managerial philosophy, they want no changes and choose to remain "authoritarian". A similar picture can be observed in other capitalist countries.

(APN)

## REAL SOCIALISM: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Ideological struggle around the key problems of the theory and practice of socialism has sharpened in recent years. The "crusade" proclaimed by US imperialism against the socialist countries set off an outbreak of activity on the part of the bourgeois propaganda machine. The Western mass media have zealously thought up all sorts of "ideas" about "socialism's dead alleys", "failure of the Soviet experiment" and "crisis of Marxism-Leninism".

Such slanderous allegations pursue far-reaching aims. Participating in the modern stage of the world revolutionary process, besides the fighters from among the working class ranks, are millions of people with a non-proletarian background, i.e., sections of the population whose class consciousness is not yet completely developed. Proponents of imperialism are seeking to distort in these people's eyes the image of socialism, its ideas, principles and achievements.

In the fight for people's minds and hearts the truth about socialism is an effective

weapon. This is the truth about what socialism gives to the working masses, what its advantages and real gains are, and what difficulties and problems occur in its path. This is exactly what gives rise to a variety of falsehoods being spread in the West. All the more pressing, therefore, is the need for a profound and substantiated analysis of those questions of the theory and practice of socialism on which its ideological foes concentrate their attention.

Extensive work to this end has been carried out by the eminent Soviet scholar Anatoly Butenko, D. Sc. (Philosophy), author of a number of basic works on the problems of the new society. These include *Socialism as a Social System*, *Political Organization of Society under Socialism*, *The Socialist Mode of Life. Problems and Judgements*.

Particularly relevant is his latest work<sup>1</sup> answering questions frequently raised in letters

<sup>1</sup> A. Butenko. *Theory and Practice of Real Socialism: Questions and Answers*, APN Publishing House, 1983.

of foreign readers. The author does not shirk the burning questions posed by socialism's supporters and opponents alike. Neither does he evade issues still being debated by Communists in different countries. This book is a kind of friendly dialogue with those whose vision of the achievements and problems of real socialism is rather hazy and incorrect. It also gives a well-argued rebuff to those who deliberately try to blacken the new social system.

To begin with, A. Butenko discusses the essence of real socialism, stages of its development, political and economic foundations, objectives and perspectives. The concluding part of the book is devoted to the international aspects of real socialism and its foreign policy.

This A. Butenko's work covers a wide range of topics and offers the reader extensive material for conclusions, comparisons and reflection.

Analyzing the initial and present stage in the development of the socialist formation the author refers to the statement of the June (1983) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which described the stage of developed socialism in the following words: "This is a society in which an economic base, social structure and political system in line with socialist principles have already been fully created, in which socialism, as it is customary to say, develops on its own, collectivist basis.

"All this, of course, does not mean that the society we have created can be regarded as perfect. It still has many objectively determined difficulties which are natural for the present level of development. There also are quite a few shortcomings caused by subjective reasons, by the not always skilful and organized work of people."

Some causes of difficulties and shortcomings are explained in those sections of the book where the stages of the construction of the new society, contradictions of socialism, are discussed.

Much prominence in the book is given to elucidating the essence of the social system based on public ownership of the tools and means of production, that rules out exploitation of man by man. Real socialism is a more progressive level of the development of civilization—a system replacing capitalism and pre-capitalist forms of production by way of revolution. It is a system of production, socio-political, cultural and ideological conditions and relations aimed at meeting the basic interests of the working people.

It should not be forgotten, the author points out justifiably, that the concept "socialism" is widely used not only by Marxists, but also social-reformists and revisionists ("democratic socialism", "humane socialism", "socialism with a human face", etc.) as well as by revolutionary democrats and other political leaders ("African socialism",



"Arab socialism", etc.). Today, the socialist label is fastened, as often as not, to widely diverging processes and social phenomena. Some of them are invested with a definite progressive content. Others are as different from socialism as chalk from cheese. Therefore, the new concept of real socialism acquires a definite meaning. Obviously it is not concerned with a theory, but with the tangible social system that has taken shape and is developing in the countries of the world socialist system, with all its common features and daily problems.

After socialism has turned from a theory into a reality debates do not subside around the question: Are different models and forms of socialism recognized in Marxism?

