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The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

Programme of construction and peace ●

The Geneva meeting. What is next? ●

Does the arms race increase employment? ●

Who is to blame for terrorism? ●

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1986

**SOCIALISM:
THEORY
AND PRACTICE**

The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

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More often than not we hear allegations that red terrorism is deeply rooted in Marxist-Leninist teaching, that neither Marx nor Engels denounced it. Left extremists consider themselves to be Marxists, revolutionaries, the red. The names of their organizations speak for themselves: in Italy, it is "the red brigades", in the FRG, it is "the fraction of the Red Army", in Japan, it's "Japanese Red Army". Their bend for the red colour is obvious. Moreover, the demonstrations of Left extremists are held under red flags. Is our press right when it puts Left extremists on the same level as Communists?

Gianni Labrioli,
Italy

Ghennady Kobayakov, a journalist,
answers Mr Labrioli's letter on p. 15.

I admire the great Soviet people who made tremendous sacrifices to rid mankind of the brown plague of fascism. For nine years I fought against French colonialists for Vietnam's freedom and independence. I know full well what a war is and hate aggressors of every hue. The victory of the USSR in World War II inspired the Vietnamese people for revolution. It thanks the great Soviet people for this.

Nguyen Ngoc Hoan,
Vietnam

TO IMPLEMENT THE GENEVA ACCORDS

Time is carrying us further away from 19th-21st November, 1985, when General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan met in Geneva. However, it is no exaggeration to say that this event remains in the focus of world attention. Its results, direct influence on the course of international affairs and possible implications for the development of the situation in the long run are being examined everywhere.

The great work carried out by the Soviet delegation in Geneva has received enthusiastic support from the Soviet people and the unanimous approval of the allies and friends of the Soviet Union. It meets with the broad understanding and backing of realistically-minded state and political figures, and broad sections of the world public.

It is already clear to all that the Geneva meeting has become a major political event in international life. In this crucial period for international relations when mankind is faced with the choice of survival or the threat of annihilation, the Soviet-American summit was necessary and useful. Its results create possibilities for the transition from the state of dangerous confrontation to constructive quests

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for ways to normalize Soviet-American relations and improve the international situation as a whole.

The meeting centred on the most vital, most burning problem of our time—that of war and peace. In the course of difficult, sometimes pitched negotiations, the sides impartially examined and assessed the central problem in Soviet-American relations—that of security, and above all of preventing the arms race in outer space and reducing nuclear armaments on earth in their organic interrelationship. Unfortunately, no accord was reached on this issue. At the same time, it is of fundamental importance that the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States declared in their joint statement that a nuclear war must never be fought and cannot be won. They emphasized the importance of preventing any war between the Soviet Union and the United States, whether nuclear or conventional, and pledged not to seek military superiority.

In its resolution on the results of the meeting, the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that, in this sense, the outcome of the Geneva talks can exert a positive influence on the political and psychological climate in current international relations, improve them and diminish the risk of nuclear war.

The Soviet Union resolutely favours the consolidation of trust between all states, the development of equitable, mutually beneficial and constructive cooperation between them, irrespective of the differences in socio-political systems.

The Soviet Union and the United States bear particular responsibility for the character of world development due to their military, economic, scientific and technical potential, and international prestige. The results of the summit meeting show that, in its approach to the Geneva dialogue, the USSR took account of its historical responsibility for the future of the world.

Meanwhile, the most reactionary circles of US imperialism, the military-industrial complex and its henchmen in the American administration did their utmost, right up to the eve of the summit to either thwart it, or turn this major political dialogue into a "dialogue of the deaf". The incident of the "leak" of the notorious "Weinberger letter", in which the Pentagon chief urged the President not to give way on a single item of the agenda at the talks is just one illustration of the attempts to torpedo the meeting.

The Soviet Union realistically assessed the situation: the course towards confrontation, adopted by the US "hawks", is unpopular in America, Western Europe and the

world at large. The USSR proceeded from the premise that any, however slight, chance must be used to reverse the dangerous turn in world events. That is precisely why the USSR, during the preparations for the meeting, both firmly rebuffed the US line towards upsetting the military-strategic balance and put forward large-scale peace initiatives taking a constructive approach to questions of peace and security.

The same approach was displayed in the course of the Geneva meeting to which the Soviet Union went with the realization that, if a direct and frank dialogue were not started today, it would be a hundred times more difficult, if not altogether impossible, tomorrow.

The USSR went to Geneva with a concrete programme for improving the international atmosphere and bilateral Soviet-American relations, with radical proposals in the field of arms reduction and for preventing the arms race in outer space.

What is the essence of the Soviet proposals? They are based on the premise that an immutable principle should underlie Soviet-American relations—that of ensuring equal security for both sides. Strategic parity must come to be accepted as the natural state for bilateral relations.

The unilateral moratorium on nuclear blasts, introduced by the Soviet Union is of immense importance for preserving and consolidating peace. If the United States agrees to stop nuclear blasts, the moratorium will become permanent. As a result, an end will be put to the refinement of nuclear weapons, and they will gradually die away.

The USSR proposed a total ban on strike space arms. No matter what they might be called—"strategic defence initiative" (SDI), space "shield", etc.—the peoples ought to know the truth about them. And we set out this truth frankly in Geneva again. The development of strike space weapons will not consolidate anyone's security. On the contrary, nuclear strike systems, protected by a space "shield", will become even more dangerous.

As a result, the existing treaty mechanisms curbing the arms race, primarily the ABM Treaty, will collapse and the present-day strategic balance will, therefore, be reduced to a strategic chaos, leading to the feverish arms race spiralling in every direction until it becomes totally uncontrollable. Mistrust among countries will grow and their security will diminish considerably.

Space weapons are not at all defensive. They may give rise to the dangerous illusion that it is possible to deliver a first nuclear strike from behind a space "shield" and to

avert or at least neutralize retaliation. There is no guarantee that those who develop the "shield" will not be tempted to use space weapons also to hit targets on Earth.

Proceeding from the principle of equality and equal security, the USSR suggested that all the nuclear systems of the USSR and the USA capable of reaching each other's territories be reduced by half, with a total ban on space strike weapons.

The Soviet Union's approach is fair and honest. It embraces all those systems which come within the strategic balance of forces, and makes it possible to take account of the extent of the nuclear threat actually facing either side.

The Soviet proposals are not aimed at reducing US security. This is noted, in particular, by many military experts among them even former US Defence Secretaries. The lamentations of the Pentagon propagandists to the effect that the USSR's proposals are aimed at "preserving intact" its more accurate and powerful missiles are aimed at the uninformed. The Soviet proposals envision the reduction of the number of such ICBMs and the limiting of the share of their warheads in the total nuclear munitions.

Certain quarters in the West are also raising a hullabaloo over Soviet medium-range missiles. The USSR proposes substantially reducing them in the context of resolving the issue of medium-range nuclear systems in Europe.

But this problem cannot be tackled discounting the nuclear systems of Britain and France. The USSR is prepared to look for solutions here as well. To this end, it suggests that direct exchanges of opinion be started with France and Britain.

In Geneva, the US President upheld with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, his country's legal and moral right to pursue the Star Wars programme. The US position rules out any ban on the development of space strike weapons. Moreover, it was proposed that their development should be "legalized".

The Soviet delegation said most definitely in Geneva: the USSR will find an answer to the deployment of space strike weapons. This is shown by past experience. Moreover, it will be an effective and quite prompt answer which would be less costly than the US programme. But this will only be done if the USSR has no other alternative. The Soviet Union prefers a different path—that of Star Peace rather than Star Wars.

The Geneva talks on curbing the arms race were keen and extremely frank. There was no room for political and

propaganda trivialities there: too much depends on the solution of these problems.

The unwillingness of the US leadership to renounce the Star Wars programme made it impossible in Geneva to find solutions to major questions related to ending the arms race. Arms stockpiles have not decreased as a result of the summit and the arms race goes on.

Upholding its principled positions the Soviet delegation made immense efforts to achieve accords on the major issues of war and peace.

To begin with, the sides agreed to speed up the accomplishment of the tasks formulated in the joint Soviet-American statement of January 1985, those of preventing the arms race in space and ending it on Earth, limiting and reducing nuclear armaments and strengthening strategic stability.

Clearly, the positions of the two sides have points of contact and make it possible to seek mutually acceptable solutions on radical reductions in nuclear armaments with a ban on space strike weapons. Radical reductions in nuclear armaments are impossible without the latter. It is to be hoped that what Washington said on the SDI in Geneva was not its final word on this matter. At the same time, it is obvious that the fact of continued talks must not be used as a justification or a cover for the arms race.

The USSR and the USA also reiterated in Geneva their commitment to contribute in every way to making the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons more effective and agreed on joint practical steps in that field. This also is a contribution to maintaining world stability and to reducing the risk of nuclear war.

The joint advocacy by the leaders of the USSR and the USA of the universal and complete elimination of such barbarous weapons of mass destruction as chemical weapons is of fundamental importance.

Agreement was reached on contributing, jointly with the other states participating in the Stockholm Conference, to its early completion with the adoption of a document which would include both specific commitments on the non-use of force and mutually acceptable confidence-building measures.

Recognizing the usefulness of exchanges of opinion on regional questions, the sides undertook to continue such exchanges on a regular basis.

Useful agreements were reached on a number of other questions relating to the development of bilateral cooperation between the USSR and the USA. They can provide a

PROGRAMME OF CONSTRUCTION AND PEACE

by Vladimir SERGEYEV

The 27th Congress of the CPSU will take place in late February-early March of this year. It will consider and approve the redrafted Programme of the CPSU which has been discussed in all primary party organizations and work collectives since late last October. This article examines and comments on the Programme's basic provisions.

