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

**Lessons of the Second World War.
The gist of the matter ●**

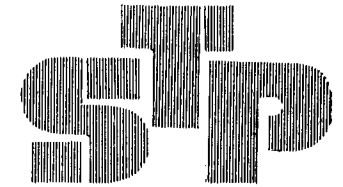
**New way of thinking and
"neoglobalism" ●**

Is the working class on the wane? ●

The Novosti Press Agency

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1986

**SOCIALISM:
THEORY
AND PRACTICE**

The struggle of ideas in the contemporary world

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Marxists assert that as capitalism develops the proportion of proletariat in the social structure of society should grow. How do things stand in reality? In advanced capitalist countries the working class is being eroded, dissolved in other strata, in new social movements, i.e., it is a constantly reducing minority. So the Marxist prognosis is erroneous, isn't it?

Ngukwase Oladipo,
Nigeria

An answer to Mr. Oladipo's letter is given by Timur Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of the International Working Class Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences (p.33).

Your publications have told me a lot about socialism. When I got to know the statistics I was finally convinced of the advantages of your social system. Under socialism all those who work stand to gain.

Joshua Olatunde,
Nigeria

Your publications have helped me understand the international situation. I had a distorted view of the policies pursued by the Soviet Union. Now I've changed my opinion.

Werner Weiss Hüller,
Peru

●
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PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE

THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR AND THE USSR'S STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Academician Boris PONOMAREV

Forty-five years ago fascist Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union. The Great Patriotic War began, the grimmest and bloodiest in our country's history. It took 20 million Soviet lives and caused huge damage to the national economy. Contrary to the calculations of its instigators, the war ended in a total defeat for German fascism and its allies.

This generation—the majority of the world population was born after the war—can hardly imagine the scale of the greatest battle that developed on a huge front stretching from the Barents to the Black Sea. Imperialist ideologists and propaganda-makers went out of their way to belittle the significance of this great feat of the Soviet people and their contribution to the rout of fascism, and to rewrite the history of the 1939-1945 war. More often than not, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people—however outrageous it may sound—is an "unknown war" for the present generations in the Western countries. Characteristically enough, as revealed by a US public opinion poll, 44 per cent of the Americans do not know that the USSR was an ally of their country in the Second World War.

The objectives of such deliberate "brainwashing" of millions in the West are plain to see. The purpose is to cross out the historical fact that in the 1,418 days and nights of the grim battle, the Soviet Army routed, destroyed or took prisoner over 606 of Hitler's hand-picked divisions and liberated the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe from the fascist yoke. They are out to suppress the truth that the Soviet people's glorious Victory in the Great Patriotic War explicitly revealed

the advantages of socialism, its enormous economic, social, political and cultural potential. They are trying to conceal the historical fact that the Second World War showed the possibility of achieving accord and cooperation between states with differing social systems in the face of a common deadly enemy.

But no one can cancel historical truth or erase it from the peoples' memory. The ideals, upheld in the struggle against Hitlerism, now help peace supporters and make ordinary people confident of the success of their efforts.

At present the Soviet people, all people of goodwill on Earth celebrate Victory Day and mark the anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War, above all in order to prevent a new war. It is important that all forces and countries in the world learn lessons from that war, its results, subsequent development, and draw appropriate conclusions.

The masses and particularly the participants in the anti-war movement everywhere are increasingly coming to realize the direct connection and continuity between the Soviet people's valiant struggle for the liberation of Europe from nazi oppression and the USSR's enormous efforts being made today to ward off a new war. In this struggle the Soviet Union follows the foreign-policy strategy developed by the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The international situation has now considerably worsened and imperialism has everywhere stepped up its aggressive actions and intrigues against the Land of Soviets. Ideological anti-Soviet activity is widely practised. Confrontation has mounted. Mankind has approached a brink where its future, the future of civilization is in the balance. Huge amounts of weaponry, unprecedented in mankind's history, have been stockpiled on Earth. Still, the arms race goes on and on, spewing forth ever more monstrous means of annihilation. The responsibility for all this is borne above all by the ruling quarters of the United States of America.

"It was nothing but imperial ideology and policy, the wish to create the most unfavourable external conditions for socialism and for the USSR that prompted the launching of the race of nuclear and other arms after 1945, just when the crushing defeat of fascism and militarism was, it would seem, offering a realistic opportunity for building a world without wars."

It is precisely for these reasons that the imperialist forces started the arms race. The USA was the first to use nuclear weapons, the first to build intercontinental bombers, nuclear-powered submarines and aircraft carriers, the first to provide nuclear missiles with independently targetable warheads, to create the neutron bomb and cruise missiles, and is now seeking to site nuclear weapons in outer space.

Building up the arms race year by year the USA has by now escalated it to an incredible scale.

At present in the world, experts estimate, the existing stockpiles of nuclear arms are sufficient to destroy all life on Earth many times over; at least 50 thousand nuclear warheads are stockpiled. Western Europe's bucket is filled with nuclear weapons to the brim. It has up to 7,000 nuclear charges, and thousands of delivery vehicles. What's more, their buildup is going on. Nuclear potentials are growing in Britain and France.

At the end of the 1970s, the NATO Defence Planning Committee adopted a long-term armaments programme for the 1980s.

NATO has an enormous propaganda machine designed to white-wash its black aggressive activity, to prove the usefulness of endlessly manufactured mass annihilation weapons. To this end, it uses radio, television and the press, and sends special envoys to different countries. Huge funds are allocated for propaganda.

Furthermore, NATO troops in Europe have been armed with weapons whose combat effectiveness makes them comparable to the smaller-power nuclear weapons (vacuum, cassette, napalm, etc.). The FRG Bundeswehr alone possesses nearly 1,200 active combat facilities (missiles, aircraft, guns) capable of carrying nuclear arms. The last restrictions have been lifted from the FRG on the development and manufacture of heavier types of weapons. This was done by the governments of the states whose peoples cannot but remember the tragedy and their sufferings during the Second World War unleashed by nazism.

The number of states capable of acquiring nuclear weapons grows each year. In the armed forces of the USA and the other NATO countries increasing numbers of high ranking officers deal with nuclear arms, thereby adding to the possibility of abuse, to the risk of a nuclear war accidentally breaking out.

That a nuclear war and its consequences spell exceptional dangers for all mankind has been strikingly demonstrated by modern science. The use of even a small proportion of the existing nuclear arsenals can lead, according to competent scientists in all countries, to irreversible climatic and ecological results—a dramatic temperature fall of dozens of degrees all over the Earth. And, as specialists term it, a "nuclear winter" will set in. "The living will envy the dead," dying from wounds, infectious diseases, psychic shocks, hunger, cold.

Meanwhile, the Himalayas of weapons keep growing. In the last two or three years a qualitatively new feature was added to the mad arms race—Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, or in plain words, the Star Wars programme, the plan for space militarization. Under the programme, work is being speedily carried out to develop, in addition to nuclear weapons, new means of warfare—strike space weapons.

Should this happen, the danger of a nuclear war will increase manifold.

Even now, in peacetime, the unbridled arms race weighs heavily on the peoples' shoulders. It means a tremendous **squandering of material, human and intellectual resources** used against man.

In the current five-year period (up to 1989) military spending in the NATO countries will rise by nearly 73 per cent. The USA alone is planning to spend two trillion dollars for military purposes in 1985-1989, that is, as much as in the past 35 years. All this is a sacrifice to the Moloch of war.

The arms race in the capitalist countries has resulted in direct **cuts in social spending**.

Military preparations are funded chiefly through taxation the brunt of which is borne by the working people. Thus, in the USA, overall income taxes levied on the population went up 370 times between 1940 and 1985, while taxes on corporate profits increased only 51 times.

As a result of the endless armament process, spurred on by the aggressive quarters, the **threat to civilization's existence has become unprecedented in scale**. Through imperialism's fault mankind has reached a critical point beyond which events outside its control may happen.

The arms race is getting more and more burdensome **for the developing countries**. Military budgets and arms purchases are also increasing there. Military production is retarding these countries' much needed economic progress and the improvement of their peoples' well-being.

Lastly, the arms race is **hampering the solution of major global problems**—ecological, food, demographic, energy—and the overcoming of economic backwardness by most of the countries.

It should be emphasized that in seeking to justify their arms buildup by some mythical "Soviet threat", the US leaders have not cited a single fact to that effect, nor can they cite any. Both the President and his following speak a great deal of revolutionary changes taking place in some countries and of colonial and reactionary regimes being replaced by free democratic or revolutionary democratic regimes. All these are qualified by the US administration as "Moscow's schemes." But things like these can only be said by people totally unfamiliar with what stands behind social movements developing throughout mankind's history which neither pharaohs, emperors, tsars nor presidents could arrest.

US imperialism has made the North Atlantic bloc (NATO) its active and powerful weapon. It comprises 16 states. All along the line NATO operates on instructions from and under the supervision of the

USA. The post of supreme commander in Europe and the North Atlantic is always filled by an American general.

NATO operates solely to an US military doctrine which proceeds from the possibility of the first use of nuclear weapons and of winning a nuclear war. The American masterminds in NATO are whipping up the arms race, urging the development of ever new kinds of weapons.

NATO is an embodiment of militarism in the present-day world. It comprises the Military Committee which includes the chiefs of the general staffs of the armies of the member-countries. The NATO military wing dictates its will to these countries. NATO, in effect, infringes on the sovereignty of its member-states. Thus, decisions on major issues of war and peace, the quantity and quality of weapons and on whether they are needed or not, are taken in Brussels, the USA and the Pentagon.

At the Geneva summit meeting between the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan a joint statement was reached and made public to the effect that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. It was agreed that neither side will seek military superiority.

Aware of its responsibility for this agreement, the Soviet Union has taken measures towards its implementation. This is borne out by the historic proposals of the 27th CPSU Congress and the USSR's concrete actions towards the termination of nuclear tests. The US administration works in a different direction and contrary to the Geneva accords.

Demands for stopping nuclear blasts are pouring in to the White House from all over the Earth. The Soviet Union has once again—for the third time now—extended its moratorium on nuclear tests. All who value peace and their security regard this move as an act of great statesmanship. But in defiance of common sense and the demands of millions, the US administration is carrying out one nuclear blast after another and building up its armaments.

The US administration keeps saying that it relies solely on its strength in handling all international issues.

Thus, speaking last May 26 in connection with Memorial Day President Reagan said that if the Americans really want peace, they must stay strong and act from positions of strength.

On the next day the President made a statement about the United States' actual refusal to comply with the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-2) and the interim agreement (SALT-1). To justify this position, he outlined a whole programme for the further buildup of armaments on land, sea and in outer space. Alleging, with no reason at all, that his country lagged behind the Soviet Union in terms of armaments and accusing the Soviet Union,

contrary to facts, of violating the anti-missile treaty, the President declared that the United States would henceforth fully implement a plan for modernizing offensive strategic weapons.

