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STP

The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

**"Limited nuclear war"—a
global catastrophe •**

**The impasse of "information
society" •**

**Peace problems: criticism of
non-socialist concepts •**

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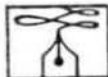
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LETTERS READERS'



I came across your publications on various aspects of life in the USSR—your policy, the national economy, etc.—during a trip around your country. I found them all interesting and instructive. These publications have given me and my friends a better idea of your country and fuller and more truthful information about it than the mass media in our country gives us.

Mauro Rubello,
Italy

I have read several of your publications and now realize that the USSR is a peace-loving power and that the Russians are following the path indicated by Marx. I would like to know as much about your country as possible.

Shoji Hiroasaki,
aged 20, Japan

I enjoy reading your publications because they contain truthful information. They are a fount of knowledge about socialism, they teach us how to fight against exploitation, imperialism and colonialism. Your publications contain many interesting facts about the history of the USSR and relationships between the Soviet Union and developing countries.

Mramba Simba,
Tanzania

●
Address:

STP Editorial Office,
APN Publishing House,
7, Bolshaya Pochtovaya Street,
Moscow 107082,
USSR

"LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR"— A GLOBAL SUICIDE STRATEGY

by Vadim KORTUNOV

The "limited nuclear war" doctrine occupies a special place amongst the numerous military theories widely current in the USA. US strategists work overtime to impress upon the peoples the idea that nuclear war is not only permissible but also inevitable and natural. US propaganda plays down the real danger posed by the nuclear catastrophe, its scale and aftermath, and tries to convince the public that the "limited nuclear war" is not fatal, as some people predict.

"FIRST STRIKE" STRATEGY

The "limited nuclear war" doctrine reflects the striving of the aggressive circles of American imperialism to efface at all costs the borderline separating conventional and nuclear wars and make nuclear blackmail a permanent factor of their foreign policy. It is alleged that the scope and outcome of a nuclear conflict can be controlled either by means of different military doctrines or through the use of special types of weapons. In reality, any aggressive doctrine inevitably requires further refinement of arms. The arms, for their part, lead to modifications in the military doctrine, adding to its adventurism. The two factors inevitably enhance and stimulate each other.

Washington's military concepts, including those of "massive retaliation", "flexible response", "realistic deter-

● V. KORTUNOV, D.Sc. (History), is an authority on international relations and author of the books *Ideology and Policy* (Moscow, Politizdat, 1974), *Communism and Anti-Communism in the Contemporary World*, (Moscow, Politizdat, 1978), etc.

rent" and "direct confrontation" all have a clearly intensified anti-Soviet thrust and pose the mounting threat of hegemonistic encroachments upon other countries and peoples. The escalation of US aggressiveness is accompanied by a feverish development of ever more destructive weapons of all types, and of various delivery vehicles.

The Pentagon war hawks claim that the greater the diversity of the weaponry in the arsenals of the armed forces, the wider the scope for selecting weaponry and defining the character of nuclear war. They harp on the idea that nuclear weapons are hardly different from conventional ones and that their use is quite permissible both in a global and a limited war.

It is important to note that while putting forward its "limited nuclear war doctrine" the USA never once stopped its preparations for a global war always according precedence to the development of first-strike weapons. Hence, it is clear that the "limited nuclear war" is viewed by US strategists as an intermediate stage. A large-scale clash with the employment of nuclear missiles and, indeed, all weapons of mass destruction, is not excluded at all but for the time being is regarded as a "standby" and a means of pressurizing the enemy.

Towards the close of his term in the White House in 1980, President J. Carter issued Presidential Directive 59. It contained a number of new elements. For instance, it expressly oriented the armed forces towards launching the first disarming attack with the use of not only strategic but also Eurostrategic weapons, i.e., the US medium-range missiles sited in Western Europe.

In keeping with this document the "limited nuclear war" scenario envisioned the delivery of a surprise strike by the strategic offensive forces with the main aim of wiping out the potential enemy's strategic nuclear and other capability, of making a retaliatory attack or, failing that, diminishing its strength to the minimum. There is no doubt that the stake is put on a first-strike attack.

To achieve the projected goals it is, naturally, necessary to have the appropriate capability. For this the nuclear arsenal for waging a global war is not suitable. The development of first-strike weapons began in the USA as early as the first half of the 1970s, in step with the theoretical elaboration of the "limited nuclear war" concept. These efforts were further intensified in the second half of the 1970s. The Reagan Administration gave them truly unprecedented scope. Special attention is being given to such

systems as the MX intercontinental strategic missile, Trident-2, the new MK-12a warhead whose yield and accuracy are double that of the phased-out MK-12 warhead, and the cruise missiles. These systems and also the Pershing missiles deployed in Europe are all first-strike weapons.

The buildup of this "counterforce" capability, as it is dubbed in the USA, is depicted by US military experts as a way, found at long last, of breaking out of the nuclear parity "deadlock", as a possibility of using nuclear war as an instrument for solving political problems. It is claimed that the damage to be inflicted by a "counterforce" war will not be that great because military facilities alone will be destroyed while cities and other population centres will be spared. Consequently, these experts hold, the loss of life will not be excessive.

But this can only deceive those who want to be deceived. Most specialists agree that even in the event of a nuclear duel being conducted with the utmost accuracy and confined to military targets, millions of people would still be killed, vast sectors of civilian life would be disrupted while the radiation effects would be catastrophic.

The main thing is that there are no guarantees that a nuclear war can be kept within certain limits. On the contrary, there is every reason for believing that nuclear weapons so unlimited in their destructive force exclude a "limited" war. Unlimited in their destructive force, in the delivery means, and in their unpredictable aftereffects, nuclear weapons develop their own logic incompatible with the concepts of moderation and rationality. In this sense, they represent a kind of crowning point in the long evolution of the armed forces and war itself as a social phenomenon, in the evolution of war from the times when it was more or less controllable to the present time when it is absolutely beyond control.

In this epoch of nuclear missiles when war can engulf the earth, the seas, the air and outer space, when a nuclear strike can be delivered from any point on land, in the world ocean or in the stratosphere against any target wherever it is, when the entire globe can become the theatre of combat operations, with electronic computers replacing humans at the panels controlling war operations, man can totally lose control over destructive weapons.

In the face of these factors we would assume the incredible to believe in the possibility of a "limited nuclear war". To convince ourselves that the means of destruction which people were unable to keep confined in

the arsenals might, in some mysterious way, be controlled on the battlefields, with the world in chaos, is the height of absurdity. It is a wild hope that political leaders who could not come to terms and avoid a war would, all of a sudden, display common sense and prevent it from spreading worldwide. Can there be a guarantee, for instance, that US imperialism will not employ even more powerful weapons on discovering that it is losing its "counterforce" or "limited" war?

We should also bear in mind the following: the very idea of a "minor", "limited" nuclear war in any form, either "lightning" or "protracted", effaces the borderline between conventional and nuclear war because it objectively lowers the "nuclear threshold". The danger of a world catastrophe thereby becomes more real.

The contemporary variant of the counterforce strategy also reduces the "nuclear threshold" for the illusion that nuclear weapons can be effectively used against the enemy's military targets without heavy losses and can reduce the possibility of a mass retaliatory strike may only encourage the aggressor.

It is impossible to keep nuclear war within any pre-arranged limits. USSR Defence Minister Dmitry Ustinov noted in this connection: "Can one seriously discuss the possibility of a limited nuclear war? It is clear to all and everyone that the aggressor's actions will inevitably and immediately incur a devastating retaliatory blow from the side subjected to aggression. Only absolutely irresponsible people can claim that nuclear war may be waged according to some rules worked out in advance whereby nuclear missiles should explode, "under a gentlemen's agreement", exclusively over definite targets, without hitting the population".

Attempting to camouflage the aggressive essence of the thesis on the possibility of nuclear war, the US ruling circles interpret it as a deterrence concept. The very idea of "minor" or "limited" nuclear war obviously oversteps the confines of deterrence. Its aggressive essence is exposed by the fact that it is an instrument of a first-strike and not of a retaliatory strike strategy. Not a single military expert worthy of the name has any doubt that a first-strike strategy, even if pursued with the use of a super-accurate and super-modern "counterforce" capability, is senseless from the military standpoint. It would be absurd to assume that the side confronting the United States could agree

to some "rules of the game" suiting only the aggressor. The first strike will incur a devastating counter-strike.

IMPERIAL AMBITIONS

It would be wrong to think that the advocates of a "limited nuclear war" in Washington ignore the obvious fact that the hypothetical exchange of nuclear strikes (even if we, for a moment, assume this to be a "limited" variant of the counterforce strategy) will be fatal for the USA. This is precisely the main consideration behind the strenuous efforts being made by the Reagan Administration to save the United States from being a battleground in the potential nuclear war and fight it out in countries situated far away, to have its epicentre in Europe, or in the Indian Ocean area, or in the Far East, or elsewhere.

US strategists clearly give priority to Europe in this respect, and for obvious reasons. On the European continent NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the two most powerful military-political groupings, directly confront each other, and the demarcation lines between them coincide with their respective national borders. The Pentagon generals suppose, to all appearances, that it is from this area that they could inflict the most telling blow upon the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Guided by this consideration, Washington has been trying hard to place its latest strategic medium-range weapon systems as close to the borders of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as possible. By deploying Pershing-2 and Tomahawk missiles in the FRG and a number of other West European states the US seeks to alter the strategic situation on the European continent, to the detriment of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Attempts are being made in the NATO circles to make believe that this "complementary armament" decision stems from the need to modernize the nuclear arsenal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the "European theatre of war operations", allegedly, in the face of the military superiority of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO). This is a downright lie. By the eighties there had developed rough parity in Europe between NATO and the WTO in the number of medium-range weapons (about 1,000 units on each side). Therefore, the siting of new Eurostrategic missiles purports to tilt the balance of forces in Europe in favour of NATO.

The deployment of US ground-based high-accuracy nuc-

lear weapons close to the borders of the USSR and the other European socialist countries means a drastic change in the strategic situation in Europe. For it is one thing to launch intercontinental strategic missiles from US territory which can only reach their targets within 25 to 30 minutes permitting the other side to take retaliatory action, and another — to launch missiles from Western Europe which can reach their targets within 4 to 6 minutes. This, the US strategists believe, deprives the potential enemy of the possibility to retaliate. Thus, the placing of medium-range nuclear missile weapons in Europe objectively aims at creating in this region a first strike capability for a pre-emptive attack which according to the Pentagon's designs could force the USSR to accept the US capitulation terms or else be the opening shot in a global nuclear war in which the initiative of the first strike and the advantages from it would be on the USA's side.

The deployment of the new US nuclear missiles in Europe is billed as a "new defence concept for Western Europe". It means the ultimate development of NATO's Eurostrategic nuclear forces. Together with the US "theatre" nuclear forces (i.e., with the US forward-based nuclear systems deployed in close proximity to the Warsaw Treaty states) and with its conventional weapons sited in Europe, they are supposed to constitute NATO's modernized "triad" to be employed for waging a Europe-confined war.