THE PARTY'S BANNER

The first Programme adopted by the Second Congress of the Party of Russian Communists in 1903, became a banner of the struggle to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and to carry out a victorious socialist revolution. The working people of Russia led by the Party of Lenin overthrew the rule of capital and began building a new world. In 1919, the Eighth Congress of the Party adopted the second Programme. Its implementation resulted in the construction of socialism in the USSR. The third Programme was adopted by the Party's 22nd Congress in 1961. In keeping with it the CPSU launched creative work in all areas of communist construction. The Soviet people made spectacular progress in every sphere of social life, and the country entered the stage of developed socialism.

The tasks of further advance towards communism demanded an in-depth analysis and specification of current and long-term aims and ways of achieving them, and new methods in the Party's organizational, social, economic, and ideological activities. As Mikhail Gorbachev noted at the October 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the need was "not only to sum up the results of what had been done and accomplished but to draw up a

good base for raising the level of trust between the USSR and the USA, between the Soviet and American peoples, naturally if those agreements are respected and if everything positive in-built in them is developed rather than artificial pretexts sought for frustrating them.

It was agreed in Geneva—and this is highly significant—that political contacts between the USSR and the USA, first and foremost summit-level contacts, would be continued.

The Geneva meeting is of major significance, primarily because it opens up possibilities for normalization of relations between the USSR and the USA and for an overall improvement in the international situation. The agreements reached in Geneva can exert a long-term positive influence on the course of world developments if they are translated into practical deeds.

The Soviet side takes the accords reached in Geneva seriously and will seek to improve both the overall atmosphere and the content of Soviet-American relations on the basis of mutual respect and complete equality without any discrimination. The USSR is prepared, in the spirit of honest cooperation with the United States, to work for the curtailment of the arms race, keeping it out of space, and for the improvement of the world situation. We have the right to expect a similar approach from the USA. "We have entered a particularly crucial period, when words, intentions and political statements should be translated into concrete decisions and actions," Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his speech on the occasion of the annual meeting of the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council. "What I mean, as you must realize, are decisions and actions which would go towards putting Soviet-American relations on an even keel and generally improving the world political climate".

Pravda, December 13, 1985

clear and well-substantiated programme of action for the sake of man and peace on Earth".

The Party has drawn up such a programme. The re-drafted Programme is based primarily upon the continuity of the CPSU's fundamental guidelines. The time that has passed since the adoption of the third Programme has borne out the correctness of its basic provisions.

The CPSU understands continuity as Lenin understood it, which means the creative development and enrichment of theory and policy on the basis of past experience, permanent movement forward, the identification and solution of urgent problems and the elimination of obstacles in the way of communist construction. The Programme's updated edition critically reassesses those of its provisions which have not stood the test of time.

The updated edition of the third Programme of the CPSU is a programme of the planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism, of Soviet society's further movement towards communism through the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development, a programme of struggle for peace and social progress.

SCALING NEW HEIGHTS

The updated edition of the Programme contains a profound analysis of the character and essence of the present epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism, of the historic competition of the two world socio-political systems, the epoch of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, the collapse of colonialism, and the struggle of the main motive forces of social development—world socialism, the working-class and communist movement, the peoples of the liberated countries and mass democratic movements—against imperialism with its policy of aggression and oppression, and for democracy and social progress.

The updated edition describes more comprehensively socialist society built in the USSR, showing its historic achievements and unquestionable socio-economic, political, ideological and moral advantages as a stage of human progress superior to capitalism. Socialism is a society where everything is done for the sake of man and for the good of man.

The task now is to bring about comprehensive improvement in every aspect of life and make the most of the potential and advantages of socialism. The CPSU believes that there is no sharp demarcation line between the two phases of the communist formation. The way to communism is through the advancement of existing socialism. The re-drafted Programme, based on the provisions of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the sum total of historical experience, outlines the highest phase of the communist formation. Naturally, the Party does not attempt to give all the details of the image of the future society or visualize its every aspect. But we should not belittle the great ideals of communism, unreasonably slow down our advance towards them or leave the communist perspective out of sight. That is why the Programme's provision of the need to consolidate the general communist principles inherent in socialism is important, both theoretically and politically.

THE CONCEPT OF ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT

For Soviet society to reach a qualitatively new level it is necessary to accelerate its social and economic development. That is the sum and substance of the present-day policy of the CPSU.

The concept of acceleration, with which Soviet Communists are approaching the 27th Congress, is the pivot of the re-drafted Programme. This concept includes a fundamental renewal of the material and technical base through the application of the latest achievements of the scientific and technological revolution; the advancement of social, primarily economic relations; far-reaching changes in the content and nature of work, as well as in the material and cultural conditions of human life; and activization of the entire system of political, social and ideological institutions.

The re-drafted Programme proceeds from the decisive role the economy plays in society's further advance. Scientific and technological progress is the main lever of its accelerated development. The reconstruction of the national economy will make it possible radically to increase labour productivity, raise the product quality and output, and use resources more rationally.

The Party sees its major task in the improvement of production relations. The draft clearly formulates the concept of restructuring the economic mechanism, essentially through the extensive and comprehensive utilization of the advantages of the socialist system.

The Party regards social policy as a powerful means of boosting the country's progress. A paramount objective is to raise Soviet people's welfare to a qualitatively new level. Allocations for satisfying the people's needs are to double over the next fifteen years.

The CPSU attaches particular importance to enhancing the creative aspect of work, raising its standards and rewarding skill and efficiency, which gradually turns work into man's basic necessity.

An important feature of our social relations' development is the drawing closer together of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals and the building of a classless society.

The draft formulates the main objectives of national policy: to strengthen the Soviet multinational state and build up the material and cultural potential of each Soviet republic.

The draft contains provisions on the promotion of Soviet democracy and more complete realization of the socialist self-government by the people, by involving more and more citizens in running the affairs of state and society.

The Soviet state is the main instrument of advancing socialism. One of the concerns of the party policy is to develop it and to bring out ever more fully its democratic national character. The draft contains a major theoretical conclusion: it is only with the maturing of the requisite social, economic and ideological factors and the involvement of all citizens in state administration, given the appropriate international conditions, that the socialist state will, as Lenin predicted, increasingly develop into a "transitional form from the state to a non-state" and assume a non-political character. The highest form of social organization—communist public self-government—will arise under communism.

In the sphere of ideological work and in education, science and culture the Programme sets out to form a harmoniously developed, socially active individual combining spiritual wealth, moral integrity and physical perfection.

Every line of the redrafted Programme is aimed at vitalizing the human factor—the decisive factor in the country's socio-economic progress.

TO SAFEGUARD PEACE AND SECURITY

The aims and orientations of the CPSU's foreign policy are closely linked with its domestic strategic objectives and express the Soviet people's desire to engage in construct-

ive labour and live in peace with all nations. At the present dangerous round of world history it is vital to curb the forces of militarism and war and ensure a stable peace and security.

The CPSU believes, the Programme states, that no matter how great the threat posed to peace by the policy of the aggressive imperialist circles, world war is not fatally inevitable. It is possible to avert war and to save mankind from catastrophe. This is the historical mission of socialism, of all progressive and peace-loving forces of our planet.

The CPSU attaches prime importance to the development of friendly ties with other socialist states, especially with the countries of the socialist community. The CPSU considers it its internationalist duty to strengthen, together with the fraternal parties, the unity, the might and the influence of the community of the fraternal countries.

Among the distinguishing features of the present period is the entry of the once enslaved peoples onto the path of independence. The CPSU and the Soviet state hold that it is their sacred right to determine their future and choose their own social system. The CPSU supports the struggle of the newly-free countries against the neo-colonialist policy of imperialism, against the vestiges of colonialism, for peace and general security.

The CPSU's policy with regard to the capitalist states is the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. The draft specifies a set of measures aimed at establishing normal, stable relations between the USSR and the USA, peaceful good-neighbourliness and cooperation among the European countries, and constructive measures to stop the arms race, bring about disarmament, and ensure peace and the security of nations.

In relations with the fraternal parties, the CPSU firmly adheres to the principle of proletarian internationalism which presupposes both revolutionary solidarity and recognition of the complete independence and equality of every party. Steadily steering a course for unity of action in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, the CPSU upholds the revolutionary ideals and Marxist-Leninist foundations of the international communist movement. It resolutely combats any influence of bourgeois ideology on the working class and any manifestations of dogmatism and revisionism.

TO SERVE THE PEOPLE—THE SUPREME GOAL OF THE CPSU

The Leninist Party has travelled a long path. With the

growing social homogeneity of Soviet society, the CPSU, remaining the party of the working class in its class essence and ideology, has become the party of the whole people.

At this stage in history, its leading role is steadily growing, what with the widening scale and increasing complexity of tasks of advancing socialism and accelerating the country's social and economic growth. Among other factors enhancing the Party's leading role are the development of the political system, the promotion of democracy and socialist self-government by the people, the need for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and for closer cohesion of the socialist countries, their wider cooperation, and stronger unity of the international communist, working class and national liberation movements. The enhancement of the Party's role is also dictated by the increasing complexity of the international political situation and the need for further persistent efforts to curb the forces of aggression and save mankind from the nuclear threat.

In guiding Soviet society politically, the CPSU relies on its time-tested organizational principles, which include, primarily, democratic centralism, the Leninist principles of party membership and work with cadres, collective leadership, consolidation of party discipline, and proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The Party exists for the people and sees the meaning of its activities in serving the people. The Party considers it its primary duty to take counsel with the working people on major issues of domestic and foreign policy. The Party and nationwide discussion of the redrafted Programme which began last October is fresh proof of the inviolability of this principle. "Every clause of our programme is something that every working man and woman must know, assimilate and understand," Lenin said. In the course of the pre-Congress discussion of the new draft Programme the ideas contained in this important CPSU document become assimilated by the masses and turn into a great motive force for accelerating the country's social and economic progress.