These actions by the US administration yield other results too. The aggressive policy, war preparations, the unceasing arms race on Earth and a bid to carry it over into outer space, the reliance on strength, the military subversions against Libya, Nicaragua, Angola and other independent states, disregard for the opinion of the popular masses—all inevitably lead US imperialism to isolation. The process of isolation will develop all the faster if the US administration continues toughening its militarist course. This influences the US domestic situation as well. The administration's policy is being increasingly criticized there, even in the legislative bodies. Also, the press, some trade unions and anti-war organizations are becoming increasingly vocal in opposing this policy. As the *New York Times* wrote in its June 3 issue, Europe is alarmed over a tendency by Washington to act independently of its allies and show disdain for opinion on this side of the Atlantic. The *Newsweek* magazine, commenting on the President's statement of May 27th, put it even sharper: "Washington and America's NATO partners were at odds." More and more statements of this kind are made daily. The US militarist course is bolstered mainly by the military-industrial complex, reaping huge profits from the production of mass annihilation weapons.

The picture of the modern world with its piles of weapons and mankind's prospects would be grim indeed, if existing on Earth were only imperialism and NATO with their policy of strength and diktat, their drive for domination and their ugly doctrine, neo-globalism. Fortunately, there are other forces, other socio-political systems, a different policy in our world. The 27th Congress of the CPSU has given mankind a different perspective. It has set forth a programme delivering peoples from a nuclear war and showed a path toward their peace and security. "The forces of peace and progress all over the world can neutralize the threat emanating from imperialism, halt the world's slide towards the brink of the nuclear abyss, and prevent outer space from becoming a battlefield," says the resolution of the Congress.

To attain this great historical objective, the Report by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, offered a concrete, well-grounded programme of ensuring the peoples' security. It is based on a major principle that in this nuclear age all contradictions between states, contradictions between the world socialist and capitalist systems cannot be solved by military means, through armed struggle. Therefore, security is being increasingly seen as a political task to be achieved solely by political means. What is needed above all is the will to take the road of disarmament. Life

powerfully raises the question of mankind's survival. The Soviet Union, on whose banner the words "Socialism is peace" are inscribed offers an extensive programme of struggle against the arms race, a programme for talks and other peace measures. This is, in effect, a programme of saving mankind from nuclear destruction.

Here is a list of the specific and mutually complementary proposals on the limitation of the arms race, drastic reductions of the existing arsenals and the promotion of international security the USSR and its allies made early this year.

1. Cessation of nuclear tests. The Soviet Union has unilaterally proclaimed a moratorium on nuclear explosions and proposed starting talks, without delay, on a total ban on nuclear tests.

2. Total liquidation of nuclear armaments by the end of this century, and impermissibility of the development of strike space weapons (SDI).

3. Liquidation of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in the European zone.

4. Elimination in this century of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their manufacture.

5. Reduction in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals.

6. International cooperation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of all mankind.

7. Effective verification at all stages of disarmament with the use of both national means and international procedures, up to and including on-site inspections.

8. Establishment of an all-embracing system of international security for the peoples, encompassing the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres.

The Soviet leadership declares to the whole world that our country is doing everything possible and necessary to preserve peace and put an end to armaments and will continue its efforts. But it will not allow military-strategic parity to be upset or unilateral advantages to be attained. The USSR stands for a radical lowering of military confrontation, for a reduction of military capabilities.

The recently announced decision of the USSR to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing until August 6 this year strikingly confirms our country's sincere readiness to follow the path of reducing nuclear armaments.

All peace-loving forces have met this decision with great enthusiasm. A number of statesmen in both the West and the East have welcomed this step. Proving once again the peaceable stance of the Land of Soviets, this move enables the masses everywhere to press the United States to terminate nuclear tests.

It should be mentioned that the recent Soviet proposals not only

encompass and, in effect, include the initiatives and peace proposals the USSR has made in many years, but also demonstrate a new approach, a new way of thinking and practical actions in this nuclear-space age.

An arms race has never been our option. Since the establishment of the Soviet state, this land of socialism has consistently and untiringly been fighting for disarmament, for ridding mankind of the threat of war, including nuclear war. The peoples see that the military threat does not emanate from the Soviet Union but comes from imperialism which is blocking the Soviet proposals. And, logically enough, one is led to conclude: if the Soviet proposals were accepted, the military threat would not hang over mankind and enormous material means would be spent on peaceful needs and serve the interests of the masses.

Besides advancing proposals for limiting and reducing all types of weapons, the Soviet Union is also working actively to stop all local armed conflicts on Earth. It is constantly seeking—at international forums and through contacts with warring sides, and by all other means—to eliminate all seats of armed conflicts which carry away human lives. Some 10 million people have perished in the postwar years.

Giving credit to the historical gains of the Arab national liberation movement, our country is firmly and consistently working for a comprehensive and fair settlement of the **Middle East crisis**, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab lands occupied since 1967, for the implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. The USSR calls upon the international community to make fresh efforts towards radically improving and normalizing the situation in the region. A road to this lies through an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO.

The USSR believes it highly important that the Middle East settlement be achieved by peaceful, political means, without the use of force, and in this context it was suggested that the permanent members of the UN Security Council undertake to refrain from any, especially armed, interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region and from any kind of pressure upon them.

The Soviet Union is sparing no effort to normalize the situation in **the Mediterranean**, which in recent months has been strained to a dangerous level through the irresponsible, aggressive US military actions against Libya, a Mediterranean country. Seeking to convert that area into a zone of stable peace, the Soviet Union recently proposed calling a representative conference to consider a set of confidence-building measures in the military area, that have already

proved their worth in world practice, measures to ease tensions in that region. The USSR is prepared to go even farther—to come to terms on a cut in armed forces, the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of warships with nuclear weapons on board, and other measures aimed at lowering the level of nuclear confrontation. Readiness has also been voiced to start early talks on a simultaneous mutual withdrawal of Soviet and US naval forces from the region.

As regards **southern Africa**, the USSR is firmly convinced of the need to have the South African racists stop their aggressive actions against Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique and other frontline states, to immediately grant independence to Namibia and liquidate without delay the inhuman system of apartheid. In this context the Soviet Union emphatically demands the applications of all-embracing mandatory sanctions against the criminal racist regime in keeping with Chapter VII of the UN Charter, as underlined once again in the Soviet Government Statement of May 21, 1986.

The Soviet Union stands for a peaceful, political settlement of the situation around **the People's Republic of Kampuchea**.

It supports the decision of Kampuchea and Vietnam to continue a stage-by-stage withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer units from the PRK so as to complete it by the year 1990. Appreciation is voiced of the PRK's readiness to start a dialogue with representatives of the Khmer groupings and individual persons abroad, provided the Pol Pot men are removed as a political and military organization.

Our country strongly condemns the US policy of interfering in the affairs of the **Central American** countries and of establishing a seat of tension there.

The Soviet Union expresses firm solidarity with the selfless struggle of the Nicaraguan people upholding their right to free democratic, independent development without diktat and interference from outside. Today, international solidarity with Nicaragua is part of the common struggle for peace, freedom and sovereignty of peoples, for international law and order and the observance of the fundamental principles of the UN Charter. The Soviet people and the world public resolutely oppose the USA's policy of state terrorism against Nicaragua.

An important direction in the Soviet Union's foreign policy activity is the **Asian and Pacific** region. This is logical. The Soviet Union is a major Asian power. The Soviet government recently proposed a vast programme of measures promoting goodneighbourliness and friendship between all countries in the Asian and Pacific region and ensuring their cooperation in a joint quest for constructive solutions to the problems of security in Asia and the Pacific. The Soviet Union suggests resolving disputable issues in that region through bilateral and multilateral consultations which will also help to improve mutual

understanding and build mutual confidence between states. It also suggests jointly working for the convocation of an all-Asia forum in the foreseeable future. A separate conference of the Pacific countries on questions of security, including economic security, could be held. Our country is in favour of establishing nuclear-free zones in the Asian and Pacific region.

The speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986, opens a new stage in the Soviet Union's struggle for peace and security for all nations. Giving a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in Asia and the Pacific area, the speaker set forth an extensive peace programme for Soviet foreign policy in that vast region. The speech contained clear-cut proposals for stopping the arms race in the Pacific and in the bordering states and using the means thus released to satisfy the most vital needs of the huge masses of people in those countries.

These Soviet proposals follow in the wake of the MPR's proposals on concluding a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between states of Asia and the Pacific, the initiatives of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea (on the conversion of Southeast Asia into a zone of a lasting peace, stability and cooperation, on the promotion of goodneighbourly relations between all states in Southeast Asia, especially the ASEAN countries and Indochina). Emphasis in this connection must be given to our support for the DPRK's proposals on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Korean Peninsula, the holding of talks by the DPRK, the USA and South Korea, the drafting of a security declaration, the establishment of a democratic Republic of Korea and the conversion of Korea into a nuclear-free zone, as well as our support for the DPRK's unilateral decision to refrain from large-scale military exercises beginning from February 1, 1986.

The Soviet Union is not short of goodwill in its searches for ways of a political settlement of the **situation around Afghanistan**. The Soviet Union is in favour of talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan through mediation by the UN Secretary-General's personal envoy and wishes success to these talks whose next round is scheduled to begin in Geneva on July 30, 1986. We are all for substantial progress to be achieved this year already in the matter of political settlement which would ensure complete cessation and guaranteed non-resumption of foreign armed interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. With this aim in view, as Mikhail Gorbachev stated in his speech in Vladivostok, the Soviet leadership has decided to withdraw from Afghanistan towards the end of 1986 six regiments of the limited contingent of Soviet troops stationed in that country at request of the DRA government, together with the hardware and armaments.

The USSR's struggle for a stable peace and security of nations is developing all along the line—through state, diplomatic, party and parliamentary bodies, as well as trade union, women's, veterans' and other public organizations.

Summit meetings are held during which foreign leaders get first-hand, truthful information about Soviet foreign policy and the stupendous long-term plans of peaceful construction. Meetings with parliamentarians from different countries take place at the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and in its commissions.

In recent years, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the highest body of Soviet government, has on many occasions made appeals to governments, parliaments and peoples of the world, explaining in a profound and well-reasoned way the essence of Soviet peaceful foreign policy, making concrete proposals, earnestly and in full responsibility, for the reduction and complete elimination of all armaments, and advancing a programme of war-preventing measures.

The USSR Supreme Soviet solemnly declares: the Soviet Union does not threaten anyone, neither does it seek confrontation with any state in the West or in the East. The Soviet Union has never sought military superiority.

We maintain constant extensive ties with Communist, Social-Democratic and other political parties. Contacts are also maintained by our trade unions, the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, Committee of Youth Organizations, Soviet War Veterans' Committee and other public organizations. With a profound knowledge of the essence of the nuclear threat, Soviet scientists and physicians explain the people the deadly consequences of the possible use of nuclear weapons. Their organizations hold national and international forums attended by world-renowned scientists and political leaders and issue appeals, above all to the US administration, urging an end to nuclear tests and the renunciation of militarization of outer space.

Marching shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union are the other countries of the socialist community. They invariably and steadfastly act as a major force in the anti-war struggle, opposing aggressive imperialist policy on every front—political, defence, economic and ideological. Each of these countries is making its contribution to the defence of peace and international security.

While comprehensively strengthening the fraternal socialist alliance and the defence potential of the Warsaw Treaty states, the highest bodies of the Warsaw Treaty Organization have more than once addressed NATO with a proposal that the sides dissolve the two blocs and, as a first step, stop the activities of their military organizations.

Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw

Treaty Member States, held in Budapest, June 10-11, 1986, is a major event of our time.

The leaders of the countries forming the socialist community who met in this trying and disquieting period marked by ever new extremist actions by the US administration, wholeheartedly supported the programme of struggle for the elimination of nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons, as advanced by the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The Meeting addressed the NATO members and all European countries, with a programme for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

In the concluding Communiqué, the Meeting of the PCC advanced a programme for the defence of peace and the deliverance of mankind from nuclear war. It envisages concrete measures on all questions concerning the reduction of arms, gives an effective political instrument to all peace champions and indicates the way out of the blind alley into which the extremist and short-sighted policy of the US administration and NATO is forcing mankind.

World events in our fast-paced time bear out the correctness of the Soviet Union's policy aimed at eliminating nuclear arms, sometimes in a totally unexpected but forcible manner. The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station has graphically demonstrated the colossal power of the atom and, simultaneously, the danger it spells should it get out of control or be used in nuclear weapons.

On the whole, people in the world treated with understanding what happened at Chernobyl, this misfortune that befell the USSR; there was no rejoicing over the accident but expression of readiness to help neutralize the consequences of the accident. The Soviet state highly appreciates this. But the mass media and many politicians in the NATO countries, above all in the USA, mounted an anti-Soviet campaign, distorting the real state of affairs, heaping up lies and slander, laying unfounded claims against the Soviet Union, and intimidating the peoples in the neighbouring countries. These propaganda media tried to divert the peoples' attention from the wideranging peace proposals made by the USSR which have won wide popularity in the world and support from many organizations. Special significance in the world is attached to the fact that the USSR has not conducted nuclear tests for almost a whole year now but has indefatigably been working to secure their cessation by the USA.

After the Chernobyl accident, reports of other such accidents in the USA, Britain, the FRG, and other countries, have appeared in the world press.

Today, all people may well ask: What will become of mankind and our planet if nuclear weapons are used? On this point, the Soviet

proposals for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000 and for the immediate cessation of nuclear tests acquire outstanding importance. All peoples can now see for themselves the deep sincerity and significance of the statement made in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress: "The time has come to realize thoroughly the harsh realities of our day: nuclear weapons harbour a hurricane which is capable of sweeping the human race from the face of the earth."

Life itself and the interests of all of mankind imperatively demand that all peoples intensify hundredfold their struggle to stop nuclear tests, that a start be made on the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons, that all countries accept the Soviet Union's proposals which can save mankind from nuclear destruction.

In order to use the energy of the atom for peaceful purposes and protect mankind from surprise accidents at nuclear power stations, on May 14, the Soviet Union came up with a concrete programme for states having nuclear power stations, to undertake joint actions and develop national and international safety systems for such stations. This highly humane act was acclaimed in many countries; it provides the key to the safe and proper utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

Aggravation of the international situation, the growing threat of war, the continuing arms race, and, especially, the deployment of American nuclear and conventional weapons outside the USA have aroused the legitimate and growing protests of peoples in many countries.

There is not a single country in the world where broad anti-nuclear, anti-war actions are not held. In the FRG, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Japan, Denmark, Canada, Australia—in short, all over the world—the peoples demand an end to nuclear tests and say "no" to the militarization of outer space, expressing support for the Soviet peace proposals.

Protest against the arms race policy is mounting in the USA. One and a half million Americans have signed a petition demanding an end to nuclear explosions. This demand is supported by the Methodist Church which has over nine million members and by the Catholic Church. Many organizations in the USA, many Congressmen, Senators, prominent American scholars, and members of many peace organizations support the moratorium. A forum of struggle against the Star Wars, attended by representatives of over 50 local organizations, was held in San Francisco in January. Over 6,500 American researchers and engineers, including 15 Nobel Prize Winners, declared

that they would not take part in Star Wars programmes. More than 100 cities and countries have declared themselves nuclear-free.

The World Peace Movement continues its persistent and selfless work. An impressive session of the World Peace Council met in Sofia in April, attended by representatives of some 150 international and national organizations. This representative forum put forward most pressing anti-war demands.

More than 110 public figures and scholars in the USA, Canada and ten West European countries issued an appeal to heads of state and government against the Star Wars programme. Among these were: W. Brandt, Chairman of the Socialist International and former Chancellor of the FRG, P. Warnke, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, A. Young, former US permanent representative to the UN, and other noted politicians and scholars.

The statement made by President Reagan on May 27 on the US refusal to comply with SALT-2, triggered off a spate of stormy and massive anti-war actions, including protests outside the sinister nuclear test range in Nevada. The US administration is under the fire of criticism because of its decision to cancel SALT-2.

Thomas O'Neill, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Senator Kennedy, and many other prominent figures have joined this wide-ranging movement. Some time ago the House of Representatives adopted a resolution urging the President to refrain from scrapping SALT-2. A similar resolution was adopted by the Senate Committee on Armed Services. These are expressions of lack of faith in the President's policy.

Grapes of wrath are ripening amongst the masses as a serious warning to the imperialist warhawks.

The movement assumes ever new forms in many countries. Many municipal councils and other local bodies of authority declare that US nuclear weapons will not be deployed on their territories, and these decisions are enforced. Spokesmen of municipal councils say with good reason that if such decisions are adopted by other cities and regions, US weapons will have no place in their countries.

The United Nations has declared 1986 International Year of Peace. Significantly, this coincides with the 45th year since the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War. This UN decision expresses the peoples' concern over the threat of war and urges them to counter the sinister forces of aggression pushing mankind to the brink of a bottomless pit.

As a UN resolution reads, the struggle for international peace and security demands of states and peoples constant and positive actions

aimed at preventing war and averting threats to peace, including the nuclear threat.

On the strength of the decisions adopted by this representative organization of 159 states, a sweeping campaign is developing in the world in defence of peace, for cessation of the arms race, prevention of the militarization of outer space, and the prohibition of nuclear tests. People belonging to different social sections, political parties and ideological trends are working for the attainment of these just and vitally important objectives. Mass-scale actions dedicated to Year of Peace have been held in the Soviet Union.

Facts attest to the unprecedentedly broad social base of the anti-war movement. Members of many political parties, including the Social Democratic and Communist Parties, influential parliamentary and church circles, and leading activists in the women's and youth movements are taking part in it.

Naturally, such a diversity, such a heterogeneous movement, has its ebb and flow caused by changing situations on the international scene.

Today one notices an unprecedented growth of political consciousness of the population in the capitalist countries. A growing invasion of the sphere of foreign policy by the masses is much in evidence. The point is that never before have the peoples realized so keenly the fatal consequences of war, especially nuclear war. World-renowned scholars, leading politicians, international organizations and political parties in many countries open people's eyes to the perils of these consequences.

The overt unbridled adventurism of US imperialism has aroused the indignation of the peoples, and the imperialist policy of brute force and aggression is condemned by the masses.

Discontent with the aggressive course of the ruling circles is mounting among the American people. They are alarmed by the growth of anti-American moods in the world, and they feel the growing isolation of the USA from the international public and the disaffection of some of its allies. They are aware of the strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. And all this heightens anti-war sentiments.

The peoples of the world grow ever more convinced that "Soviet military threat" myths are nothing but a cover-up for the buildup of armaments and the plotting of military ventures.

At the same time, one cannot say that today the anti-war movement has already raised an insuperable barrier to the arms race and the war threat. Nevertheless, the vehicles of this threat, the trans-Atlantic and NATO warhawks, are uneasy about it and cannot but see that the masses realize what an immense danger their policy spells. Hence, the frequent and vociferous protestations of their desire of peace. This

peaceable demagoguery is part of the policy of aggression and arms buildup. But the words of the US administration and NATO are completely at odds with their deeds. Defying the will of peoples, the USA continues nuclear tests. The SDI programme is being pursued, bit by bit. The peoples see this well and step up their efforts to stop the arms buildup and all war preparations.

In this involved situation, the Soviet Union, grappling with great difficulties, persists in its efforts to have the concept of universal security translated into life. It is prepared for political dialogue and decisions guaranteeing equal security for all sides.

The Soviet Union has markedly intensified its foreign policy activity of late. The Party and government leadership comes up with new proposals and initiatives, displaying a new way of thinking in the new situation and an innovative approach to all international problems and doing its utmost to prevent war and assure implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The great dynamism of Soviet foreign policy and its favourable impact on the international situation are noted all over the world. And no one can say that this is directed against any country or people.

The analysis of the present-day international situation and the assessment of the balance of world forces warrant the conclusion that, before it is too late, the advocates of aggression and power policy must be brought to realize the undeniable truth that nuclear war, if unleashed by an aggressor from any quarter, will not spare its instigators, including imperialist ruling circles and NATO brass hats.

If in all past wars US territory was beyond the reach of enemy weapons, the situation has changed radically. The ring-leaders of the military-industrial complex and militarists will not "sit it out" in safety on their side of the Atlantic. Previously, they could send their armies outside America and remain home without risking their lives. Now, nuclear missiles give them no such chance.

They threaten those who go to war and also those who send others to wage it.

The great strength of the Soviet position lies in the fact that the Soviet Union is for **universal security**, not only security for its own people but security for all peoples. While on this subject, it would be appropriate to recall that before World War II started, the Soviet Union warned against the fascist threat at that time overhanging mankind and called on the peoples to rally all forces to counter this threat. The Soviet Union proposed that the three leading European powers conclude a treaty under which the Soviet Union, Britain and France were to help each other in the event of nazi Germany committing aggression against any of them or against Poland, Romania, the Baltic or other states. If accepted and implemented, the

Soviet proposals would have confronted Germany with a solid coalition of European countries which could have stopped its aggression. But the Western states staked on nazi Germany mounting an attack against the USSR which would be to their own advantage.

As is known, these plans hatched by the bourgeois governments of Britain, France and Poland fell through, for Germany struck its opening blow precisely at those countries. The French, Polish and British peoples paid a very high price for the perfidious policies of their governments. It was only the rout of nazism by the Soviet Armed Forces in 1945 that led to the liberation of the peoples of those and other countries from nazi oppression.

Today the policy of the overseas warhawks in the NATO is to use the European countries' armed forces in the interests of US imperialism. All propaganda talk about the "defence" of Europe against "the Soviet threat" and against communism is a repeat of the propaganda which was used to hoodwink the European peoples in 1938-39.

Here is another lesson of history. The main objective the White House is out to achieve through the arms build-up, power policy and pressure is to arrest the process of progressive social changes in the world, to prevent revolutions. One should remember, however, the results or rather the social consequences of the two world wars. The First World War prepared conditions for the Great October Socialist Revolution and for the establishment of the world's first socialist state—the USSR. The Second World War created prerequisites for the collapse of the capitalist system in eleven countries in Europe and Asia. A world socialist system emerged. The two world wars did not strengthen but markedly weakened the international system and positions of imperialism. There came the period of imperialism's decline.

After the Second World War, social changes throughout the world developed rapidly and vigorously as never before. The colonial empire disintegrated. From its ruins arose scores of new states which had gained national independence. Later the non-aligned movement formed which has great strength now.