Since the Soviet medium-range missiles cannot reach US territory while those of the US sited in Western Europe can hit the nerve centres of the Soviet Union (and so should be regarded as strategic weapons), the Pentagon counts on achieving its global goals at the expense of its European allies. In accordance with the "limited war" variant confined to Europe, war operations are to be conducted without committing the US strategic nuclear forces, i.e., in a way that would prevent a nuclear conflagration spreading to the American continent.

In US specialist literature this is termed "redistribution of risks" within NATO while mass propaganda presents this as "concern for the security of Western Europe". Actuated by these, seemingly purely altruistic considerations the USA is showing truly boundless "generosity". It spares nothing for the sake of its allies and is ready to thrust upon them more and more new-fangled weapons, totally ignoring the will of the peoples.

In the name of West European "security" Washington has obtained Bonn's, London's and Rome's consent to de-

ploy the new US medium-range missiles in their countries. In the name of West European "security" Washington intends to equip NATO's armed forces with neutron weapons. At the same time it contemplates the modernization of conventional weapons so as to increase their fire power and accuracy.

Towards the close of 1982 these designs had emerged in the shape of the Rogers doctrine. (US general B. Rogers is NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe). The doctrine assumes the possibility of a protracted non-nuclear war with the employment of conventional weapons provided they are thoroughly modernized. It does not rule out nuclear war altogether but it emphasizes preparations for a protracted conventional war with the use of the very latest electronic reconnaissance means and aids, novel missiles fitted out with conventional, non-nuclear, warheads having high performance characteristics and capable of hitting enemy troops throughout the whole depth of their positions.

It is clear that the Rogers doctrine envisages a further escalation of the arms race oriented towards a "limited war" in Europe whereby US imperialism expects to achieve the same results as in a "victorious" total nuclear war. President Reagan's statements show that Washington considers this option as quite feasible and preferable inasmuch as it permits the US territory to be spared. Reportedly, the Pentagon means to give more scope to the US commanders of all ranks in employing all types of weapons, including nuclear and chemical weapons, and in determining targets for nuclear and chemical attacks in the event of war.

The US geopolitics experts set their sights beyond Europe. This is evidenced by the Pentagon's air-land battle doctrine. It provides for a substantial modernization of conventional weapons and the first use of all possible weapons (conventional, chemical and nuclear) not only in the European theatre of war operations but worldwide, wherever NATO feels its "vital interests" threatened. The US strategists elaborating the doctrines of "limited nuclear war" and of conventional war with the use of high-technology weapons link them with the escalation of the US military presence "on the periphery", i.e., in the zone of the national liberation movement.

The US policy-makers are assuring the American people that only armed with a "big stick" will the United States be able to retain its role as a great power and that

tomorrow the entire world will be the battleground for America. The task today, it is said, is to secure for the US as many strategic strongholds across the world as possible in order to augment US military strength there. The US ruling circles expect much trouble from the developing countries in the future. They believe, therefore, that military intervention into "crisis situations" that might erupt anywhere over the vast expanses of the developing world will become a major element of their "positions-of-strength" policy in the eighties.

As is known, the US has a great deal of experience in this matter. US combat units were at various times involved in war operations in Korea and Vietnam, in Laos, Lebanon and in the Dominican Republic, and in the military blockade of Cuba. But wherever possible, the US tried to avoid being directly involved in the fighting. Even during the Vietnam war Washington adhered to the Nixon doctrine whereby, relying on reactionary regimes and arming them, the USA could have "Asians fight Asians" and "Africans fight Africans" while itself keeping safe on the sidelines.

Before long, however, the Nixon doctrine proved ineffective because the satellites could no longer be relied upon to introduce "law and order" in their countries so the USA actively stepped in. This does not mean, of course, that Washington has given up its traditional backstage intrigues in the Third World. Far from it. It is safe to say that if the USA had assumed a different stance towards world affairs in general and with respect to some conflicts of our day, there would not have been the slaughter on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the gory days in El Salvador and the armed provocations in southern Africa. Behind all these dramatic events one can easily discern the imperial ambitions of the USA.

The main element of the US current policy towards the developing nations is direct military pressure and aggression, as exemplified by the invasion of Grenada. In this gangster action against a small country mankind has seen that wherever Reagan's America has an advantage of military strength it tramples upon its victim, guided, in so doing, by its hegemonistic ambitions.

Grenada is not an isolated event. There is a direct link between the invasion of Grenada, the occupation of Lebanon, the CIA's undeclared war against Nicaragua, the siting of US missiles in Western Europe, etc. And in all meridians we witness the same reliance upon force and at-

tempts to resolve all international problems by force of arms.

Wherever Washington can bring guns into action it does so without hesitation. But wherever it cannot operate its "gunboat diplomacy", US imperialism aims for military superiority in order to pursue its nuclear blackmail policy threatening with a "limited" or global war.

However, at the contemporary level of development of productive forces, and of science and technology, there is only one feasible way of achieving international security: no war must be waged. No matter what scenarios for a "limited nuclear war" might be produced in the Pentagon, any one of them will be a variety of global catastrophe.

In his speech in Moscow on March 2, 1984 Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, called upon the leaders of the nuclear powers to be guided in their mutual relations by common principles. Formulating their basic content he laid special emphasis on the need to renounce propaganda of nuclear war in any of its variants, either global or limited. This proves the firmness of the position of the CPSU and the Soviet state: nuclear war, small or big, limited or total, must be prevented at all costs.

The nuclear age has drastically altered the concepts of national and international security. Earlier, it was generally held that military superiority was a reliable guarantee of national security; now it is more and more obvious that even a vast military capability in itself cannot guarantee it. If formerly national security was held to be part of regional security, today it is integral to world security. In this day and age relations among states must be balanced and their interests must be considered from the point of view of national security and the security of all mankind.

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No. 4, 1984*

CAPTIVATED BY ILLUSIONS

World Order: Contemporary Concepts

Wars have always inflicted untold hardships upon mankind. No wonder, social thought has been seeking ways to end this evil.

These days the number of different models of the world has been growing fast. Let us briefly examine some of them.

RENOUNCEMENT OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY!

Among the more widespread non-Marxist concepts for solving world problems mention should be made of those concerning the establishment of a "humane world order". One of them is put forward by US sociologists P. and G. Mische who say that the world order based on the principle of state sovereignty is antiquated and has become a strait-jacket preventing further progress of the world community. What do they propose? That to transform this order of things it is above all necessary to renounce the priority of national security. This should be accompanied by a convergence which will, finally, lead to the establishment of a global system of coordinated and long-term planning.

Wishing to avoid accusa-

tions of Utopism, the authors recommend that "humane world order" should be built upon the foundations which have already been laid, utilizing, in particular, the United Nations Organization. They claim that a gradual transfer of some sovereign rights and powers to supranational agencies will not amount to the elimination of national states or their autonomy. They stress that the development of a new international order should be regarded as a transnational process which rules out the imposition of the Western model upon the rest of the world.

How do they visualize the transition to a new world order which will be "neither Western nor Eastern?" It is supposed to come about as the result of a social movement and, later, of the activities of a hypothetical world organization involving the broadest political forces and

population strata of all countries. The establishment of the projected "humane world order" will take place gradually, by three stages: 1) the inculcation into the minds of the common people and their leaders of the idea that an international system of security meets truly national and personal interests; 2) politicization, i.e., drawing of all people and, especially, of the technical and administrative elite, into a movement for changing the existing order; 3) transformation, i.e., the institution of "functional transnational agencies" vested with the requisite powers. Significantly, an important role in the formation and functioning of the new world order is assigned to what is called "true religion" which is free of the drawbacks typical of religions in the past.

Even a brief survey of this model proposed by the US scholars warrants the conclusion that here we deal with a liberal project. In our view, it merits consideration because its authors have brought together into a more or less coherent whole the more common notions current in Western politology and futurology about improving the existing world order in a way they find both feasible and desirable. And, without doubt, the most striking feature of their project is that they ignore the contradictions existing between the two world social systems—the socialist and the capitalist. Thereby, the very process of the revolutionary transformation of the

old society into a new one, which is the main source of all changes occurring in the world, and without which it is impossible to understand the current state of international relations and, even less, the prospects of their development, is actually pushed into the background. Considering the struggle between the two systems "an anachronism of our day" the authors do not take a realistic and sober view of the existing realities. Therefore, their arguments and judgements, interesting in themselves, are illusory because, having been incorporated into an erroneous concept, they can no longer be taken seriously.

Also illusory is the concept of "planning the world" put forward by the West German physicist and philosopher C. Weizsäcker. He believes that the best way of resolving the war-peace issue is to create one world state, which, he admits, will take quite a long time. Therefore, gradual changes in man's consciousness should already now contribute to the development of structures which would permit "using human reason on a world scale".

On closer examination, it turns out that the "world planning" concept presented by the West German theoretician does not offer anything new in comparison with the project propounded by Liberals. It boils down to the following: a) only a world government, the formation of which is now hindered

by racial, national, social and religious contradictions, is capable of delivering mankind from the scourge of war; b) it is, therefore, necessary to work to develop a cosmopolitan mentality in mankind and, in step with the development of this process and relying upon its results, to gradually introduce "world structures" into both economics and politics.

The idea of instituting a world government, initiated by bourgeois ideologists after World War II was designed first and foremost to camouflage massive attacks upon national sovereignty and pave the way for a Pax Americana, a world empire ruled by US corporations.

It would be wrong, of course, to brand all people favouring the institution of a world government as accomplices of US imperialism in its claims to world domination. Many sincerely believe this to be the only way of halting the arms race and of solving other cardinal problems threatening to plunge mankind into disaster. When they are told that the idea of instituting one world government in a world torn by social, national and ideological divisions is utopian, they say: yes, of course, we understand that the project may prove unfeasible and in that case mankind will perish. Either we have a strong world government capable of ending this chaos, or all ties and relationships will break down completely, man will wage war against

man and the human species will cease to exist.

It is worth noting that, in the late 1960s, when detente became distinctly pronounced, there was a marked decline in the "anti-sovereignty" tendencies in much of Western political literature. However, they were revived in the second half of the seventies when the pace of detente slowed down considerably because world reaction began to resist it furiously. Such "seasonal" fluctuations in Western politology under the influence of the winds of political change on the world scene testify to the weakness of its conceptual basis and to the imprecision of its forecasts.

Looking into the crux of the matter, the negation of sovereignty in this day and age, even if motivated by the interests of mankind as a whole, inevitably plays into the hands of reaction and is damaging to the common interests. Today, this is an adventurous scheme, the racing ahead of events, a task posed too early because history has not yet furnished the requisite conditions for accomplishing it.

As F. Engels on this point noted, "To ensure international peace, all avoidable national friction must first be done away with, each people must be independent and the master in its own house."¹ In other words,

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Works* in three volumes, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, vol. 3, p. 377.

far from being renounced, sovereignty must be utilized to the best advantage. In the final count, whatever is done with the voluntary consent of a legitimate supreme authority elected by a people cannot be regarded as an infringement upon its independence. This has been enshrined in hundreds of accords and international instruments and institutions effectively functioning over decades.