Pravda, October 31, 1985*

DIALOGUE WITH THE READER

"RED" ALLIES OF REACTION

What one reads now and then in bourgeois publications about "red" terrorism allegedly rooted in the "Marxist-Leninist world outlook", Mr Labrioli, graphically illustrates how Western propagandists distort the actual state of affairs. Here they put their stake, above all, on the readers' lack of information. So I shall try to help you form a true picture.

I hope you do not mind my beginning with an emphatic denial: revolutionary Marxism has always rejected terrorism, adventurism and all kinds of plots. Terroristic actions by individuals and groups posing as Marxist followers, as "fighters" against imperialism, have nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism.

The press carried reports about subversive actions by anarchist terrorists and by Trotskyites. Today, they are usually called "left" extremists or just "leftists". Many bourgeois media portray "leftists" as revolutionaries. However, the capturing and brutal killing of hostages, hijackings of passenger planes, acts of vandalism and hooliganism, terrible vengeance wreaked on "renegades" from their own ranks—all this looks very much like common crime. And whatever the motives of these criminal actions are, they have absolutely nothing in common with the genuinely revolutionary liberation movement.

This should be mentioned because it is widely circulated in the West that Trotskyite and anarchist groups belong to the communist movement. Official bourgeois reference books put members of "leftist" groups on a par with Communists. And "leftists" themselves willingly pass themselves off for "followers of Marxism". They proclaim Marxism and anarchism "twin brothers". The version about anarchism being a variety of Marxism was taken up also by some bourgeois philosophers and sociologists.

Trotskyites, too, engage in subversive activities against the revolutionary movement, posing as "successors to revolutionary Marxism". But as in the past, today's Trotskyite "theoreticians" seek to oust Marxism and to replace it by Trotskyite ideology, whose anti-

Mr Labrioli's letter is on p. 2

revolutionary essence was exposed by V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Party and the Soviet state.

"Left" extremists attribute to Marxism features which it has never had nor could have. They impute to it the outright preaching of violence, praise of the adventurist actions of "active revolutionary minorities" called upon to "stir up" and "arouse" the masses which are allegedly in deep slumber. In their interpretation, Marxism is a doctrine of sectarianism and plotting. And they style themselves true Marxists.

Well, you can, of course, call a crocodile an antelope. But this will not make it a vegetarian. Equally futile are the Leftists' attempts to conceal their true substance.

Incidentally, present-day left-wing extremist groups resort not only to ideological camouflage to pass off their criminal actions for a "revolutionary drive".

One hundred and fifty-four years ago, in June 1832, the Paris workers first hoisted the red banner of revolutionary struggle over their barricades. Since then, the international working class has won many great victories under this banner of struggle for social justice, for a society free of exploiters. Under this banner, revolutionaries won victories and died. In the grim days of reaction they cherished it as a most valuable relic, at the peril of their lives. Nowadays, cashing in on the prestige of the red colour of revolution, Italian terrorists call themselves the "red brigades", which in 1978 abducted and murdered prominent political figure Aldo Moro, chairman of the National Council of the Christian-Democratic Party of Italy. Other filthy crimes followed. An anarchist group in West Germany, which set the task of becoming "big city guerrillas", called itself a "red army faction". The self-styled "red army men" declared their intention of "forcing their way, arms in hand, into the political centres of contemporary Japan".

The names of terrorist groupings, the actions they carry out under red flags often mislead people. For it is indeed not so easy to see where a truly revolutionary flag is unfurled and where it is hoisted by provocateurs.

It would be wrong, of course, to tar all members of left-wing extremist groups with the same brush. Along with inveterate anti-Communists who are the "ideologists" and leaders of these groups, there are those among their rank and file members who are genuinely misguided, those who joined them because they lack political experience.

Among those committing terroristic acts there are quite a few who believe that only by assassinating, kidnapping or bombing is it possible to strike terror into the powers-that-be and to undermine the domination of the monopoly bourgeoisie. And they are ready to sacrifice their lives for their convictions.

One can understand these people but not agree with them. They are mistaken in thinking that their actions are compatible with

Marxism. It is not for nothing that Marx and Engels called terrorists and various plotters "the alchemists of the revolution". Advocating the indubitable right of every nation and the oppressed masses to wage the most resolute, including armed, struggle for freedom, against all forms of oppression, the founders of scientific socialism, at the same time, opposed any attempt by political extremists to replace this struggle by pseudo-revolutionary, sectarian activities. They condemned terroristic acts perpetrated by extremists. "The Communists know only too well," Engels wrote, "that all conspiracies are not only futile but even harmful."

Marxists, Mr Labrioli, have always rejected and reject today adventurism in politics, advocating proletarian revolution instead of anarchist petty-bourgeois rebellion. Revolution, Marx and Engels wrote, "is an act whereas rebellion is no act at all". Marx foretold that revolutions of the modern period would become less and less improvised and spontaneous and more and more conscious, organized actions of masses and parties. Engels wrote: "The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for, body and soul."

Lenin was equally intolerable of political extremism, Mr Labrioli. More resolutely than anybody else, he combatted adventurism in politics and came out against parties and groups, which had no faith in the working class, in the popular masses and which regarded terror as the main method of struggle.

Lenin wrote that "Bolshevism took shape, developed and became steered in the long years of struggle against *petty-bourgeois revolutionism*, which smacks of anarchism, or borrows something from the latter". He said that when the Russian Marxists were just launching their activities, they often had to struggle for their right to existence against the Narodnaya Volya adherents, who understood by "politics" an activity isolated from the working-class movement and who reduced politics purely to conspiratorial struggle. Back in 1897 Lenin emphasized that unlike the Narodovoltsi active in Russia at the close of the 19th century, Social-Democrats "do not believe in conspiracies; they think that the period of conspiracies has long passed away, that to reduce political struggle to conspiracy means, on the one hand, immensely restricting its scope, and, on the other hand, choosing the most unsuitable methods of struggle".

Any unbiased student of the history of the Marxist movement in Russia cannot but know that Lenin denounced not only the theory and tactics of the Narodovoltsi who fearlessly entered into a single-handed combat with tsarism at the time of the rise of the revolutionary movement, before the Russian proletariat had raised the banner of mass struggle. When the petty-bourgeois party of Socialist-

Revolutionaries appeared on the Russian scene in 1901-1902, proclaiming individual terror as the main weapon of struggle at the time of a powerful revolutionary movement of the Russian working class, Lenin resolutely censured the Socialist-Revolutionaries for their inability to properly assess the situation, to appraise the tactics of the tsarist government and to apply the correct methods of struggle against it.

In 1902-1904, the Socialist-Revolutionaries assassinated two leaders of the tsarist repressive apparatus—interior minister Sipyagin and his successor Pleve. And what happened? This did not “scare” the authorities and did not produce the reaction among the masses for which the plotters hoped. No significant changes occurred in the political situation in the country—only harsher police repressions.

In his work “Why the Social Democrats Must Declare a Determined and Relentless War on the Socialist-Revolutionaries” Lenin wrote: “The Socialist-Revolutionaries, by including terrorism in their programme and advocating it in its present-day form as a means of political struggle, are thereby doing the most serious harm to the movement, destroying the indissoluble ties between socialist work and the mass of the revolutionary class. No verbal assurances and vows can disprove the unquestionable fact that present-day terrorism, as practised and advocated by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, is *not connected in any way* with work among the masses, for the masses, or together with the masses; that the organization of terroristic acts by the party distracts our very scanty organizational forces from their difficult and by no means completed task of organizing a revolutionary *workers’* party; that *in practice* the terrorism of the Socialist-Revolutionaries is nothing else than *single combat*, a method that has been wholly condemned by the experience of history.”

Several years later, referring to the assassination of Sipyagin and Pleve, Lenin wrote: “In Russia the terrorists (against whom we always struggled) carried out a number of individual attacks; but in December 1905, when matters at last reached the stage of a mass movement, insurrection—when it was necessary to help the *masses* to use violence—then just at that moment the ‘terrorists’ were *missing*.”

At the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (1903), at which the Bolshevik Party (as the CPSU was called then) was formed, Lenin declared that the party “decisively rejects terrorism, i.e., the system of individual political assassinations, as being a method of political struggle”. After the congress, the Bolsheviks waged a principled and resolute struggle against all manifestations of petty-bourgeois revolutionism and terror in particular, not only in Russia but elsewhere.

When the king of Portugal was killed in 1908, Lenin expressed his sympathies for the desperadoes who assassinated “the king who had made a mockery of the constitution”, but, at the same time, unambiguously emphasized the hopelessness of such a method of

struggle against the monarchy. “We regret,” he wrote, “that in the happening to the king of Portugal there is still clearly visible the element of conspiratorial, i.e., impotent, terror, one that essentially fails to achieve its purpose.”

In October 1916, in connection with the assassination of Prime Minister Stürgkh of Austria (shot dead by Social Democrat Friedrich Adler), Lenin again stressed in a letter to Vienna that such actions “are *inexpedient* methods of political struggle... Only the mass movement can be considered genuine political struggle”.

On November 4 of the same year, addressing the congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party on behalf of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, Lenin specially dwelt on terror. Summing up the lessons of history, he said: “We are convinced that the experience of revolution and counter-revolution in Russia has proved the correctness of our Party’s more than twenty-year struggle against terrorism as tactics.”

You might object to the abundance of quotations, Mr. Labrioli. But we could not do without them for, after all, we are dealing with a problem which is best illustrated by original sources than by conveying their meaning in one’s own words. This is all the more important since the West often claims, as you write, that “terrorism is rooted in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook”, that “neither Marx and Engels nor Lenin have ever denounced it”. You will agree, I believe, that the above quotations prove the contrary.

This historical survey is necessary not only in order to show the actual principled attitude of Marxists-Leninists to ideology and practice of political extremism, but also because many of its supporters seek replies to today’s problems in the past, taking counsel with their predecessors.