Many of its leaders, notably Rajiv Gandhi and other representatives of the six states that have signed the Delhi Declaration, actively oppose the imperialist war preparations, demanding an end to the arms race on Earth, the nuclear arms race above all, and the prevention of its escalation into outer space. They support the Soviet proposal on the cessation of all nuclear tests.

The non-aligned movement has an immense potential. Almost 2,000 million people live in its zone. They are all vitally and objectively interested in the cessation of the arms race and the utilization of the huge resources, now going into the production of the weapons of death, for meeting their pressing needs—to do away with hunger and

disease, high child mortality, and other scourges inherited from colonialism. The vigorous actions of the non-aligned movement have a major part to play in averting nuclear war.

History also shows that gone are the times when imperialist rulers could start wars and exterminate people with impunity. As is known, the fascist ring-leaders who unleashed the Second World War perpetrated crimes of unprecedented monstrosity to establish their domination. According to official statistics, at least 12 million people died in the nazi torture-chambers and concentration camps in Europe. The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg put it on record that war crimes were perpetrated on a scale unknown in the history of wars. This time meted out to the criminals was the severe punishment they deserved. The Hitler clique was sentenced to death. Thousands of its underlings are still being brought to justice. The International Tribunals in Nuremberg and Tokyo, composed of representatives of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, revealed to mankind the atrocities committed by the war criminals and condemned them on behalf of the peoples. The international public has since invoked these facts many times, warning those who are plotting new wars of their criminal liability. The Stockholm Appeal (1950), signed by more than 500 million people, declared that a government which would be the first to use nuclear weapons against any country would be committing a crime against humanity and should be regarded as a war criminal.

The United Nations Organization has twice adopted such resolutions on Soviet initiative. The Declaration it adopted in 1981 reads in part:

"1. States and statesmen that resort first to the use of nuclear weapons will be committing the gravest crime against humanity;

"2. There will never be any justification or pardon for statesmen who would take the decision to be the first to use nuclear weapons."

All this should be properly understood by those who put their stakes on the continuation of nuclear tests and the further development of nuclear weapons, who seek to put nuclear weapons into outer space and are getting ready to use them. The 45th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people is a most appropriate occasion for recalling the adopted decisions, demanding an end to the arms race and rousing and rallying all peace forces to achieve this aim.

One more lesson we should recall in connection with the 45th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War. The Hitler clique and its partners unleashed the war under the cover of struggle against "the red threat", against communism. It was waged against communists in the aggressor countries and mainly against the Soviet Union. The Hitler clique was advertizing itself, obtrusively and stridently, as the rescuer of capitalism from the communist, Soviet threat.

This was a coverup for the aggressive nazi policy whose aim was world supremacy. When the masses hear the overseas propaganda about "the Soviet military threat" and the "crusade" against communism, it does not take them long to see that it is just a coverup for the drive for world supremacy.

And, finally, there is yet another very important lesson of the war the Soviet Union was forced to fight against nazi Germany and its allies. During that war socialism, the socialist state and the Soviet people demonstrated to the whole world their great staying power and invincibility. This victory manifested the superiority of the socialist social system over the capitalist system, the superiority of Soviet military science and art, the superiority of communist morality and ethics over inhuman nazi ideology. The unprecedented mass heroism shown by the Soviet people evoked the boundless gratitude of all democratic freedom-loving forces in the world.

This was so in 1945. The strength and prestige of the Soviet Union have increased manifold. The existing military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA and between WTO and NATO is a crucial factor deterring aggressors of all stripes and ranks.

As emphasized in no uncertain terms in the Soviet Government Statement of June 1, 1986, the USSR will not permit the USA to gain military superiority and will "take the necessary practical steps to prevent the military-strategic parity from being upset". Historical experience shows that the Soviet leaders do not waste words.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was the guiding force and organizer of Victory in the Great Patriotic War has since grown numerically, gained strength and won more authority and influence in the whole world. In our day the pioneering, dynamic activity of the CPSU is widely acknowledged and it enjoys the growing thanks of all peoples.

The Programme of the CPSU gives an exhaustive assessment of the balance of world forces and points out ways of preventing a nuclear war and saving mankind from annihilation.

"The establishment of military-strategic parity between the USSR and the USA, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO was a historic accomplishment of socialism. It strengthened the positions of the USSR, the countries of socialism and all progressive forces, and dashed the hopes cherished by aggressive imperialist circles of winning a world nuclear war. Preservation of this balance is a firm guarantee of peace and international security."

Thus, preservation of this balance and the Soviet efforts in countering the aggressive imperialist course and selflessly defending peace, which the Soviet Union is doing indefatigably and with growing vigour, meet the vital interests of all peoples. These efforts deserve the complete support of all people of goodwill.

There are absolutely no facts pointing to any aggressive intentions of the USSR. Far from it, there are no classes or groups in the USSR that could be the least bit interested in war and in getting profits from an arms race. All postwar history is a record of the Soviet Union's active struggle for peace and international security.

It is imperialism that has at all times forced the arms race on us.

Neither can we, Soviet people, forget that invasions of our territory in the pre-nuclear epoch were made several times from the West. "Our country will never and under no circumstances begin military operations against Western Europe unless we and our allies become targets of a NATO attack. I repeat, never!" Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed in his speech at the Congress of the SUPG in Berlin on April 18, 1986.

The Soviet Union's indefatigable struggle for peace and proposals for arms reduction and complete elimination of nuclear weapons, now widely known to millions of people, have evoked profound sympathetic feelings. The main reason for these feelings is that, as regards the defence of peace and prevention of a nuclear disaster, the interests of the Soviet Union and those of all other nations objectively coincide.

The US ruling circles and the NATO brass hats must realize that it is high time they abandoned their groundless hopes and illusions of gaining military, nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union. They must adopt a more realistic attitude to the Soviet proposals and measures for ending the arms race on Earth and preventing its spread to outer space. Peoples in all countries demand this, because this would guarantee their security and meet their interests, including the interests of the American people. The main truth is that war must be stopped before it starts.

Our Party is making every effort to rally all forces capable of countering war preparations. The Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the Congress of the Socialist International presents, in a lucid and comprehensible style, the programme for the implementation of the Soviet proposals for the cessation of the arms race, prohibition of nuclear tests and establishment of a comprehensive system of international security. "The war on war must be won. The growing support for demands for peace and disarmament by the international community, whose influence is assuming special significance today serves as an earnest of success."

This is how our Party assesses the part being played by the public. There is much work to be done.

NEW WAY OF THINKING AND "NEOGLOBALISM"

by Anatoli GROMYKO,
Vladimir LOMEIKO

Our time is imperatively entering the course of history as a turning point in many areas of domestic and international policies. Foreign policy is known to have its origins at home. The Soviet Union's course at accelerating its socio-economic development finds its logical sequence beyond its borders as well, in a large-scale programme directed at peace and disarmament. The entire approach of the CPSU and the state of the working people to international relations is imbued with the spirit of highest responsibility for the destinies of the world and a perseverant search for a way out of the difficult labyrinth of nuclear confrontation, desire to improve world relations, and halt the arms race which through the fault of the imperialist powers swept the world. A vivid example of that is furnished by the proposals advanced in the Statement of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee of January 15, 1986, for the complete elimination of nuclear, chemical and other types of mass destruction weapons throughout the world by the year 2000 and the new Soviet initiatives set forth in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, which are aimed at **creating a comprehensive system of international security**. The initiative advanced by M. S. Gorbachev in his statement of April 18 in Berlin on considerably reducing all the components of the land forces and tactical aviation of European states and of the corresponding forces of the USA and Canada deployed in Europe serves the same purpose. These new initiatives represent a concrete and realistic programme for freeing the people of the world from the horrors and the threat of universal self-destruction, meet the deepest aspirations of all mankind.

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The world public—and this is vividly attested to by numerous responses—has seen in the thoroughly weighed Soviet proposals a **fundamentally new approach** to solving the most acute problem of today. The gist of the approach is that it is motivated not merely by concern for national interests or national security of one state or a group of states. It is imbued in its entirety with the spirit of historical responsibility for the fate of the whole world, for safeguarding security for all, and for preserving life itself and civilization on the Earth. To achieve that goal, one had to be able to rise above the really existing contradictions between policies and ideas, to look far beyond the disagreements of today, and to see new horizons of cooperation. To this end, one had to rise above national egoism, tactical considerations, disputes and strife in order to preserve the primary asset, i.e., peace and a reliable future.

WASHINGTON'S TWO-TIMING GAME

Concern over the fate of the world is incompatible with a policy aimed at preparation for war, a reliance on force. Attention must be drawn to this obvious truth only because almost daily, representatives of the US Administration make ostensible professions of peace which shroud the threats of sanctions and covert or overt interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The way of thinking of too many US politicians clearly lags behind the rapid changes occurring in the world right before our eyes. Those politicians live in the age of computers and exploration of the galaxy but they are still thinking in terms of the Stone Age. Their philosophy of intimidation rests on the selfsame blind faith in strength, the only difference being that they rely on a nuclear missile, the more powerful the better, and on armaments, the more sophisticated the better, rather than on a long stick or a weighty rock.

Some of those politicians are not even averse to discoursing on a need for a new way of thinking consonant with the new realities in the world. Yet, they persist in giving an old interpretation to everything new and look at it through the prism of the selfsame psychology of power arrogance.

In analysing the course pursued by Washington and its approach to the talks on nuclear and space arms, a careful observer cannot get rid of a dual impression. On the one hand, the US Administration, compelled to take into consideration the anti-war sentiments at home and throughout the world, declares its readiness to search for accords aimed at preventing an arms race in outer space and terminating it on the Earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and at strengthening strategic stability. On the other, in its approach to the solution of those problems the Administration ignores the vital interests of the international

community. This sense of duplicity is only augmented by an ever widening gap between the political rhetoric employed, which is called upon to attribute a positive character to the proclaimed foreign policy objectives, and the essence of the real militaristic policy pursued by Washington.

Quite indicative in this regard are, in particular, the policy-making pronouncements of sorts made by the Secretary of State to a Senate commission in January 1985 and his article in the spring issue of last year's *Foreign Affairs*. In both cases he spoke of "new realities and new ways of thinking".

In the beginning of his Senate statement (and, for that matter, in the beginning of his article in *Foreign Affairs*) he referred to Albert Einstein (1879-1955) who, in the words of the Secretary of State, had drawn a conclusion that **after the dawn of the nuclear age everything had changed except our way of thinking**. Everything would seem to be correct, including the reference to Einstein. Yet, as Voltaire, French writer, philosopher and enlightener (1694-1778), used to say, the God is in details. And here is the "divine detail", namely, the words of Einstein which are alluded to but not quoted in full. Yet, what Einstein said was the following: **"A new way of human thinking is necessary for mankind to survive and to go on developing. Today, the A-bomb has fundamentally changed the world; we know that, and people find themselves in a new situation which their thinking should correspond to."**

Every one is certainly free to lay his own accent while expounding an idea of a great man and to draw one's own conclusions from the pronouncements of the latter. But we also have the right to exclaim just like the boy from one of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales: "But the king is naked!" A new attire for the king could not be made from the leavings of the quotation. Small wonder, for it has been so much truncated.