Of course, one can easily imagine how greatly the solution of international issues would be simplified and facilitated if the world community were not divided into a multitude of states and if, besides, a common language were used. But today this is a fantasy, pure and simple. Like it or not the existence of national states is a reality one has to reckon with. Politics is the art of the possible, and it would be right and proper to apply this also to theory.

A host of forecasts concerning the establishment of a central international authority in the shape of a world empire relying upon autonomous regional superstates have been made by Western futurologists. But, most likely, such formations would be as short-lived, as the Empires of Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan and Napoleon. Domination of any kind, imposed by force, even if it secures a temporary peace, inevitably gives rise to the powerful resistance of the subjugated peoples. Consequently, the task is not to demolish the historically-evolved forms of

social being and forcibly change history but to use its natural course most effectively.

TNCs AND WORLD ORDER

The concept of history's natural course is being cultivated in the West by those advocating convergence and emphasizing the integrating role of the transnational corporations. At first sight their arguments appear well-founded, as no one would argue that one of the most effective ways of moderating the contradictions blighting the world community is to hasten the objective process of internationalization of the world economy and promote interstate economic cooperation serving, so to speak, as the world's connective tissue. Then, it is claimed, there is no need to engage in mind-stretching exercises in a search for means to attain these goals, for the very nature of capital, which easily crosses the borders of many states, has already created a potent integration instrument—international companies. This warrants the conclusion that it is these corporations that should furnish the basis of a world order which will be highly efficient, even if not wholly just.

True, many Western economists have to admit that the transnational corporations (TNCs) are channels spreading the influence of imperialism, including US imperialism, that they are venal, place the pursuit

of profit above all else, totally disregard the real interests of the developing countries, and, moreover, undermine their sovereignty. But, they say, all this should not outweigh the positive and even unique role of the TNCs. Besides, it is claimed, they can be easily set right; all that is required is to establish a set of rules regulating their activities, make them conform with the UN development programmes, tighten national control over foreign investment, prices, the draining of profits, etc.

Why then can transnationals not be regarded as the economic base of an emerging world order? Any more or less complex organization or system must be restructured if objectives different from those for which it was originally instituted are to be attained. Attempts to place transnational corporations in the service of public interests instead of the private profit-seeking interests they are furthering are doomed to failure because, without the profit motive, they will inevitably lose their economic efficiency. Is it possible to expect that the transnationals will go against their own nature and subordinate their activities to the pursuit of goals promoting social progress? For this kind of re-orientation is absolutely irrational, as far as the drive for profit is concerned.

Consequently, something like a revolutionary restructuring of transnationals would be necessary. Should that happen, they would become socialist trusts

operating on absolutely different principles.

It should be noted that many Western theoreticians increasingly realize the weakness of the concepts assuming that the TNCs will eventually fill the planet's entire economic and even political space. Therefore, some "mixed" projects have recently appeared in which an important, but not paramount, role is assigned to transnationals. Simultaneously, emphasis is laid upon the development of economic and other ties both on the interstate plane and within the framework of international economic organizations.

The author of one such project is Professor D. Wilhelm, a British world news analyst. The basis of the system which he proposes is a "world economy based on public enterprise". It would be made up of hundreds of thousands of enterprises operating on the principle of self-government or under the control of national states, regional and international bodies. Simultaneously, a mechanism of national and international "indicative planning and centralized supply" should be formed.

The Professor believes that under the proposed economic system it will also be necessary to alter the political structure of the world community: it will sharply differ both from the socialist and the capitalist state systems and will constitute a "world multilayer democracy". Its upper layer will be com-

posed of the UN and its various specialized agencies, and also such international communities as the Colombo Plan, the Commonwealth, the Common Market, the CMEA, the African Development Bank, etc. The second layer will be made up of private, mixed and "socialized" multinational enterprises which will help create an international climate conducive to political integration and institution of a world government in the future. The third layer will consist of the nations and states, the fourth of trade unions, co-operatives and other working people's organizations. The fifth layer will be represented by the family and its members.

It is interesting to note that the author in the end has to admit that strictly speaking, there are no political alternatives to Marxism and communism. Nevertheless, he recommends making certain steps in order to "transform non-communist society".

Wilhelm's project can be placed in that category which in Western political literature is referred to as functional or neo-functional. Its supporters proceed from the assumption, which is correct on the whole, that the objective processes of internationalization, of mankind's movement towards a world economy to be run according to an overall plan, furnish sound foundations for the building of a new world order. Some of them have come up with interesting proposals and recommen-

dations as to how this new world order should be built, what order of priorities should be established and what methods preferred in this. Unlike the overwhelming majority of Western world news analysts, the advocates of this trend start out not from any abstract utopias but from the present-day conditions of social being, primarily economic ones.

But there are two factors which considerably detract from the scientific value of the theoretical quests being made by functionalists and neo-functionalists. One of them is that while pinning their hopes on the development of economic relations they actually ignore the factor of time. One can, of course, believe that gradual progress in economic relations will, some day, eventuate in the formation of such international structures which will assure a secure future for the world community. But what with the current pace of the arms race and the growing exacerbation of the global problems, mankind cannot wholly rely upon the evolutionary development. Rather, it should actively fight for their solution.

The second factor is even more important. Laying their emphasis upon the development of international economic and political ties, the functionalists and neo-functionalists, just as other Western theoreticians, either relegate the social factor to the background or ignore it.

THE MARXIST CONCEPT OF THE FUTURE WORLD ORDER

The comprehensive development of international cooperation is of paramount importance for promoting international security and satisfying mankind's requirements, even if only partially. The content of international cooperation is determined not by an abstract idea but by the realities of our divided world. The objective process of internationalization of the economy and of social relations is making headway with the aid of different forms of socialist and capitalist integration and their intermediate varieties. There is no denying that certain progress has been made in this field in recent years. We mean here the increase in the volume of foreign trade between states having different social systems, the advancement of economic cooperation on to higher stages (compensation deals, production cooperation), the conspicuous rise in scientific and technical exchanges, the implementation of joint projects (in space exploration, medicine, oceanic studies, etc.). The CMEA and the EEC currently negotiate possible forms of interaction. Although this process is being stubbornly resisted by the enemies of detente, the trend towards further cooperation is breaking through. Soberly assessing the realities of the contemporary world, conflict-ridden and packed with nuclear bombs, Marxists are not given

to pessimism. The process of restructuring international relations, which began in October, 1917, continues even though it encounters immense difficulties. The October Revolution engendered social forces quite capable of steering the world through all the complexities of the transition period.

If the development of the social revolution and the establishment of a new world order proceeded independently or, moreover, contradicted each other, mankind would have come up against an insoluble problem. But the point is that both these processes are essentially kindred; they are intertwined and serve as catalysts activating each other. Lenin pointed to the tendency to "break down national barriers, obliterate national distinctions, and to *assimilate* nations—a tendency which manifests itself more and more powerfully with every passing decade, and is one of the greatest driving forces transforming capitalism into socialism."²

The idea of communism is fundamental to the Marxist-Leninist concept of the future world order. The triumph of socialism on a world scale, the long process of nations drawing together on new, socialist, foundations will eventuate in their fusion, and a world system of communist social self-government will be established once

² V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, vol. 20, p. 28.

the state has withered away. Needless to say, the entire problem of world order will be posed and solved in a different way than today because it will have lost its political character, and the forms of world order will be determined exclusively as a result of scientific quests.

Mankind today is at the cross-roads. The question is being decided: whether or not the states will be able, against the background of sharp international contradictions, to progress further from the treaties and accords which restrict, to a certain extent, the use of weapons to their reduction and elimination. The struggle around this question will reveal the real correlation of forces in the international arena and outline mankind's immediate prospects. In this regard, the current decade acquires decisive importance.

Thus, the building of a new world order is a historical process initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. Its final outcome will be the total internationalization on the basis of socialism. The founders of the theory of scientific communism wrote that "in place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-si-

dedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible."³

Crucial to the building of a new world order is a set of proposals advanced by the 26th Congress of the CPSU (1981). The Soviet Peace Programme has the aim of not only limiting the arms race and promoting international security. It contemplates the states' collective efforts for solving the global problems of our day.

Thus, a new world order is being established through the concerted efforts of the forces of socialism, democracy and national liberation, the forces of progress and peace. Inasmuch as this process is in the best interests of all peoples, of all mankind, the aim of international cooperation is to promote it in every way. The forces of world reaction bitterly oppose this cooperation. However, there are also politicians in the capitalist world who realize that the positive changes that have occurred in the world are irreversible and that it is necessary to solve, through joint effort, the cardinal problems related to all countries and growing in importance.

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

³ K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Works* in three volumes, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976, vol. 1, p. 112.

FUTILE ATTEMPTS

Falsifications of the CPSU's Nationalities Policies

by Yuri IGRITSKY

Western propaganda is going out of its way to convince public opinion that relations between nationalities in the USSR have the same basis of inequality as was typical of major colonial empires in the recent past. What is the actual position of the nationalities and ethnic groups that constitute the USSR?

EQUAL IN ALL RESPECTS

By ignoring the growing role of man's conscious, purposeful activity under socialism and the scientifically sound nature of the CPSU policy, bourgeois scholars attempt to make people believe that the uneven development of nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR is predetermined by laws which operate in the same way under capitalism and socialism.

The conclusion that the gap in the development levels between industrialized and backward regions, countries and nations cannot be breached holds good only for pre-communist social formations. As for socialism, the progress made by the peoples of the former borderlands of tsarist Russia, many of them increasing their economic potential

● Y. IGRITSKY, Cand.Sc. (History), specializes in the social and political problems facing Soviet society.

hundreds of times since the revolution, renders the attempts to apply this conclusion to the Soviet Union null and void.

In the course of socialist construction, the actual inequality of nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR inherited from the past has been overcome and their economic development levelled out. "Ever since Soviet power was established, our economic and social policy has been framed in such a way as to bring the non-Russian regions of Russia up to the development level of the central regions as quickly as possible," one reads in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress (1981). "This task has been successfully accomplished. Here a key role was played by close cooperation among all the nations of the country and, chiefly, by the disinterested assistance of the Russian people."¹ It should be noted that economic development has been levelled out at an extremely fast pace, thus paving the way for bridging the gap in social and cultural development. The advantages of socialism, such as public ownership of the means of production and planned economic management, enable the CPSU to pursue a policy of harmonizing the interests of each nationality, ethnic group, and the Soviet people as a whole. To secure high growth rates in the constituent republics, the national income is redistributed through the USSR State Budget, taking into account the country's short- and long-term objectives.