Marxists have always censured terror as a method of political struggle. As genuine revolutionaries, Communists do not, in principle, deny the possibility and, under certain circumstances, the inevitability of revolutionary violence in relations with the class enemy, but in forms which directly involve the masses and assure such involvement. “Without the working people,” Lenin stressed, “all bombs are powerless, patently powerless.” Violence against the class enemy is justified when it is an organic part of the revolutionary movement of the masses against social or national oppression, when it grows out of this movement in response to the “counter-revolutionary terror”, to the frenzied resistance of the outgoing class.

The violence of terrorists, of “isolated heroes” who oppose themselves to the “crowd”, has no justification in objective social processes. Indeed, it is not so difficult to organize an attack on some high-ranking capitalist official, but immeasurably more difficult to arouse the masses for a struggle which would lead to the collapse of the system based on violence and oppression.

You may naturally wonder who has a vested interest in terrorism, if Communists have nothing to do with it. Why is it so rife in the West?

What are its real roots? In my view, there are several reasons for this, but perhaps the most important of them, confirmed by the entire historical experience, is that terror is always spawned by terror. Take a look at the past and you will see that terror as a method of struggle has existed in society ever since it was divided into classes, into oppressors and the oppressed. The exploiters resorted to terror to keep the people submissive. But this backfired, giving rise to acts of terror against representatives of the dominant classes.

The times changed, one exploiting system gave way to another. The oppressed masses gradually gained political experience and mastered the skills of the class struggle. But recourse to terror was a temptation which far from all could resist. Despair prompted rash actions. At times they brought some satisfaction (for terrorists also committed acts of just retribution), but only for a while. Despotic emperors fell at the hands of terrorists, but their place would be taken by other, even crueller rulers. Their satraps would be stabbed or shot to death, but their successors would be even fiercer.

Violence as the practice and policy of the dominant classes is applied by reaction to this day. Genocide was practised by American imperialism against the freedom-loving people of Vietnam. The apartheid of the racists of South Africa, the Israeli aggressors' atrocities on the occupied Arab territories, the repressions in Northern Ireland, brutal reprisals against the democratic forces in Chile are all instances of wholesale terror.

No wonder therefore that in a society which sanctions violence the temptation to use its own methods to counter it not only remains but even grows stronger in some ways.

Nor can we discount some side-effects of such an indisputably positive process as the expansion of the social base of the revolutionary movement, the involvement of ever new strata of working people unschooled in class battles. These are, above all, some sections of the ruined petty and middle bourgeoisie and politically innocent young people who think that sheer revolutionary "intuition" is more important than reliance on the broad strata of working people. Economic hardships, mass unemployment and a dread of the future breed despair and discontent. Young people, many of whom for years cannot find jobs and a place in the sun, are particularly prone to such moods. In Western Europe alone there are more than five million jobless under 25.

These politically inexperienced young people more readily respond to anarchistic ideas, to the desire to avenge themselves for bourgeois society's indifference to their needs. They fall prey to adventuristic appeals for "direct action", for acts of terror which are supposedly a short cut to social change.

Notice, Mr Labrioli, that "left" extremists act in different, but always provoking ways. Yet the monopoly bourgeoisie not only puts up with their behaviour but even patronizes them. The reason is that

the monopoly bourgeoisie's concern is to contain the growing desire of working people in the West to democratize social and political life, to implement radical social reforms. Speculating on the "horrors of revolutionary terror", giving detailed reports of the "leftist" sorties, bourgeois propagandists try to frighten the public with the "threat from the left", intimating that in the event of profound social changes things will be even "worse", even more "terrible". These are attempts to discredit the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement.

It is also clear that the monopoly bourgeoisie uses the actions of "left" extremists as an excuse for its anti-democratic actions. Thus, their terroristic actions in the FRG led to the adoption of laws curtailing citizens' democratic rights. In your country, Mr Labrioli, A. Moro's kidnapping led to the activation of fascist and other anti-democratic forces. And, the old malicious tune about the "hand of Moscow" is churned out again and again to scare the public even more.

These primitive lies are complemented with efforts to link "red" terrorism with Marxism-Leninism, to equate terrorists politically and ideologically with Communists. This is an attempt to kill two birds with one stone: first, to put the blame at the wrong door and, second, to vilify the Marxist-Leninist theory, to foster anti-communist sentiments among the working masses.

"Left" extremists commit a crime against revolution, discrediting the very idea of revolution. Their ideology is deeply anti-revolutionary, directed as it is against the forces which are really fighting for socialism, democracy and peace. It is fundamentally alien to Marxism-Leninism and the communist movement.

Compare all these facts, Mr Labrioli, with reports carried in your press. I think they give enough food for thought. By making such a comparison, an unbiased person will inevitably come to conclusions which are at odds with the stereotypes of bourgeois propaganda.

Ghennady KOPYAKOV

STP COMMENTS

IS THERE AN "ENERGY CRISIS" IN THE USSR?

The Western press is trumpeting about an "energy crisis" in the Soviet Union. It is claimed that since the early eighties oil production has been falling off and that in the near future the USSR would become a big importer of this valuable raw product. This is what Anatoly MAKSIMOV, Cand. Sc. (Econ.), has to say on this.

These contentions do not tally with the real facts. They are disproved by the development of the Soviet power industry in recent years. Thus, from 1975 to 1984 oil output (including gas condensate) increased by 122 million tons and natural gas by 298 billion cubic metres. The output of electricity in this period rose by 454 billion kWh.

The draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000, at present widely discussed by the Soviet people, devotes much attention to the further development of the fuel and power industry. According to the document, in 1990 oil and gas condensate production is to reach 630-640 million tons, coal—780-800 million tons, and gas—835-850 billion cubic metres.

The main region accounting for most of the growth of liquid fuel production is Western Siberia. Oil industry is expanding in Kazakhstan and oil prospecting is going on in Eastern Siberia. The Soviet Union is also expanding the extraction of oil from sea deposits. Geological prospecting organizations are supplied with new machines which can sink wells 4,000-5,000 metres deep.

This takes the wind out of the Sovietologists' sails. To turn their wishes into fact, the imperialist circles pursue a policy towards the USSR which could create economic

difficulties for it. For example, they eagerly try to exploit such a factor as the disruption of the agreements on the supply of oil and gas production and transportation equipment to the USSR.

The US imperialist circles have set out to subvert scientific, technical and economic relations with the USSR hoping that this would halt the development of the Soviet country and, in particular, its progress in the oil and gas industry and cause an "energy crisis". In July 1978 the US Administration banned the sale of technology and then oil and gas equipment to the Soviet Union.

When the Reagan Administration came into office in 1980, discriminatory measures against the USSR and other socialist countries were sharply intensified. The "strategists" of the Hoover Institution and the Stanford and Georgetown universities continued to believe that without American technology and equipment, fuel prospecting and production in the USSR would slow down or come to a halt. Motivated by this pet idea, they advised using technology as a lever for applying pressure on the Soviet Union.

But the business community was divided on this. Some believed that Western technology played a subsidiary role and that even if the West introduced a complete embargo on its export to the USSR, the latter had a sufficient scientific and production base to manufacture its own oil and gas producing equipment. Others were of the opinion that the USA could not effectively influence the development of the Soviet power industry, since the share of American oil and gas technology exported to the Soviet Union was negligible. Of the total Soviet purchases of oil and gas equipment worth 7.1 billion dollars in 1972-1976 only 0.55 billion dollars' worth came from the USA, the rest was supplied by European and Japanese rival firms.

Opponents of the embargo also argued that the USA could not compete on the world market with Western Europe and Japan as far as the prices of oil equipment and its quality went. But these views of some businessmen did not have any effect on the Reagan Administration which, spurred on by great-power hegemonistic claims, toughened the conditions of sale of power equipment to the USSR.

US imperialist circles obviously underestimated the production and scientific potential of the Soviet energy sector

and thought too much of their blockade measures. This was most strikingly revealed during the construction of the gas pipeline from Western Siberia to Western Europe. Even as early as at the end of the 1970s a number of West European countries had requested the Soviet government to increase Soviet gas deliveries over and above the volumes already agreed in contracts signed earlier.

The Soviet Union began gas deliveries to Austria in 1968, to the FRG in 1973, Finland and Italy in 1974 and France in 1976. A new stage in the Soviet energy carriers' export to Western Europe opened with the signing in November 1981 in Essen (FRG) of the Agreement on the Main Conditions of Natural Gas Deliveries from the USSR to the FRG. It formed part of the transaction known as the "gas-pipes" deal. It envisaged the construction of a gas pipeline on a compensation basis from Siberia to the Western frontier of the USSR (Urengoi-Pomary-Uzhgorod). The USSR would deliver annually to the FRG 10.5 billion cubic metres of gas over a 25 year period, beginning with 1984. In 1982 similar agreements were signed with France and Italy (each 8 billion cubic metres annually) and with Austria (1.5 billion cubic metres).

This displeased official Washington which still believed that it was in the best interests of the USA and the West that the development of the Soviet power industry be impeded as much as possible. The American press wrote about the alleged unilateral advantages derived by the USSR from gas deliveries to Western Europe. It tried to frighten West Europeans with "dependence on the USSR" which the gas deliveries from Siberia allegedly spelt for them.

The White House launched a new round of its "economic war" against the USSR and other socialist countries. In June 1982 President Reagan announced his decision to prolongate and substantially expand the ban on the delivery of oil and gas equipment to the Soviet Union introduced in late 1981. At first it covered only equipment produced by American firms. Then the ban was extended to the equipment produced by foreign subsidiaries of US corporations and also foreign companies producing such equipment under American licenses. In 1982 sanctions were applied against French, Italian, English and West German companies. This course aroused universal indignation in Europe and even in the business circles of the United States.