Those who would wish to compare the true words of Albert Einstein with those inlaid into the US State Secretary's speech would not fail to notice what has been changed there and to what end. What has been lopped off is the sting of Einstein's thought, the emphasis on the fact that **it was the A-bomb that fundamentally changed the world and this is why a new way of thinking is necessary for mankind to survive**.

It is obviously not fortuitous that such an operation has been carried out. In all likelihood, it was necessary to make Albert Einstein's thesis about the need for the "new way of thinking" serve the policy of "neoglobalism"—undisguised terrorism made a state policy in the USA. This is what it looks like in the statement of the US Secretary of State: "Einstein's observations", he says moulding his interpretation as if from

pliable clay, "takes on new relevance: **our ways of thinking must adapt to new realities. We must grasp the new trends and understand their implications.**" This is a surprisingly free approach but it is here for all to see.

But what is, indeed, the gist of "new trends" as George Shultz understands them? Let us listen to himself. "America after Vietnam," he said, "retreated for a time from its active role of leadership... Today, the cycle is turning again... **America has recovered its strength and self-confidence. America is again in a position to have a major influence over the trend of events**—and America's traditional goals and values have not changed. Our duty must be to help **shape** the evolving **trends** in accordance with our ideals and interests: to help build a new structure of international stability that will ensure peace, prosperity, and freedom for coming generations. This is the real challenge of our foreign policy over the coming years."

But where, one may ask, does the new political thinking fit in? For this is nothing but "neoglobalism" or, in other words, the old doctrine of all-out permissiveness, proclaiming the right of the USA to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and in the developments in any region of the world. Although occasionally one can come across a commonplace saying that "the new is the well forgotten old", this homely thought can hardly be used as a basis for comprehending the new realities of the nuclear age.

So, having begun with the call for grasping the new realities of the world and adjusting oneself thereto, Washington has arrived at a conclusion that, since the Vietnam syndrome has been "happily done away with" and the USA is once again at the crest, it is time now to begin establishing order throughout the world at its own discretion and in accordance with its own imperial notions of human morality, values and ideals. As a result, not only the year 1985 but 1986 as well are keynoted by US support for covert and overt subversive operations executed by the contras, armed provocations against Nicaragua, and the stepped-up campaign of blackmail, threats and economic blockade launched by Washington against the courageous people of that country.

The same manifestations of the "neoglobalism" policy are also in evidence in other regions of the world, in the Middle East, and in southern Africa: provocations against and the trade boycott of Libya which then grew into an aggression against this independent state, support for the gangs of bandits operating in the territories of Angola and Afghanistan. In the meantime, US leaders persist in stressing in their statements that in the long-term perspective US policy is geared to most variegated conflicts which hold an intermediate place between a large-scale war and a universal peace. Moreover, it is added by way of explanation that Washington happens to have no plans for "living in the

conditions of absolute peace". The reason for such an attitude, evidently, also lies in the "new way of thinking" but in the hawkish style.

Thus, in analyzing Washington's conduct on the international scene over the last years, one is compelled to note the dual trends in US politics. On the one hand, it has shown signs of realism when the realities of the surrounding world and, first and foremost, the growing threat of nuclear war force the US President to take into account, at least partly, the dangerous evolution of the international situation. This trend, naturally, manifested itself in the most tangible fashion at the historic Geneva meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan in November 1985. Although the summit failed to find solutions to the key issues related to the cessation of the arms race, the accords reached at Geneva by the Soviet and American leaders heralded a turn for the better both in Soviet-US relations and in the international situation as a whole.

On the other hand, many foreign policy guidelines issued by Washington still rely on the old power politics and the philosophy of intimidation. Moreover, the opponents of detente across the Atlantic bend over backwards in fanning the sentiments of blatant chauvinism (the USA prefers to speak of "new patriotism"). Believing that they are firmly ensconced in the saddle, the Pax Americana guardsmen are spurring the horse of imperial politics and are blaring the beginning of an expedition "in defence of their vital interests". But where do those interests begin and end? Many people in Washington cynically believe that those interests begin and end where they see it fit. This whole power politics, which rests on the mania of superiority, has already been christened the doctrine of "neoglobalism". Such a duplicity in US politics cannot but inspire natural suspicion. It brings in its wake inevitable miscalculations and dangerous collisions in future.

HIGH TIME FOR RESPONSIBLE DECISIONS

On January 15, 1986, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, advanced radical and, at the same time, specific proposals, namely, to free our planet from nuclear, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000 and to reduce conventional arms and armed forces to the lowest possible level.

It stands to reason that no one in the USSR has expected that literally everyone in the world, and above all the governments of NATO countries, would forthwith accept the Soviet plan for the complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons over the next fifteen years. Yet, the international public has been fully justified in expecting an interested and serious attitude thereto on the part of the United States

for the US Administration has repeatedly declared its commitment to the goal of completely extirpating nuclear weapons everywhere. It would seem that now Washington enjoys a practical opportunity to come to grips with this matter.

Alas, nothing of the sort! It is one thing to utter euphonious declarations about a yearning for a nuclear-free world and a need for a new way of thinking in line with the new realities. It is quite another thing to translate those good intentions into reality. The gist of the moment of truth is that it makes an individual, a state or the entire world community face an option as to which road to take toward a safer world: either that of further escalation of armaments or that of reductions in their arsenals.

A look at the US reply to the Soviet proposals reveals its unconstructive character. There is no solution contained in it of the main, fundamental question—preventing the arms race in space. As far as strategic and nuclear medium-range weapons are concerned, it is virtually a repetition of the old US proposal based on acquiring one-sided advantages. The openly negative position taken by the White House on the question of prohibiting nuclear weapon tests can only be understood as Washington's desire to continue the nuclear arms race.

In the situation which has taken shape, as is stressed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress, "it is not easy at all, in the current circumstances, to predict the future of the relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries, the USSR and the USA. The decisive factors here will be the correlation of forces on the world scene, the growth and activity of the peace potential, and its capability of effectively repulsing the threat of nuclear war. Much will depend, too, on the degree of realism that Western ruling circles will show in assessing the situation. But it is unfortunate when not only the eyesight but also the soul of politicians is blind."

The moment of truth in the nuclear and space age also means not to put off taking responsible decisions. Yet, it is no longer sufficient only to wish to stave off a nuclear war or only to understand whence the threat. The time given by history to mankind for pondering is running out. The inhabitants of the Earth face the menace of a nuclear timepress. This is why it is imperative to act, and to act forthwith at that.

The question raised by Mikhail Gorbachev concerning a need for the "new way of political thinking" for the sake of mankind's survival requires an answer to be given not in words but in deeds. And the deeds call for a will, primarily political will.

What is the **essence of the new Soviet approach** to attaining the goal common to all humanity, that of ensuring its survival?

We knew in the past as well that peaceful coexistence and life under conditions of cooperation are the only way for the two different social systems to exist on one planet. While earlier, peaceful coexistence could

proceed in various forms of confrontation, now it is only possible in the forms of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry. At the current stage of civilization the human community **vitaly needs a radical turn for the better, for a stable normalization of international relations.** In other words, we all need a **new, more civilized level of relations, so that we all could survive.**

As has been repeatedly stated by the Soviet leadership, new thinking in the nuclear and space age means giving up the desire to impose by force one's ideology, way of thinking, and values upon others. Socialism rejects wars as a means of settling ideological disputes and interstate contradictions. Advantages of the social systems are proven by peaceful coexistence rather than by power politics. The new edition of the Party Programme says that "the CPSU proceeds from the belief that the historical dispute between the two opposing social systems, into which the world is divided today, can and must be settled by peaceful means. Socialism proves its superiority not by force of arms, but by force of example in every area of the life of society." And then it once again makes reference to international relations stating that the CPSU "believes that the extension of ideological differences between the two systems to the sphere of interstate relations is inadmissible."

At the same time, contrary to the declared commitments to pluralism and "freedom of choice", the leading quarters in the United States are trying to channel the evolution of the world in accordance with their own understanding of "their interests" and "ideals". They are viewing force as an instrument to impose their will and convictions on other countries and nations.

According to the Soviet Union's understanding, peaceful coexistence between the two systems, as has been more than once emphasized by Soviet leaders, should safeguard peace and international security while necessarily maintaining the right of the peoples to be masters of their own destinies. Genuine international security means maintaining stability based on the military and strategic parity and abandoning the craving for superiority. Hence, in particular, our fundamental refusal to accept the "strategic defence initiative", and not because the SDI is a US project but because the desire to create the so-called "space shield" is, in essence, a project of developing new types of weapons which will destabilize the military and political situation in the world and whip up the arms race. Specialists, including US specialists, acknowledge that the "space shield" can easily be used as a "space sword". And those who will be the first to take it into their possession will be tempted to put it to use. No single government, no single nation can permit that to happen. And this has been clearly declared by the Soviet Union as well.

An important measure of the "new way of thinking" is the ability to rise above ideological disputes and contradictions for the sake of

reaching mutual understanding in the interests of human survival. Guided precisely by this principle, the Soviet Union in November 1985 decided to go along with the Geneva summit despite the provocative and demonstrative actions by the ultra-militaristic forces in the United States. The Soviet leadership proceeded from the belief that even the very smallest chance for radically changing the dangerous course of events in the world should not be neglected. For all the variety of assessments of the outcome of the Geneva summit, the significance of the agreements reached there on some cardinal issues is very considerable. In fact, a strong impetus and a fresh potentially powerful start were given to the cause of peace. This found its expression primarily in the common understanding, recorded in the Joint Statement, that a nuclear war should never be unleashed and that it could not be won, and in the commitment of the Soviet Union and the United States to build their relations on that incontestable truth and not to seek military supremacy.

The agreement reached is also very important because, as is well known, there were no such statements in the first years of the Reagan presidency. It was only later and as a result of the criticism of the doctrines of "limited" and "sustained" nuclear war on the part of many governments and the world public that the US President was forced to agree that "there can be no winners in a nuclear war". Recording this in the Joint Soviet-American Statement and renouncing the drive for military superiority give them a considerable weight of an international accord.

But it is, first and foremost, specific deeds rather than mere statements that undoubtedly constitute the main criterion of an actual position of any statesman. In this connection, it should be emphasized that a new and higher level of civilized relations on the international scene also means a high responsibility of state leaders for their policies proclaimed and translated into life.

TWO TRENDS IN WORLD POLITICS

A logical question automatically arises: why shouldn't Washington, following the Soviet example, take such decisions which would not impinge on anyone's interests but, on the contrary, would meet the interests of all? Why shouldn't Washington, for example, assume an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, or to cease nuclear weapons tests?

The fundamental difference between the two approaches, those of Moscow and Washington, to world affairs is clear to every objectively thinking person.

Moscow proceeds from the historical responsibility of all powers for maintaining international peace, security and strategic stability and

strives to manifest its goodwill in practice. This is surely evidenced by such unilateral actions as the Soviet renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons or its moratorium on all nuclear tests, initially introduced in August 1985 for half a year and subsequently prolonged for another three months.