The CPSU has always regarded the rapid economic and social development of each nationality living in the USSR as a factor accelerating their general mutual convergence. Evidence of their closer relations is the general trends making themselves felt in the social composition of the constituent republics. The proportion of farmers in the total population has dropped over the recent decades, while that of the intelligentsia and, particularly, the working class has increased. Significantly, in those republics where the proportion of workers was lower than the country's average, the working class showed particularly high growth rates. From 1940-1979, the working class in the USSR grew 3.2 times. Over the same period the figures for the constituent republics were: Byelorussia—3.9, Georgia—4.4, Latvia—4.7, Uzbekistan—5.7, Kazakhstan—6.6, Kirghizia—6.7, Tajikistan—7.4, Armenia—8.7, Lithuania—8.8, Moldavia—18.6.

¹ *The 26th CPSU Congress. Documents and Resolutions*, Moscow, APN Publishing House, 1981, pp. 71-72.

The debunking of the Sovietologists' myth about the Soviet peoples' economic inequality compelled the former to seek with enviable persistence signs of "Russification" and the "perpetuation of great-Russian chauvinism" in the political and cultural fields.

Their attempts to find signs of great-Russian chauvinism in the CPSU's theoretical and practical activities betray lack of understanding of the class nature of Soviet society and the Party's leading role in it. The Party's Programme, its policy, is an integral whole, tying together every aspect, every task of the economic, social, political and cultural development of all national, state and administrative units, of all nationalities and ethnic groups constituting the USSR.

Guided by the general laws of socialism, the CPSU's policy with relation to nationalities, in turn, gives them full play. It facilitates the operation of social laws by introducing regulating and planning elements into the development of truly equal relations and fraternal and mutually advantageous cooperation among the Soviet peoples. Contrary to anti-communist allegations about the Russians domineering the political system of developed socialism, the CPSU works on the principle that all nations "have the right to be adequately represented in their Party and government organs".² The prevalence of Russians in the Party (59.8 per cent on January 1, 1982) as compared with the proportion of them in the country's population (52.4 per cent according to the 1979 census) does not substantiate claims that other peoples are discriminated against. Apart from the Russian people, similar percentages are recorded with respect to some other nationalities. Thus, the respective figures for Byelorussians are 3.8 and 3.4 and for Georgians 1.7 and 1.3.

Moreover, the numerical growth of the CPSU, as far as its national composition is concerned, shows that the number of non-Russian Party members increased more rapidly than that of Russian Party members. To illustrate: in 1946-1983, the number of Russian Communists increased 2.8 times, Kazakh—3.8, Ukrainian—4.3, Kirghiz—5, Tajik—5.1, Azerbaijanian—5.5, Turkmen—5.6, Byelorussian—5.9, Uzbek—6.9, Estonian—7.3, Latvian—8.6, Moldavian and Lithuanian—34 and 36 times respectively.

The same tendency to involve, on an equal basis, all Soviet peoples in tackling the tasks facing society is manifest

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

in the national composition of the bodies of state authority. Over 70 per cent of all deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics are non-Russians. The local Soviets are even more representative, since they also include representatives of ethnic minorities and groups. The proportion of non-Russians in the local Soviets is higher than that in the country's population as a whole. On the other hand, Russians make up 45.3 per cent of the deputies to the local Soviets, which is 7.1 per cent less than their percentage in the country's population.

Another Sovietologist allegation, one about the Soviet government encroaching upon the rights and interests of the non-Russian peoples in cultural matters has nothing to do with the real state of affairs either. The educational standard curve for 1970-1982 shows that in the Russian Federation and the USSR as a whole there was an equal increase in the number of people with higher and secondary (junior and senior) education per thousand, aged ten and over. Respective figures for other republics were considerably higher. For example, 700, 730 and 738 people out of 1,000 had higher and secondary education in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, (the figure for the Russian Federation was 676). As far as the percentage of research workers is concerned, the Russians, Azerbaijanians, Georgians and Armenians are practically on an equal footing.

While developing the long-standing democratic and new socialist elements in their cultures, the working people of all nationalities in socialist society expand their cooperation in the field of culture, thus mutually enriching themselves. Socialist relations among nationalities are being established and consolidated at all levels of collective and personal contacts, in the course of education and labour, as well as material and cultural exchange. The process is both bilateral and multilateral. In 1960-1975, for example, 48 teachers of the Lithuanian Conservatory finished post-graduate courses in leading higher educational establishments in other republics, while many young people from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Tajikistan and other republics studied music, painting and graphic art in Lithuania. Some 450-470 young people from other fraternal republics are studying in Moldavian higher educational establishments, while Moldavia sends 800 boys and girls to study in other republics.

Contrary to Sovietologists' opinion, the Soviet people's growing international links by no means lead to the extinction of national cultural and ethnic traditions. Sociological

surveys reveal that the Uzbek intelligentsia, for example, retains its love for its national culture, while, at the same time, displaying great interest in the culture of the Russian and other Soviet peoples and in world culture and widening its cultural and aesthetic horizons. Uzbek folk culture, especially music and dances are highly popular among the republic's urban and rural population. Incidentally, about 30 per cent of Uzbeks living in towns work at institutions and enterprises where not less than half the personnel are people of other nationalities.

THE LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION AMONG NATIONALITIES

In recent studies, Sovietologists have focused attention on the language situation in the USSR. Misinterpreting in every way the growing role of the Russian language as the language of communication among the Soviet peoples, they describe it as "political cement" in a multilingual state or the "main instrument of integration", or of a "means of assimilation".

Their reasoning is extremely biased. However widely a language is spread, it cannot become a unifying factor if the social, economic, ideological and political prerequisites for national unity do not exist. The wide use of English and French in countries dominated by Britain and France did not prevent the collapse of the two largest colonial empires in contemporary history. The predominance of one language in a multinational state cannot forge a "supernational identity" if the policy pursued by the dominating nation perpetuates national strife.

As for the CPSU, it never set out to create a "supernation" dissolving all national, including linguistic distinctions. The formation of a new historical entity, the Soviet people, the convergence of nations, cannot be identified with what Sovietologists term "supernational identity". The Party proceeds from the fact that in the process of nations' drawing closer together, the economic and cultural progress of all nationalities and ethnic groups is inevitably accompanied by the growth of their national awareness. Moreover, the CPSU realizes full well that national distinctions will persist far longer than class ones.

The anti-communist allegation that the numerical growth of those with a good command of Russian is evidence of "assimilation" or "Russification" tendencies in the CPSU's policy is merely juggling with the facts. It should be recalled that at the 12th Party Congress a resolu-

tion was adopted on passing special laws guaranteeing the use of the mother tongue in all government bodies and institutions catering to the local multinational population and national minorities. "Those guilty of encroaching on the peoples' national rights shall be punished with all revolutionary severity," the resolution read.³

It was precisely the Russian language that, on the strength of objective factors and conditions, became a means of communication without which the fruitful, mutually advantageous development and cooperation of the Soviet peoples would have been inconceivable. Great also is the role of Russian (again due to objective reasons) in the development of socialist culture through the joint efforts of all Soviet peoples.

The voluntary study and use of Russian in everyday life, and the "language internationalism" established in the USSR, based on a deep respect for the peoples' linguistic traditions, are weighty arguments against the allegations about the Russian language being forced upon peoples and other tongues being ousted. Bourgeois scholars themselves admit that, in the age of scientific and technological progress, the knowledge of Russian expedites a more rapid development of the constituent republics, while the publication of scientific literature exclusively in national languages hinders scientific progress.

Anti-communists accuse not only the CPSU of "Russification" and chauvinism, they also accuse the entire Russian people of this. These accusations do not hold any water either. Following the October revolution, the national borderlands of Russia were able to overcome their age-old backwardness only with the regular help of other peoples, mainly the Russian people. The CPSU paid particular attention to ensuring that the national dignity of the non-Russian peoples was not encroached upon when cardinal new relations between the Russian and non-Russian peoples were being established. "The workers of those nations which under capitalism were oppressor nations must take exceptional care not to hurt the national sentiments of the oppressed nations," Lenin stressed, and added that we "must not only promote the actual equality but also the development of the language and literature of the working people of the formerly oppressed nations so as to re-

³ *The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee*, Moscow, 1970, vol. 2, p. 441 (in Russian).

move all traces of distrust and alienation inherited from the epoch of capitalism.”⁴ Guided by these words, the working people in the country’s industrial centres have, throughout the period of socialist construction, rendered fraternal aid to non-Russian outlying regions in creating modern economies and developing education and culture. Far from being missionary or charitable, this assistance embodied the principles of socialist internationalism and was a crucial political factor in involving all Soviet peoples in the building of a new society.

THE RIGHT TO MAKE A FREE CHOICE

In accusing the CPSU of great-Russian chauvinism, anti-communists are trying to denigrate the basic principles of its policy with respect to nationalities and to give a semblance of truth to yet another piece of falsehood about the non-Russian peoples’ growing nationalist sentiments and covert dissatisfaction in the USSR. This has recently been closely tied in with speculation on religious matters with Sovietologists particularly interested in the status of Islam in Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus.

Back in the 50s-60s, capitalist ideologists made every effort to cut the Moslem peoples of Asia and Africa off from the revolutionizing influence of the achievements of the republics of the Soviet East. Today, they are pinning their hopes on the revival of Islamic radicalism outside the USSR which, they believe, will help erode socialist internationalism in the Soviet Union. Nowadays, bourgeois ideologists attach strategic importance to the influence of the so-called Islamic Renaissance on the cultural life of some peoples in the USSR whom the Western press names “Soviet Moslems”.

It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of bourgeois ideologists refrain from passing their verdict on the prospects of buttressing the positions of Islam in the Soviet Union and some of them even admit that the direct impact of Islamic radicalism on Soviet Moslems is still insignificant. Nonetheless, the anti-communists are pinning their hopes on the further development of Moslem conservative trends in the Middle East, in the hope that this will help whip up nationalist sentiments among the peoples inhabiting some Union and Autonomous Republics in the USSR. The fact that a certain part of the population of

⁴ V. I. Lenin. *Collected Works*, vol. 29, p. 127.

Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus and the Volga Area remain religious and still observe some Moslem traditions is interpreted by them as a sign of nationalism and the refusal to accept the Soviet way of life.

The bourgeois ideologists have again failed to grasp the dialectical relationship between the national and the international in Soviet society and they judge Soviet people by criteria applicable only to the non-socialist world. The life style and mentality of Soviet Moslems (such as they are in reality and not in the imagination of anti-communists) differ substantially from that of their fathers and grandfathers, as well as from that of Moslems living abroad. Soviet Moslems are equal citizens of the Soviet state, and the socialist way of life and work in present-day work collectives could not but influence their mentality. While remaining loyal to some Islamic traditions and beliefs, they are, at the same time, patriots of their socialist Homeland. "As all of my people, I have a free choice," Mufti Ziyauddin Babakhan, Chairman of the Moslem Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, said. "As a spiritual teacher I have the right to talk to believers and tell them what the Koran says." Pointing out that freedom of conscience is guaranteed in the USSR, the Mufti noted an important feature of the life of believers in the Soviet East.

"Our country", he said, "is inhabited by many nationalities who live together in harmony like one big family. They respect and understand each other. We see that our country is doing a great deal to safeguard peace and we support this just cause on the international scene. That is why I love my country. That is why I am a patriot of my country."