According to bourgeois theorists, socialism is not uniform but pluralist: there exist a multitude of its models—Soviet, Cuban, Czechoslovak, Polish, West European, while the Soviet Communists do not want to reckon with the national distinctions of countries and are seeking generally to impose their conception and their "model" of socialism.

In this connection A. Butenko writes:

"Two alternative recommendations and a very definite purpose show through this line of thought. The Communists should either recognize the 'pluralist' character of Marxism and socialism or, conversely,

have all the countries slavishly copy one model. In the former case, the purpose is to open the way to a denial of the universal character of Marxism-Leninism, to an acceptance of 'local Marxisms', to a vindication of 'local', 'liberal', 'market' and other 'socialisms'. In the latter case, the purpose is to get the Communists to proclaim their absolute disregard of local conditions in individual countries, which must result in the failure of socialist development and, therefore, in a revival of nationalist elements and anti-Soviet sentiments. It has long been known that the latter are encouraged under the pretext of fighting the 'dogmatic copying' of Soviet experience'.

... "This alternative is far-fetched. Marxism-Leninism rejects equally plurality in socialist theory and practice and a nihilistic attitude to national differences. ... Each country's road to socialism is a blend of the *general*, the *particular*, and the *individual*. ... Marxists-Leninists maintain that there is only one *scientific model of socialism*, common to all countries. It is the logical conception of socialist society... produced on the basis of the knowledge of the objective laws to which the transformation of capitalism into socialism is subject, and containing the key characteristics of the new society." It provides blueprints for a concrete programme of action which in each country has its specific features.

Through the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, each Communist Party elaborates in its programmatic documents its own approach to building socialism, applicable to the specific conditions of the given country.

The author's reflections on the forms and "deformations of socialism" are meaningful and relevant, especially in connection with the 1980-1981 events in Poland. "The form of socialism is the inner organization, derived from uniform features and principles, of socialist society in a country with its distinctive features of material production, specific structure of social—above all, economic and socio-political—relations, its characteristic system of national economic management and methods of economic development, the forms of its political organization, the features of the social psychology, culture, way of life, and so on."

But what is the meaning of "deformations of socialism"? This notion appeared in recent documents of Communist parties. Against the background of the political and economic crisis in Poland, the 6th Plenary Meeting of the PUWP Central Committee appealed for "guarantees to be found to 'rule out in the future any deformation of social and economic policy and the emergence of crises'".

"Facts must be taken for what they are," notes A. Butenko denouncing a stereotyped and dogmatic approach to the

complex phenomena of modern times. Miscalculations and errors, that brought about crisis situations, took place in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1967-1968. The then documents of the CPC spoke of "deformation of socialism".

The author of the book defines deformation of socialism as "a development alien to the nature of socialism which may occur when the new society is being built, if its principles are twisted and the very essence of socialism distorted. It occurs when other principles and methods are substituted for the principles of socialism and socialist methods of the operation and development of certain aspects of social life. When, for example, the public ownership of the means of production is replaced by state bureaucracy or group ownership alienated from the people; when planned development is replaced by uncontrolled development; when democratic centralism is replaced by bureaucratic or anarchic decentralism".

The vast spectrum of problems debated in the book enables the author to disclose the false essence of many propaganda stereotypes the bourgeois media are zealously implanting in the consciousness of the masses. These include, among other things, some false propositions having wide currency in the West that Communists allegedly visualize only one method of transition to socialism—through armed struggle and bloodshed,

or that they are "cold war" advocates, for while coming out for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems they also insist on continuing ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism, and that their call for peaceful coexistence is nothing but a tactical ruse. Relying on irrefutable facts and numerous examples borrowed from the practice of real socialism, the Soviet philosopher convincingly proves the groundlessness of these and other bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of Marxism-Leninism and the latter's concrete materialization.

The book is above all for those who sincerely wish to sort out the complex social developments. Written vividly, in the form of questions and answers, it helps many readers to comprehend these developments and invites them to a meaningful dialogue about present-day vital issues connected with the struggle for democracy and socialism, peace and understanding among nations. It is to be hoped that this work will be of use to those who desire consciously to participate in this struggle.

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