As to Washington, it has been thus far going in a different direction. It does not deem it necessary to reckon with the interests of other countries and independently takes decisions entailing far-reaching negative consequences for other countries whose security is totally disregarded. If the US Administration is genuinely interested in doing away with the nuclear weapons as has been declared by President Reagan, it would surely be logical to discuss this problem with those directly concerned rather than make the world face a de facto decision about the SDI.

Today, when people in the world compare the two plans for eliminating nuclear weapons, the Gorbachev Plan and the Reagan Plan, they inevitably stress the fundamentally different approaches of the USA and the USSR to this issue. While Ronald Reagan is dreaming of developing new strike weapons in outer space to be used against nuclear weapons on the Earth, Mikhail Gorbachev proposes to eliminate nuclear weapons without creating space arms. These are two different patterns of political thinking: "going to peace" by chaotically piling up armaments, or achieving peace by eliminating the weapons of mass destruction. Another fundamental difference between these two approaches is that while Ronald Reagan has taken his SDI decision, in fact, unilaterally, Mikhail Gorbachev suggests that all countries discuss and jointly set about eliminating the existing nuclear weapons.

The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress reads: "In the years to come, the struggle will evidently centre on the actual content of the policy that can safeguard peace. It will be a hard and many-sided struggle, because we are dealing with a society whose ruling circles refuse to assess the realities of the world and its perspectives in sober terms, or to draw serious conclusions from their own experience and that of others."

Many Western, in particular American, politicians and military experts perceive the meaning of the SDI—and this is self-evident to us, Soviet people—in attaining military and strategic supremacy over the USSR with the aid of space armaments. All the talk about the SDI as a "defence shield" is nothing but deception. It is indicative that nowadays too the United States itself is not reducing but building up its nuclear weapons and is developing, according to Assistant Secretary of Defence for Atomic Energy Richard Wagner, new warheads with new characteristics. This is yet another reason for the USA's reluctance to give up nuclear testing. Furthermore, Americans themselves acknowledge that nuclear weapons within the SDI framework can readily be used as an offensive weapon.

The Soviet plan for eliminating nuclear weapons, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15, 1986, offers an honest and businesslike approach to doing away with nuclear armaments on a fair basis without inflicting damage on any one country, including the United States, and without creating new problems.

Thus, if the peaceable rhetoric of the US Administration's representatives were to be subjected to a critical analysis, comparing their words and deeds, then their "new way of thinking", as we have been able to see for ourselves, proved to be "neoglobalism" and a most dangerous destabilization of international relations.

To think in a new fashion in the nuclear and space age does not only mean to proclaim that we are living in an interdependent world. This means to acknowledge in practice that it is not permissible, even behind the screen of most noble intentions, to seek to safeguard only one's own security without due regard for the security of other states. On that score Mikhail Gorbachev has stated in no uncertain terms: "I think that in order to bring about a real turn in our relations, which would meet the interests of the USSR and the USA, the interests of the peoples of the world, new approaches, a fresh look at many things and, what is most important, political will on the part of the leadership of the two countries are needed. The USSR—and I emphasized that in Geneva—has no enmity towards the United States, and respects the American people. We are not building our policy on a desire to encroach on the national interests of the United States. What is more: we would not want, for instance, a change in the strategic balance in our favour. We would not want that because such a situation will heighten suspicion on the other side and also increase the instability of the overall situation."

And surely the selfsame wishes to strengthen stability and security on the European continent motivate the Soviet proposals to eliminate at the first stage of the nuclear disarmament programme all ballistic and cruise missiles of the USSR and the USA in the European zone.

To think in a new fashion means to think not only about oneself and one's allies but to see the interrelationship between disarmament and development and to propose ways for resolving the global problems facing humanity. As has been said by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Statement, "initiating active steps to halt the arms race and reduce weapons is a necessary prerequisite for coping with the increasingly acute global problems, those of the deteriorating human environment and of the need to find new energy sources and combat economic backwardness, hunger and disease."

In advancing its proposals for eliminating nuclear, chemical and any other type of weapons of mass destruction and reducing the conventional arms, the Soviet Union draws the attention of all the peoples and governments to the need for specific and prompt actions by all the forces of peace. "The imperative condition for success in resolving the

topical issues of international life", the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress stresses, "is to reduce the time of search for political understandings and to secure the swiftest possible constructive action."

The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to check the nuclear arms race. For nine months—from August 1985—the Soviet Union refrained from all nuclear tests, even those for peaceful purposes. In his televised statement of May 14, 1986, M. S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said, that after having considered all circumstances connected with the security of its people and all humanity, the Soviet government had decided to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests till August 6 of this year, the date on which more than 40 years ago the first atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, resulting in the death of hundreds of thousands of people.

Doing everything necessary in order to make the solution of the problem of nuclear testing a reality—and in a broader sense—the elimination of nuclear arsenals—the USSR is consolidating the positions of all the planet's peace-loving forces. This is all the more important because influential forces of imperialism stand in the way of disarmament, the forces for which new armaments have always been a source of profits, influence and power.

* * *

In this tremendous battle between the two opposing systems of views, the proponents of the old arms-twisting methods will go out of their way, praising their policy of "neoglobalism". They are ready to quote Albert Einstein ignoring his passionate appeal for rejecting the atomic bomb. They are donning the mantle of champions of "new thinking" and are capable of any mimicry for the sake of procrastinating the cause of real disarmament. They know that so far they have had an ally in the inertness of human thinking and the lagging of the consciousness of still too many people behind the rapid changes in the patterns of life. This phenomenon has always served as an obstacle to refraining from using weapons as a means of settling disputes.

The need for awareness of the global dangers looming over mankind in the nuclear and space age and the objective need for new political thinking are the urgent imperatives of our time. Mankind should not only ensure its own survival but also to pass to future generations all the spiritual and material riches of our civilization.

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IS THE WORKING CLASS "DISAPPEARING"?

The Marxist conclusion about the proletariat's growing role with capitalism's development, Mr Oladipo, is confirmed by both historical practice and statistics. Take some figures. Whereas in the middle of last century the proletarians in the capitalist countries numbered about 10 million, in the early 20th century they totalled over 30 million. At that time, the total number of wage labour in these countries was 80 to 85 million.

In the middle of this century, the total strength of the army of wage earners in the capitalist world neared 300 million and by the early '80s it exceeded 560 million. Among others, the continuous growth and consolidation of the ranks of the working class were objective factors of social progress in this century.

So whence your conclusion about "the steadily dwindling minority"? I suppose you've been influenced by the works of bourgeois sociologists distorting and narrowing the concept of "proletariat". They misinterpret the major processes characterizing the development of the international army of labour and its main contingents, and attempt to establish whether a person belongs to the working class not by social or class characteristics but by other criteria. They give priority either to trade and skill differences or to their dissimilar position on the labour market.

Thus, certain bourgeois authors misinterpret the tendency of the structural changes in the socio-economic life of states belonging to the world capitalist system, as well as their consequences for its "peri-

Mr Oladipo's letter is on p. 2.

phery" and imperialist "centres". According to them, ever broader sections of the working class in the zone of advanced capitalism are migrating to a new social group which some authors classed as the "new petty bourgeoisie".

Under their scheme only the smaller proportion of the economically gainful population can be referred to the working class in the industrialized capitalist countries. They ignore the truly scientific Marxist-Leninist criteria of class differentiation.

Some bourgeois sociologists tend to make the working class boundaries in the capitalist countries much too narrow, actually excluding from it the proletarianized part of workers of non-physical labour.

According to their far-fetched scheme, the unemployed are also placed within a special socio-class category outside the frame of the working class. It's hard to agree with this. Of course, certain numbers of people who have long been jobless, unsettled and without subsistence means, can replenish the ranks of the ruined lumpen-proletarian strata. But still there is no ground for classing the entire reserve army of labour with the lumpen-proletariat. This must be stressed more emphatically since the sharpening employment crisis in the world capitalist system is chronic and protracted. Hence, the correlation between those included and not included into production will be constantly different. It follows from this that no small proportion of the working class is doomed to new privations.

Under present-day capitalism, Mr Oladipo, wage labour is increasingly transcending the material production sphere. The working class' boundaries are also extended at the expense of those working in the services sphere which is now more subordinated to capital. At the preceding stages of mechanized production manual workers predominated in the proletarian ranks. Nowadays, scientific and technological progress and automation of production increase the part played in it by qualified mental workers, notably, engineers and technicians servicing modern machinery and equipment. This means that the scientific and technological revolution far from "washing out" the working class, diversifies its production functions and renders its professional and social image more complex. An important tendency of working class development at the current stage of this revolution, alongside its other consequences, is the growth in cultural, intellectual and professional standards of broad sections of the working class (under capitalism this is opposed by monopolies in all sorts of ways and forms).

Changes are indeed taking place in the working class of the zone of advanced capitalism. They should be traced, among other things, to the aftermath of scientific and technological progress in countries of state monopoly capitalism. Yet this is no proof of the proletariat "being

washed out" or "diluted" in other social layers and new social movements.

Marxist scholars are perfectly right when they say that the present-day working class in many countries of the world must not be reduced to manual workers alone. It is necessary to take account of the profound changes due to automation, including the increasingly indirect character of productive labour and its growing connection with the sphere of research, programming and management. Automation does not oust the working class, it changes its structure, incorporating a certain number of technicians and draftsmen. Their status is now similar to the workers', in view of their immediate involvement in the work of their enterprise or design bureau, and because of their subordinate position with regard to the higher-placed social strata. As was stressed recently at a Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, the concept of "aggregate worker" broadens at the time of the scientific and technological revolution.

Italian Marxists subscribe to this view. A. Natta, ICP General Secretary, points out that scientific and technical transformations are working profound changes in the structure of the working class and in the labour sphere generally. He adds that the part played by engineers, technicians and mental workers tends to become more important both in qualitative and quantitative terms. These categories, by dint of their position in the production process, can and must participate, alongside the working class core, in the struggle for society's transformation. To unite the world of labour requires the working people's high activeness, their political, cultural and social initiative. So the conclusions made by the authors of the "deproletarianization" concept do not conform to reality.

All this shows that the growth of the proletariat's ranks, the diversification of its composition and expansion of its framework, the influx of new and newer trades and professions due to scientific and technical progress—all support the main Marxist laws of social development.

Lastly. Have you ever wondered why the bourgeois sociologists use their bankrupt "deproletarianization" thesis? They do so in order to prove that the "class struggle" is outdated. Hence, it is asserted, the working people should renounce organized struggle for their rights against their masters' rule.

Meanwhile, life indicates that social tension in countries belonging to the world capitalist system is mounting with the development of the scientific and technological revolution—owing to the sharpening contradictions of bourgeois society. Consequently, the "social revenge" strategy, mounted by the reactionary circles of state-monopoly capitalism, is translated into sharper class antagonisms and greater social, economic and political destabilization in a number of capitalist countries.

Characteristically, the last few decades in the West have witnessed more and more people involved in social conflicts. Whereas from 1975 to 1979 about 280 million people took part both in economic strikes and political actions in the zone of advanced capitalism alone, in the next 5 years they totalled 335 million. Political actions are on the rise.