It is not only that Soviet Moslems differ radically in their world outlook from Moslems living abroad. What influence of Islamic radicalism on the peoples of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, the Volga Area and the Caucasus can one speak of if the most archaic and reactionary institutions of shariat ceased to exist in the first decade after the revolution. In 1922, the Uzbek SSR had 220 shariat courts, in 1927 there were only nine and by the end of 1928, none at all in Central Asia. Some Moslem traditions and customs established before the revolution lost their strong religious flavour, others became less popular. Thus, the traditional cotton harvest festival in Turkmenia (pakhta bairami) has been celebrated for almost twenty years now as an All-Republican festival and is organized by governmental and public organizations on collective and state farms, in regio-

nal centres and, finally, in Ashkhabad. The festivities include the honouring of the best workers, sports competitions, performances by amateur song and dance ensembles. When in December 1966, pakhta bairami coincided with the religious celebrations of uraza-bairam, many people of Turkmenia preferred the former.

That age-old prejudices rooted in Islam and shariat are dying away is seen in the growth of mixed marriages, formerly extremely rare and practically non-existent among the Moslem peoples. In Kazakhstan, for instance, whose population was multinational, even before the revolution, old prejudices raised insuperable barriers to starting mixed Kazakh-Russian families. In the early 70s, one in four families in urban communities and one in six in rural areas was mixed. The proportion of mixed marriages is particularly high in major cities in the Union Republics. The figure for Baku (Azerbaijan), for example, is 24 per cent in the mid-70s. In the USSR as a whole, the proportion of mixed marriages increased from 10.2 per cent in 1959 to 15 per cent in 1979 as a result of regular and active contacts among people of various nationalities in educational establishments, work collectives, public organizations and everyday life.

* * *

The progress of socialist nations and their drawing closer together are two aspects of one and the same process, which are in dialectical unity and interact. Whatever tendencies prevail in one region of the country or another, be they national-consolidatory or national-integratory, they never conflict, and this is what fundamentally distinguishes the development of nations under socialism.

The fraternal union of all nationalities and ethnic groups in the USSR, their joint labour, their drawing closer together and the mutual enrichment of national cultures are important factors in consolidating the Soviet peoples' unity. Nobody can weaken these objective processes or hide them behind a smokescreen of misinformation.

THE IMPASSE OF "INFORMATION SOCIETY"

by Yuri NIKULICHEV

"Microelectronic revolution", "the age of telematics", "information society"—these were the catchwords of one of the latest trends in bourgeois sociology and futurology at the turn of the 1970s.

Bourgeois sociologists and philosophers pin their hopes on the "information society" for finding a way out of the deep crisis gripping capitalism today and for overcoming the system's contradictions. The technical revolution in electronics is seen by them as evidence of the "system's viability" and, indeed, as a panacea from all possible social upheavals.

Is the coming "new type of social order" prophesied by bourgeois theoreticians a speculative concept pursuing an ideological supertask or a future reality?

FROM "INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY" TO "INFORMATION SOCIETY"

D. Bell was one of the first among bourgeois sociologists to elaborate the highly promising theoretical potentialities of the "information society" idea. For him it was a happy way out from the impasse of "post-industrialism". In his article "The Social Framework of the Information Society"¹ Bell establishes a direct link between this society and

¹ See *The Computer Age: A Twenty-Year View*. Ed. by M. Der-touzos and J. Moses, London, 1981, pp. 166-190.

● Y. NIKULICHEV specializes in problems of the scientific and technological revolution in the West and its social effects.

the "post-industrial society". In his view, their common feature is the transition from a society producing goods to a "society of services".

Bell cites the following facts to back up his thesis. In the 1970s, 65 per cent of the workforce in the USA was engaged in the services sphere, about 30 per cent in industry and construction and less than 5 per cent in agriculture. In the last two decades, he says, employment has expanded exclusively in the sphere of "post-industrial services" and this tendency, in his view, will continue into the "information society".

Another feature common to the two societies, according to Bell, is a fundamentally new role of theoretical knowledge which now determines the direction of social progress. Any society, he declares, functions on the basis of knowledge but only in the last half century has an organic fusion of science and engineering been observed that is changing the character of technology which becomes "symbiotically" fused with science.

Bell uses this incontestable conclusion for rather dubious theoretical schemes. He writes: "...when knowledge becomes involved in some systematic form in the applied transformation of resources (through invention or social design), then one can say that knowledge, not labour, is the source of value". Coining a few more sophisms, he offers the reader... a new "knowledge theory of value". "With the shortening of labour time and the diminution of the production worker (who in Marxist theory is the source of value) ... knowledge and its application replace labour as the source of 'added value' in the national product. In that sense, just as capital and labour have been the central variables of industrial society, so information and knowledge are the crucial variables of post-industrial society."² Bell concludes.

And so Bell tries in his own way to interpret the indubitable fact of science's conversion into a direct productive force. But it is also no less evident that by themselves scientific ideas produce nothing. Science as a social institution cannot function in any society without investment and human labour, mental and manual, i.e. without all that Bell dismisses as attributes of the past "industrial" stage.

The same is true of machinery. Taken by itself, it does not create surplus value the source of which is the labour

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

of scientists who devised it, of specialists who translated the idea into reality and of workers operating it.

In Bell's view, modern "intellectual technology"—the mathematic theory of information, cybernetics and the games theory—makes it possible to take rational decisions in the conditions of uncertainty characterizing society today. Formalization of social information offers an opportunity for modelling alternative variants of economic processes with the help of computers, to calculate their effects and choose the optimal decision from a multitude of possible ones. Realizing that he has drawn an idealistic picture which does not tally with capitalist reality, Bell makes a rather characteristic admission. The problem is, he writes, that we do not have any more or less convincing theory explaining the internal links of society, though, paradoxically enough, owing to our understanding of technology, we now know better how it is changing. Bell is obviously at odds with the logic here: is it possible to speak of social development trends without knowing the essential characteristics of a particular society?

This disregard for logic can be easily explained. Judging by the above passages, what we have is not a really existing "post-industrial society" but some speculative model without any signs of a living social organism. And this is the logical sequel of Bell's entire historical-sociological scheme in which one structural element after another is replaced mechanically: labour and capital by knowledge and information, a society producing goods by a "society of services", private ownership as a structure-forming factor of bourgeois society by education and skill, etc. According to Bell, social development is not systematic but stadi-al-linear, while the replacement of a mode of production is not a natural historical process but a mechanical alternation of stages, each a sum-total of changing pivotal characteristics.

Closely related to Bell's historical-sociological scheme is A. Toffler's "information society" concept set out in his book "The Third Wave".³ Theoretically, it fully repeats Bell: Toffler's three "waves" in the development of human civilization are nothing else but Bell's stages ("pre-industrial", "industrial" and post-industrial", or "information").

Without going into detail, we shall note only that, unlike Bell who sees the signs of "information society" in the "radical transformation of the social organization of scien-

³ See A. Toffler. *The Third Wave*, N.Y., 1980.

ce" and profound qualitative changes in the sphere of technology, Toffler perceives the signs of the "coming civilization" in other processes and phenomena. New technology, the American futurologist writes, leads to the complication and fragmentation of information flows and to the disintegration of the once integral mass audience. Moreover, social consciousness is "demassified": the new audio-communications (cheap and easy to handle gramophones, tape recorders, portable radio sets) and video-communications (multi-channel cable television, video tape recorders) enable the users to choose their "cultural menu". The "demassification" process enormously augments the volume of exchanged information. According to Toffler, this is the cause for the rise of "information society": the greater the social differentiation and the more diversified the technical facilities and forms of production, the greater the amount of information that must circulate between different social groups. Otherwise, especially as a result of rapid social changes, disintegration of society may follow.

Thus, according to Toffler, the transformation of the "industrial" into an "information" society presupposes a certain element of "must", a certain social need. However, Toffler's disquisitions do not add clarity to the picture of the "information society", to the understanding of its differences from the existing society.

FUTUROLOGICAL OPTIMISM OR A "COMPUTER UTOPIA"?

Alongside the theoretical elaboration of the "information society" concept a purely pragmatic trend emerged in Western literature that takes a concrete practical approach to the use of information techniques and technology as a means creating "new social structures". This trend arose under the strong influence of the scientific and technical intelligentsia. As the vast potential of information became more and more obvious, members of technical professions dealing directly with promising areas of research and development in this field increasingly turned to its social aspects, formulating their own conception of "information revolution" and proposing social projects based on the real possibilities of technology.

Within this trend the "information society" concept substantially widened and detailed the range of its problems. At the same time, the elaboration of increasing numbers of particular technically sound projects for using information technology created a deepening gap between the

general sociological scheme and the reality. In view of the absence of a universal methodology of social studies in modern bourgeois sociology, theoreticians of "information society", above all "technicians" seeking the key to understanding the effects of informatics on social development, inevitably turn to the methods of technological determinism. The heuristic schemes in their works are elementary. As a rule, it is the pairing of themes, such as "television and life", "computer and politics", "information and democracy" with separate parts of the schemes being little related, if at all. The analysis is thus confined to the purely technological perspective and sight is lost of the comprehensive character of technology and the stimuli of its development emanating from different spheres of society.

These methodological flaws are still more glaring in futurological schemes. The basic formula of "information society" proponents in studying the future is also very simple: "technology—future in general"—such is the prognostication line of the majority of works in this field. Quite naturally, given this approach they (with very few exceptions) do not even attempt to produce serious short-, medium- and long-term prognoses without which it is impossible to grasp the dynamics of social and scientific-technological processes. And this is explained not only by the methodological fallacy of the concept, but also by a conscious ideological orientation sustaining the futurological optimism of bourgeois sociologists even when it is at odds with the present tendencies of capitalist society's development—its growing economic, social and political instability.

But the divergence of theory from reality is perhaps nowhere so crying as in the interpretation of socio-political consequences of the "microelectronic revolution" for bourgeois society. According to the American sociologist D. Moore who published an article in the magazine *Futurist*, increasing numbers of working hours will be injected into democracy by the new technical devices whose cost is falling every year while efficiency is rising and which can operate for 24 hours 365 days a year, without going on strike, or playing truant and without demanding laws on minimum wages, pensions and showers after a shift. As robots take over more and more production functions, he claims, the decline of the American workers' productivity will not matter at all. Capital can then afford to be generous towards the working class without any detriment to itself. Myriads of new industries will emerge around bil-

lions of hours of leisure time which will be available for all American citizens and society will gradually turn, in Moore's view, into a slave democracy (!) of the Athens type, where aristocracy will be served by millions of mechanical robots with a siliceous brain and an electronic memory.

Every phrase of this passage might well be a subject of some fantastic novel, a sort of "computer utopia". Moore's surging optimism leading him to draw a far-fetched picture of the full prosperity of bourgeois society happily rid of all antagonisms and now finding itself at the stage of boundless democracy is more than an extremely simplified and biased approach to the problem of the effect of "microelectronic revolution" on the social and political life of bourgeois society. It is an apology for capitalism with its supposedly unlimited reserves.