Completion of the construction of the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline confirmed conclusively that the Soviet economy can on its own fulfil modern power development programmes and achieve general progress. In a brief space of time the Soviet production of equipment, including gas pumping units, was organized. More than a half of the 40 compressor stations of the gas pipeline were equipped with Soviet 16,000-25,000 kW compressors. Under the original project most of these stations were to have gas pumping installations bought from West European firms and only seven were to be Soviet-made. Today Soviet compressor systems with a total capacity of 23 million kW operate on the pipeline laid by Soviet building organizations and only 1.1 million kW of such equipment came from abroad. Most of the equipment for the pumping stations, a very important component of the gas pipeline, is likewise now produced in the Soviet Union.

Line construction work on this mammoth trans-continental pipeline was carried out in practically one year—almost three times faster than scheduled. Such rates of construction were unknown in history. Thus, the American 1,200 km Alaska oil pipeline from pipes of a smaller diameter took three years to build. The Soviet Union is the only country which builds gas pipelines using 1,420 mm diameter pipes. Over 40 per cent of the gas produced in this country is transported through such pipes. In other countries pipelines have a smaller diameter and, consequently, smaller through capacities.

The American "sanctions" fully failed. In August 1983 the American government had to lift the restrictions on deliveries of pipe-laying machines to the USSR to be used in building gas pipelines. And the Department of Commerce announced that it would no longer require the American companies to have licenses for the export of this equipment from the USA. On this matter the Washington Post wrote that the embargo did not harm the USSR, only the American companies.

Back in mid 1982, spokesmen of the Department of Commerce had to admit that Washington's action brought 20 American firms losses of 1.2 billion dollars. Some US experts put them at 3 billion dollars. In addition, tens of thousands were put out of work as a result.

Besides the Urengoi-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline, 5,000 km of trunk gas pipelines (including their branch lines) were put into operation in 1983 and about 11,000 km in 1984. Five more super-capacity trunk gas pipelines

are being laid from the northern districts of the Tyumen region to the centre of the country.

The Soviet planned economy excludes such phenomena as energy and oil crises typical of capitalism. They break out in the West because of the rapacious policy pursued by the imperialist states. Thus, in the last 25 years power industry development in the West was orientated exclusively on oil and the oil products imported at low prices from the OPEC countries.¹ This led to the contraction of domestic production of power resources, and, in particular, oil and gas production. In 1960 Soviet oil production was 42 per cent of American production and in 1983 it was 44 per cent higher. The USSR is ahead of the USA also in gas output.

Covering its own requirements, the Soviet Union supplies fuel to the socialist countries. In 1976-1980 the Soviet deliveries to the CMEA countries amounted to 830 million tons of equivalent fuel, well above the 560 million tons in 1971-1975. Between 1981-1983 these countries received from the USSR 263 million tons of oil and oil products, 91 billion cubic metres of gas, 54 billion kWh of electrical energy and large quantities of other types of energy carriers. Owing to Soviet deliveries the CMEA countries cover nearly 80 per cent of their import requirements for oil and oil products and 99 per cent, for natural gas. The export of some types of fuel from the USSR cannot be expanded boundlessly, of course. Many deposits in well-developed areas are running out. The exploitation of deposits in ever more remote areas with complex natural conditions requires increasing investments. Total expenditures on the transportation of fuel from Siberia to the European part of the USSR exceed 2 billion roubles a year. During the ninth five-year plan (1971-1975) investments in the oil producing industry averaged 3.2 billion roubles a year, 5.3 billion a year in the tenth (1976-1980) period and they were increased still more during the eleventh (1981-1985) five-year plan period.

Naturally, the growing complexity of the expansion of energy production in the USSR cannot but create definite difficulties in the supply of power to CMEA countries by

¹ Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries was formed in 1960 and includes Algeria, Venezuela, Gabon, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Qatar, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and El Ecuador.

the old techniques and at the same rate as in the past. But this has nothing in common with the inventions of Western "Sovietologists" about an "energy crisis" in the socialist community.

In 1983 the European CMEA countries produced some 600 billion kWh of electricity more than all the EEC countries. Per capita output in the CMEA countries constituted 4,850 kWh compared with the average 1,870 kWh in the world as a whole. Oil output is growing every year, it reached 630 million tons in 1983 or four times more than in 1960. Oil output in the countries of the socialist community is close to the combined oil output of all the developed capitalist countries. The power industry of the CMEA countries is firm and has secure prospects for the future. Owing to their close mutually beneficial cooperation the CMEA countries were the only industrially developed zone in the world which successfully withstood the impact of the world energy crisis shaking the world capitalist economy.

In the early 1980s the share of the CMEA countries in the world consumption of energy resources approximated 25 per cent and nearly 27 per cent in their production. The countries of the socialist community fully satisfy their fuel and energy requirements by their own production and mutual deliveries and also by fuel exchange with other countries.

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE: ILLUSION AND REALITY

by Victor PERLO

If we believe all the assertions of the official propaganda of the USA and its leaders, we get the impression that most Americans are content with their life. Rarely have illusion and reality been more in conflict.

INEXORABLE REALITY

Life is increasingly insecure for the overwhelming majority of working people. They are beset by debts. Their incomes are declining and the cost of living is rising. And each year, literally millions are decisively losing out. The reality, for the majority, is increasing tension and insecurity. It is lowered living standards for factory workers with jobs, for retired persons with social security pensions. It is deterioration of public services, increasing criminal assaults and robberies, rising state and local tax burdens.

For the 50 million who are Indian, Black, brown, yellow, Hispanic, it is a deepening and sharpening of racial discrimination all along the line. For the 15 million or so who are jobless—whether officially counted as such or not—for members of their families, for the millions of working mothers without husbands, for the 35 million officially below the poverty line, and for the tens of millions technically above it, but actually suffering from symptoms

● Victor PERLO is a well-known American progressively-minded economist and journalist. Subtitles by the Editors.

of poverty, it is a reduction of protective devices, such as unemployment insurance, welfare benefits, food for school children and, most serious of all, assistance to keep a roof over their heads. Such conditions have not been seen since the great crisis of the 1930s. There are now thousands of homeless people in many of the main cities.

The farmers' life is getting worse. The greatest crisis since the 1930s has put thousands of family farms on the brink of bankruptcy.

Along with this, there is record prosperity for the upper crust—the corporate elite, the large stockholders of banks, transnational corporations, armament firms, big bondholders of US Government securities and "tax-exempt" state and local bonds, high-ranking executives of the corporations and the government and military bureaucracy. For this small minority of the population, there is a conspicuous, flaunted luxury life. Class and income differentiation and divisions are markedly widening and arousing the dissatisfaction of broadening sections of the population.

PROGRAMME FOR "FREEDOM"

President Reagan, in his 1985 "State of the Union" message, spoke of a "Second American Revolution" to embody his program for "freedom". What does it consist of?

Reducing tax rates on corporations and the rich by approximately one-third, in addition to earlier reductions during his first term;

"Deregulation" of business, which means removing all restrictions on monopoly profiteering, while adding those rules and regulations which the most powerful capitalists demand;

Reducing minimum wages so that masses of unemployed youth will be able to get jobs at the lower wages to displace those fired at the previous higher wage;

Providing military and financial aid, and preparing for armed intervention;

Increasing the powers of the police and their license to oppress the poor and racial minorities;

Increasing his attempts to rule absolutely, without regard for Congress, through such devices as the "line-

item" veto over the budget, and military actions in defiance of Congressional limitations;

Promising "free enterprise" big new opportunities to make profits out of the multi-billion dollar space warfare plan.

Reagan has concretized his schemes in his budget proposals. The new budget accelerates the first term trends: sharp reduction in most programs that to a significant extent contribute to people's welfare or the economic needs of the country; soaring military spending and interest on the public debt—required to cover the budget deficit resulting from the Pentagon spending.

In fiscal 1980, the year before Reagan came to power, the welfare group of programs totalled slightly more than the military-debt sectors. By fiscal 1988, military and interest payments will equal 2.4 times the total of welfare and economic programs. Leaving aside social security and medicare, which are funded from a special tax, the military and interest on the debt will account for two-thirds of all spending from general revenues in 1988.

Here are some of the reductions that are proposed between 1980 and 1988, in "real" terms: energy—80%; natural resources and the environment—50%; agriculture—40%; community and regional development—67%; education, training, employment and social services—44%; housing—more than 100%.

In a division of labor, Reagan is leaving to the Senate Republican leadership sponsorship of the scheme to stop adjusting for cost-of-living increases in social security pensions and related benefits for at least a full year. According to the Congressional Budget Office, this is one of many cuts that will push an additional 530,000 people below the poverty line, among the tens of millions whose living standards it reduces. Striving to press harder against the working class, Reagan proposes to slash the salaries of federal civilian workers by 5%—which would mean at least a 10% cut in "real" terms.

In addition Reagan has announced his intention of proposing further major reductions in taxes paid by corporations and the rich.

Juggling and inventing statistics, Reagan boasts of high growth in economic activity and employment. Here's the actual record of his first term:

The increase in real gross national product was less

than in six of the eight preceding presidential terms; if there is comparable deterioration in Reagan's second term, it will be the worst since the great crisis of the 1930s;

The average rate of unemployment in Reagan's first term was the highest of the nine post-World War II presidential terms;

The rate of real hourly wages declined 4%, and is lower than it has been in nearly two decades, while corporate executives' pay rose 51%, double the increase in the cost of living;

Corporate profits, as adjusted by the Commerce Department, averaged far higher during Reagan's four years than in any previous term, and in 1984 were 82% above Carter's last year and 28% above the previous record;

Military prime contract awards increased 2 ¼ times between 1979 and 1984, while the physical output of armaments in 1984 was 25% above the Vietnam war peak;

Combined profits of 10 leading armament firms increased 2 ½ times in the last five years and 6 ½ times in the last ten years.

There is not much left of the once effective illusion created by capitalist propaganda that armament business was a major source of employment. The increase in such employment during Reagan's first term, despite the huge jump in business, amounted to only 100,000 jobs, and today fewer than 1.5 million workers are employed in all private armament industries, a fraction of the number that would be employed with corresponding expenditure for civilian purposes.