The class battles develop unevenly for a number of reasons, among them crisis processes. The mid-70s crisis, the worst in the last fifty years, was compounded by a new one in the early '80s. Add to this that the monopolies' introduction of the latest automation means such as robots and flexible manufacturing systems, and the economic restructuring, have aggravated the employment problem. The spectre of unemployment and a greater competition for jobs dampened the militancy of some sections of the working class.

Growing numbers of lightning strikes are registered in many capitalist countries. However, they are not given in official statistics and the true picture of the strike struggle is thus distorted.

In the past years, factory workers initiated most strikes. At the same time, the number of engineers, technicians, office workers and "production" intelligentsia on strike keeps increasing, thus expanding the social base of the class confrontation.

As you can see, the attempts to portray the working class and the working class movement as a social force without a future, that is bound to cede its leading social and historical role to other classes or some amorphous social strata, are untenable. The most advanced and consistently revolutionary class of our time, the working class is the main productive force in society. It is the social force capable of leading and bringing to victory the struggle of the broad masses against monopoly rule, for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Respectfully

T. TIMOFEYEV

STP COMMENT

DEMOCRACY STARTS IN THE WORKSHOP

More often than not, the Western press carries articles by bourgeois ideologists seeking to distort the leading role played by the working class in Soviet society. Allegations that the working class never participates in running production or has no say at enterprises, that if it is involved it is only formally and that Soviet workers exercise no real authority in managing production at enterprises, feature prominently in the propaganda arsenal of socialism's ideological opponents.

That such assertions are without foundation is shown in the following comment by journalist Gennady KOPYAKOV.

RIGHTS OF TRADE UNIONS

To begin with, in the Soviet Union there are no mutually opposed private employers and job seekers. The manager runs the enterprise with the assistance and under the control of the collective. Inasmuch as the Soviet enterprise is socialised property, nothing is concealed from the worker under the pretext of commercial or other secrets, as is the case in capitalist states. This enables every member of the work collective to be in the know concerning the state of affairs at the enterprise and influence them. Needless to say, in such circumstances the notions "mine" and "ours" merge.

Soviet people participate in handling the affairs of an enterprise or an organization mainly through trade unions. At present their membership is in excess of 137 million, of them over 80 million are workers.

Under Soviet law, the trade unions exercise control over the observance of labour legislation and safety standards. They have the

right to stop production if it imperils human health and life. Thus, in 1982 alone, on trade unions' demand 180 enterprises, 3 thousand workshops and production sections were temporarily closed because of violations of health standards there. Neither a production plan, nor output rates or working schedules can be set without approval of the local trade union committee at the industrial enterprise. Jointly with the administration, the trade union sets work regulations, awards qualification grades, fixes wages. It also controls the activity of all managerial personnel. Trade union committee members are allowed, without hindrance, to visit and inspect workshops, sections and services at the enterprise, to demand necessary documentation and information from the administration, and verify pay lists. Managers are required to systematically report to the trade union on measures taken to improve working conditions and the fulfilment of collective agreements concluded between the enterprise's administration and the workers' collective comprising blue- and white-colour workers alike. Collective agreements contain mutual obligations of the sides regarding the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans, the improvement of production and labour organization, better quality and lower production costs, the proper application of the set systems of payment, higher skills, the improvement of labour conditions and safety measures, better housing, and cultural and everyday services for the working people.

A major function of trade unions is control over the administration concerning the engagement and dismissal of workers. Not one worker or office employee can be dismissed without prior consent of the trade union committee.

Under the law the administration of every enterprise has to provide the trade union organization with premises specially equipped for holding meetings and conferences, as well as with transport and communications means. Meetings and conferences are important for involving workers in production management. They discuss major production problems and especially questions pertaining to the social development of work collectives. Most public bodies are set up and elected at such meetings.

The Soviet trade union performs not only control functions. It has the right, which no manager has, to administer the state social insurance funds. The distribution of social benefits (housing, accommodation at sanatoriums, holiday homes, kindergartens and Young Pioneer camps) is performed by the workers and office employees themselves.

Among the arguments used by bourgeois Sovietologists to distort the role of the working class in Soviet society is the assertion that a Soviet worker cannot share in running production by virtue of his complete subjugation to the administration, in the face of which "he is

helpless". And here are facts: over 70 managerial functions require agreement of the trade union committee to be fulfilled, and at least, a further 20 functions come mainly within the competence of trade unions. Thus, to introduce new output rates the administration must have them agreed with the factory's trade union committee; neither can a normal day-off be replaced by another day without the committee's consent. The committee also approves incentive fund estimates. Or take another fact. Workers and office employees can demand through their trade union the dismissal of any manager of an enterprise, office and organization if he violates labour legislation or ignores working people's social requirements. In 1984, for instance, over 10 thousand administrators (from managers to foremen) were thus relieved of their posts. Is this the worker's "helplessness" under the "dictate" of the administration that anti-Communists harp about so profusely? In September 1971 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet approved regulations concerning the rights of a factory, plant and local trade union committee, that read in part that the administration of enterprises, offices, organizations is required to create conditions ensuring the participation of workers and office employees in managing production. Officials at enterprises, offices and organizations are required in good time to consider critical remarks and suggestions of workers and office employees and inform them of measures taken on these matters. Even this listing of rights of trade unions shows that they play a major part in running enterprises.

The Law on Work Collectives the USSR Supreme Soviet passed in June 1983 opens up vast possibilities for greater democratization of production management and enhances the working people's role in production, social and state life.

FORCED ADMISSIONS

True, sometimes Sovietological literature admits the Soviet workers' right to exercise control over production. However, such admissions are accompanied by reservations to the effect that the USSR's working class has forced the Party "against its will" to grant it this right. Many objective foreign observers have been compelled to admit the falsehood of such reservations. One of them, Australian sociologist L. Churchward notes that the Party is constantly seeking to involve the working class in running production. Rank-and-file workers, he says, exercise their control over production by sharing in the work of the Soviets to which all enterprises are accountable. This is real participation, concludes Churchward. He is echoed by the US sociologist, A. Szymanski, who writes that in the USSR workers' involvement in managing production is more substantial than in the USA, and that Soviet workers have a real say in running enterprises. A similar view is expressed by Professor K. von Beyme from West Germany who says that one of socialism's

greatest innovations consists in involving the masses in managing the production sphere.

What kind of "forcing" the Party "against its will" with respect to the Soviet workers' right of control over production can one talk about if in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, criticized the trade union committees for not always being purpose-oriented and steadfast enough in protecting the working people's legitimate interests, in safeguarding their labour and health, and improving safety measures. "We cannot put up with instances which still exist, where workers do not know the programmes of their own enterprises, where their suggestions do not receive due attention and are not taken into account," said Mikhail Gorbachev. "These instances show that in some places the force of inertia determines the state of affairs, hinders the involvement of factory and office workers in management and impedes the process of fostering among them the feeling that they are full-fledged masters of production." As can be seen, far from "pressing" the Soviet trade unions, the CPSU orients them towards enhancing the effectiveness and quality of the factory and office workers' participation in running enterprises. "The Party makes sure that the principles of socialist self-government by the people are consistently applied in the administration of society and the state, that is, that the work of administration is not only carried out in the interests of working people but also becomes naturally, and to an ever greater extent, a direct concern of working people themselves, who, to use Lenin's words, know no authority except the authority of their own unity", says the new edition of the CPSU Programme adopted by the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communists.

THE ROLE OF STANDING PRODUCTION CONFERENCES AND PEOPLE'S CONTROL

A major form of involving Soviet working people in managing production are standing production conferences set up at factories and plants on the initiative of the trade unions. These elective bodies number over 143,500 with two thirds of the people attending them workers and the rest representatives from the administration and public organizations. They discuss key issues of production development and provide the management with necessary recommendations on improving the operation of enterprises. In 1981-1984 over six and a half million members of these conferences put forward 6,579 thousand proposals on raising the effectiveness of social production, 80 per cent of them were fully realised.

One of the most mass-scale and effective forms of social production management in the USSR are the people's control groups and posts at

enterprises, constituting the primary link of the country's people's control system supervised by the People's Control Committee under the USSR Council of Ministers (not a single capitalist country has similar bodies). "The Party regards the participation of working people in People's Control bodies as an important way of increasing their political maturity and heightening their activity in protecting public interests, and of fostering a statesmanlike approach to matters and a caring attitude to public property", reads the new edition of the CPSU Programme.

Nearly 10 million people, with workers and collective farmers accounting for two-thirds of them, have been elected to people's control bodies set up in all work collectives of the Soviet Union. In keeping with the rights granted to them, the factory and workshop people's control groups perform one of the most important functions of management—control over the fulfilment of decisions, combat breaches of state discipline, mismanagement, manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape. Article 22 of the Law of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "On People's Control in the USSR," passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet at its session in November 1979, reads in part: "People's control committees shall have the right to study documents and materials and obtain any other necessary information at the enterprises, on the collective farms, and in the establishments, organisations, ministries, state committees and departments being inspected." Also, they have the right "to require, in the course of inspection of the managers and other officials... the necessary documents and materials, to demand written explanations concerning the breaches revealed, and to hear their reports on the results of inspection". Once breaches of state discipline or provisions of Soviet laws have been discovered, the Article goes on, the people's control committees shall have the right "to approach managers of enterprises, establishments and organisations, the boards of collective farms or higher bodies with questions concerning the repeal of orders issued by officials as violating the legitimate interests of enterprises, collective farms, establishments and organisations or infringing the rights of citizens; to suspend manifestly unlawful orders or acts by officials where these may cause substantial harm to state or social interests or the rights of citizens".

Here are some more facts on people's control: in 1981, the republican and local people's control committees carried out 305 thousand inspections concerning the fulfilment of Party directives, legislation, government decisions. Out of 244 thousand matters considered by the committees in connection with these inspections, 83 thousand were related to the fulfilment of state plans and assignments, the identification of production reserves, the use of labour resources and funds; 26 thousand, to the application of scientific and tech-

nological achievements, the quality of output; 45 thousand, to the state of executive discipline and safeguarding socialist property.

These are only individual examples, but they too, in our opinion, give an idea of the active participation of the broadest masses of Soviet workers in running production. Expanding such participation is an objective process determined by socialist society's socio-economic and political development.



Your publications are very interesting. For me as a teacher of Russian they are very helpful as they give precise, objective and up-to-date information about the USSR. They help me arrive at my own conclusions about many problems.

Thaddée Dej,
France

Your publications are very useful and informative. Your logical and clear interpretation of the Soviet point of view makes me more resolutely rebuff bourgeois ideology and lies spread by our "free" press. Lately US mass media has been influenced to a greater degree by Ronald Reagan. The so-called experts speaking on American TV are more often than not ultra-right extremists. Even those who seem less reactionary are so much infected with bourgeois ideology that the "free exchange of opinion" they are advocating is practically reduced to nought by hackneyed anti-communist ideas which have struck a deep root in their consciousness. As a result your publications are like a breath of fresh air which lessens the nervous tension I feel as I am constantly witnessing how my compatriots are deceived since they are practically barred from any other interpretation of current events. They have to resort to their own logic in order to understand the ominous nonsense being drummed into them every day. Much of what I have read in your publications fully coincides with what I have already realized earlier.

John Dennis Dixon,
USA

I am always greatly impressed by everything the Soviet Union does. I can't find the right words to express my complete approval of the position taken by your country on the problems of world peace. I came to my conclusions after reading many of your publications.