According to bourgeois sociologists, everything changes with the emergence and wide spread of new information techniques and technology affording bilateral and multilateral communication, a higher level of information of the population, more extensive political contacts and greater responsibility of political leadership.

They place great hopes on the technical systems incorporating television, interactive (two-way) communication and computers. This symbiosis, in J. Martin's view, could well be used organizing a respondent television system that could hold "instant referendums" on a local and national scale. This system would, for example, allow a TV commentator to ascertain the views of TV audiences in a matter of minutes about the President's latest speech while the President could, in the course of his TV address, put a question to the nation and get a reply to it. In Martin's view, respondent television could reduce the likelihood of social outbursts, offering the people a non-violent method of expressing their disagreement and the authorities a means for assessing it.⁴

If we are to believe Martin, just a trifle is needed—a special adapter to a TV set linked through a telephone or cable channel to the computer of a TV studio conducting the "instant referendum". This is naive politically, to say the least. Obviously, mass indoctrination through television cannot remove or mitigate the deepening antagonism between labour and capital, between a handful of monopolies and the overwhelming majority of the US population.

⁴ See J. Martin. *The Wired Society*. New Jersey, 1978.

A more serious consideration should be given to the question of the possibilities of assessing the degree of citizens' political loyalty and collecting various information on them, which the author discusses in connection with respondent television and other interactive telecomputer systems. As an informatics specialist, Martin fully realizes the danger of abuse of computer technology but he is far from grasping the social implications of the problem. For him it boils down to the need of forestalling encroachments on "private life"—the holy of holies of bourgeois democracy.

In modern American society, the author writes, information about individuals is being systematically amassed: about their financial and legal status, education, health, subscriptions they take, books they borrow from libraries, etc. And it is not necessary for anyone, he explains, to "poke his nose" into someone's private life: the accumulation of this kind of information is a by-product of the contemporary social mechanism, a result of numerous "information tracks" left by an individual in the documentation of different organizations and institutions. Computer storage of this information opens up the prospect of its centralization in agencies exercising control over society.

The author does not exaggerate the dimensions of such danger. In 1971 a Senate commission disclosed that the US Department of Defence had 25 million files on "subversive" and "potentially subversive" elements (one-sixth of the adult population, mostly in the 18-26 age group) and 760,000 files on various public organizations. Every day it handled 12,000 inquiries and made 20,000 additions and adjustments to the collected information. By a federal court ruling this bank of data was closed, but two years later the US press reported that its information stock was retransmitted to another computer system.

Is it possible, in the light of these facts and tendencies, to speak seriously about the transformation of American society into an "Athens-type democracy"? Rather, it would be more appropriate to speak of its transformation into a "police state" or "controlled society".

USEFUL MACHINES AND "USELESS" PEOPLE

The prospect of man becoming an object of total control is not the only danger threatening the "information society" and underestimated by bourgeois ideologists. The large-scale introduction of comprehensive automation and in-

formation technology which inspires so much enthusiasm in bourgeois sociologists who see in it a means of increasing leisure time in the near future, is already now leaving unemployed millions of working people who have been deprived of their jobs as a result of capitalist "rationalization".

Not that the proponents of "information society" fully ignore the problem of employment in it. Even being divorced from reality, it is hard to avoid the fate of those who are ousted by robots and other electronic "wonders". But since mass unemployment does not "fit" in with the general optimism of the concept its adepts either dismiss the matter with a few vague phrases or advance sundry projects for using the released labour in the services sphere or the rapidly expanding electronic industry. But if one proceeds from the real facts characterizing the present social and economic situation in the West, such optimism is totally unfounded.

Bourgeois sociologists project the tendency characteristic of the recent past into the future disregarding at least three circumstances. Firstly, in the modern capitalist economy mechanical transfer of labour from one industry to another is impossible in view of the broad reorganization of the professional employment structure, the disappearance of many "old" professions and the emergence of new ones requiring different general education and special vocational training. Secondly, the development of the services sphere requires an adequate effective demand for them. This apparently leads to a contradiction, insoluble on the scale of society, between the supply of a growing number of services (including some of those described in works on "information society") and the lowering purchasing power and consumer motivation of a steadily expanding part of the population caught up in the adverse effects of the "microelectronic revolution". Lastly, while the comprehensive automation of production in the private sector has internal development stimuli and sources of financing—deductions from profit—the expansion of the social services sphere calls for increased financing by the state. Yet, the opposite is true in reality: in all capitalist countries social spending is being drastically cut.

As a result, the services sphere cannot compensate for the reduction of jobs in industry. More than that, the majority of Western experts believe that the current "informatization" of this sphere—the introduction of "electron-

ic mail", "paper-free office", mini- and micro-computers—creates a situation where it itself increasingly becomes a supplier of "redundant people".

Equally groundless are the hopes for alleviating the effects of the "microelectronic revolution" by expanding employment in the fast growing electronic industry. By official statistics, in the decade from 1977 to 1987 the US electronic industry will create 1.5 million jobs in addition to the one million available jobs. But this will not signify a growth of overall employment but only a partial compensation for its reduction in consequence of the universal spread of microelectronics.

What is the prospect for bourgeois society in the light of these tendencies? Clearly, it is the further aggravation of all its contradictions and growing instability. The entire range of problems facing "information society" is in one way or other linked with the question whether the bourgeois state can regulate the growing social, economic and political tensions by means of legislation and normative acts.

The general problem most often discussed in connection with the informatization of society is this: is there a need for state interference in the development of informatics and, if so, on what particular questions? Tending to identify such notions as "democratization", "decentralization" and "de-regulation", theoreticians of "information society" are inclined to deny the need for state regulation in the "infosphere", losing sight of new contradictions arising in the general logic of the concept, which becomes even more utopian.

Theoretically, only the state can stimulate and finance the development of a greater part of information services advertised by bourgeois ideologists, ensure the retraining and redistribution of labour on the scale of the economy as a whole and establish more or less high cultural standards in the systems of public cable television.

In practice, however, the bourgeois state has failed to achieve any effective regulation of socio-economic processes even in spheres with a long-established mechanism of such regulation. The crisis of the entire system of state-monopoly government of society does not leave bourgeois ideologists the slightest hope for a "gradual transformation" of social structures, for a "quiet revolution" without sharp conflicts and confrontation of classes.

In face of the deepening crisis of capitalism bourgeois ideologists more and more often rely on the latest achievements of the technological revolution for a "miraculous", conflict-free resolution of the economic and social contradictions of the capitalist system. Building up their ideological speculations round the achievements of science and technology, they try to impress on the working people the idea that capitalism has boundless potentialities as a social system and that favourable historical prospects are ahead. Promising heaven in the "technicized", "electronic", "information" and other societies, they actually propose that the people put up with the realities for the sake of some idyllic future. They discount the social effects of automation, cybernetization and informatization in capitalist countries. Yet with the progress of the technological revolution it becomes increasingly clear that capitalism is unable to control its social consequences and, first and foremost, unemployment. This is a testimonial of the unsoundness of various technocratic theories of bourgeois ideologists, including the "information society" concept.

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CAN CAPITALISM STAND ON ITS FEET?

The book *The State, Class and the Recession*,¹ edited by Australian scholars S. Clegg, G. Dow and P. Boreham, contains the proceedings of a conference held at Griffith University (Australia) at which sociologists and economists from many capitalist countries discussed the effect the economic difficulties of recent years had on bourgeois society. Those present discussed various aspects of their social system and their statements were contradictory. One thing was, however, common to all the views and positions—the feeling of anxiety, and this was the keynote of the conference.

The contributors admit that the idea of a “welfare state”, a slogan much advertised by the ruling class in the industrialized capitalist countries, has been discredited. It promises a good life for the people but its true aim is to mitigate social tension by impressing on the masses that their affluent future is just around the corner.

Measures to build the “welfare state” have never progressed beyond an insignificant expansion of social policy. But it should be admitted that the strident demagoguery and paltry deeds to which these measures usually amounted have reaped some dividends for the bourgeoisie. Some sections of working people succumbed to the illusions impressed upon them. And now bourgeois scholars come to the conclusion that these “achievements” are a thing long past. Today the “welfare state” is no longer an ideal for anyone (p. 15). The bourgeoisie no longer believes in the ability of Keynesian policy of economic regulation to cope with cri-

¹ *The State, Class and the Recession*. Ed. by Stewart Clegg, Geoff Dow and Paul Boreham, London and Canberra, Groom Helm, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1983.

ses. This policy is discredited now, it is admitted in the book (p. 3).²

Anxiety over capitalism's future runs through the book. The scholars ask themselves how assured in general is the future of this social system in the light of the economic upheavals which have been chronic since the latter half of the 1970s. They conclude that certainty is the last thing to be expected. Once, they argue, the capitalist system combined "mass democracy" (their designation of bourgeois democracy) and "economic freedom", i.e., freedom for the capitalists to exploit labour. One component backed up the other. Now, they write, "mass democracy" is being eroded (p. 52). One of the main sources of this, they maintain, is the "welfare state" policy. Failing to achieve the declared aims, it succeeded in something else, namely, it contributed to the rise of bureaucracy effecting social programmes. This new bureaucratic stratum is adding to the difficulties of state administration.

Attention is also called to another symptom of the decline of "mass democracy"—the falling prestige of many political parties. True, they do not name the parties concerned, but this reticence is tell-tale in itself, for it is the bourgeois parties that they mean. These parties are losing prestige now because they represent a system suffering obvious setbacks in the socio-economic sphere. For that matter the process which bourgeois scholars blame for the declining influence of parties, i.e. their bureaucratization, also has its effect. Inflation of the apparatus of bourgeois parties alienates their voters, especially at times of acute socio-economic complications, when their bureaucratic overgrowth and ensuing administrative expenditures particularly irritate the people. In conclusion it is stated that the bourgeois political system is losing the ability to lead the masses, which may cause the collapse of capitalism (p. 62).

Concern is also shown over yet another symptom of the inadequacy of capitalism—its inability to ensure full employment. Many generations of bourgeois ideologists have associated their hopes for bolstering their social system with full employment. Today too they believe that stable full employment would mean radical consolidation of the political future of capitalism. But they do not entertain any illusions about attaining it. This is prevented by the real

² For more details see the article by I. Osadchaya "Keynesianism: Past and Present" in STP Supplement No. 3, 1984.

economic interests of the ruling class for which "full employment" is no more than an empty word. In fact, it is pointed out, the capitalists have always opposed it, for full employment only stands in their way, restricting their freedom to determine "the level of business activity" (p. 85). This is correct but only in part. What is much more important for the capitalists is the possibility of using the constant reserve army of labour as an instrument for pressuring the employed by making them work more intensively under the threat of replacing them with the jobless queuing at the gates and stifling their opposition on questions of wages. Documents of various employers' organizations which directly object to full employment are cited in the book.