The stock market celebrated Reagan's re-election by jumping to new high ground, as did the US dollar in international exchange. But there is not even the promise of relief from the still high level of unemployment and poverty in the United States, nor from the closing down of hundreds of basic industry plant as corporate runaways to low-wage havens abroad are increasingly frequent.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The evil of racism, afflicting 50 million Black, Hispanic, and other minorities, is again becoming more serious in the United States, with the direct stimulation of the Administration.

Decades after legal segregation was outlawed, urban ghettos are growing. In New York and other cities, the

housing available to Blacks is deteriorating. Scarcely any of the older buildings are liveable. Few new ones are being built, and Reagan has curtailed subsidy authorizations. Subsidies are paid to private landlords, mortgage holders, contractors and their bankers. The landlords use the subsidies to raise total rents above normal levels, so that the working-people families have to pay 27-30% of their income for rent.

Education is also becoming resegregated. Black pupils are steered away from studies needed for later professional training. They aren't given classes in computer technology and other remunerative high-tech lines, or prepared for the money-making jobs in the corporate bureaucracy.

The fact that civil rights laws barred employers from openly discriminating against Blacks did not mean that gains were made in Black employment. Special measures were required, such as quotas specifying the minimum proportion of Blacks that had to be hired. These measures were always resisted by employers, and never enforced firmly by the government. But struggles by Black peoples' organizations and some unions won a number of affirmative action arrangements, which have been important in reducing discrimination in a limited number of places and industries. Now the Reagan Administration has come out against affirmative action.

As a result, the overall indicators of economic racial discrimination, in income and employment differentials, are widening, while the proportion of Blacks suffering from poverty mounts rapidly. Blacks and Hispanics are also increasingly subjected to police brutality, as well as attacks by Ku Klux Klan and other racist vigilantes.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CAPITAL

The deterioration in conditions of life for the majority of the American people cannot be separated from world developments. In a word, monopoly capital is whipsawing the peoples of other countries and the working people of the United States to increase the already huge profits.

The internationalization of capital has leaped to a qualitatively higher stage, with far-reaching, contradictory consequences for world capitalism. Of course, capital export has been a key feature of imperialism throughout this century. What is new is a marked increase in the international flow of money and goods, reaching rates that have multiplied in relative size to the overall scale of

economic activity, and that have more powerful kinds of impact on economic life.

One consequence of this internationalization of economic life is an unprecedented growth of the developing countries' debts. Having accumulated debts to the imperialist banking centers of \$500 billion during the 1970s, these nations were totally unable to pay the high interest and principal coming due as the cyclical crisis hit world capitalism in the early 1980s. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the money center banks imposed rigorous "austerity" terms on the debtors to accumulate funds for repayment. These terms included radical reductions in imports of goods needed for mass consumption and industrial production; sharp slashes in real wages and mass consumption; forced export of goods normally needed domestically; along with an overall decline in industrial output and a rise in unemployment.

Closely connected with internationalization is the militarization of the US economy. The military budget serves the dual purpose of preparing for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and for intervention and bases in other capitalist countries, especially developing countries. Without this factor, the plundering of the Third World would be impossible.

COMMON EFFORTS

Advanced sections of the working class are also fighting back. More important than these individual struggles is a new spirit in the trade union movement, the new step towards political independence taken in the 1984 elections, a new level of consciousness of the relation between US labor's economic problems and world affairs, especially the question of war and peace.

The entire union movement participates in the nationwide protests against apartheid pursued by South African authorities. For years, small groups were campaigning against apartheid. Now this has blossomed out as a major drive, involving masses of Americans across the country.

Twenty-six national unions have come out for a nuclear freeze. For several years, the President of the AFL-CIO, Lane Kirkland, has led a reactionary clique within the union leadership in strong support of the Administration's militaristic policy. However, in February 1985, in a strongly worded statement, the AFL-CIO executive council called on Congress to freeze military spending. As *The New York*

Times reporter put it, "the statement represented a sharp departure from the organization's long-standing support of military spending."

There are still large sections of the American people, living outside the slums, who have jobs, eat regularly. They are still in the early stages of feeling the pinch of rising living costs and taxes, declining public services and real incomes. But for these sections, as for the working class and oppressed peoples as a whole, the fear of nuclear war can no longer be avoided. A large majority are affected. Despite the saturation of propaganda of the media, sentiment for reaching agreement with the Soviet Union for ending the arms race and moving towards disarmament and detente is growing. Polls show that large majorities favor such a course. The various peace groups are striving to unite forces, and to join in huge mass demonstrations and in other forms of active struggle—as a part of the growing worldwide pressure on the Reaganites to save humanity from the looming catastrophe.

The American people have a long history of successful militant actions, carried out at critical periods in our history. Nuclear war is the most critical threat, in the ultimate sense of human survival. Vanquishing this threat will set the stage for a fresh upsurge, and major victory, on all social, economic and political questions that have been manipulated to the advantage by reaction and big business in the recent period.

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STP COMMENTS

THE ARMS RACE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The problem of unemployment can be solved through the further escalation of the arms race, which stimulates economic growth and creates employment. Military allocations create new jobs in the armaments and related industries. Military research and development stimulate general economic growth, for technical achievements in the military field, being extended to civilian production, accelerate the technological renewal of production and give rise to new production lines.

These are the main arguments put forward by those who advocate growing military expenditure. Soviet scholars take a different view, as illustrated by the comments by Nikolai IVANOV, D. Sc. (Econ.).

There is no denying, of course, that allocations on armaments lead not only to the growth of military production but also to the rise of a number of allied industries, creating new jobs. But though the total volume of production grows, the militarization of the economy creates relatively fewer jobs than the development of peace-oriented economic sectors with the same investments. The growth of military spending cannot therefore increase employment substantially or reduce unemployment. Moreover, diverting finances from the peace-oriented sectors of the economy it hinders general economic progress and thereby further aggravates the employment problem.

To begin with, the arms race leads to the redistribution of the state budget in favour of the military sector at the expense of allocations for social needs. In the US federal budget, the proportion of military spending rose from 21.5 per cent in 1980 to 28.2 per cent in 1983 and exceeded 32 per cent in 1985. Cuts in federal allocations on education, the health services, housing and transport lead to a loss of jobs in these spheres, much greater than the increase in the number of jobs in the military industry. This is explained by the fact that military production is considerably more capital-intensive and much more

funds are required to create one job there than in civilian industries. According to the estimates of the Council on Economic Priorities, an authoritative US research organization, one billion dollars (at 1980 prices) invested in missile production create 29,400 jobs, while equal investments in the power industry create 38,200 jobs and in transport, 45,400 jobs.

So-called "high-technology" industries, first of all the aerospace industry, electronics, manufacture of computers and information facilities, as well as the chemical, and nuclear and instrument-making industries play a leading role in military production in the USA. They are science- and capital-intensive and have a relatively small workforce so that their expansion does not lead to substantial increases in the number of jobs. Take the manufacture of missiles in the USA. From 1972 to 1982 total sales, according to the estimates of American experts, increased from 4,124 million dollars to 12,199 million or nearly trebled, while the number of employees rose from 118,400 to 127,500 or by just 8 per cent.

On the whole, US scientists estimate that in 1983 about 3 million people were employed in high technology industries in the United States. It is expected that by 1993 their total output will rise by 87 per cent, much more than in industry as a whole, but the number of jobs will increase only by 29 per cent.

Due to the high capital intensiveness of military production, the number of people engaged in the production of armaments and allied industries is growing slowly despite the considerable growth of military spending in the leading capitalist countries, and constitutes a tiny part of the total workforce. According to official statistics, there were 4,509,000 people employed in military production in the USA in 1965, 4,762,000 in 1975 and 6,073,000 in 1980. Thus, over 15 years, despite the growing military expenditure and considerable expansion of production, employment in this sector went up by 34 per cent to make up 5.5 per cent of the total workforce in 1980.

The same is true of other capitalist countries. In Britain, according to official statistics, military production constitutes 20 per cent of the total output in the electronic, 33 per cent in the ship-building and 50 per cent in the aerospace industries. About 220,000 people work on military contracts directly in military production and as many in allied industries. On the whole, the arms race provided jobs for 440,000 people or 1.7 per cent of the total British workforce. In the FRG, less than 1 per cent of the workforce was employed in military production in the early 1980s.

At the same time, the growing military appropriations narrow the opportunities for the creation of new jobs in civilian branches. Studies undertaken by US economists show that in 1980 alone the arms race led to the loss of about 2 million jobs in the country. According to the US Bureau of Labour Statistics, the transfer of one billion dollars from the health services and social security to military production entails a

loss of 24,500 jobs and the transfer of the same sum from the education sphere, of 51,000 jobs.

The German Institute for Economic Research (West Berlin) produced similar estimates for the FRG in 1977. It was found that budgetary allocations of 10 billion marks (1976 prices) create 180,000 jobs in the military sector, 196,000 in agriculture, 205,000 in the health services, 211,000 in state administration, 215,000 in transport and civil engineering and 269,000 jobs in social security. The transfer of 10 billion marks from social security to the military industry entails the loss of 89,000 jobs.

And so, the expansion of military spending through cuts in social spending narrows the opportunities for employment growth. This concerns not only the sphere of services, but, first and foremost, consumer goods manufacture and civil engineering.

In this context, more and more important is an economic alternative to the arms race and its possible effect on the level of employment and unemployment. Specifically, how would things stand on the US labour market if the 1.9 trillion dollars, which the present US Administration intends to spend on armaments in the next five years, were put to peaceful uses? First of all, the question arises whether this astronomical sum is compatible with the real requirements of the civilian sectors of the US economy. It is not only compatible. It is inadequate for meeting all the pressing needs of the US economy. Thus, the *US News and World Report* estimates that 2.5-3.0 trillion dollars would have to be spent on the restoration and modernization of the infrastructure (roads, bridges, ports and other transport facilities, waste treatment installations, etc.) over the next ten years.