Omwuchuruba Patrick S.
Nigeria

Your successes are more impressive than those of the USA. No other country in the world has attained such a high level of development. The USSR is a powerful state. I am impressed by all that the Soviet Union, with its vast potential, is doing to try to safeguard peace on Earth, which is more than I can say for any of the advanced capitalist countries. The Soviet state is working for the fraternity of all peoples, for a better standard of living for everyone. I am solidly with you.

Heriberto Hernández Vázquez,
Mexico

In today's world none of us, Soviet or American, can afford to be callous or indifferent to social injustices, yet while it is obvious that the Soviet Union recognizes this, we, Americans do not; (a case in point: in the USA, if I were to be dying of a heart disease I would not be given full and proper medical treatment unless I had the enormous amounts of money necessary to pay for it; odder yet, if I had received the medical treatment but could not pay, they'd take my house, my automobile, and throw me in jail until I could. Hospitals are, like many other essential services, privately owned and operated).

It seems to me that we can all learn from your great Soviet society. After the Great Patriotic War your country was in ashes, yet you rebuilt your society in to the pillar of human dignity and self-progress.

V. V. Cherednichenko-Nordquist,
USA

BOOMERANG

by Georgy ARBATOV

A misfortune befell the USSR in late April this year. There was an accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. A government commission was formed to look into its causes.¹ The breakdown at the plant (not the first in the world but the 152nd registered at nuclear stations throughout the world, though it was serious enough) will compel specialists in all countries to review all possible aspects of security at nuclear reactors.

But the developments at Chernobyl concerned not only governmental experts and nuclear energy specialists. The accident has been in the centre of world public attention.

There are reasons for this. A rise in the radioactive level of clouds and rainfall (true, not to an extent harmful to human life and health) was recorded not only in areas near the accident in the USSR but in other countries as well. Understandably enough, this could not but cause apprehension in every normal person.

We understand such apprehension. Besides, we too feel apprehensive when something like this happens in other countries.

Many people in other countries have also shown compassion. For the accident did entail casualties. Some people were injured or exposed to radiation. Thousands had to be evacuated from nearby settlements. We do not doubt the sincerity of the sympathy expressed for the victims. What else could have compelled Professors Gale and Tarasaki to come so quickly to Moscow? Thousands of Britons, Americans, French, Swiss, Japanese, Germans were motivated by compassion to offer their services as bone marrow donors (bone marrow transplants are essential in serious radiation cases). The Soviet people are sincerely grateful to all these noble men and women, to all those who lent them moral support.

¹ The material was written a few days after the 26 April 1986 nuclear mishap—*Ed.*

● Academician G. Arbatov, Director of the Institute of US and Canadian Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

As they say, a friend in need is a friend indeed. Enemies can also be clearly identified in such circumstances.

As for the latter, they surely weren't asleep. Moreover, they didn't sleep a wink. The psychological warfare machinery, created by the USA and its NATO allies, was, to all appearances, put on the alert. That this was done even prior to the accident at Chernobyl is not ruled out. They had long been looking for a pretext to launch another anti-Soviet campaign. Many Western leaders were a little too worried about the public response in the USA, Western Europe and indeed the whole world to the Soviet Union's major foreign policy initiatives. Such, for instance, as the Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests introduced in August 1985.² Or the programme for eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Or the proposal to create an all-embracing international security system. That all this helps the world public see the USSR as a country honestly and unswervingly upholding peace frightens the advocates of the arms race far more than Soviet submarines and missiles do. They were feverishly looking for a pretext, or even a hint of one, for opening fire from all calibre of propaganda guns. The target is the Soviet Union's growing international prestige. And mutual confidence too. Confidence which, bluntly speaking, has dwindled to become quite negligible. And which nevertheless is as essential as the air we breathe to stabilize the situation and to start retreating from the dangerous verge to which the arms race and "the cold war" are pushing the world.

A ludicrously primitive version was invented: since the Soviet Union did not report promptly on the causes, scale and aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, one cannot believe any of its proposals, nor can one conduct negotiations, much less, conclude agreements with it. Scientific terms confusing the uninitiated were brought into play. The strongest human emotions were shamelessly manipulated: the instinct of self-preservation, fear for children and of an invisible danger.

Unfortunately, this propaganda campaign has left its traces. I could see this myself while talking with foreign guests in the first days after the accident, and while replying to questions put by foreign TV reporters and radio listeners during an interview. I didn't doubt the sincerity of the questions and the anxiety that prompted them. Sincere delusions are rather frequent. More often than not, however, they arise thanks to somebody else's promptings, in this case from knowing slanderers and falsifiers.

Otherwise how could, say, a resident of a small Scottish town, concerned about the health of his four children, know that the question

² The USSR has extended its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests till August 6 of this year—*Ed.*

he asked—"why did the Soviet government not report immediately on the causes of the accident"—was left unanswered. The reason was simple enough—the Soviet government did not know the causes then (just as, say, the American government in May this year did not know what caused the tragedy of the Challenger spaceship, even though it happened back in January). Moreover, somebody managed to convince him that the fear for his children's health was caused by Moscow's failure to report the radiation level. Even though it is far more difficult for the Soviet authorities to measure such levels in the area of Glasgow or Edinburgh, than for the British authorities. Incidentally, those same "well-wishers" failed to mention that the radiation level in Scotland posed no health risk to the people. Here is another example. How could a Dutch, West German or French reader of "respectable" (i.e., bourgeois and, as a rule, hostile to the USSR) newspapers remember that it took the US authorities nearly two months to prepare a report on the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power station and to submit it to the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency), while the Americans and their allies demanded this literally the day after the accident from the USSR. Or did it ever occur to a Japanese journalist who closely questioned me and complained about "radioactive fallout" in Tokyo that Tokyo is nearer to Nevada, where the USA conducts its nuclear blasts with frequent radioactive emissions, or to the French nuclear testing grounds on a Pacific island than to Chernobyl?

I tried to explain in detail the actual state of affairs to my collocutors and listeners. I explained, for one, that an accident had happened and our primary concern was to render urgent help to dozens of casualties, evacuate many thousands of residents and localize the source of radioactivity.

I think that as soon as the emotions whipped up by anti-Sovietees subside, we shall really be pardoned for this "sin" of ours. Though, personally I think, the "sin" was the underestimation of the activities, coordinated efforts of anti-Soviet propaganda, not the underestimation of the significance of public opinion. Somehow it was hard to believe that even a misfortune, an accident, human grief could be seized upon for dirty propaganda ploys.

But if the sponsors of the "hatred campaign" unleashed in connection with the Chernobyl accident are rejoicing now at their "success", bitter disappointment surely lies ahead for them. To raise a propaganda clamour and direct it against the USSR, obvious attempts were made to blow things out of proportion: a truly local accident, however serious, was depicted like a global nuclear disaster. Nevertheless, people have, thereby, been forced to think about the danger of a nuclear catastrophe as such. The many-year-long efforts by certain Western politicians and propaganda-makers to get peoples used to the nuclear threat and to "learn to co-exist with the A-bomb", so to speak, were wiped out in the

matter of a week. Their ploy is thereby bound to have a boomerang effect for them.

Exhaustive information about Chernobyl will indeed be made available. In effect, it has started coming in. What's more, it's going straight to Dr. Hans Blix, IAEA Director-General, who visited the USSR early in May. Needless to say, the dust—not only radioactive but propaganda too—will settle. And people will start to ponder. Ponder over the fact that the world—from Britain to Japan—was frightened by radioactive emissions caused not by a nuclear explosion, but by an accident at a nuclear power plant. But what people should indeed think of now is that over 50,000 nuclear warheads are now stockpiled in arsenals. It should also be remembered that the USA and its allies are continuing their nuclear testing in top gear with all the concomitant radioactive emissions. Possibly, after the shock caused by the propaganda campaign the Western public will take another look at the validity of the NATO strategy which still envisages the first use of nuclear weapons.

The disaster—however slight in scale compared with the latent danger in a nuclear war and the nuclear arms buildup—has furnished yet another striking confirmation of an irrefutable fact of our age. Namely that man has awakened to life, created such forces which, if used for destructive purposes, he will be unable to handle. Herein lies one of the lessons of Chernobyl. And it has enabled people to see for themselves how senseless and absurd the very idea of nuclear war is.

Another lesson is that equipment—however tried and tested, dependable and up-to-date it is—may fail at times. It is in vain that some ill-wishers go on about the Soviet Union's alleged technological "lag behind" as a reason for the accident. According to the IAEA's evaluation the reactor of the RBMK-1000 type, installed at Chernobyl, is more reliable than its best counterparts in the West. Moreover, quite a few accidents have been recorded at US and British nuclear power stations. This is not to mention other disasters involving the most up-to-date and, what might seem, the most well tested machinery such as, for instance, the Challenger, or the recent mishaps with the Titan and Delta rockets.

What's involved here is not somebody's backwardness. Neither can one entertain illusions concerning anybody's superiority. There are some matters that are too serious to allow mechanisms to control them, thereby freeing them from the authority of human reason and relinquishing sensible procedures of taking joint well-substantiated decisions. This applies, above all to the issues of war and peace. And also all other problems of security in whatever area—military, political, economic or humanitarian.

Thus, whether the sponsors of the loud anti-Soviet campaign wanted it or not, they have given a mighty impetus to people's thoughts

and enlightenment. Ultimately, they have been able to realize the much greater vulnerability of all modern civilization, including technological vulnerability. In this context, there was no shortage of "signals" even before Chernobyl. The escape of poisonous substances at the American-owned chemical plant in Bhopal (India), for instance, claimed two and a half thousand lives and damaged the health of tens of thousands more. It was only then that the alarm began to sound regarding highly toxic waste heaps all over the world. "Acid rains" have also brought home the fact that your neighbour's unconcern or penny-pinching may harm your forests, lakes and rivers. The pollution of whole seas is a fact of life. This is to say nothing of that most dangerous thing—the growing threat of human destruction from conventional and nuclear weapons, from fire, irradiation and the "nuclear winter".

Mankind's swiftly growing technological vulnerability calls for a dramatic restructuring of the entire system of political and economic relations worldwide. And radical changes in political thinking, too. For what is needed is cooperation if one is to live normally, or to survive at all, with all the contradictions, differences and difficulties in the world. Cooperation in creating an all-embracing system of international security that the CPSU proposed to the world at its 27th Congress. In describing the foundations of this system, its general outline, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, noted that our proposal is prompted not merely by good intentions but by an understanding of the realities in the modern world, and of the demands stemming from the specific features of the present stage of international development.

Mankind is confronted with a tragically simple option: either peaceful coexistence or "non-existence". Needless to say, the sponsors of the anti-Soviet campaign never meant to make the Western public at large to realize this truth. But blind hatred, like other uncontrolled emotions, often incite actions with unplanned results. Most probably, this is precisely what happened in connection with the Chernobyl accident. That misfortune was not only ours. For it has shown that whatever happens in the sphere of even the peaceful application of nuclear energy concerns the interests of all in our nuclear age. Things are even more serious as far as a nuclear war is concerned. Its threat spells universal disaster.

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