Another question dealt with is the diminishing role of trade unions and the shrinking of their base because of the unpopularity of their leaders. This is particularly evident in countries where the working class movement is headed by leaders pursuing a conciliatory policy. The AFL-CIO in the United States, for example, has a smaller number of workers than two decades ago. The scholars write about the conciliatory stance which they call "neo-corporatism". Union bosses, they say, are more and more often given access to the "corridors of power". For their part, union bosses are prepared to sacrifice the interests of workers they represent as a price for this flirting. In particular, they are not so insistent on actions for pay rises and are content to be minor consultants in shaping the political course of the government.

Most interesting, in our view, are the pages which conclusively show the futility of the employers' attempts to incorporate the working people into the capitalist Establishment by means of so-called "participation". In bourgeois writings such "participation" is usually treated as an expanding and effective process of partnership between labour and capital. The authors prove that this has nothing to do with reality. In fact, "participation" is not developing and the revival of the talk about it does not yield anything of practical value. The purport of this rhetoric is very simple. When for some reason discontent grows with the policy of monopolies and they come under intense fire, the monopolies, trying to dampen the public mood running against them, drum up the "participation" idea. As soon as the wave of criticism subsides, this flirting comes to an end (p. 259).

Now, the authors write, we witness a new round of the flirtation business. The point is that because of economic difficulties the monopolies are particularly interested in raising efficiency and, accordingly, are eager to induce workers to work better, alluring them by the phantom of "participation" (p. 276). But there must be no illusions on this score. As always the capitalists want a "participation" which spares their power (ibid.). They are all for consultative bodies on which workers can only sit but not decide anything. For the workers, however, "participation" is meaningful only when it brings them more real rights and powers in the sphere of management. This divergence of interests has been the stumbling block of all previous attempts to get the labour-capital partnership going.

The authors draw a wide panorama of the modern social and political situation in the capitalist world. And it is worth summing up what has been said at the start. All judgements quoted in the book show full anxiety over the present and the future and not a shred of optimism about the coming welfare. The panorama is drawn in gloomy colours, fully corresponding to the harsh capitalist reality.

Yuri OLESCHUK

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IN THE WAKE OF REACTION

In the famous *Diary* by Jules and Edmond Goncourt is a comment about a literary critic. "Do you know how I have managed to hold my own for twenty years?" asked this rogue when talking about his credo in life. "I changed my views every fortnight. If I had repeated myself time and time again, people would have known my stuff without reading."

These lines come to mind when one reads contemporary Trotskyites in the West. If they had not changed their views and tactics, like that critic, no one would have read their literary output and they would have been forgotten. The tactics of Trotskyites today, how they adapt themselves to the conditions prevailing in particular countries or regions and the harmful consequences of these tactics for the working class movement—these are the questions discussed in the book *Modern Trotskyism: Whom It Serves* by Soviet scholar Nikolai Vasetsky, published by the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House in 1984 in French, Spanish and German.

The author convincingly pro-

ves that in all its theoretical postulates Trotskyism is the antipode of Marxism-Leninism. Basically, contemporary Trotskyites continue to support and propagate Trotsky's ideas and in this sense one has every reason for saying that modern Trotskyism is a continuation of Trotsky's activity. But it is difficult and sometimes even impossible to make full use of Trotsky's ideas in the new historical situation. That is why modern Trotskyites substantially modify these ideas in their writings. It may appear that on a number of questions modern Trotskyites hold different views than Trotsky. Moreover, some theorists of the Trotskyite Fourth International (founded 1938) declare that some of Trotsky's views are outdated and need to be revised. Such attempts to revise Trotsky's views are being made, but the revision is, again, in the Trotskyite spirit. This may give uninformed people the impression of a new, updated ideological and political trend. The term "neo-Trotskyism" appearing in the Western press now and again is also somewhat misleading.

In reality, the author of the

book shows, as far as its social sources, methodology and, notably, political orientation and role in the working class movement are concerned, modern Trotskyism is a direct continuation of the theory, tactics and policy of traditional Trotskyism. Modern Trotskyites are Trotsky's ideological heirs. The changes which have appeared in the policy and tactics of modern Trotskyites are only attempts to adapt Trotsky's ideas to the new conditions in pursuit of the same aims which Trotsky set in his time. It would therefore be wrong to speak of any qualitatively new stage in the evolution of Trotskyism.

At the basis of all theoretical disquisitions of Trotsky and modern Trotskyites, at the basis of their loud-mouthed revolutionary phraseology lies the concept of permanent revolution. In order to grasp Trotsky's views and the ideas of modern Trotskyism, to critically assess them from a scientific position, one should bring out the basic aspects of the theory of permanent revolution, as is done in the book.

Trotskyites maintain that in formulating his concept of permanent revolution Trotsky relied on the thesis set forth by Marx and Engels in 1850 in the Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League. "In this address," N. Vasetsky points out, "opposing the subordination of the interests of the

working class in a bourgeois-democratic revolution to the interests of the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels wrote that the proletariat must go much farther than the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois democrats in order 'to make the revolution permanent until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power'."¹

Marx's fruitful ideas about uninterrupted revolution were further elaborated by Lenin, founder of the Soviet state and the Communist Party, who carried them further by generalizing the contemporary experience and tendencies of the revolutionary struggle in the imperialist epoch. In connection with this the author writes: "In the imperialist epoch in a country with a definite level of capitalist development (Russia was such a country at the turn of the century), a democratic revolution merges with the socialist revolution and the political line of the working class must be clearly orientated towards developing the bourgeois-democratic into a socialist, in other words, towards uninterrupted revolution." As Lenin said, "from the democratic revolution we shall at once, and precisely in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976, vol. 1, p. 179.

to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for uninterrupted revolution. We shall not stop half-way." ²

Thus, the Marxist-Leninist idea of uninterrupted revolution means a definite succession of stages in the revolutionary struggle, each preparing conditions for the transition to the next stage. 20th century historical revolutionary experience has confirmed this conclusion.

What did Trotsky mean by "permanent revolution"? Here is what he said: "Outbursts of civil war and external wars alternate with periods of 'peaceful' reforms. Revolutions in the economy, technology, knowledge, the family, pattern of life and morals unfold in successive interaction with each other, not allowing society to reach equilibrium. Herein lies the permanent character of socialist revolution as such."

In Trotsky's writings the idea of uninterrupted revolution became quite unrecognizable and, moreover, burlesque. "For him," Vasetsky writes, "permanent revolution means *simultaneous* solution of all political tasks facing the proletariat who, he believes, must immediately, without any succession, overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, establish proletarian dictatorship, implement democratic transfor-

mations and a socialist programme of reorganizing society as a whole and 'ensure the victory of revolution beyond the borders of the country'."

Thus, the fundamental difference between Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution and the Marxist theory of the development of the democratic revolution into a socialist one is disregarded by the former of the objective laws of social development and stages of the revolution, adventurist calls for skipping these stages, the contention that the proletariat is not obliged to take into consideration the objective conditions and laws of struggle.

By preserving in every possible way the anti-revolutionary and, above all, anti-socialist "kernel" of the theory of permanent revolution, modern Trotskyites actually oppose not only the USSR but also the entire world socialist system. "At the basis of the Trotskyites' negation of existing socialism," the author emphasizes, "lies the same idea of a 'world proletarian revolution'. This revolution, in Trotskyite interpretation, represents a certain indefinite state of 'permanent' confrontation between the 'world bourgeoisie' and the 'world proletariat' unfolding on the world scene."

The world proletarian revolution, modern Trotskyites claim, is neither a sum of national revolutions, nor a secession of one

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 9, pp. 236-237.

country after another, nor a simultaneous act taking place in all countries. It is, they say, a clash between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat continuing over a long historical period. Even in the USSR where the proletariat took power into its hands, the revolution has not been completed, they allege. It has only started. In general, they refuse to recognize those countries as socialist in which the new social system is a reality. The Trotskyites not just deny the importance of socialist transformations in countries freed from capitalism; they call for a vigorous struggle against them. This position shows that the Trotskyite criticism of existing socialism is patently counter-revolutionary. "Beginning by rejecting the Marxist-Leninist laws governing mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism," the author notes, "Trotskyism has inevitably slipped to slandering existing socialism. Questioning the importance of collective experience in building socialism, it seeks to sow doubts in the people's minds about the possibility of a successful revolutionary struggle in individual countries and, consequently, doubts about its expediency."

Drawing on extensive factual material, the author examines the modern Trotskyite thesis on "colonial revolutions" in the Asian, African and Latin American countries as the leading factor of world revolution. This thesis is one of the most radic-

al "additions" to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. In his time he preached the Eurocentrist concept of the world social revolution, claiming that it was only possible in developed countries. Moreover, Trotsky denied the revolutionary potential of the peasants whom he viewed as a conservative and even a reactionary force. He believed that revolutionary power established by a victorious bourgeois-democratic revolution will be confronted not only by the bourgeoisie but also by the peasantry and that the policy of alliance with the peasantry was doomed to failure.

Why have modern Trotskyites turned to the backward countries? Of this Vasetsky writes: "The Trotskyist leaders like Trotsky in his time, hastened to take advantage of the situation developing in the world so as not to be 'late for the train', so to speak, and not to find themselves left on the sidelines of progress. In addition, they tried to spread Trotskyite conceptions among the participants in the anti-imperialist struggle and thus bolster up their position. This was the circumstance that induced them to revise their attitude to the Third World." Forgetting what Trotsky said about the peasantry as a reactionary force, the Trotskyites have now proclaimed it ... the most revolutionary force of our time.

There is one more cause for

the Trotskyites' flirting with the Third World, Vasetsky notes. They try to use the upsurge of the national liberation movement as an argument for justifying their defeatist stand in relation to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the zone of developed capitalism. The colonial revolution, they claim, though it is powerless to blow up capitalist countries since the Third World is still dependent on world imperialism, although indirectly and not directly as in the past, can nonetheless give a new impetus to political revolutions in "working people's states", i.e. to processes which shaped the development of socialist countries.

Such ideas can only isolate the national liberation movement from the other revolutionary streams of our time. As Vasetsky notes in his book, in place of Trotsky's left-sectarian line—the *proletariat without the peasantry*—an equally sectarian line has been proposed—the *peasantry without the international working class*. This brings grist to the mill of those interested in isolating and weakening the national liberation movement and, thereby, the entire front of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Nor is there anything new about the modern Trotskyite tactics in the developed capitalist countries. The difference is only in words and not in deeds. They deny the necessity of combining

the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism. They call for the earliest establishment of full workers' control over the capitalist economy and also administrative control over the bourgeois state; for the disbandment of the police and the army; for immediate socialist transformations, and for the armed, violent overthrow of capitalism. "But for the time being these are actually impracticable demands," Vasetsky concludes. "Consequently, the Trotskyite strategy *programming their impracticability* leads to the complete disorientation of the masses. In other words, it demoralizes them and, ultimately, fosters pessimism and doubts as to the effectiveness of *any* mass struggle."