Using the estimates of US economists as to the number of jobs created by the investment of one billion dollars in armaments production and such spheres as transport and building, we can see that the transfer of one billion dollars (1980 prices) from the military sphere to the development of the infrastructure would make it possible to create about a further 8,000 jobs. Consequently, the transfer of 1.9 trillion dollars to the development of the infrastructure would create a further 15 million jobs.

Certainly the infrastructure is not the only sphere in the USA (and in other capitalist countries) that badly needs additional budgetary allocations. So also do such spheres as education, the health services and social security. The transfer of military allocations to these fields, characterized by low capital intensiveness, would help to create many more jobs.

Naturally the effect of the arms race on the level of employment and unemployment is of an involved nature. Over the short term, the growth of military spending stimulates the expansion of military production and creates new jobs in industries fulfilling military contracts. But these jobs are created at the expense of employment in the

civilian sectors. The overall effect is negative, for more potential jobs are lost than created.

Over the long term, the militarization of the economy intensifies the contradictions of social and economic development and slows down the rates of economic growth and consequently the rates of employment growth.

The effect of the arms race on employment cannot be assessed only on the basis of a mere transfer of investments from civilian sectors to the military sphere. This method is highly graphic, but it shows only the short-term effect and does not fully cover all economic losses caused by the growth of military spending. The point is that the arms race not only leads to cutbacks in civilian production equal to the sum of military expenditures, but also builds up the negative consequences of the unlimited growth of the military budget, which narrow the base for future economic growth. One should note such dangerous, long-term tendencies as inflation and the deceleration of economic growth rates.

Many leading economists in the USA and other capitalist countries admit that these adverse tendencies are directly related to the growing burden of military spending. Professor W. Leontief (USA), Nobel Prize Winner, assessing the economic effects of the Reagan Administration's military programme, wrote in the *U.S. News and World Report* in 1981 that it would lead to a steep rise of the US government debt, the reduction of production investments, the lower competitiveness of US goods on the world market and, as a consequence, the further decline of the economic growth rate and an increase in unemployment.

The braking effect of the constantly growing military expenditure of the US economy is giving rise to growing concern not only among the American public but also in the US business community. An opinion poll conducted by *Business Week* in 1983 among 600 managers of the biggest American firms showed that 85 per cent of them considered cuts in military spending essential for combating the budget deficit.

Worth noting here is the problem of the transfer of discoveries and inventions made in the military sphere to the civilian sectors. No doubt, many important scientific and technical achievements, including nuclear reactors, radar technology, etc., came about in the course of work on military projects and were transferred to the civilian economy only after that. This does not mean, however, that but for the desire to produce the atomic bomb or military radar systems, nuclear power engineering and electronics would not have become key sectors of modern industry. Fundamental research in nuclear physics and electronics had been conducted long before it came into somebody's head to use its results for military purposes. The fundamental theoretical conclusions giving a key to the solution of practical

engineering problems were generally obtained irrespective of particular military department programmes.

Military research undoubtedly spurs on the solution of complex engineering problems, reducing the interval between a discovery and its practical implementation, but in a very narrow field, say, rocketry, through the concentration of vast material resources and the most talented researchers and designers. This helps to achieve considerable headway in one or several narrow fields of technology while artificially narrowing the general front of scientific and technological progress. Many promising areas of scientific research not related to armaments are restricted and a large number of projects promising considerable social and economic effects are shelved.

In these conditions, the question of the economic effect of the transfer of discoveries from the sphere of military research to the civilian sphere must be formulated in a different way. It must be presented thus: what would be the effect of the transfer of research to peaceful lines? What is mankind losing as a result of the concentration of scientific efforts on producing weapons of mass destruction?

The expenditure on military research and development is too high a price for the relatively small scale of technology transfer from the military to the civilian sphere. According to estimates by specialists in the US military economy, the economic effect of the utilization of military discoveries in civilian sectors is just 5-10 per cent of the total military expenditure. The diversion of vast material resources and the best brains to the sphere of military research and development markedly reduces the effectiveness of science for the development of the economy, slows down scientific and technological progress in civilian sectors and leads to the decline of competitiveness on the world market.

Thus, an end to the arms race is the main and absolute condition of social progress and the provision of jobs for tens of millions of the unemployed. The struggle for the right to work, the struggle against cuts in social programmes and against monopoly capital's offensive on the vital interests of working people is thus inseparable from the struggle for peace and disarmament. The broad masses and working people's organizations in capitalist countries are coming to realize this more and more clearly.

THE PARIAHs

"The poor are still there"—these are the opening words of the book *The New American Poverty*¹ by Michael Harrington, one of the American Socialists' leaders. Author of some fifteen books, he rose to fame in the USA, especially in the left and liberal bourgeois circles, with the publication of his bestseller—*The Other America*. In this book he amply demonstrated that in this richest country of the world millions in the lower stratum eke out a miserable existence.

Why has he taken up the subject again?

This book appeared because, in Harrington's view, a different situation has arisen today, mainly as a result of the social policy pursued by the present Republican Administration. In the winter of 1983-1984 the number of the American unemployed reached the highest level ever in the last fifty years. Moreover, while in the 1960s the poor had some hope of a better deal inspired by the reformist Democrats, in our days most of them have lost all illusions. The cause of this is largely the cynical and hard line on problems of the poor on the part of the conservatives and the "new right" dominant in the leadership of the Republican Party and in the top echelons of power in Washington.

Harrington does not just give the facts about the plight of the poor. He enters into open and covert polemics with the well-off cynical Americans who would like to make the greater part of the Americans unaware of the evils of capitalism. This explains the fury with which the ultra-right met Harrington's new book.

"Two decades after the President of the United States declared an 'unconditional' war on poverty, poverty does not simply continue to exist," Harrington writes. "Worse, we must deal with structures of misery, with a new poverty, much more tenacious than the old" (p. 1).

¹ Harrington M. *The New American Poverty*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984.

The fact of the matter is that the effects of inter-dependence in the framework of the world economy have become more pronounced since the 1970s. One of these effects is the adverse impact of the international division of labour on the position of the lower stratum in the USA. Since the very first days of its existence the USA has participated in international trade. But, as Harrington says, its status of pioneer in the technological field and path-blazer in the second industrial revolution with steel and mass production and in the third, electronic industrial revolution, gave the USA an advantage on the whole. The vast domestic market, too, cushioned the effect of international economic upheavals on the USA. It is not surprising that, despite a decade of the relative weakening of its economic position, the GNP in the USA is 6 times higher than that of France and 4 and 3 times greater than that of West Germany and Japan respectively.

Nevertheless we should bear in mind the fact that the former "customer states" are now formidable rivals. This is true above all of West Germany and Japan. Now add to this the increased importance of foreign trade for the US economy. In the 1970s US export nearly doubled and the share of import on the domestic market rose even more—from 9 to 21 per cent. The expansion of multinational corporations and the transfer of complete factories from Japan and West Germany to the developing countries with their cheap labour suddenly exposed the weakness of the traditional industrial geography of the United States. The employment structure proved vulnerable. Under a blow were not only highly skilled workers of the steel and automobile industry, but also migrant workers. This tended to intensify the long-standing economic discrimination of Black and Spanish-speaking Americans and other national minorities.

Continuing his analysis of the sources of the "new poverty", Harrington points out that the monopolies are shifting the burdens onto the shoulders of working people. It is common knowledge, for instance, that a considerable part of the auto-workers laid off in the crisis years of 1982-83 will never regain their old jobs. The monopolies can "make money" even on a crisis. The crisis in question furnished them a pretext for closing morally outdated enterprises and building a new generation of more effective robot-operated and automated plants. This process extended beyond industry and agriculture, and even spread to the non-production spheres.

Harrington tries to explain the reverses of "free enterprise" in the USA by the world economic situation. But the problems of the poverty which hit many Americans are due not only and not so much to external factors as to the imperfection of the vaunted "American ideal" itself, and Harrington is aware of this in a way. He exposes numerous cases of statistics being doctored by the Republican Administration with the aim of understating the number of the poor, hungry and homeless in America.

The author points out that a special study group formed by

President Reagan in January 1984 refused to admit aggravation of the problem of hunger in the USA. However, Senator E. Kennedy, visiting San Francisco, Minneapolis, Detroit, Pittsburgh and the eastern areas of the Kentucky state, talked to people queuing for a charitable meal and found that many of them were never on the dole before and never before had received food coupons. They were not the traditional poor, but the poor of a new vintage who a short while ago were in work and lived in security.

E. Kennedy complemented his personal impressions with documentary evidence. And this evidence shows, Harrington says, that in the towns and states he visited the requirements of food for the poor had climbed from 75 to 400 per cent. However, the presidential commission for the study of the problems of hunger in the USA dismissed reports of this kind as "anecdotic", though they were confirmed by the evidence given in US Congress committees.

Harrington cites some other specimens of "statistical triumphs" of the Republican Administration. Paradoxical though it sounds, in the early 1960s unemployment at the rate of no more than 3 per cent of the workforce was considered "full employment". In 1983 the Council of Economic Advisors to the President raised this figure to 7 per cent, thereby artificially mitigating the problem.

The author examines some basic conceptions of the ultra-right theoreticians on poverty and exposes their unsoundness. They contend that the state spends too much on those who actually do not want to work. Harrington shows that a far greater part of the federal social spending goes not to the poor but to the more affluent Americans. Given an unbiased approach to the problem of poverty, the author stresses, the number of Americans quoted in official statistics as living below the poverty line should be increased considerably. Moreover, official statistics estimate incomes of the poor by including, for example, payments which can only be received when ill that are not spent on food, ignoring the real ratio of spending on food and other items. Official statistics also conveniently forget the 4 to 8 million American residents who for various reasons cannot present all the documents demanded by statistics.