Trotskyites negate the need of cementing the bonds of the working class with non-proletarian sections, denounce the policy of anti-monopoly and broad left alliances. They preach autonomy and independence of the diverse streams of the democratic movement. "Trotskyism," Vasetsky writes, "is doing everything possible to disunite the working class and non-proletarian sections, for in the conditions of social isolation the impact of scientific socialist ideas on the working people weakens."

Thus, modern Trotskyism, as the book cogently demonstrates, remains true to the ideas which Trotsky, its spiritual father, enunciated in his time. Trotsky-

ism's entire record shows that it has been aloof from the main revolutionary movements of our time: the struggle for the establishment of a new, socialist society on a worldwide scale, the struggle of the working class and all working people in developed capitalist countries for general democratic demands, for

the liquidation of monopoly oppression and the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their complete and final national liberation. It continues to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie, following in the wake of reaction.

Gennady KOBYAKOV

WHOSE INTERESTS DOES "PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE" SERVE?

In the struggle for people's minds and hearts going on in the modern world, imperialism relies on force, uncompromising confrontation and direct interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries. Instead of openly comparing the prospects and potential of the two opposing systems capitalist ideologists more and more frequently resort to propaganda aggression. They want to turn the sphere of ideology and propaganda into a springboard for anti-socialist subversion. The current large-scale psychological warfare is part and parcel of the aggressive military policy of the imperialist circles of the USA and other NATO countries.

The nature, forms and aims of this psychological warfare are discussed in a number of books by prominent Soviet scholars, journalists specializing in international affairs and political writers. Two APN publications are among them: *Whose Interests Does "Psychological Warfare" Serve?* by Lev Nikolayev and *Washington Crusaders on the March* by Vladimir Bolshakov. These two books stand out by their poignant formulation of

the problems, profound analysis and rich factual material. The book *On the Threshold of the 1980s*, which takes the form of an interview between Academician Georgy Arbatov, an eminent Soviet scholar and public figure who is Director of the Institute of US and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans also helps understand the specifics of the present stage in the ideological confrontation between the two opposing social systems and world outlooks.

Making a scientific analysis of the world situation and of the balance of world forces, the Soviet authors show who is to blame for the aggravation of international relations, why the ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism is so sharp in our days and who stands to gain from the psychological warfare which has now assumed unprecedented proportions. Each of the above-mentioned books is an important contribution to exposing imperialism's psychological intervention against all those who are fighting for peace, socialism, freedom, democracy and social

progress. Ideological provocations instigated by the latter-day crusaders are also directed against the peoples of socialist countries, developing countries and millions of working people in capitalist countries.

In this review we shall dwell only on a few, salient problems treated in the above-mentioned books.

One of the key issues central to appraising relations between the two systems in the ideological sphere is that of the peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism and the ideological struggle between the two. It was discussed by Academician Arbatov in his talks with W. Oltmans.

"What role does ideology play in relations between Moscow and the West, the United States in particular?", the Dutch journalist asked.

Arbatov's reply was as follows: "Ideological differences between countries belonging to differing social systems should not, in our view, be an obstacle to normal political relations. At the same time, communist parties, actively championing detente and international cooperation, believe that ideological differences are fundamental and that the ideological struggle is inevitable."

Question: "How can the two concepts be reconciled?"

Answer: "Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence, in a nut-

shell, envisages the parallel and peaceful existence of states belonging to opposing social systems. These systems differ in their economic organization, the character of social relations, values and ideals. In the modern world the influence of ideologies cannot be confined to countries in which they dominate. Ideologies constantly clash with each other on a global scale and within many countries. This is not a fact which we invented, and it cannot be ignored. This must be quite clear to the Americans who are proud of their pluralist tradition."

The struggle of ideas assumed worldwide proportions after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia which launched the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. The argument between the two social systems as to whose world outlook is more correct, whose social structure is more just and whose way of life better is inevitable. As Lev Nikolayev writes in his book, "This historic dispute cannot be resolved on the battlefield. History itself will eventually announce its verdict on this issue. The competition between the ideologies has been continuing for already over sixty years; it is not a trial of military strength but a scientific contest with the aim of demonstrating, in accordance with objective laws of development, which system and which morality are more conducive to the preservation of life on earth and to the material and spiritual

flourishing of mankind."

In the long run, capitalism and its ideology are bound to lose this competition. Socialism wins more and more supporters and consolidates its position and prestige in the world with every new stage of social development.

"Clearly," Nikolayev stresses, "an honest ideological struggle does not suit imperialist circles because acquaintance with communist ideas and their implementation in socialist countries leads working people in capitalist countries to reappraise the values of the Western way of life. This is precisely what the anti-Communists dread. This is why they try to turn things upside down, spew forth lies in order to obscure the truth, counterpose ideological subversion to theoretical discussion and introduce the stratagems and techniques of psychological warfare into the sphere of ideological struggle in pursuit of their aggressive anti-communist schemes."

Being one of the main forms of the class struggle between the two systems, the ideological struggle, as it grows more and more acute, is being increasingly differentiated according to its targets and methods and means of its influence. The propaganda apparatus wielded by the ruling capitalist class is out to step up its influence not only on theory, but also on practice. Its methods are becoming ever more refined. Nikolayev writes on this score: "In the psychological warfare

which imperialism is waging against the socialist countries it employs economic, political, ideological and patently subversive means and techniques. State institutions and agencies, the communication media, intelligence outfits, venal trade union bosses, reactionary nationalistic, religious, emigrant and other groups—all take a hand in the pursuit of different campaigns. In other words, psychological warfare is the mass indoctrination of people by means of manipulative and lying propaganda which foments hostility towards socialist countries and urges military preparations for a first nuclear strike against them."

Thus, the aim of subversive activities in the ideological sphere fully coincides with the basic foreign-policy line of the US imperialist circles—their course for preparing a nuclear war. The question of war and peace is now at the centre of the ideological struggle between the two systems. Quite understandably, therefore, it has also come to the fore in the psychological warfare. Its instigators and architects resort to direct political subversion, whipping up a war psychosis and provoking conflicts and discord between peoples.

In his preface to the Soviet edition of the book *On the Threshold of the 1980s* G. Arbatov reflects on the causes of the intensified psychological at-

tacks by the present US Administration. The point is that today, more than ever before, it dreads the truth about the real state of affairs in its own country and about the position of the USSR and other socialist countries on the world scene. This is why Washington goes all out to give people a distorted view of reality. "Now, be so kind as to tell me who would be prepared, for no reason at all, to spend vast sums of money on weapons presenting the threat of nuclear catastrophe and, moreover, at the expense of allocations on one's own social needs? This is why statistics on military parity are distorted, the potential of the US allies is discounted. The geopolitical position of the USSR is ignored, information is withheld about whole systems of weapons and fake figures are given at every turn. What is being said in Washington on questions of war and peace may rightly be called the biggest lie of the 20th century."

Lies invariably go together with militarism and aggressive foreign policy. And it is no accident that they are included in the ideological arsenal of Washington politicians as the main offensive force. They spread lies with the same untiring zeal as those whose official duty is to indoctrinate the public as suits big business. Arbatov says in connection with this: "Like full-time propagandists, the highest ranking American leaders are working with sweat pouring off their brow. They

have initiated the current anti-Soviet crusade. They are at the roots of the most malignant anti-Soviet slander campaigns. They proclaim the Soviet Union and its people perfidious and immoral 'monsters', the 'cause of all evil on earth'." Such statements, Arbatov adds, make the world public anxious. In the United States, too, many sober-minded, realistic people are warning about the dangerous consequences of the militarization of the American mentality and the daily vicious distortion of the position of the Soviet side. Such warnings have been sounded by George Kennan and Averell Harriman, former US ambassadors to the USSR and many congressmen and senators, among others. But, judging by its actions, the present Administration has lost the ability to heed the voice of reason.

In his book *Washington Crusaders on the March* V. Bolshakov convincingly demonstrates that Washington's programme of confrontation with communism and its psychological warfare techniques flagrantly contradict international law and the United Nations Charter. In 1980, the 35th session of the UN General Assembly unanimously voted for the Declaration on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between States in Accordance with the UN Charter. The Declaration affirmed non-interference in the each other's internal affairs, a principle of the UN Charter, as an inviolable

norm of international law. This principle was reaffirmed in a number of other UN documents.

"The US Administration," the Soviet scholar emphasizes, "in proclaiming the programme of 'encouraging democratic changes' which amounts to an attempt to dismantle the existing system in the USSR and the other socialist countries, is violating the letter and spirit of the fundamental documents regulating Soviet-American relations," notably, Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America signed by the leaders of the two states on May 29, 1972.

The main obstacle to the establishment of normal good-neighbourly relations between the USA and socialist countries, in line with international law and the existing bilateral agreements, is the bellicose anti-communism of the US leaders who refuse to reckon with 20th century realities. Since the late 70s the US ruling circles have staged three large-scale subversive campaigns against real socialism: firstly, the myth about the "Soviet military threat", secondly, the hue and cry over the "violation of human rights" in the USSR and other socialist countries and, thirdly, charges levelled against the USSR for its alleged complicity in international terrorism. An important role in all these campaigns, as in many other psychological warfare activities is assigned to the bourgeois mass media which

are not only the tools of imperialist policy but often direct instigators of subversive acts against socialist countries. Bolshakov and Nikolayev expose these activities citing numerous examples.

A number of major organizational and financial measures have recently been carried out in the system of US establishments catering to the psychological warfare at its new stage. One of these was the reorganization of the United States Information Agency which is supposed to give a new dimension to foreign-policy propaganda and put it on a par with the military tasks of ensuring the West's security. Ideological and psychological justification of the crusade against the USSR is provided by Project Truth. In the last three years many subversive anti-Soviet acts have been carried out under its auspices. The USIA central apparatus has a special group which monitors Soviet propaganda and also a flexible response service circulating anti-Soviet material which distorts the sum and substance of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

The imperialist propaganda machine, which American historian Theodore White aptly dubbed a brainwashing system, is running at top gear. Lev Nikolayev singles out the following tendencies in the activities of the mass media: more active involvement in propaganda acts and operations of US officials; increased coordination of actions with the White House, the

State Department, the intelligence services in the country and with the allies in military blocs abroad. The forms and methods of ideological struggle are differentiated to suit the conditions of particular socialist countries and developing states.

As the books of the Soviet scholars show, definite forces stand behind this policy: the group of monopoly corporations engaged mostly in military production and therefore having a vested interest in the arms race escalation. The influence of business circles on US foreign policy has always been strong, but it has never been so considerable as under the Reagan Administration.

The military-industrial complex has nowhere been so powerful in the last decades as in the United States. It is in line

with its interests that the flames of psychological warfare are being fanned with renewed force, with the connivance and even direct involvement of the top echelons of the US Administration. We cannot but agree with the conclusion drawn in the book "Whose Interests Does 'Psychological Warfare' Serve?", that "this warfare is not only a means of propaganda support for imperialism's foreign policy strategy but also an 'independent' factor for undermining detente and building up tension. Being spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community it also threatens the whole world and, therefore, all peoples must show their utmost vigilance in countering it."

Yekaterina SHALAYEVA (APN)

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