Summing up, the author comes to the conclusion that there are at least 40-50 million poor in the USA. American experts put into this category people whose incomes are below the official poverty line that are just enough to keep them alive. Close to this is the qualification of the Social and Economic Committee of the Common Market: "Those individuals and families can be considered poor, whose resources are so small that they find themselves excluded from the mode of life, the normal patterns and activities, of the countries in which they live. By resources we mean disposable in-kind income as well as private and public goods and services" (p. 75).

Harrington writes not only about attempts to downgrade the scale of poverty in the USA. He points out that the United States has the

poorest social aid system compared with other developed capitalist countries. Thus, at the end of the 1970s the United States spent about 14 per cent of the GNP on social programmes, while the FRG spent twice as much. Even in Japan this figure equalled 17 per cent.

The author says that, in contrast to the past, the "new poverty" extends to most diverse strata of American society. "In the sixties, the best people thought they were doing something for 'them' (the poor—Ed.)—the Blacks, the Appalachians, the truly other Americans. But now, more and more people are discovering that they, too, are 'them'. I do not mean to imply for a moment that the majority of Americans have become poor or will do so in the near future. I merely but emphatically insist, that there is a growing sense of insecurity in the society, and for good reason. The very trends that have helped to create the new structure of misery for the poor are the ones that bewilder that famous middle of the American society, the traditional bastion of our complacency... A new campaign for social decency is not simply good and moral, but is also a necessity if we are to solve the problems that bedevil not just the poor, but almost all of us," writes Harrington (p. 255).

In this way Harrington diagnoses the social illness of the American society, repudiating Washington's official line that there is no problem of poverty in the USA and that the situation is improving with every passing year. Moreover, the author points directly to the fact that because of the cuts in social spending made under the Reagan Administration, the position of the lower stratum has worsened considerably, while the rich and the monopolies are still better off.

What is the conservatives' view of poverty in the "most prosperous country of the world"? According to them, "poverty is inexplicable". If there is anything worth explaining and studying it is wealth. And, by their logic, there is no need to emphasize the misfortunes of poverty, for, aside from wealth, there are other "sources of happiness".

Statistics on the plight of millions of Americans are the "work of the devil", according to the conservative critics of Harrington. While the author of the book under review sees the main remedy for stamping out poverty in mobilizing the forces of trade union membership (20 per cent of the workforce), Black Americans (12 per cent of the population), the poor (15-20 per cent of the population) and middle strata to put pressure on the government for the sake of increasing the share of the budget spent on social needs, the conservatives call for more authoritarian practices in the USA, for keeping in order those ideological-political opponents of conservative counter-reformation and, along with them, also the discontented poor so that they cannot shake the present pillars of American society.

Understandably, the conservatives do not confine themselves to outspokenly bellicose slogans. They reiterate the arguments of the Republican Administration to the effect that among the poor there are not that many people who could feed themselves by working—only



12 million of them. About a half of the "official poor" are too old and too young, the conservatives declare. And they remark that poverty often goes hand-in-hand with "low morality". The conservatives say, for example, that the most rapidly growing category of the poor are unmarried mothers with small children. So the blame should be put not on society, not on the state denying benefits to the poor, but on the "young fathers" who are forgetful of their children. But this argument, like the appeals—aid the poor—bring little comfort to the 18 million poverty stricken children.

Nor is Harrington faultless, especially when it comes to healing the traditional ill of capitalism. The author believes sincerely that it is possible to liquidate poverty within the existing social and economic system. For him the whole matter consists in forcing the ruling top echelon of the US to spend more on social needs, to introduce planning which would ensure full employment, drastically expand public works (first of all, those for improving the infrastructure), etc. But all this has been already tried before in the past. But as history has demonstrated, staking on a capitalist state's regulation of social and economic relations always ended in a failure. In a capitalist society no reforms can liquidate unemployment, crime, corruption and other evils. Under capitalism poverty and wealth are two sides of the same coin.

Vladimir SAVELYEV,
Cand. Sc. (History)

New Books on Social Sciences Abroad, No. 10, 1985*

Your publications are wonderful. They are a great help to us Italian Communists in our work in explaining the Soviet foreign policy course and the importance of your social transformations.

Sergio Simoni,
Italy

I have concluded that the Patriotic War entailed such a devastating loss of life and interrupted the orderly plan for building your own people's socialist standard of living... I believe you want peace, and would not pursue "adventurous imperialism".

Ken McIntire,
the USA

Your publications on the Great Patriotic War give a clear idea of the great sufferings and losses sustained by the Soviet people to win victory in those difficult conditions. It was a revelation for me to learn the numerical strength of the armies and the amount and types of military hardware used in the battles. I was taken aback by the numerical strength of the nazi troops and by the military hardware engaged on the Eastern front. We Finns fear that the USA may plunge the world into a nuclear war. However, nobody even thinks that such a threat may come from the USSR.

Kalevi Pasanen,
Finland

No one will forget the sacrifices made by all Soviet heroes who fought to put an end to World War II. I believe that

the Soviet Union is always ready to take the necessary steps to preserve peace on earth.

P. Rama Dhyani,
India

I agree with you that the most urgent problem for everybody today is peaceful coexistence and the cooperation of peoples and states with different economic systems. Otherwise the world will be threatened by a nuclear catastrophe.

Jan Walrave,
the Netherlands

The West has set its huge anti-Communist propaganda machine in motion. To be able to withstand it we have to know the truth about the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. And your publications come in very handy here.

Markos Churkovic,
France

Your publications tell people the truth about how capitalists make money on the arms race and how they deceive the peoples, invoking the "Soviet threat" myth to justify the manufacture of weapons of mass annihilation. I think that US imperialism is essentially dangerous and vicious from its very origins. It is immoral. It lacks decency and honesty. I would like to thank the USSR for its peace-loving policy aimed at unmasking US imperialism.

Angel Pecos Muñoz,
Spain

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International Affairs

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

Novye knigi za rubezhom po obshchestvennym naukam

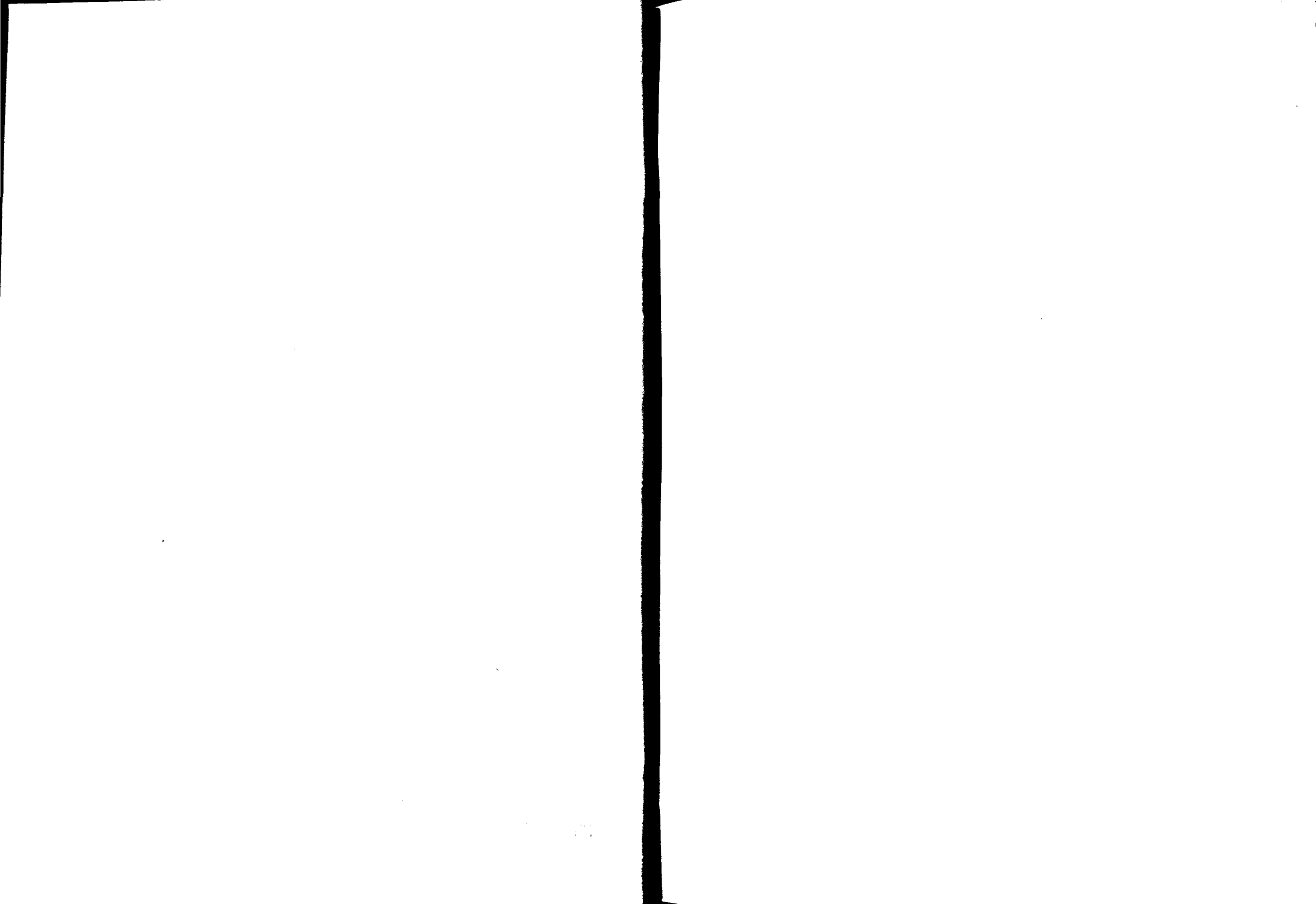
(New books on political sciences published abroad)

— a monthly critical and bibliographic bulletin, founded 1957, circulation 3,500.

Pravda

(Truth)

— a daily newspaper of the CPSU Central Committee, founded by V. I. Lenin on May 5, 1912, circulation 10.2 million.



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